

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

WORLD HISTORY

Edited by
Marsha E. Ackermann
Michael J. Schroeder
Janice J. Terry
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur
Mark F. Whitters



ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

THE ANCIENT WORLD
PREHISTORIC ERAS TO 600 C.E.



VOLUME I

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Volume I
THE ANCIENT WORLD
Prehistoric Eras to 600 C.E.

Volume II
THE EXPANDING WORLD
600 C.E. to 1450

Volume III
THE FIRST GLOBAL AGE
1450 to 1750

Volume IV
AGE OF REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE
1750 to 1900

Volume V
CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT
1900 to 1950

Volume VI
THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD
1950 to the Present

Volume VII
PRIMARY DOCUMENTS
MASTER INDEX

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Volume I

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FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world's major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen for being specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as for having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally, each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

MARSHA E. ACKERMANN
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HISTORICAL ATLAS

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CHRONOLOGY

2,000,000 B.C.E. First Genus *Homo* Emerges

First example of early humanoids emerge in Africa.

1,000,000 B.C.E. Premodern Humans Migrate out of Africa

Prehumans move from Africa into West Asia and elsewhere.

100,000 B.C.E. *Homo sapiens* in East Africa

Homo sapiens communities are established in East Africa.

40,000 B.C.E. Paleolithic Era

Paleolithic era lasts to about 10,000 when Mesolithic era begins.

7000 B.C.E. Neolithic Era in Fertile Crescent

Neolithic societies based on agriculture emerge in the Fertile Crescent, present-day Iraq and Syria.

6000 B.C.E. Neolithic Societies in Europe, Asia, and Western Hemisphere

Neolithic cultures spread around the world.

5500 B.C.E. Egyptians Weave Flax into Fabric

In Egypt, flax threads are woven together to create fabric for the first time.

4400 B.C.E. Horses Domesticated

The domestication of horses provides an important new mode of transportation.

3500 B.C.E. Cuneiform Writing

The Sumerians, in present-day Iraq, are the first group to develop a written script called cuneiform. Archaeologists have discovered thousands of clay tablets with Sumerian cuneiform writing on them.

3500 B.C.E. Bronze Made

Bronze is made for the first time in a process whereby copper is combined with tin to create a new metal that can be used in many tools.

3500 B.C.E. Sumerian Civilization

Sumerian civilization, with city-states and agriculture with irrigation systems, is established in the Fertile Crescent.

3250 B.C.E. Paper Made of Papyrus Reed

The first known paper is produced in Egypt.

3200 B.C.E. South America

Beginnings of complex societies along the northern Peruvian Pacific coast.

3200 B.C.E. Hieroglyphic Writing

The Egyptians develop hieroglyphic writing. This style was gradually replaced by the Greek system.

3050–2890 B.C.E. Egypt's First Dynasty

King Menes creates the first dynasty of Egypt and unites Egypt into a single kingdom, bringing together the two separate Lower and Upper kingdoms.

3000 B.C.E. First Chariots

The first known use of wheels for transport occurs in Sumer; they are used both for transport and on early chariots.

2900 B.C.E. Great Pyramid Built

The Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) at Giza outside present-day Cairo is built around 2900. It takes 4,000 stonemasons and as many as 100,000 laborers to build the pyramid.

2900 B.C.E. Indus Valley

Civilization begins in the Indus Valley. Most of the peoples of the Harappan civilization live either near or in the city of Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro.

2700 B.C.E. *Epic of Gilgamesh*

In the Fertile Crescent, the epic poem on the founding of Uruk, the first major city, is created.

2700 B.C.E. Founding of China

Chinese mythical ruler Yellow Emperor becomes leader of tribes along the Yellow River plain. Chinese writers accept him as the founder of the Chinese nation.

2700 B.C.E. Early Minoan Culture

The Minoan civilization emerges on the island of Crete.

2686–2613 B.C.E. Egypt's Third Dynasty

The Third Dynasty is founded by Pharaoh Djoser.

2613–2498 B.C.E. Egypt's Fourth Dynasty

The Fourth Dynasty is founded by the Pharaoh Sneferu. He builds the pyramid at Dahshur.

2350–2198 B.C.E. Three Emperors of China

Period of the mythical Three Emperors—Yao, Shun, and Yu—whose reigns are remembered as a golden age.

2341–2181 B.C.E. Egypt's Sixth Dynasty

During the course of the Sixth Dynasty, the powers of the pharaoh decrease. The growing power of the nobility limits the absolute power of the Egyptian kings.

2340 B.C.E. Sargon, King of Akkad

Sargon builds Akkad as the new seat of government and unites all of the Sumerian cities into one centrally organized empire.

2205–1766 B.C.E. Xia Dynasty

Founded by Emperor Yu, it is traditionally accepted as China's first historic dynasty.

2060 B.C.E. Third Dynasty of Ur Founded (Sumeria)

Ur-Nammu of Ur seizes power from Utukhegal and creates a new Sumerian dynasty. Under his son Shulgi the empire of Ur extends as far as Anatolia.

2055 B.C.E. Mentuhotep II Reunifies Egypt

After a period of strife between the nobles and the kings known as the First Intermediate Period, King Mentuhotep reunites the kingdom under a new dynasty.

2000 B.C.E. Great Stone Palaces at Knossos

The stone palaces at Knossos and Malia are built on Crete at around 2000.

2000 B.C.E. Babylonians Develop Mathematic System

The Babylonians develop a mathematical system based on units of 60. They also divide a circle into a 360 units.

2000 B.C.E. Preclassic Period in Maya Zones

Permanent settlements mark the emergence of the Early Preclassic Period in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.

1991–1786 B.C.E. Amenemhat I Founds the Middle Kingdom

Amenemhat I reduces the power of the nobles and establishes a strong central government.

1900 B.C.E. Cotton Used for Textiles in Asia and Fishnets in Peru

Beginning around 1900 B.C.E., the Harappans begin growing and weaving cotton into fabric; Pacific Coast polities in central Peru continue growing and weaving cotton into fishnets, providing a maritime basis for the emergence of Andean civilizations.

1900 B.C.E. Mycenaeans Arrive in Greece

Around 1900 B.C.E., the Mycenaeans arrive from the north and gain control of Greece. This is the period of Greek history written about by Homer and known as the Heroic period or Mycenaean age.

1900 B.C.E. Middle Minoan Culture

Minoan culture reaches its high point with the construction of great palaces at Phaistos.

1766–1122 B.C.E. Shang Dynasty

The Shang dynasty under Tang the Successful replaces the Xia in 1766. The 30 kings of Shang dynasty rule a largely agricultural society that is established in the Yellow River plain.

1792 B.C.E. Hammurabi Conquers Mesopotamia

Hammurabi extends the power of Babylon over all of Mesopotamia and develops first codified law in Hammurabi's Code.

1720–1570 B.C.E. Hyksos Dynasties XV and XVI

Sensing the declining power of the Egyptian dynasties, the Hyksos invade Egypt from Syria-Palestine and establish their capital at Avaris; they rule as if they were Egyptian pharaohs.

1500 B.C.E. Aryans Conquer Harappan Civilization

The Harappan civilization declines before 1500 due to natural causes. The weakened Harappans are quickly conquered by northern invaders from the Eurasian steppes known as Aryans. With it the Vedic age begins.

1500–1000 B.C.E. Early Vedic Age in India

Indo-European or Aryan peoples spread across the Indo-Gangetic plains in northern India.

1595 B.C.E. Hittites Conquer Babylon, Introduce Chariot Warfare

The Hittites, under the command of King Mursilis, combined with the Kassites, defeat the Babylonian army.

1580 B.C.E. New Kingdom of Egypt

The New Kingdom is established by the pharaoh Ahmose who forces the Hyksos out of the Nile Delta in 1570 B.C.E.

1540 B.C.E. Egyptians Defeat Nubians

Ahmose subjugates Nubia in present-day Sudan.

1450 B.C.E. Greeks Conquer Minoans

After trading with the Minoans for a long period of time, the Mycenaeans conquer them.

1400 B.C.E. Iron Age in Western Asia

The use of iron by the Hittites gives them a military advantage.

1375–1360 B.C.E. Akhenaten IV

In 1379, Akhenaten IV becomes pharaoh and the Egyptian Empire begins to weaken.

1300 B.C.E. Andean Civilizations

Beginnings of complex societies in the Lake Titicaca Basin in the Andean highlands.

1288 B.C.E. Ramses II Fights the Hittites

Ramses II fights to regain control of the territory seized by the Hittites. Ramses fights the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh.

1240 B.C.E. Philistine Kingdom Established

The Philistines establish themselves in the coastal plain of present-day Israel.

1240–1100 B.C.E. Israelites Established

Tradition has it that the Israelites, after escaping from Egypt, establish themselves in Canaan. The Israelites organize into 12 tribes and take control of the land through a combination of military victories and political assimilation.

1200 B.C.E. Olmec Civilization in Mexico and Central America

Olmec culture flourishes from 1200 to 500 in Mesoamerica.

1186 B.C.E. Ramses III

Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty, the last powerful pharaoh of Egypt.

1184 B.C.E. Trojan War

Legend has it that the Greeks unite under the command of Agamemnon and attack Troy in Asia Minor. After a long siege, the Trojans are forced to submit to the Greeks.

1140 B.C.E. Second Babylonian Empire Begins

After an extended period of domination by the Kassites, the second Babylonian empire emerges.

1122–256 B.C.E. Zhou Dynasty in China

King Wu defeats the Shang dynasty and establishes the Zhou dynasty.

1122–771 B.C.E. Western Zhou

After King Wu's death, his brother the duke of Zhou consolidates the power of the Zhou dynasty under a feudal system that operates successfully until 771.

- 1122 B.C.E.** First Contact between China and Korea
Kija, a Shang prince, and his followers, fleeing the Zhou conquerors, establish several settlements in Korea.
- 1100 B.C.E.** Development of Phoenician Alphabet
Phoenicians inherit a script of consonants and add vowels to form a basis for an alphabet.
- 1100 B.C.E.** Hallstatt Culture
Iron is used for the first time in Austria. From Austria the use of iron spreads throughout Europe.
- 1090 B.C.E.** Nubia Becomes Independent
With the breakup of the New Kingdom, Nubia once again becomes independent of Egypt.
- 1090 B.C.E.** New Kingdom Dissolved
The end of the New Kingdom coincides with the end of the Ramesid dynasty, and Egypt enters a long period of turmoil.
- 1070 B.C.E.** Collapse of Assyria
The Assyrian Empire collapses under the assault of Aramaeans and Babylonians.
- 1050 B.C.E.** Chavín Culture in Peru
Chavín civilization begins to extend over Peru.
- 1010 B.C.E.** King Saul
Saul, the first king of the Israelites, is killed by the Philistines and succeeded by King David.
- 1000 B.C.E.** Middle Preclassic in Maya Zones
End of the Early Preclassic period and beginning of the Middle Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.
- 995 B.C.E.** King David Captures Jerusalem
King David captures the Jebusite city of Jerusalem and makes the city the capital.
- 945–730 B.C.E.** Libyans Rule Egypt
About 945, Libyan settlers, under Shishak, seize control of Egypt and found the Twenty-second Dynasty.
- 922 B.C.E.** King Solomon
King Solomon reigns from 961 to 922. During his reign, he consolidates the kingdom of Israel.
- 900 B.C.E.** Etruria
The Etruscans spread in Italy, taking control and forming a loosely connected league of cities.
- 814 B.C.E.** Carthage Founded
Phoenicians, from present-day Lebanon, create a colony at Carthage, in present-day Tunisia, and it becomes an important world power in its own right.
- 800–300 B.C.E.** Upanishads Written
Indian ascetics write a collection of 108 essays on philosophy that are incorporated into Hindu teachings.
- 800 B.C.E.** Chavín Culture in Peru
Chavín culture complex emerges in Peruvian Central Highlands and central Pacific coast regions.
- 780–560 B.C.E.** Greek Colonies Established
The Greeks establish a series of colonies in Asia Minor.
- 776 B.C.E.** First Olympic Games
Sacred truces among the Greek city-states allow the gathering of athletes for regular competitions.
- 770–256 B.C.E.** Eastern Zhou
The Zhou capital at Hao is destroyed by invading northern tribesmen. A new capital is established to the east at Luoyang, starting the Eastern Zhou period.
- 753 B.C.E.** Rome Founded
Tradition has it that Rome was founded in 753; its founder is Romulus, said to be the son of a princess of Alba Longa.
- 747–716 B.C.E.** Kushite Conquests in Egypt
The Kushite ruler Piymoves down the Nile from present-day Sudan and conquers large parts of Egypt, including Thebes and Memphis.
- 722 B.C.E.** Kingdom of Israel Falls
After a three-year siege, Samaria (the capital of Israel) falls to the Assyrians, who take some 20,000 Israelites into slavery.
- 707–696 B.C.E.** Kushite Dynastic Rule over Egypt
King Shabako establishes rule over Egypt and adopts many old Egyptian customs.
- 660 B.C.E.** Empire of Japan Established
According to legend, Jimmu Tenno invades Japan's main island Honshu. There he establishes himself as Japan's first emperor. He creates the Yamato family

- and is believed to be a direct ancestor of Japan's current emperor.
- 650–630 B.C.E. Second Messenian War**
The Messenians led by Aristomenes revolt against Sparta; after 20 years, Sparta subdues the rebellion and reorganizes itself into a military state.
- 650 B.C.E. Assyrians Destroy Babylon**
An attempted revolt against the Assyrians by the Babylonians results in the destruction of Babylon.
- 626 B.C.E. Chaldean Empire Founded by Nabopolassar**
The Chaldeans take control of Babylon and establish a new dynasty.
- 621 B.C.E. Greek Lawgiver Draco**
Athens is ruled by an oligarchy, but a nobleman, Draco, is appointed to create a code of laws.
- 612 B.C.E. Nineveh Captured and Assyrian Empire Ends**
Nineveh, the capital of Babylon, is captured by a coalition of armies. The seizure of Nineveh is followed by the capture of Harran in 610, ending the Assyrian Empire.
- 600–300 B.C.E. Hundred Schools of Philosophy in China**
All China's classical schools of philosophy develop during this era of political division as the Eastern Zhou kings lose power.
- 594 B.C.E. Solon Becomes Archon**
Athens experiences a period of social and political upheaval and Solon, an esteemed Athenian, is appointed ruler of Athens.
- 588 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar Takes Jerusalem; Babylonian Captivity**
Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian army takes Jerusalem, destroys the Jewish Temple, and takes many Jews into captivity. He builds the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.
- 566 B.C.E. Gautama Buddha**
Prince Siddhartha founds Buddhism, which rejects the Vedic Hindu caste system and the Vedas.
- 560 B.C.E. Peisistratus Rules Athens**
Following the resignation of Solon, Athens is governed by a group of leaders. One of them is Peisistratus, who makes three attempts to seize power, finally succeeding on the third attempt.
- 559 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great**
Cyrus declares himself king of both Persia and Media.
- 558 B.C.E. Zoroastrianism Is Founded**
Zoroaster begins his work as a prophet for the religion of the Persians.
- 550 B.C.E. Laozi and Daoism**
Laozi is the mythical founder of philosophy Daoism and reputed author of its classic the *Daodejing*.
- 540–468 B.C.E. Mahavira Founds Jainism**
Jainism is an extremely ascetic religion that offers an alternative to Vedism-Hinduism.
- 539 B.C.E. Cyrus Takes Jerusalem**
Cyrus allows the Jews who had been conquered by the Babylonians to return to Jerusalem after his defeat of the Babylonians.
- 525 B.C.E. Persians Conquer Egypt**
The end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty when the last pharaoh is defeated by King Cambyses II of Persia.
- 521 B.C.E. Darius**
Cyrus is succeeded by Darius I in 521. Darius spends the first years of his administration suppressing revolts that develop throughout the empire. Darius reorganizes the Persian Empire into separate provinces, or satraps, each with its own governor and tax system.
- 516 B.C.E. Darius Invades Indus Valley**
Darius invades India, capturing the Indus Valley, which is annexed to the Persian Empire.
- 509 B.C.E. Roman Republic Founded**
The Roman Republic is founded, and Junius Brutus and Tarquinius serve as the first consuls of Rome.
- 508 B.C.E. Athenian Democracy Established by Cleisthenes**
Cleisthenes is appointed ruler, enacts fundamental reforms that become the basis of the golden age of Athens, and creates the assembly made up of Athenian males.
- 499 B.C.E. Greek City-States Revolt**
The Ionian Greek city-states in Asian Minor revolt against Persian rule.

490 B.C.E. Battle of Marathon

The army of Athens and its allies meet the Persians on the plains of Marathon, about 22 miles from Athens. The decisive Greek victory at Marathon ends the immediate Persian threat.

480 B.C.E. Thermopylae and Salamis

The Persians' quest for world domination is stopped for the second time, allowing the flowering of Greek civilization, especially in Athens.

479 B.C.E. Founding of Confucianism

Confucius—China's greatest philosopher—founds the school of Confucianism, which becomes China's state philosophy in the second century B.C.E.

470–391 B.C.E. Moism Is Founded

Moism, a school of philosophy, is founded by Mozi. It flourishes during the Hundred Schools era in China and subsequently dies out.

460 B.C.E. Age of Pericles

The age of Pericles lasts from 461 (when Pericles becomes the dominant politician in Athens) until 429. It is a period of expanding democracy at home and increasing imperialism abroad.

431–404 B.C.E. Peloponnesian War

For 27 years, Athens and Sparta engage in warfare. The war ends with a Spartan victory.

429 B.C.E. Hippocratic Oath

Named after the famous Greek physician, the oath is still taken by contemporary physicians.

400 B.C.E. Andean Civilizations

Decline of Chavín culture complex in Central Highlands and central Pacific coast and the rise of Pukará polities in northern Titicaca Basin.

400 B.C.E. Late Preclassic in Maya Zones

The end of the Middle Preclassic period and beginning of the Late Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.

400 B.C.E. Decline of the Kush

Kushite kingdom with capital at Meroë, in present-day Sudan, begins to decline.

399 B.C.E. Socrates Dies

Socrates, the foremost Greek philosopher, who taught Plato, author of the *Republic*, dies. Their work had a major impact on Western thought.

390 B.C.E. Axum Kingdom in East Africa

Axum kingdom based in Ethiopia expands its rule and ultimately defeats the Kushite kingdom.

371 B.C.E. Battle at Leuctra

Sparta is defeated at the Battle of Leuctra by Epaminondas of Thebes. The defeat shatters the myth of Spartan invincibility and ends Sparta's hegemony over Greece.

359 B.C.E. Philip II

Philip II becomes regent of Macedonia and reorganizes the army to make it one of the strongest in Greece.

334 B.C.E. Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great leads a Greek army of 35,000 soldiers into battle against the Persian army led by Darius III at Granicus. Alexander's troops gain the upper hand and kill or capture half of the Persian army, which is forced to retreat.

331 B.C.E. Battle of Gaugamela

Darius III and the Persian Empire make a final stand in October 331 at Gaugamela near Arbela in the heart of Assyria. Nearly 1 million men face an army of 50,000 Macedonians under Alexander. Forced to flee the battlefield, Darius is pursued and eventually assassinated, thereby ending the Persian Empire.

330 B.C.E. Reforms of Shang

Lord Shang becomes chief minister of the state of Qin in China and begins to implement legalism as its state philosophy.

326 B.C.E. Mauryan Empire

The Maurya dynasty is founded in India by Chandragupta Maurya. It will unite most of the Indian subcontinent plus Afghanistan.

321 B.C.E. Ptolemy

Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt, defeats Antigonus at the Battle of Gaza. Ptolemy is supported by Seleucus, who goes on to reconquer Babylonia.

300 B.C.E. Yayoi Culture in Japan

This neolithic culture replaces the more primitive Jomon culture.

300 B.C.E. Euclid Publishes *Elements*

The Greek mathematician Euclid, living in Alexandria, publishes a 13-volume work called *Elements* that lays out, for the first time, the principles of geometry.

- 300 B.C.E.** Bantus in Western Africa
Bantus in western Africa use iron implements, skills perhaps gained from Kushites.
- 269–232 B.C.E.** Mauryan Empire
Ashoka expands the Mauryan Empire of India to its maximum. He converts to Buddhism and convenes the third Buddhist Council.
- 265–241 B.C.E.** First Punic War
The First Punic War is fought between Rome and Carthage over claims to Sicily.
- 245 B.C.E.** Third Syrian War
The Third Syrian War starts when Ptolemy III's sister is killed by his former wife. Ptolemy responds by invading the Seleucid Empire, advancing all the way to Bactria.
- 240 B.C.E.** Archemides Shows Value of Pi
Archemides, the Greek mathematician, is the first to determine the value of pi. He also successfully calculates the area of a circle.
- 218–201 B.C.E.** Second Punic War
Carthage and Rome fight a 17-year war. It takes place in both Italy, which is attacked by Hannibal, and then Carthage. Rome is victorious.
- 221 B.C.E.** Qin State Unifies China
Qin state in northwestern China establishes a national dynasty and begins imperial age in Chinese history.
- 216 B.C.E.** First Macedonian War
The first Macedonian War breaks out when Philip V of Macedonia invades Illyria. The Romans use their superior naval forces to stop the Macedonians.
- 209 B.C.E.** Maotun Unites Xiongnu Tribes
The Xiongnu nomadic tribes will become dominant in the steppes and formidable foes of China for the next three centuries.
- 206 B.C.E.** Xiang Yu Attempts to Unify China
With the end of the Qin dynasty, Xiang emerges as the strongest contender for leadership of China. He is defeated by Liu Bang in 202 B.C.E.
- 202 B.C.E.** Han Dynasty in China
Founded by commoner Liu Bang, the Han consolidates the imperial tradition begun in the Qin dynasty.
- 200 B.C.E.** Bantu Migrations in Africa
Bantu migrations from western Africa into central and southern Africa begin and last for several hundred years; Bantus are largely agriculturalists.
- 195 B.C.E.** Wei Man Establishes Kingdom in North Korea
Wei Man flees China with followers and sets up rule centered at Pyongyang in Korea. His family rules until China annexes northern Korea in 109 B.C.E.
- 195–180 B.C.E.** Empress Lu of China
Wife of Liu Bang, she rules as regent after his death; she attempts but fails to establish her own dynasty.
- 149 B.C.E.** Third Punic War
The Roman army lands at Carthage and lays siege to the city. After a three-year siege, the Romans capture Carthage and destroy the city.
- 149–148 B.C.E.** Fourth Macedonian War
The Macedonians led by Andricus rebel against Roman rule. The Romans defeat the Macedonians and make Macedonia a province of Rome.
- 144 B.C.E.** Aqueducts in Rome
The Romans develop an extensive aqueduct system to bring water to Rome.
- 141–87 B.C.E.** Han Wudi
His reign sees successful Chinese offensives against the Xiongnu and the beginning of Chinese dominance of Central Asia. The Silk Road flourishes and Confucianism becomes China's state ideology.
- 138 B.C.E.** Zhang Qian "discovers" Central Asia for China
His epic journeys leads to Chinese interest in Central Asia and East-West trade via the Silk Road.
- 111 B.C.E.** Annam Conquered by Han China
Annam (North Vietnam) comes under Chinese political rule and cultural influence.
- 108 B.C.E.** Northern Korea Conquered by Han China
It comes under Chinese political rule and cultural influence.
- 100 B.C.E.** Nabatean City of Petra
Nabateans, an Arab tribe, establish a thriving commercial state at Petra in present-day southern Jordan.

91–88 B.C.E. Social War

The Social War breaks out when Italians who are not citizens of the Roman Empire revolt.

87 B.C.E. Sima Qian completes *The Historical Records*

Sima Qian writes the complete history of the Chinese world up to his time, which becomes the exemplar of later Chinese historical writing.

82 B.C.E. Consul Sulla Enters Rome

Consul Sulla returns to Rome after subduing opponents of Roman rule. Sulla is elected dictator of Rome.

73 B.C.E. Third Servile War

The most famous slave revolt, known as the Third Servile War, is led by the slave Spartacus, a gladiator; Spartacus and his men seize Mount Vesuvius, and thousands of slaves flock to his support.

69 B.C.E. Cleopatra

Cleopatra reigns as queen of Egypt from 69 to 30 B.C.E.

65 B.C.E. Pompey's Conquest

Roman forces under Pompey defeat Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. Pompey forces Mithridates to flee to the eastern Black Sea region and then to Armenia.

60 B.C.E. Triumvirate

Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Marcus Crassus form the first triumvirate to rule Rome.

57 B.C.E. Caesar Defeats Tribes

Julius Caesar defeats the Celtic Helvetica tribes from what is present-day Switzerland at Bibracte in present-day France.

55 B.C.E. Caesar Invades Britain

Caesar leads Roman troops across the Straits of Dover and returns to England the next year with a larger force to defeat the Catuvellauni and establish Roman sovereignty over parts of England.

50 B.C.E. Kingdoms of Korea Founded

The kingdoms of Korea are founded around 50 B.C.E. There are the Koguryo in the north, Silla in the south-east, and Pakche in the southwest.

49 B.C.E. Caesar Crosses the Rubicon

Julius Caesar and his army cross the Rubicon in northern Italy. By crossing the Rubicon, Caesar defies

the Senate and is guilty of treason. Pompey is forced to flee as Roman soldiers flock to Caesar, who successfully gains control of all Italy.

44 B.C.E. Caesar Assassinated

Caesar is assassinated by a group of Roman senators that includes Marcus Brutus. The death of Caesar is followed by a power struggle between Mark Antony and Octavian.

43 B.C.E. Cicero Assassinated

Cicero, the great Roman orator, denounces Antony. In retaliation, Antony orders the assassination of Cicero.

42 B.C.E. Antony Defeats Cassius

Mark Antony battles the forces of Cassius at Philippi. Cassius is defeated and commits suicide. Twenty days later, forces under Brutus are also defeated, and Brutus commits suicide.

37 B.C.E. Herod the Great

Herod the Great is recognized by the Roman Senate as king of Judaea. The Hasmonean dynasty that had ruled Judaea until this period allies themselves with the Parthians, who are defeated by Mark Antony's forces.

31 B.C.E. Battle of Actium

Mark Antony and Octavian fight a naval battle at Actium off Epirus in western Greece. Although the battle is decisive, Antony and his love, Cleopatra, flee to Egypt, where Antony's army surrenders. Antony and Cleopatra kill themselves soon after.

27 B.C.E. Octavian

Octavian becomes the "Augustus," and the era of the Roman Empire begins.

c.E. The Common Era begins with the birth of Jesus Christ, although Jesus probably is born between 7 and 4 B.C.E.

6 c.E. Herod Deposed

Herod Archelaus is deposed by the Roman emperor Augustus.

9 c.E. German Tribes Destroy Roman Legions

Three Roman legions are defeated by a German army led by Arminius, thereby ensuring German independence from Rome.

9 c.E. Xin Dynasty

Wang Mang usurps the Han throne, ending the Western Han dynasty and establishes the Xin dynasty.

- 18 C.E. Red Eyebrow Rebellion**
Peasant rebellion in China contributes to the downfall of Wang Mang's usurpation.
- 25–220 C.E. Eastern Han Dynasty**
After the death of Wang Mang, the Han dynasty is restored, called the Eastern Han.
- 30 or 33 C.E. Jesus Crucified**
Jesus Christ is put to death by the Romans in Jerusalem.
- 39 C.E. Revolt of Trung Sisters**
Unsuccessful revolt of Annam (North Vietnam) from Chinese rule.
- 64 C.E. Rome Burns**
The city of Rome is nearly destroyed in a catastrophic fire. The fire is said to have been set by the emperor Nero.
- 66 C.E. Judaea Rebels against Rome**
A rebellion breaks out in Jerusalem against Roman rule. The Romans dispatch an army from Syria to quell the revolt, but it is destroyed on the way to Jerusalem.
- 68 C.E. Year of the Four Emperors**
Four separate emperors rule Rome.
- 70 C.E. Jerusalem Falls**
Titus succeeds in capturing Jerusalem; he burns Jerusalem, killing or selling into slavery tens of thousands of Jews.
- 78 C.E. Kushan Empire**
The Kushan dynasty is established by King Kanishka. It extends from Afghanistan to the Indus Valley and is the melting pot of Greco-Roman, Persian, and Indian cultures.
- 79 C.E. Mount Vesuvius Explodes**
Mount Vesuvius erupts, destroying the Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- 96–180 C.E. Five Good Emperors**
Starting with Emperor Marcus Nerva, Rome is ruled by five individuals who become known as the Good Emperors.
- 100 C.E. Emergence of Moche Culture in Peru**
Moche culture, which is hierarchical with warrior-priest kings, emerges in Peru and flourishes until approximately 700 C.E.
- 100 C.E. Terminal Preclassic Period in Maya Zones**
The end of the Late Preclassic period and beginning of the Terminal Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.
- 122 C.E. Hadrian's Wall Is Built**
The Roman emperor Hadrian orders the construction of a defensive wall stretching 70 miles across northern England to keep out the Scottish tribes.
- 132 C.E. Bar Kokhba Revolt**
The Jews of Jerusalem rise up in rebellion in 132 after the Romans build a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Jewish Temple. The revolt is led by Simon bar Kokhba and Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph but is ultimately crushed.
- 167 C.E. German Tribes Invade Northern Italy**
The German tribes cross the Danube River and attack the Roman Empire.
- 180 C.E. Marcus Aurelius Dies**
Marcus Aurelius dies and is succeeded by his son, Commodus. Commodus is the first emperor since Domitian to succeed by virtue of birth, rather than by assassination.
- 184 C.E. Revolt of the Yellow Turbans**
A peasant revolt in China contributes to the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty.
- 200 C.E. Teotihuacán in Mexico**
Teotihuacán, a vast urban center with pyramids and public buildings in Mexico, flourishes to c. 600.
- 220 C.E. Han Dynasty ends**
Last Han emperor is forced to abdicate.
- 220–265 C.E. Three Kingdoms in China**
Era of wars between three regional states—Wei, Shu Han, and Wu—for control of China.
- 250 C.E. Early Classic Period in Maya Zones**
Beginning of the Early Classic Period in the highlands and lowlands of the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.
- 265–589 C.E. Period of Division**
Northern China is ruled after 317 by nomadic dynasties of Turkic ethnicity, while southern China remains with ethnic Chinese dynasties. Buddhism is dominant in both north and south.

267 C.E. Queen Zenobia Rules Palmyra

Zenobia rules rich trading entrepôt at Palmyra in northeastern present-day Syria and fights against Roman domination until her defeat in 272.

300 C.E. Axum Kingdom in East Africa

Axum kingdom rules Ethiopia and later much of present-day Sudan after defeating Kushites; under King 'Ezana, Ethiopia becomes a Christian country.

320 C.E. Gupta Dynasty

The Gupta Empire is founded by Chandragupta I. Under his successor the Gupta Empire extends to include all of northern India.

324 C.E. Constantine the Great

Constantine the Great initiates a civil war of succession against his potential rivals for the throne. In a series of engagements that culminates in 324 at the Battle of Adrianople (in present-day Turkey), Constantine defeats his rivals and becomes the undisputed emperor of all Rome.

330 C.E. Byzantium

Constantine the Great dedicates his new capital at Byzantium, renamed after himself as Constantinople.

337 C.E. Roman Empire Divides

Constantine dies, and the empire is divided with the Western Roman Empire governed from Rome and the Eastern Roman Empire governed by Constantinople.

357 C.E. Battle of Argentoratum

At the Battle of Argentoratum in 357, the Roman general Julian drives the Franks from Gaul, thus reestablishing the Rhine as the frontier of the empire.

376–415 C.E. Chandragupta II

India reaches its golden classical age. Both Buddhism and Hinduism flourish.

376 C.E. Ostrogoths Invaded

The Huns, a nomadic Mongol people, sweep in from Asia and defeat the Ostrogoth Empire.

378 C.E. Valens Killed by Visigoths

After their defeat by the Huns, the Visigoths seek refuge in the Roman Empire. The Roman emperor Valens gives them permission to cross the Danube as long as they agree to disarm, but the Visigoths are mistreated by Roman officials and revolt.

405–411 C.E. Fa Xian Travels to India

Chinese Buddhist monk travels to India, records Gupta culture, and returns to China with Buddhist manuscripts.

407 C.E. Romans Withdraw from Britain

Western Roman Emperor Honorius withdraws his troops from Britain.

410 C.E. Rome Sacked by Visigoths

After a decade of battles, the Visigoths under Alaric sack Rome in 410.

439 C.E. Carthage Captured by Vandals

The Roman city of Carthage is captured by Vandals under the command of Genseric, who makes Carthage his capital.

441 C.E. First Saxon Revolt

The first Saxon revolt against native Britons occurs in 441.

451 C.E. Attila the Hun Defeated

Attila faces the Visigoths and Romans together in the Battle of Chalons (Châlons). Attila is defeated and forced to withdraw.

455 C.E. Saxons Crush Britons

At the Battle of Aylesford in Kent, England, the Saxons led by Hengst and Horsa defeat the Britons. This battle is an important step in the Saxon conquest of Britain.

455 C.E. Vandals Sack Rome

The Vandals attack and invade Rome.

476 C.E. Western Roman Empire Ends

The Western Roman Empire ends after Emperor Romulus Augustulus is deposed by German mercenaries at Ravenna. The German mercenaries then declare themselves rulers of Italy.

486 C.E. Roman Occupation of Gaul Ends

The last Roman emperor of France is defeated by Clovis I, king of the Salian Franks, and Clovis establishes the Kingdom of the Franks.

488 C.E. Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy

Theodoric I (the Great) invades northern Italy at the request of the Byzantine emperor. He conquers Italy and establishes the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy.

500 C.E. Ghanaian Kingdom in West Africa

The Ghanaian kingdom in western Africa rises to power and reaches its apogee of power in 1050.

500 C.E. Svealand

The first Swedish state, Svealand, is founded around 500. The Goths inhabit the southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Much of what is known about early Sweden is taken from the epic *Beowulf*, written in 700 C.E.

500 C.E. Introduction of Zero

Indian mathematicians revolutionize arithmetic by introducing zero (0) to number systems.

503–557 C.E. Persian-Roman Wars

Between 503 and 557, three successive wars—interrupted by periods of peace—are fought between the Persian Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire. In 567 a peace is reached under which Rome agrees to pay the Persians 30,000 pieces of gold annually, the borders between the empires are reaffirmed, Christian worship is to be protected in the Persian Empire, and regulations regarding trade and diplomatic relations are delineated.

507 C.E. Kingdom of Franks

Clovis defeats the Visigoths under Alaric II at the Battle of Vouille. The Visigoths retreat into Spain, where they retain their empire.

530 C.E. Western Monasticism

Saint Benedict formulates his rule, enabling monasteries in Europe to preserve treasures of civilization as the Roman Empire decays.

532 C.E. Nika Revolt

A popular uprising against the emperor Justinian occurs in Constantinople, but the emperor, with the support of Empress Theodora, crushes the revolt.

537 C.E. Hagia Sophia Basilica Built

The Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is completed. The basilica represents the apogee of Byzantine architecture. It was later made into a mosque by the Ottomans in 1450.

550 C.E. Gupta Empire Ends

India is disrupted by rebels and Huna invaders.

552 C.E. Battle at Taginae

The Byzantine army invades Italy and defeats the Ostrogoths using a combination of pikes and bows.

552 C.E. Buddhism Introduced to Japan

Buddhist missionaries from Korea reach Japan and begin to influence the Yamato court.

558–650 C.E. The Avars

The Avars, a Turkish Mongolian group, form an empire that extends from the Volga to the Hungarian plains. In 626, they lay siege to Constantinople but are forced to withdraw.

565 C.E. Justinian the Great

Justinian the Great dies in 565, bringing to an end 38 years of rule as leader of the Byzantine Empire. Under his stewardship, the empire expands to include all of North Africa and parts of the Middle East as well as Italy and Greece. Under Justinian, the first comprehensive compilation of Roman law is issued, known as Justinian's Code.

572 C.E. Leovigild, King of Visigoths

Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, reinvigorates the empire and extends Visigoth dominance over all of the Iberian Peninsula.

581 C.E. Sui Dynasty Reunites China

After nearly four centuries of internal divisions and strife, China reunites under the leadership of Yang Jian under the Sui dynasty. Yang uses Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism to help unite the realm.

598 C.E. Pope Gregory Obtains 30-Year Truce

Gregory the Great is the first monk to become pope; he controls the civil affairs of Rome and expands the power of the church. Gregory also negotiates a 30-year truce with the Lombards to ensure the independence of Rome.

MAJOR THEMES



Prehistoric Eras to 600 c.e.

FOOD PRODUCTION

Survival in the face of the elements has been the struggle for most of human existence on the planet. Since their emergence, *Homo sapiens* have invested most of their time in hunting and food gathering and staying warm and dry during the periods known as the ice ages. Modern human beings migrated from their first home in Africa into Europe, Asia, Australasia, and the Americas, probably following herds of bison and mastodon, an early source of food. They were so successful in their hunting that many animal herds were reduced to the point of extinction.

As the climate changed and the ice receded, new possibilities for food production occurred. Our human ancestors began to gather edible plants and learned how to domesticate them. This was an agricultural revolution that allowed them to break free from their nomadic past and establish sedentary communities. Along with cultivating plants came the domestication of animals, probably first dogs and then livestock that would provide meat, milk products, as well as hides for clothing. Some animals became beasts of burden. In the division of labor between genders, women assumed domestic roles that included cooking, tending small animals, and weaving, while men did the farming, hunting, and herding of large animals. These new methods of food production could produce surpluses, which in turn allowed larger communities to develop, advancing civilization. Where conditions did not allow agriculture, nomadism continued. By and large, nomads existed on the fringes of the civilized world, and they failed to develop written languages. The agricultural revolution occurred first in Mesopotamia and spread afterward to Asia and Europe.

Fertile Crescent. Mesopotamia, or the Fertile Crescent, developed the world's first cities, so it is not surprising that wheat and barley were first cultivated there. Irrigation and the drainage of swamps also first occurred there, around 5000 B.C.E. From time immemorial the Nile River overflowed its banks bringing fertile silt and water to the narrow and prolific floodplain. When the Nile failed, social upheaval and revolution often followed.

In China, agriculture began along the Yellow River valley around 10,000 B.C.E. with the domestication of millet, barley, and other crops. Rice was first grown along the Yangtze River valley around

5000 B.C.E. and later became the staple food for much of Asia. By 3000 B.C.E. the Chinese had invented the plow, and by 400 B.C.E., iron-clad farming implements. The agricultural revolution occurred along the Indus River valley before 5000 B.C.E., where farmers cultivated wheat, barley, peas, and other crops.

Farming became common across Europe by 3500 B.C.E., but for centuries afterward, farmers worked a piece of land until the soil wore out, then simply moved on to virgin fields. Such practice is roughly the same as the “slash and burn” farming of seminomadic communities in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, still in use to the present day. A remedy for soil depletion was crop rotation: One plant replenished what another plant took from the soil the previous season. This method was practiced first in Europe around 1400 B.C.E. In the Western Hemisphere the agricultural revolution began first in Mexico, perhaps around 5000 B.C.E. The “three sisters” of diet in this part of the world—maize, beans, and squash—provided a balanced diet and source of nutrition for the indigenous people, and they required little labor to produce.

Beasts of Burden. The first beasts of burden to be domesticated were the donkey, the buffalo, and the camel, all by 3000 B.C.E. The llama was used in the Andes Mountains in South America. Animal husbandry lagged behind in the Americas because horses died out early in this part of the world and were only reintroduced by Europeans after 1500 C.E. Over the centuries people as far separated as the Celts and Chinese adopted the horse to great advantage. However, at first the horses were mainly used to pull war chariots; later for cavalry, and not commonly for agricultural labor.

Human diet throughout the world largely consisted of cereal grains, beans, vegetable oils, fresh vegetables and fruits, dairy products, occasional fresh meat, and fermented beverages made from either fruit or grains. Consumption of cereals came in many forms, but in Europe, the Near East, and the Americas mainly through coarse bread. White bread, made of fine wheat flour without the germ, was most highly prized throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. In 350 B.C.E. a new strain of wheat suitable for such bread was cultivated in Egypt, and Egypt and North Africa thereafter became a granary for the Mediterranean peoples. Fruits and vegetables were consumed locally. Trade and migrations introduced new plants across Eurasia and Africa and resulted in great improvements in food production. Sub-Saharan Africa produced food surpluses with the introduction of the banana by the Malay peoples (of present-day Indonesia). Because of this fortuitous event, in the fourth century B.C.E. the city-states of Nigeria were able to flourish. Another revolutionary product, sugarcane, was cultivated in India and the East Indies from 100 B.C.E., but its dissemination to Europe waited for the discovery of a process of refinement. Instead, honey and concentrated fruit were used for sweetening throughout much of the ancient world.

The New World offered a variety of plants not available in the Old World, most important maize, but also cacao, papaya, guava, avocado, pineapple, chilies, and saffras. Several of the more common foods today originally come from the Americas: peanuts, potatoes, and tomatoes. The relationship between abundant food and community development was readily apparent in this hemisphere: Where farming flourished (Mesoamerica and South America), city-states and civilizations abounded; but where farming lagged (North America), population centers were few and less organized. The “discovery” of the Americas by Western explorers had an enormous impact on diet and nutritional resources throughout the world.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Many ancient cultures were fascinated with the movement of the heavenly bodies because people thought that they exerted influence on earthly events. The ancients carefully observed astral rhythms and computed how the seasons fit this schedule. Sumer, one of the earliest Mesopotamian cities, left behind the first calendar (354 days) by 2700 B.C.E.

China had developed a calendar system very similar to the modern one by 1400 B.C.E. In Central America the Maya developed an amazingly accurate calendar that could predict eclipses and planetary conjunctions that mirrored the modern way of calculating years, based on a commonly

accepted event like the birth of Christ. Dionysius Exiguus (a Christian) invented the current dating system in the sixth century C.E.

Metal Forging. Copper smelting began in Catal Huyuk (perhaps the earliest city excavated, found in modern-day Turkey) before the Bronze Age. However, the people in northern Thailand were the first to make bronze (an alloy of tin and copper) around 4000 B.C.E. The first bronze foundry in China developed around 2200 B.C.E. Craftspeople among the Hittites of western Asia perfected iron making for their weapons by 1200 B.C.E.; iron work was also known in central Africa. The Iron Age reached China by 500 B.C.E. Being cheaper to produce than bronze, iron soon found widespread use in war and farming. The Chinese began casting iron a thousand years before Europeans did. At about the same time they began to cast iron the Chinese also began to make steel. Researchers have recently uncovered a Chinese belt buckle made of aluminum, showing that they began to refine this metal some 1,500 years before Europeans. In the Andes area gold smelting, used largely for jewelry, developed around 200 B.C.E. After 600 C.E. Western Hemisphere cultures also began to smelt silver and copper but never processed iron or bronze. Rubber was first found among the Chavín culture of the Andes around 1100 B.C.E.

Scientific Tools and Speculation. Peoples of the Near East were the first to develop writing. They used papyrus, animal skins, and clay tablets. The earliest surviving writing in China was found incised on animal bones and turtle shells and cast into bronze vessels. The Chinese invented paper around the beginning of the Common Era, a much cheaper medium than silk and less cumbersome than clay tablets or metal.

Western civilizations made strong contributions to the speculative disciplines of mathematics and sciences. The abacus was invented in the Near East around 3000 B.C.E., an indication of fascination for numbers, mathematics, and the sciences. Famous scientists include Pythagoras (500 B.C.E.), who, in addition to figuring out useful things related to triangles, developed both scientific and eccentric theories about the physical universe. Euclid (300 B.C.E.) is still studied today for his insights in geometry, and his theory profited another Greek mathematician, Aristarchus, who computed the distance between the Sun and the Moon c. 280 B.C.E. Archimedes in turn figured out pi and invented such simple machines as the lever and the pulley. Greek astronomers also made observations and deductions that were unparalleled until Galileo during the European Renaissance.

Chinese mathematicians were first to use exponential formulae and scientific notation (200 B.C.E.) and utilized several other innovations: the magnetic compass (1 C.E.), “negative numbers” (100 C.E.), and north-south, east-west parallels in maps (265 C.E.).

Industry and Medicine. Two civilizations used the wheel to advantage in their development. They were the Sumer (c. 3000 B.C.E.) and the Shang dynasty in China (c. 1700 B.C.E.). One practical application of the wheel is the wheelbarrow, invented by the Chinese in the first century C.E. Other “wheels” of great benefit but unrelated to transportation were the potter’s wheel, found in Mesopotamia as early as 3500 B.C.E., and the water wheel, a technology of hydrology invented around 500 B.C.E. The wheel was not used in transportation in the Western Hemisphere.

The Egyptians were the earliest glassmakers (c. 1500 B.C.E.), but by 100 B.C.E. Syria became a major exporter of high-quality glasswares. In manufacturing cloth the Chinese were the first to domesticate the silkworm and to cultivate mulberry trees during the Neolithic Period. Silk-weaving technology then spread elsewhere and by 550 C.E. had reached the Byzantine Empire. Cotton was woven and traded in the Indus River valley around 2500 B.C.E. Although cotton growing and spinning are adopted by other cultures, Indian textiles remain famous throughout the period.

The Chinese have a long and venerable history of homeopathy and natural remedies in health care. Acupuncture started in China (2500 B.C.E.). The Mesoamericans are known to have acquired a vast knowledge of the medicinal use of plants. Chroniclers in the New World listed some 1,200 indigenous medicinal plants that sprang from native treatments and traditions. The Greek world is known for its well-published and imitated physicians, as well as remedies for ailments. The famous Greek physician Hippocrates wrote the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (400 B.C.E.), a textbook for medical doctors. Other Greek physicians of note included Erasistratus of Chios who explained

heart valves (250 C.E.) and Galen (third century C.E.), whose medical writings provided advice for centuries to come.

SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

The social structure of the earliest civilizations shows hierarchies and a concentration of power among certain elites. There were few matriarchal societies in the ancient world; most were patriarchal and polygamous among the wealthy social classes. As civilizations developed and expanded, their social structures often had to be modified. Sometimes this resulted in a decentralization of power, even on rare occasions, as in ancient Greece, in democracy. At other times changes were forced by foreign invasions.

Egypt. The apex of Egyptian society was the pharaoh since he (or more precisely, his “house” or the institution that he incarnated) stood as the intermediary between the world of gods and of human beings. The pharaoh’s main duty was to maintain *maat*, an apotheosized state of cosmic balance or justice for his whole realm. Pharaoh owned vast tracts of land and sometimes vied with priests for control and status. His office was hereditary and dynastic. History records one woman, Hatshepsut, who served as regent for more than 20 years until the son of the previous pharaoh could assume power.

When the Nile failed and Egyptian life was disrupted, the ruling dynasty lost credibility and provincial administrators, the priestly class, or foreigners intervened, resulting in the installing of a new dynasty. One group of outsiders who seized power sometime around 1600 B.C.E. was the Hyksos, a Semitic people. However, by 1300 B.C.E. a native dynasty had returned to power, and the outsiders were expelled. The conservative nature of Egyptian society, reinforced by the regularity of the Nile and the insularity of the land, made for few social and class changes in its long history.

India. Plentiful artifacts and architectural remains from the Indus River civilization survive but so far the writing has not been deciphered. The Indo-Europeans brought social and class changes when they settled in northern India around 1500 B.C.E. Their hierarchic and warlike society can be seen in the mythology narrated in their Sanskrit scripture, the Vedas. Their class structure and suppression of native peoples resulted in the imposition of the caste system that dominates Indian society to this day. Although the Indo-Europeans did not settle in southern India, they nevertheless influenced the darker-skinned Dravidian people there, who also adopted the caste system. Aryan religion was modified around 500 B.C.E. by new concepts introduced by the Upanishads and by new protest religions called Buddhism and Jainism. After reaching its maximum influence from the reign of Emperor Ashoka (c. 280 B.C.E.) to the Gupta dynasty (c. 350 C.E.), Buddhism largely faded from Indian society but spread to China and Southeast Asia.

China. Rulers of the Shang dynasty (c. 1700–1100 B.C.E.) established themselves as the sole intermediary between the human world and the spirit world, as did its successor, the Zhou (Chou) dynasty (c. 1100–256 B.C.E.). Zhou rulers relied on a network of feudal relations to extend the Chinese empire and claimed their right to rule under the concept called “mandate of heaven.” This was a double-edged sword as heaven rewarded virtuous rulers and punished unjust ones through giving the people the right to revolt.

The decline of Zhou power and centuries of civil wars culminated in the unification of China under the Qin (Ch’in) dynasty. The Qin unified their conquest through the imposition of absolute government power, under an ideology called Legalism. The brief experiment with Legalism made the next dynasty, Han, turn to Confucianism. Confucian society divided the people into four non-hereditary social classes: the scholar-officials, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Confucians taught that the family was the center of society. It remained China’s official ideology from the second century B.C.E. to the 20th century C.E.

Preliterate nomads along its northern frontier confronted the sedentary Chinese civilization. The most formidable among them from the late Zhou to the post-Han era were called the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu), whose defeat by the Han rulers after c. 100 B.C.E. led to the opening of the Silk Road that would link China with India, Central Asia, Persia, and Rome. In addition to the exchange of economic goods, Buddhism and some Western ideas entered China via this commercial route.

Classical Greece. For all the democratic reforms attributed to the ancient Greeks, only Athens and its allies accepted this form of “equality under the law,” and even then the rights were brief in duration and limited to male citizens. Because of the stubborn autonomy that each city-state claimed for itself, it is hard to sum up Greek social and class relationships. In general, Greeks despised kings, prized local identities, often quarreled among themselves, and nonetheless cooperated in matters of athletic competition. They also agreed about the superiority of the Greek language, religion, and commerce compared with those of other peoples. They rarely mixed with non-Greek “barbarians.” Non-Greek slaves, who did the work too undignified for Greeks to do, were grudgingly accepted. Family and marriage were valued because survival depended on having enough children so that the next generation would protect the city with an army and take care of the citizens in old age.

Rome. Early Rome overturned its Etruscan kings and became a republic dominated by a group of men who made decisions for all the citizens. These leaders were called senators, and they came from an aristocratic class called the patricians. Commoners (or plebeians) owned small plots of land and were full citizens of the early republic, but their role in government was limited to veto power of plebiscites and election of their own spokesmen, called tribunes. Class struggles led to civil wars and the disintegration of republican institutions.

As Rome acquired land outside the Italian peninsula, two changes occurred that affected Roman society: First, the patrician class benefited because successful wars increased its wealth and power; second, the old system of running Roman politics failed to cope with the new empire’s demands. The plebeians abandoned their small farms and moved to the city for economic opportunities. Rome’s leaders were increasingly compelled to provide “bread and circuses” to keep the unemployed citizens content. Popular disenchantment with the new arrangements and the leaders’ tendency to foment civil war motivated the likes of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony to experiment with new forms of government. Though the office of Caesar (a term that came to mean both emperor and demigod) proved popular, there was still an undercurrent of discontent from classes as diverse as the original patricians of the Republic days and newly acquired slaves, numbering up to one-third of the city’s population. Spartacus led a throng of disgruntled slaves in 73 B.C.E., requiring eight legions to quash the uprising. Julius Caesar, the hero of the new imperial age, was murdered in the Senate by old guard Republicans on the Ides of March, 44 B.C.E.

The Caesars adapted by expanding the opportunities for citizenship and by giving slaves and freedmen opportunities to gain wealth and improve their status. However, there is no evidence that wealth disparities diminished over the whole imperial period. The steady rise of inadequacies of the Roman religion led to the spread of Christianity among all ranks for Roman society.

The Americas. Mesoamerican and Andean peoples became more hierarchical and stratified as urbanization increased. Birth, lineage, and occupation determined one’s place in these civilizations. The overall class structure was pyramidal with the ruler and nobility on top, followed by a priestly class, a warrior class, merchants and traders, artisans and crafts workers, then agriculturalists, with servants and slaves on the bottom. The whole schema was cemented together by a mythology that resembled that of Shang China or pharaonic Egypt: The gods approved of the elites as guardians of the secret lore concerning such things as astronomy, calendrical calculations, and ritual, which enabled them to stay in power. While there is some evidence of lower-class discontent, the preponderance of evidence indicates that wars, invasions, and ecological bottlenecks—not internal class conflicts—were primarily responsible for the decline of classic Mesoamerican civilizations.

Literary Classics and Monasteries. The ability to read and write was considered almost magical by potentate and peasant alike in the ancient world. This fascination with the written text explains why those ancient religions that survived are scripture based. Reading and writing became particularly useful as cities and civilizations required more complex administration and organization. At first, writing was complicated and unwieldy (such as Egyptian hieroglyphs and Chinese pictographs), and few could master the thousands of symbols in each written language. As a result certain societies honored the scholarly class or compelled their administrators to pass literacy tests

(such as in China under the influence of Confucianism, beginning in the Han dynasty). In the New World only the Maya devised a written language utilizing a system of 800 glyphs.

Some ancient scripts evolved and became syllabic or hybrids of pictures and sounds (such as Mesopotamian cuneiform), which reduced the number of symbols from thousands to hundreds. When Ugarit reduced its symbols to 30, cuneiform became the standard script in the Near East for laws and literature. The Phoenicians were important because they perfected the alphabet letters to represent sounds. Soon the Greeks added vowels, and the alphabet as we know it was invented. The alphabet was simple enough that many could learn it and gain access to literature and history and thus power. Israel gave an institutional place to the prophet as a critic of the ruling king and priest, and the prophet's critique—once it was written down—became a powerful statement to future generations about the limits of power. Greece flourished in the fifth century B.C.E. in the arts and sciences because it too encouraged literacy among its people.

In many civilizations monastic societies were seen as separate from the secular society. The roots for Western monasticism came from Anthony of the Desert (late 300s C.E.) and the “Desert Fathers and Mothers” of Egypt (300–500 C.E.), indicating Eastern Christian influence on the Latin Church. Benedict (c. 500 C.E.) is called the father of the monastic movement in the West. His rule came at a critical time for Western civilization, because various barbarian tribes had broken through the frontiers and were destroying cities and institutions, yet the empire had taken few measures to preserve its manifold cultural heritage. The monasteries of Benedict and his followers provided an alternate society, a counterculture with its own meritocracy and value system. By the end of the period it was the monasteries that powerfully preserved culture and encouraged progress: They showed hospitality to displaced refugees, they developed and retaught agricultural techniques, they recopied precious manuscripts, and they eventually returned to recivilize the people that were once were proud Roman citizens. The only Western library of the sixth century C.E. that functioned after Rome's decline was Benedict's at Vivarium. Similarly, Hindus and Buddhists honored monastic institutions as well as individual ascetics.

TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

From the beginning humans have migrated and mixed with one another. The first migration took place out of Africa to the Near East some 100,000 years ago, when humans spread across Europe and Asia. The ice ages provided land bridges for travel to parts of Oceania (60,000 B.C.E.) and North America (14,000 B.C.E.). DNA tests indicate that every human living in the far corners of the world can be traced back to a common ancestor in Africa. This prehistoric wanderlust continued after the beginning of civilization, enriching the civilization's heritage. Archaeological records shows that the “cradles of civilization” were not so isolated.

Even the most advanced of empires had contacts with lands and peoples that they considered outsiders and inferiors. For example, Mesopotamia (3000 B.C.E.) could produce food for its burgeoning population and cities along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, but where would it obtain copper and tin for bronze making, except in far-off Cyprus? Ancient Egypt (2600 B.C.E.) acted as though it had everything it needed because of the Nile, but where would it get its wood and ivory, not to mention its slaves, except from Semitic peoples in Phoenicia and Syria? These interactions are confirmed by physical remains found by archaeologists in each of these respective sites. As history progressed and wealth and resources became more concentrated around cities, trade and cultural exchanges become more deliberate. In fact, a reliable barometer of the health of a civilization can be found in the level of trade and exchange it maintains with others.

Along with the movement of goods among the ancient cities in the river valleys of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China, there were movements of peoples and tribes that affected the balance of power and development. One of the most significant migrations for later language and cultural development involved the expansion of Indo-European peoples around 1600 B.C.E. from their homeland between the Black and Caspian Seas. For reasons unknown they moved in several directions: toward present-day Iran and India, toward the Mediterranean Sea into Europe, and toward the Middle East into Mesopotamia. Those who moved into Iran gave their land its name. By 500

B.C.E. the descendants of these Aryans, under Cyrus the Great, had conquered the largest empire the world had yet seen. In India these hierarchical foreigners replaced the Indus River valley city-states. The new society had an Indo-European language, known as Sanskrit, and its religion based on the Vedic scriptures replaced the religion of the natives.

Cultural Penetration and Subversion. Indo-Europeans met with stiff cultural resistance from the Dravidian people of southern India. Their harsher views moderated, and eventually the hybridization of their Vedic religion and local cultures emerged. All of these profound changes were the results of the Indo-European encounter with the peoples of India and resulted in the development of several great religions. The Indo-Europeans also moved to the south and west of their original homeland. They marched into Mesopotamia around 1600 B.C.E. and formed the Hittite Empire but could not keep control of the ever-shifting puzzle of native city-states. All that remained of the Hittite legacy was the war-making technology of chariots, war horses, and iron weapons. In the West they made an impact on the Mediterranean world, replacing the dominant Minoan civilization of Crete with their Mycenaean culture. Greek language, literature, and ethnic identity resulted with the mixing of the Mycenaeans and later immigrants called Dorians and Ionians.

The Indo-European Greek culture formed the underpinnings of modern Western civilization. Greek culture captivated the Romans, who conquered the Greeks and were in turn conquered by the higher Greek civilization. Eventually, Roman patricians insisted on their sons being educated by Greek tutors, or on sending their sons to Athens for schooling. Most important, modern Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese) came from the same Latin-Greek-Indo-European family.

Another people who profoundly influenced other civilizations through their travels were the Phoenicians, a seafaring and adventurous people from modern Lebanon who settled as far away as Britain and even navigated around the Horn of Africa. Their greatest contribution to world progress was the invention of the alphabet. With an alphabet of 24 letters, simplifying earlier writing systems of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Sumerian cuneiform, the Phoenician script was adopted by the Greeks, who incorporated vowels, and subsequently by many other cultures.

Religious Exchanges. Three exchanges did not involve goods or people but, rather, religions: Christian influence on Rome, Jewish influence on Islam, and Islamic influence on Europe. Christianity began in the highlands of Galilee and Judaea. It showed these roots profoundly, especially when it directly clashed with the Roman emperor cult, because of its Semitic respect for monotheism and its interpretation of a Jewish doctrine called the “kingdom of God.” Such differences led to periodic persecution and martyrdom of Christians under Roman rule. Marginalization only increased the appeal of the new religion. By 310 C.E. the Christian message had reached even the ruler Constantine, who converted to Christianity, resulting in an era of Christian expansion. The early enthusiasm of the Christian preachers had already pushed beyond the traditional territories of Diaspora Jews: India claims to have had contact with the apostle Thomas by 50 C.E., Armenia by 325 C.E., Axum in Africa by 350 C.E., Persia by 488 C.E., and western Europe by 600 C.E.

A second surprising cultural contact involved the Diaspora Jews in the Arabian Peninsula. When Jews were expelled from their homeland by Roman invasions, they often went into the Eastern world instead of the West. One place they congregated was Mecca (500 C.E.), a trading and religious center, halfway between Yemen and Egypt and at the crossroads of trade from the Persian Gulf. Here they established synagogues and dialogue with their Arab hosts, one of whom the Qur’an says was Muhammad. Much of the Qur’an presupposes the stories and ideas of the Jewish Bible.

Exchange by Conquest. Cultural exchanges also resulted from military conquests and empire building. Alexander the Great conducted a campaign against the Persians around 330 B.C.E. Alexander, a Macedonian, had been shaped by the Greek worldview due to his being held hostage in Greece, his compliance with Greek customs and lifestyle, his education by the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle, and his own personal mission to spread Hellenism abroad. After his lightning-like world conquest, he began to set up Greek institutions throughout his empire, demanding Greek as the lingua

franca and violently repressing certain native religions (such as Zoroastrianism). He began to demand divine homage as king in the manner of the Persians. He diminished the role of Greek city-states and increased a sense of being an “empire citizen.” He caused trade between Asia and the Mediterranean to increase markedly. His military conquest resulted in profound cultural hybridization.

Another form of exchange was caused by conquest. Since the third century B.C.E. a nomadic people called the Xiongnu had raided and warred with the sedentary Chinese. Chinese victories and expansion after c. 100 B.C.E. caused the Xiongnu to migrate westward, creating a snowball effect on the Gothic peoples who had settled on the frontiers of Rome for decades. When the Asian nomads (also known as the Huns) pushed through Hungary into Roman frontier areas in 376 C.E., the Goths fled into the Roman Empire. They first sacked Rome in 410 C.E. In 441 C.E. Attila the Hun launched a devastating attack and advanced all the way to Rome. The whole Roman order came apart, and the ensuing chaos led to the “Dark Ages.”

The Mauryan Empire at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. controlled the Indian subcontinent, but its cultural influence went far beyond it. Indian Buddhist missionaries began proselytizing in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Afghanistan, and Central Asia, bringing a new religion, as well as Indian civilization. Indian trade and cultural identity not only survived the fall of the Mauryan Empire but expanded under the Gupta Empire in the fourth century C.E. The impact of the Indians on Southeast Asia was so strong that the region was called “Indianized Asia.”

China dominated East Asia culturally and politically. Beginning in the second millennium B.C.E. Chinese civilization expanded from the Yellow River valley, assimilating various groups of peoples. Successive rulers of the Han dynasty incorporated present-day Korea and Vietnam into the Chinese empire. They also conquered areas deep in Central Asia, expelling or subjugating nomadic tribes including the Xiongnu. By the first century B.C.E. the two great empires, the Roman and Chinese, had extended dominion over much of the Eurasian world, imposing the Pax Romana and the Pax Sinica. The resultant trade and cultural interactions along the Silk Road that linked Chang’an (Ch’ang-an, the Chinese capital) and Rome by land and sea and that included Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Persia, and the Middle East would survive the fall of both the Roman and Han and Gupta Empires. Trade exchanges between Asia and Europe picked up markedly after 500 B.C.E. due to several factors, among them improved roads and navigational techniques. New religions also encouraged missionaries to go abroad to spread their faiths.

Throughout Central and South America, from as early as 2000–1500 B.C.E., there are physical remains of artifacts that were made in far-away areas of the New World, thus, proof of exchange. There was by 1000 B.C.E. a network of pan-Mesoamerican communication that connected central and southern Mexico as far south as Nicaragua. These contacts spread farming innovations into new adjacent areas. It is possible that the same sharing of information occurred between the Andes urban areas and Mesoamerica. The great city of Teotihuacán (450 C.E.) in central Mexico was a hub of travel and trade. Its road network connected the city to the North American Southwest, the Mayan highlands, and west to the Pacific.

African connections to the outside world began during the reigns of several Upper Nile pharaohs, expanded under the Persian Empire and Ptolemaic dynasty, and reached a high point under the Romans, who utilized North Africa as a breadbasket region. Romanized Africa also became a base for Christian missionary activity. In fact, the church’s leading early thinker, Augustine, came from modern-day Tunisia. Ancient Egypt and later the kingdom of Axum in present-day Sudan acted as important links in trade and in the transmission of ideas and technologies between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

URBANIZATION

The founding of cities depends on several factors but none more important than an abundant supply of food and water. For this reason, in the ancient world it was common for cities to be located near rivers and coasts. Some examples of this principle at work are the cities of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Mesopotamia, the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers in China, the Indus River in India, and the

Nile River in Egypt. Other factors can also explain the location of cities. For example, Constantinople became a thriving city without either good local farmland or freshwater because of its strategic location. Aqueducts and massive cisterns were built to bring in water from afar.

Important cities had to be defensible. Examples of ancient sites that could withstand invasion were the Phoenician city of Tyre, situated on an island; Corinth in Greece had an acropolis on a high hill overlooking the harbor; and Petra in present-day Jordan, located in a desert and reachable only via a narrow and winding route through a pass. Similarly Chang'an, ancient capital of China, was protected by nearby mountain passes that held back nomadic invaders. Even cities that did not have natural defenses could survive, for example, Sparta, located on a plain, or Rome, whose seven hills above the Tiber River were not adequate for protection, because both developed formidable armies.

Protective Walls and Impressive Monuments. Walls and fortifications protected most ancient cities. One of the oldest cities in the world (7000 B.C.E.), Jericho was known in the Bible for its reputedly impenetrable walls that protected the 2,000 people who lived there, making it a large settlement for its day. Other cities constructed ingenious gates, towers, and moats as safeguards against enemies. Among the cities most famous for their gates were Mycenae (Agamemnon's capital, 1200 B.C.E.), which had a famous "Lion Gate," and Babylonia, which had its awesome Ishtar Gate (550 B.C.E.). Both of these gates were as much intended to impress as to defend. The Mauryan capital, Pataliputra (200 B.C.E.), reputedly had 570 towers and a moat. Moats were also used in Maya cities as early as 250 C.E.

Rulers decorated their capital cities with monuments and public works to flaunt their power and impress their residents and visitors. A good example is the colossal complex of Teotihuacán (450 C.E.), located near modern-day Mexico City. It had 200,000 residents and 600 pyramid temples (the largest one 700 feet long at its base, 215 feet high) in the city. Later, the Aztec described it as the "Place of the Gods." The bas-relief monumental art of Nineveh showed foreigners cringing in fear before Sennacherib, Assyria's king. The Egyptian pyramids of Giza were intended to solidify pharaoh's image as the keeper of *maat*, or cosmic balance. The Parthenon was built by Pericles to demonstrate Athens's preeminence among the Greek city-states in the fifth century B.C.E.

The armies and laborers who defended the cities presupposed adequate manpower. Many great states used mercenaries to staff defenses and slaves to labor on public works tasks. The first emperor of China, who unified the country in 221 B.C.E., made intolerable demands on his people to build walls, canals, and roads. Similarly, in the city of Jerusalem the biblical king Solomon put alien residents into servitude and taxed his subjects to poverty in order to build a temple, several palaces, and other huge projects. Rome relied heavily on the labor of its slaves, which totaled one-third of its population by 100 B.C.E.

Cities of Myth and Origin. Ur (5000 B.C.E.) was situated on the banks of the Euphrates River. Ur was a Mesopotamian religious center for centuries and the site of a famous ziggurat tower, perhaps something like the Tower of Babel. Several thousand years later it was cited in the Jewish Bible as the homeland of Abraham. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (2300 B.C.E.) were cities on the banks of the Indus River and its tributary in present-day Pakistan. Both were well populated and developed according to an urban plan.

The Shang dynasty built its capitals in the fertile, silt-enriched lands of the middle Yellow River basin of China. One capital named Ao was surrounded by a wall, 30 feet high and 65 feet wide, that took 19,000 men working 330 days a year for 18 years to build. The pharaohs ruled over Memphis and Thebes on the Nile, and their urban monuments stood as testimony to the power and prestige of Egypt. According to their own reckoning, ancient Egyptians felt no need to colonize in this period because they felt that inferior peoples would come to them from abroad for their plentiful resources and superior culture.

Some of the most spectacular ancient urban centers were in the Americas, along the Peruvian coastal plain, the central Andes Mountains, and in Mesoamerica. Each city celebrated its origin with a mythological tale. If a city was newly founded, it would claim continuity with some other well-known divine figures and traditions to buttress its quest for respect.

Differing reasons attracted people to live in cities, and they debated about how to design cities to create the “good life.” Cities answered a multitude of human needs. They offered potential for civic ennoblement (temples, schools, plays, libraries, the arts, parks, and palaces), or they could be the breeding ground of demagoguery, decadence, and disease. How to create the ideal city motivated the Hebrew prophet Zechariah (the Bible), the Greek philosopher Plato (*The Republic*), and the Mauryan political adviser Kautilya (*Arthashastra*, or *Treatise on Polity*) to give instruction about governing ideal cities.

WARFARE

The main elements of war making were basically the same in 3500 B.C.E. as they were in 600 C.E., although the size of armies and the scope of wars increased significantly over time. Techniques and technologies may have improved, but all wars involved the combatants in hand-to-hand struggle, usually with swords and spears, and long-distance fighting using bows and arrows, in siege warfare, and in cavalry combats. The following is a short list of some techniques and technologies of warfare that showed advances over the period.

Cavalry. The horse came onto the battlefield pulling chariots as the Indo-Europeans moved out of their homeland in the crossroads of Europe and Central Asia. It was a remarkable innovation. Sumer was known to have used donkey-driven chariots a bit earlier (3000 B.C.E.), but the Indo-European Hittites (1400 B.C.E.) on horse chariots rode into the heartland of Sumer without challenge.

The next advance after cavalry became an important component in warfare was the invention of the stirrup by Asian nomads around 300 B.C.E. About the same time the nomadic Huns nailed a metal horseshoe on the hoofs of their animals. With these inventions horses could go farther and faster and the riders gained fuller control over their mounts.

India was the first land to use elephants in battle. Alexander the Great first encountered the war elephant in India. Later the Romans prized them highly. But elephants did not adapt well to cold. When Hannibal invaded Italy, only one elephant survived the march across the Alps.

Infantry and Iron Weapons. The horse did not make infantry obsolete. Improvements in providing protection for foot soldiers came with Sumer’s use of the shield (2500 B.C.E.). In Alexander the Great’s day a whole company of fighters would march into battle linked together by shields to form a moving wall. This formation is called the “phalanx.” Ordinary citizen soldiers could learn the coordination and discipline involved with the phalanx, and this esprit de corps continued into civic life and social interaction. In ancient Greece a dynamic of participatory government sprang from this expectation of battlefield accountability. When combined with Athens’s newfound opportunities on the sea, the aristocracy based on cavalry gave way to democracy based on infantry and navy. Individual body armor, used with the shield, protected soldiers in battle. By 250 B.C.E. the Chinese had developed body armor made of metal plates. The idea of “knights in shining armor” doing pitched battle is a fancy of the Middle Ages, as iron was simply too heavy and valuable for large-scale use. The Parthians (c. 250 C.E.) claimed that their horses ate Iranian mountain alfalfa and were strong enough to bear their warriors in full (though mostly noniron) armor.

The marauding Hittites inaugurated the Iron Age with iron weapons replacing bronze ones. By 1000 B.C.E. iron was common for weapons all over the Mediterranean world and spread to China after 500 B.C.E. Even the Celts had become experts at smelting and used wrought iron on the battlefield by 750 B.C.E.

Sieges and Archers. The Assyrians, most feared warriors of the Near East, excelled in war-making technologies and organization (extensive secret police, propaganda), crafting a united and long-lasting empire out of Mesopotamian city-states. When they advanced against the walls and gates of cities, Assyrians used battering rams and siege engines that struck terror in the hearts of the inhabitants. When their soldiers marched outside the city walls before battle, the Assyrians would race around with their chariot-driven platforms of archers and mow down their hapless opponents. For 500 years the techniques of besieging cities did not change much, until the Romans invented the catapult in 500 B.C.E., which hurled boulder and flaming fireballs against the defenses of their enemies.

The bow and arrow were among the earliest primitive weapons used throughout the world. For the Greeks of the *Iliad* the bow and arrow were despised and considered effeminate compared with hand-to-hand combat, the true test of heroes. Xerxes' Persians (490 B.C.E.) and Marcus Aurelius's Romans (170 C.E.) used archers to great advantage, as their arrows would blacken the skies before the charge of their infantry and cavalry. The Chinese found ways of perfecting aim and power with the crossbow; later the composite bow originated among the nomadic tribes of the Asian steppes. Both were more accurate and powerful than the simple bow.

Navies. In the 14th century B.C.E., the Achaeans (Greeks) and others took to the sea. By 1200 B.C.E. the first-known sea battle was fought: the Mediterranean Sea Peoples against the Egyptians. Assyria and India each had seagoing ships by the early 700s B.C.E. Besides the Phoenicians and possibly the Etruscans, the Athenians were one of the first states to make seafaring their mainstay. From them the use of the trireme ship (a vessel with three rows of oars) took on decisive importance in warfare. Athens survived by controlling the seas. Navies became more and more important as civilizations increased their trade and social contacts. However, for the most part ships were used for cargo transportation, raiding, and exploration. In warfare they had a limited role. Thus, the natives of Oceania put their seafaring to use in colonizing places such as Hawaii and the Easter Islands, and the Phoenicians explored Britain and rounded the Horn of Africa.



Adrianople, Battle of (378 C.E.)

On August 9, 378 C.E., the Eastern Roman army under the command of Emperor Valens attacked a Gothic army (made up of Visigoths and Ostrogoths) that had camped near the town of Adrianople (also called Hadrianopolis) and was routed. The battle is often considered the beginning of the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century.

During the 370s C.E. there was a movement of peoples from Mongolia into eastern Europe. Called the HUNS, they were driven from Mongolia by the Chinese. From 372 to 376 the Huns drove the Goths westward, first from the region of the Volga and Don Rivers and then the Dnieper River. This pushed the Goths into the Danube River area and into the Eastern Roman Empire. Seeking refuge from the Huns, Emperor Valens gave the Goths permission to settle in the empire as long as they agreed to serve in the Roman army.

The Romans agreed to provide the Goths with supplies. Greedy and corrupt Roman officials tried to use the situation to their advantage by either selling supplies to the Goths that should have been free or not giving them the supplies at all. During a conference between the Visigoth leadership and Roman authorities in 377, the Romans attacked the Visigoth leaders. Some of the leaders escaped and joined with

the Ostrogoths and began raiding Roman settlements in Thrace.

Throughout July and August of 378 the Romans gained the upper hand and rounded up the Gothic forces. The majority of the Goths were finally brought to bay near the town of Adrianople. The Western and Eastern emperors had agreed to work together to deal with the Goths. Western emperor Gratian with his army was on his way to join Valens when Valens decided to attack the Goths without Gratian and his army. Moving from Adrianople against the Gothic wagon camp on August 9, Valens's attack began before his infantry had finished deploying. As the Roman cavalry charged the camp, the Gothic cavalry, having been recalled from their raids on the surrounding countryside, returned and charged the Roman cavalry and routed it from the battlefield. The combined force of Gothic infantry and cavalry then turned on the Roman infantry and slaughtered it. The Goths killed two-thirds of the Roman army, including the emperor.

It took the new emperor, THEODOSIUS I, until 383 to gain the upper hand. Theodosius was able to drive many of the Goths back north of the Danube River, while others were allowed to settle in Roman territory as Roman citizens. In the short term this ended the problems with the Goths but set the stage for problems for the Western Roman Empire. With the peace the Eastern Roman Empire gained a source of soldiers for its army. These soldiers

would eventually rebel and march against Rome. In 401 the Gothic leader Alaric led a Goth-Roman army on an invasion of Italy. The invasion was turned back in 402, and Alaric finally agreed to stop hostilities in 403. The peace only lasted until 409, when Alaric invaded Italy again and eventually captured and sacked Rome on August 24, 410 C.E.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Aeneid

Virgil's *Aeneid* is arguably the most influential and celebrated work of Latin literature. Written in the epic meter, dactylic hexameter, the *Aeneid* follows the journey of Aeneas, son of Venus, after the fall of TROY. According to an ancient mythical tradition, Aeneas fled the burning city and landed in Italy, where he established a line of descendants who would become the Roman people.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.) draws on the works of numerous authors, such as Lucretius, Ennius, Apollonius of Rhodes, and, especially, Homer. Virgil consistently adopts Homeric style and diction (a good example of this is the first line of the poem: “I sing of arms and a man . . .”). He also re-creates entire scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Books 1 to 6 of the *Aeneid* show such close parallels to the HOMERIC EPICS that they are often called the “Virgilian Odyssey.” Books 7 to 12, meanwhile, closely echo the *Iliad*. Virgil's use of Homeric elements goes beyond mere imitation. Virgil often places Aeneas in situations identical to those of Odysseus or Achilles, allowing Aeneas's response to those situations to differentiate him from (and sometimes surpass) his Homeric counterparts.

Virgil constructs his epic in relation to the Roman people and their cultural ideals. He defines Aeneas by the ethical quality of piety, a concept of particular im-

portance for Rome at the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition. The *Aeneid* also contains several etiological stories of interest to the Roman people, most notably that of Dido and the origin of the strife between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

The Dido episode is one of the most famous vignettes of the *Aeneid*. Dido, the queen of CARTHAGE—also known by her Phoenician name, Elyssa—aids Aeneas and his shipwrecked Trojans in Book 1. Through Venus's intervention, Dido falls desperately in love with Aeneas and wants him and his men to remain in Carthage. But a message from Jove reminds Aeneas that his fated land is in Italy. Immediately, he orders his men to depart. Dido is heartbroken over Aeneas's leaving: She builds a pyre out of Aeneas's gifts and commits suicide on it, prophesying the coming of HANNIBAL before she dies. When Aeneas descends to the Underworld in Book 4, Dido's shade refuses to speak with him.

Dido's character shows a great deal of complexity. She appears first as an amalgam of Alcinous and Arete as she hospitably receives her Trojan guests but soon becomes a Medea figure, well acquainted with magic and arcane knowledge. Dido is a sympathetic character throughout the epic, though much of how Virgil describes her would have brought to the Roman reader's mind the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (associated with Mark Antony and the civil war).

Interpretations of the *Aeneid* are numerous and far from unanimous. The *Aeneid*'s composition coincides with the end of the civil wars and the beginning of Augustus's regime. Virgil ostensibly endorses the new *princeps* by referring to him as the man who will usher in another golden age. Yet several elements of the epic might suggest that Virgil did not wholeheartedly support Augustus. Much of the debate centers on the war in Italy that occupies the second half of the epic, in which some scholars see a reference to the Battle of Perusia in 41 B.C.E., an event Augustus would have preferred to forget. Scholars also point to the end of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas kills Turnus as he pleads for his life, as unambiguously criticizing the new leadership. This anti-Augustan view of the *Aeneid* has, however, met with opposition.

Many scholars find more evidence of the *Iliad* than of Augustus's campaign in the latter half of the *Aeneid*. Others suggest that in killing Turnus, Aeneas acted appropriately for his cultural circumstances. The *Aeneid* has also been proposed to represent, not Virgil's view of Augustus, but rather the condition of the Roman people. Virgil seems to offer conflicting evidence for

his perspective on Augustan Rome and may intentionally leave the matter ambiguous so that the reader may decide for him- or herself.

The *Aeneid* was highly anticipated even before publication and has since enjoyed immense popularity. Quintilian regarded Virgil as nearly equal to Homer and credits him with having the more difficult task. Latin epic writers after Virgil looked to the *Aeneid* as their model. Statius even acknowledges that his epic, the *Thebaid*, cannot surpass that of Virgil. The *Aeneid* became a standard school text of the ancient world and was a critical part of a good education. Virgil, however, considered the work unfinished. At the time of his death he famously called for the *Aeneid* to be burned rather than published. Augustus saved the *Aeneid* from the flames and ordered its publication.

See also CAESAR, AUGUSTUS; ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH.

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JEFFREY M. HUNT

Aeschylus

(525–456 B.C.E.) *Greek playwright*

The son of a wealthy family in sixth century B.C.E. Attica, Aeschylus was a tragedian at a time when Greek theater was still developing from its beginnings as a form of elaborate dance. In contrast to the first dramas, performed in honor of Dionysus and under the influence of copious amounts of wine, Aeschylus’s work emphasized natural law and punishment at the hands of the gods, by examining the role of his characters in a larger world. His participation as a soldier

in the BATTLE OF MARATHON in 490 B.C.E., when the invading Persians were successfully repelled by vastly outnumbered Greek forces, probably informed his approach. *The Persians* told the story of the battle and was first performed 18 years later.

Of Aeschylus’s 70-some plays, only seven survive. They are the earliest known Greek tragedies, as he is one of only three tragedians (with EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES) whose works have survived to the modern era. *Seven against Thebes* is another battle narrative, concerning that of “the Seven” mythic heroes against Thebes in the aftermath of the death of the sons of Oedipus. *The Suppliants* is a simpler story about the daughters of Danaus fleeing a forced marriage, while the *Oresteia* is a trilogy of plays about the house of Atreus, starting with the return of Agamemnon from the Trojan War. The *Oresteia* has had enduring appeal in the modern world: 20th-century playwright Eugene O’Neill’s *Mourning Becomes Electra* was based on it, substituting the Civil War for the Trojan War in the backstory of O’Neill’s trilogy. Composers Richard Strauss and Sergey Taneyev each based operas on the *Oresteia*, and many more writers and artists have found compelling the idea of the Furies who in Aeschylus’s trilogy bring down the wrath of the gods upon Orestes for having killed his mother.

In a sense the *Oresteia* is not just the earliest surviving trilogy of Greek plays. It is also one of the earliest horror stories, with the Furies tracking Orestes by following the scent of his mother Clytemnestra’s blood, and the play’s emphasis on the idea, so resonant in horror literature and ghost stories, of the supernatural exacting horrible justice on transgressors.

Legend claims that Aeschylus met his death under the strangest of circumstances, when a passing eagle dropped a turtle on his head.

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BILL KTE’PI

Aesop

(c. mid-sixth century B.C.E.) *Greek writer*

A slave in ancient Greece in the sixth century B.C.E., Aesop was the creator or popularizer of the genre of

fables that bear his name. Little about him is known: More than half a dozen places have claimed him as a native son, and although HERODOTUS records that he was killed by citizens of Delphi, he gives no indication of motive.

Aesop's fables were brief stories, appropriate for children and structured around a simple moral lesson. Most of them featured anthropomorphized animals—animals who spoke and acted like humans, often motivated by some exaggerated human characteristic. Unlike the animal tales of many mythic traditions—the Coyote stories of North America, for instance—Aesop's animals did not represent spiritual or divine beings, nor did they explain the nature of the world. They were comparable instead to modern children's literature and cartoons, though with an educational bent.

The fables remain some of the best-known stories in the Western world, often lending themselves to proverbs. Some of the most famous include *The Fox and the Grapes*, from which the idiom *sour grapes* is derived, to refer to something that, like the grapes the fox cannot reach, is assumed to be not worth the trouble; *The Tortoise and the Hare*, which concludes that “slow and steady wins the race” and has been adapted to a number of media, including a Disney cartoon; *The Ant and the Grasshopper*, the latter of which suffers through a harsh winter he had not prepared for as the ant did; and perhaps most evocatively, *The Scorpion and the Frog*. In this tale a scorpion asks a frog to carry him across the river, and when the frog refuses out of fear of being stung, the scorpion brushes the concern aside, pointing out that should he sting the frog, both will die as the scorpion drowns. Nonetheless, the frog's fear proves warranted—when the scorpion stings him partway across the river, he reminds the frog that such behavior is plainly the nature of a scorpion.

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BILL KTE'PI

African city-states

The emergence of African city-states began in North Africa with ancient Egypt and then later the formation of the Carthaginian empire. These civilizations are both heavily documented by written accounts, as are the other North African kingdoms of Numidia and

Mauretania. However, apart from surviving second-hand accounts from early travelers from Egypt or CARTHAGE, knowledge of city-states in the rest of Africa relies entirely on archaeological evidence. Carthage ruled the area around its capital through direct rule, and the remainder of its areas through client kings such as those of Numidia. The Numidians throwing their support behind the Romans at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E. saw the defeat of the Carthaginians, setting the scene for the destruction of Carthage itself in 146 B.C.E. Numidia had a brief period of independence before it too fell under Roman control.

The most well-known African city-states outside North Africa are thought to have emerged in modern-day Sudan and Ethiopia, with many settlements near the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, and ancient megaliths were found in southern Ethiopia. Gradually two city-states, those of MEROË (900 B.C.E.–400 C.E.) and Axum (100–1000 C.E.), emerged, both transformed from powerful cities to significant kingdoms controlling large tracts of land, relying heavily on the early use of iron.

The use of bronze and iron in war are also clearly shown by the location of some of these settlements. The remains of many ancient villages and small townships have been found in Sudan, which show that protection from attack was considerably more important than access to fertile arable land.

The other area that seems to have seen the emergence of city-states in the ancient period was in sub-Saharan West Africa. The finding of large numbers of objects and artifacts at Nok in modern-day Nigeria, which flourished from 500 B.C.E., has demonstrated the existence of a wealthy trading city on the Jos Plateau. It seems likely that there would have been other settlements and small city-states in the region, with people from that area believed to have started migrating along the western coast of modern-day Gabon, Congo, and Angola, and also inland to Lake Victoria. The major African city-state emerging toward the end of this period was Great Zimbabwe. Its stone buildings, undoubtedly replacing earlier wooden ones, provide evidence of what the society in the area had developed into by the 11th century C.E.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

African religious traditions

Little contemporary written material has survived about religious traditions in ancient Africa, except in inscriptions by the ancient Egyptians about their beliefs and in accounts by HERODOTUS when he described the religions and folklore of North Africa.

The Egyptian beliefs involved gods and the monarchs as descendants of these deities and their representatives on earth. Many of the Egyptian gods have different forms, with some like Horus and Isis being well known, and changes in weather, climate, and the well-being of the country reflecting the relative power of particular contending deities. Briefly during the eighteenth Dynasty, the pharaoh AKHENATEN (14th century B.C.E.) tried to establish monotheism with the worship of the sun god Aten. The move eroded the power of the priests devoted to the sun-god Amun-Ra, who struck back.

After establishing a new capital at Tel el Amarna, the pharaoh died under mysterious circumstances and the old religion was restored and continued until the PTOLEMIES took over Egypt in the fourth century B.C.E., which saw the introduction of Greek gods, and later Roman gods when Egypt became a part of the Roman Empire. Although these concepts started in Egypt, similar ideas, almost certainly emanating from Egypt, can be found in Nubia and elsewhere. At MEROË in modern-day Sudan, there is evidence of worship of gods similar to the Egyptians'. It also seems likely that similar ideas flourished for many centuries at KUSH and Axum, the latter, in modern-day Ethiopia, influenced by south Arabia and introducing into Africa some deities from there.

In CARTHAGE many beliefs followed those of the Phoenicians. The deity Moloch was also said to be satisfied only by human sacrifice, with some historians suggesting that one of HANNIBAL's own brothers was sacrificed, as a child, to Moloch. Modern historians suggest that the Romans exaggerated the bloodthirsty nature of the worship of the Carthaginian deity Moloch in order to better justify their war against Carthage and that the large numbers of infant bodies found by archaeologists in a burial ground near Carthage may have been from disease rather than mass human sacrifice of small children. The kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania to the west of Carthage would have been partially influenced by Carthaginian ideas but later came to adopt Roman religious practices, both becoming parts of the Roman Empire.

Much can be surmised about religious practices in sub-Saharan Africa during this period from the

statuary found in places such as Nok, in modern-day northern Nigeria. Their carved stone statues of deities have survived, showing possible similarities with some Mediterranean concepts of Mother Earth. However, it seems more likely that ancestor worship was the most significant element of traditional African religion, as it undoubtedly was for many other early societies. Human figurines, as the hundreds of carved peoples of soapstone from Esie in southwest Nigeria and the brass heads from Ife are thought to represent ancestors, chiefs, or other actual people. At Jenné-jeno and some other nearby sites, the bones of relatives were sometimes interred within houses or burial buildings. As Islam came into the area, this dramatically changed the religious beliefs of the area.

Islam led to the building of many mosques, with cemeteries located in the grounds of these mosques or on the outskirts of cities. The graves of holy men became revered and places of pilgrimage and veneration. In some places Islam adapted to some of the local customs, but in other areas, such as Saharan Africa, it totally changed the nature of religious tradition. In some parts of West Africa there was a clash between the fundamental concepts of Islam and tribal customs, but in most areas ancestor worship was replaced by filial respect for ancestors.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Ahab and Jezebel

(9th century B.C.E.) *king and queen of Samaria*

King Ahab and Queen Jezebel were the royal couple of Israel most vilified by later biblical writers, yet it is Ahab who made Israel and its army one of the strongest on the stage of Near Eastern nations and powers in the early ninth century B.C.E. He fortified and beautified the newly founded capital of Israel, Samaria. Archaeological excavations show that during his reign cities in various regions of his kingdom were built up so that Israel could withstand attack from neighboring peoples. His reputation gained the attention of the

Phoenicians to the north so that one of their priest-kings offered his daughter Jezebel to Ahab in an arranged political marriage.

The Bible records that Ahab fought three or four wars with the dreaded ARAMAEANS and won two of them. The genius of Ahab's foreign policy seems to be his peacemaking with Judah to the south, the Philistine states to the west, and Phoenicia to the north. Conserving his resources and limiting his battles allowed him to gain concessions from the Arameans.

The real challenge came from the traditional hotbed of imperial ambition, Mesopotamia. Here the fierce Assyrians were mobilizing their forces to reestablish their empire in the western end of the FERTILE CRESCENT. Only a makeshift alliance of all the kingdoms could stand in ASSYRIA's way.

The Assyrian records tell of a battlefield victory at Qarqar (853 B.C.E.) in the Orontes Valley in the coastal region of present-day Syria, but it was not decisive enough for the victors to push on toward their goal. Phoenicia was not even touched, much less Israel. Other minor losses for Israel during this time are reported in the Moabite Stone: A small region far to the southeast (present-day Jordan) seceded from the hegemony.

Ahab also knew how to run the internal affairs of a state. He relied on the new capital of Samaria to integrate the non-Israelite interest groups, chiefly the advocates of Baal and Asherah worship, while the older city of Jezreel served as residence to the traditional elements of Israelite culture. This balance suggests that Ahab allowed the building of foreign temples, though he showed some wavering attachment to the Israelite God.

The explanation for this double-mindedness, according to the Bible, was his increasing submission to his Phoenician wife, Jezebel. According to the geologies given in JOSEPHUS and other classical sources, she was the great-aunt of Dido, banished princess of Phoenicia and legendary founder of CARTHAGE. She was an ardent devotee to Baal, working behind the scenes to achieve dominance for her religion and dynasty. She tried to eliminate the all-traditional prophets in Israel and plotted against the famous prophet Elijah.

She outlived her husband by 10 years and only died when her personal staff turned against her in the face of a rebellious general. Her sons and daughter went on to rule: Ahaziah was king for two years after Ahab's death; then her son Joram ruled for eight years; her daughter Athaliah married the king of Judah, then ruthlessly killed all offspring of her own son so that she could rule for six years after her son died.

In the biblical account Elijah, the prophet of Israel, is the unadulterated light that casts the reputation of Ahab and Jezebel into dark shadows. Ahab stands as a pragmatist who compromises his faith and coexists with idolatry, while Jezebel takes on the role of a self-willed and idolatrous shrew whose drive for power undermines divinely balanced government. In the New Testament, Jezebel becomes a type of seductive false prophetess who gives license to immorality and idolatry under the cloak of religion.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; PROPHETS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Akhenaten and Nefertiti

(d. c. 1362 B.C.E. and fl. 14th century B.C.E.) *Egyptian rulers*

Akhenaten, the PHARAOH of the eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, was the second son of Amenhotep III (r. 1391–54 B.C.E.) and Tiye (fl. 1385 B.C.E.). His reign ushered a revolutionary period in ancient Egyptian history. Nefertiti was his beautiful and powerful queen. He was not the favored child of family and was excluded from public events at the time of his father Amenhotep III.

Akhenaten ruled with his father in coregency for a brief period. He was crowned at the temple of the god Amun, in Karnak, as Amenhotep IV. From his fifth regnal year, he changed his name to Akhenaten (Servant of the Aten). His queen was renamed as Nefer-Nefru-Aten (Beautiful Is the Beauty of Aten).

The pharaoh initiated far-reaching changes in the field of religion. He did away with 2,000 years of religious history of Egypt. In his monotheism, only Aten, the god of the solar disk, was to be worshipped. The meaning of the changed names for himself and his queen was in relation to Aten.

Even the new capital that he constructed was given the name Akhetaton (Horizon of Aten). Making Aten the "sole god" curbed the increasing power of the priesthood. Earlier Egyptians worshipped a number of gods represented in animal or human form. Particular towns had their own gods. The sun god received the new name Aten, the ancient name of the physical Sun.

The king was the link between god and the common people. Akhenaten was the leader taking his followers to a new place, where royal tombs, temples, palaces, statutes of the pharaoh, and buildings were built. In the center of the capital city, a sprawling road was built. Designed for chariot processions, it was one of the widest roads in ancient times. The capital city Akhetaton on the desert was surrounded by cliffs on three sides and to west by the river Nile. The tombs of the royal family were constructed on the valley leading toward the desert. Near the Nile, a gigantic temple for Aten was built. The wealthy lived in spacious houses enclosed by high walls. Others resided in houses built between the walled structures of the rich. About 10,000 people lived in the capital city of Akhetaton during Akhenaten's reign.

Artwork created during the reign of Akhenaten was different from thousands of years of Egyptian artistic tradition by adopting realism. Akhenaten, possibly suffering from a genetic disorder known as Marfan's syndrome, had a long head, a potbelly, a short torso, and prominent collarbones. Representations of the pharaoh did not follow the age-old tradition of a handsome man with a good physique. The sculptor portrayed what he saw in reality, presumably at the direction of Akhenaten.

The background of the exquisitely beautiful and powerful queen Nefertiti is unclear. Some believe that Queen Tiy was her mother. According to others, she was the daughter of the vizier Ay, who was a brother of Queen Tiy. Ay occasionally called himself "god's father" suggesting that he was the father-in-law of Akhenaten. She carried much importance in her husband's reign and pictures show her in the regalia of a king executing foreign prisoners by smiting them. According to some Egyptologists, she was a coregent with her husband from 1340 B.C.E. and instrumental in religious reforms.

Some Egyptian scholars believe that in the same year she fell from royal favor or might have died. Nefertiti was probably buried in the capital city, but her body has never been found. Some researchers think that she ruled for a brief period after the death of Akhenaten. She had no sons, but future king Tutankhamun was her son-in-law.

Known as the "first individual in human history," the reign of Akhenaten forms an important period in Egyptian history. Despite his revolutionary changes, Egypt reverted to earlier religious discourse after his death.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA AND
SUDHANSU S. RATH

Akkad

Mesopotamia's first-known empire, founded at the city of Akkad, prospered from the end of the 24th century B.C.E. to the beginning of the 22nd century B.C.E. SARGON OF AKKAD (2334–2279 B.C.E.) established his empire at Akkad; its exact location is unknown but perhaps near modern Baghdad. His standing army allowed him to campaign from eastern Turkey to western Iran. Although it is still unclear how far he maintained permanent control, it probably ranged from northern Syria to western Iran.

His two sons succeeded him, Rimush (2278–70 B.C.E.) and Manishtushu (2269–55 B.C.E.), who had military success of their own by suppressing rebellions and campaigning from northern Syria to western Iran. Yet it was Manishtushu's son Naram-Sin (2254–18 B.C.E.) who took the empire to its pinnacle. He established and maintained control from eastern Turkey to western Iran. In contrast to his grandfather who was deified after his death, Naram-Sin claimed divinity while he was still alive.

The rule of Naram-Sin's son Shar-kali-sharri (2217–2193 B.C.E.) was mostly prosperous, but by the end of his reign the Akkadian Empire controlled only a small state in northern Babylonia. Upon Shar-kali-sharri's death anarchy ensued until order was restored by Dudu (2189–2169 B.C.E.) and Shu-Durul (2168–2154 B.C.E.), but these were more rulers of a city-state than kings of a vast empire. The demise of the Akkadian Empire can be explained by internal revolts from local governors as well as external attacks from groups such as the Gutians, Elamites, Lullubi, HURRIANS, and Amorites. The Akkadian Empire set the standard toward which Mesopotamian kings throughout the next

two millennia strove. Because of this, much literature appeared concerning the Akkadian kings, especially Sargon and Naram-Sin.

In the Sargon Legend, which draws upon his illegitimate birth, Sargon is placed in a reed basket in the Euphrates before he is drawn out by a man named Aqqi and raised as a gardener. From this humble beginning Sargon establishes himself as the king of the first Mesopotamian empire.

The King of Battle is another tale of how Sargon traveled to Purushkhanda in central Turkey in order to save the merchants there from oppression. After defeating the king of the city, Nur-Daggal, the local ruler is allowed to continue to govern as long as he acknowledges Sargon as king. Naram-Sin, however, is often portrayed as incompetent and disrespectful of the gods. In The Curse of Akkad, Naram-Sin becomes frustrated because the gods will not allow him to rebuild a temple to the god Enlil, so he destroys it instead. Enlil then sends the Gutians to destroy the Akkadian Empire.

As we know, however, the Akkadian Empire continued to have 25 prosperous years under Shar-kali-sharri after the death of Naram-Sin, and the Gutians were not the only reason for the downfall of the Akkadian Empire. In fact, there is no evidence for the Gutians causing problems for the Akkadians until late in the reign of Shar-kali-sharri. Although this story had an important didactic purpose, it shows that caution must be used in reconstructing the history of the Akkadian Empire from myths and legends.

In the Cuthean Legend, Naram-Sin goes out to fight a group that has invaded the Akkadian Empire. Naram-Sin seeks an oracle about the outcome of the battle, but since it is negative, he ignores it and mocks the whole process of divination. As in The Curse of Akkad, Naram-Sin's disrespect of the gods gets him in trouble as he is defeated three times by the invaders. He finally seeks another oracle and receives a positive answer. Naram-Sin has learned his lesson: "Without divination, I will not execute punishment." Despite these tales, there are others that paint Naram-Sin in a more positive light as an effective king with superior military capabilities.

Along with a centralized government comes standardization. This included the gradual replacement of Sumerian, a non-Semitic language, with Akkadian, an East Semitic language, in administrative documents. Dating by year names, that is naming each year after a particular event such as "the year Sargon destroyed Mari," became the system used in Babylonia

until 1500 B.C.E. when it was replaced with dating by regnal years. There was also a standardized system of weights and measures. Taxes were collected from all regions of the empire in order to pay for this centralized administration.

The Akkadian ruler appointed governors in the territories the empire controlled, but many times the local ruler was just reaffirmed in his capacity. The governor would have to pledge allegiance to the Akkadian emperor and pay tribute, but at times, when the empire was weak, the local rulers could revolt and assert their own sovereignty.

This meant that the Akkadian rulers were constantly putting down rebellions. But perhaps the most important precedent started by the Akkadian Empire was the installation of Sargon's daughter Enheduanna as the high priestess of the moon god Nanna at Ur. She composed two hymns dedicated to the goddess Inanna, making her the oldest known author in Mesopotamia. This provided much needed legitimacy for the kingdom in southern Babylonia and continued to be practiced by Mesopotamian kings until the sixth century B.C.E.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ELAM; MOSES; SUMER.

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JAMES ROAMES

Alcibiades

(450–404 B.C.E.) *Greek statesman and general*

Alcibiades was an Athenian who was influential in the creation of turmoil in his home city that went a long way to explaining the defeat by Sparta in the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.E.). Alcibiades was a controversial and divisive figure, and his legacy in part continues to be colored by his character flaws even millennia after his death. Thucydides, Plato, and Plutarch recount the adventures of Alcibiades in their histories. Alcibiades was born into a powerful family, and his father commanded the Athenian army at the battle in which he was killed. Alcibiades was then only about seven years

old, and he became the ward of the statesman PERICLES. He subsequently entered into Athenian public life in the political and military fields. Owing in part to his background, he quickly achieved high office and served with distinction. At the Battle of Delium, he assisted SOCRATES who had been wounded and in turn benefited from the older man's advice. However, Alcibiades was too extravagant a personality to abide by the moral strictures that Socrates required of his pupils. Indeed, association with Alcibiades was later part of the charge brought against Socrates for corrupting the youth.

Alcibiades was busy establishing himself as a leading personality in the Athenian assembly, the Ekklesia, while also becoming known as a budding socialite. His family had enjoyed personal relations with Spartan interests, and he had anticipated that he could call on these connections to broker a peace agreement to end the Peloponnesian War.

However, Spartan leaders refused to countenance this personal approach and insisted on formal arrangements. Subsequently, Alcibiades pursued an anti-Sparta policy that probably perpetuated the war, arguably from a sense of pique. He organized the alliance with the Peloponnesian city-states of Argos, Elis, and Mantinea. The alliance was defeated at the Battle of Mantinea in 418, which led to Spartan dominance of the land and forced the Peloponnesian League to seek new fronts in the war.

It was the necessity of opening a new front that led to the Syracusan campaign in Sicily. Alcibiades positioned himself to be one of the leaders of this campaign, but on the verge of the expedition leaving, statues of the god Hermes were found to have been mutilated and, on rather circumstantial evidence, Alcibiades became accused of violating the Eleusinian Mysteries. He sailed with the expedition, but inquiries continued during his absence. When it was determined that he should return to Athens to answer the charges against him, Alcibiades fled to Sparta and ensured his safety by providing the Spartans with valuable military advice. He made himself less popular by supposedly seducing the wife of the king of Sparta.

Eventually the Spartans tired of Alcibiades, and he sought to make a new career for himself by courting the Persians, who saw the turmoil on the Greek mainland as a possible opportunity to expand their influence. For several years Alcibiades switched sides from Persia, to Athens, to neutrality, depending on the political winds. Brilliance of expression and savoir-faire were combined with total lack of scruples as he sought for the best advantage for himself. Finally Spartan na-

val victories secured a decisive advantage, and they took the opportunity to cause the governor of Phrygia, where Alcibiades had been taking shelter, to have him killed. Thus ended the life of one of the most vivid personalities of ancient Athens, who could surely have achieved genuine greatness if he could have married his gifts with some sense of personal integrity.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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Aleppo

See DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO.

Alexander the Great

(356–323 B.C.E.) *Macedonian ruler*

Alexander the Great was born in a town called Pella in the summer of 356 B.C.E. His father was PHILIP OF MACEDON, and his mother was Olympias. Philip II ascended to the throne in 359 B.C.E., at the age of 24. Under Philip II, Macedonia thrived and emerged as a strong power. Philip reorganized his army into infantry phalanx using a new weapon known as the *sarissa*, which was a very long (18-foot) spear. This was a devastating force against all other armies using the standard-size spears of the time.

Alexander's birth and early childhood are unclear, related only by Plutarch, who wrote his *Life of Alexander* around 100 C.E., many centuries later. In his youth Alexander had a classical education, with ARISTOTLE as one of his teachers. One of his tutors, Lysimachus, promoted Alexander's identification with the Greek hero Achilles. Later, Philip II took another wife, Cleopatra, who bore him a son named Caranus and a daughter. This created a second heir to the throne. Olympias was a strong-willed woman who jealously guarded her son's right to succession. She had given Philip his eldest son, however, she was no longer in favor with Philip.

At the age of 18, Alexander and his father led a cavalry against the armies of Athens and THEBES, which

were fighting the last line of Greek defenses against Philip's conquest. Philip had set a trap with his maneuver and at the decisive moment, Alexander, with his cavalry, sprung the trap. This victory at the Battle of Chaeronea in August 338 completed Philip's conquest of Greece. In 336 Philip was murdered by Pausanias, a bodyguard. Upon the death of his father, Alexander and his mother, Olympias, did away with any of his political rivals who were vying for the throne. Philip's second wife and children were slain.

ALEXANDER THE KING

Alexander became king in 336. He was an absolute ruler in Macedonia and king of the city-states of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. As a new king, he had to prove that he was as powerful a ruler as his father, Phillip II, had been. Revolts against his rule first occurred in Thrace. In the spring of 335, Alexander and his army defeated the Thracians and advanced into the Triballian kingdom across the Danube River. Alexander faced the challenge of placating the recently conquered GREEK CITY-STATES. While Alexander was in the Triballian kingdom, the Greek cities rebelled against the Macedonian rule.

The Athenian orator DEMOSTHENES spread a rumor that Alexander had been fatally wounded in an attack. News of Alexander's death sparked rebellions in other Greek states, such as Thebes. The Thebans attacked the Macedonian garrison of their city and drove out the Macedonian general Parmenio. Their victory was due to a Greek mercenary named Memnon of Rhodes. Memnon defeated Parmenio at Magnesia and pushed him back to northwest Asia Minor. Alexander

returned to Thebes after his victories and faced strong opposition from the Thebans, but Alexander defeated them swiftly.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PERSIA

Alexander embarked on a campaign against Persia in the spring of 334. The Persians had attacked Athens in 480, burning the sacred temples of the Acropolis and enslaving Ionian Greeks. Alexander, a Macedon, won great favor with the Greeks by uniting them against Persia. He set out with an army of 30,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and a fleet of 120 warships. The core force was the infantry phalanx, with 9,000 men armed with *sarissa*. The Persian army had about 200,000 men, including Greek mercenaries. Memnon, the Greek mercenary general, led the Persian force.

Alexander had an excellent knowledge of Persian war strategy from an early age. In the spring of 334 he crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles) into Persian territory. The Persian army stationed themselves uphill on a steep, slippery rocky terrain on the eastern bank of the river Granicus. Here they met Alexander's army for the first time in May 334. Alexander was attacked on all sides but managed to escape, though he was wounded.

The Persians left the battle, thinking they had claimed victory, and left behind only their Greek mercenaries to fight, resulting in a very high casualty rate on the Persian side. Alexander's armies advanced south along the Ionian coast. Some cities surrendered outright. Greek cities, such as Ephesus, welcomed him as a liberator from the Persians.

Memnon's forces still presented a threat to Alexander. They stationed themselves at sea, and as Alexander did not wish to join in a sea battle, they were unable to stop his advances on land. In the city of Halicarnassus, Alexander and Memnon met in battle again. Alexander took the city, burned it down, and installed Ada, his ally, as queen. The Persian cities Termessus, Aspendus, Perge, Selge, and Sagalassus were taken afterward without much difficulty. This ease of conquest continued until he reached Celaenae, where he ordered his general Antigonus to placate the region.

"DIVINE" RULER OF ASIA

Throughout his military campaign people perceived Alexander to be divine. Even the ocean, according to legend, seemed to be servile toward him and his armies. There was a legend involving a massive knot of rope, stating that he who could unravel the knot



Photo of a mosaic in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Pompeii, depicting Alexander the Great battling the Persian king Darius.

would rule the world. Many had tried, while Alexander merely cut through the knot with his sword. Upon hearing this, King Gordius of Gordium surrendered his lands. The story of this divine prophecy being fulfilled spread quickly. Memnon's death was also regarded as proof of Alexander's divine quality. This hastened Alexander's progress through the Persian territories of the eastern Mediterranean, which were long-held, conquered Greek states.

The Battle of Issus in the gulf of Iskanderun was a decisive battle fought in November 333. The Persian king Darius himself led the Persians forces. Darius had a massive force, much larger than Alexander's army. Darius was brilliant, approaching Alexander's army from the rear and cutting off the army's supplies. The battle occurred on a narrow plain not large enough for the massive armies; it was fought across the steep-sided river Pinarus. This lost the advantage for the Persians, and Alexander emerged victorious as King Darius III fled.

The Battle of Issus was a turning point. Alexander moved from the Greek states that he liberated to lands inhabited by the Persians themselves. He conquered BYBLOS and Sidon unopposed. In Tyre he faced real opposition. The city fortress was on an island in the sea, and his prospects were worsened by his lack of a fleet. To his aid came liberated troops, defected from the Persian fleet. The army and the people of Tyre were defeated—most were tortured and slain, some were sold into slavery. Other coastal cities then readily surrendered.

In 331 Alexander marched on to Egypt. Egyptians welcomed him as he was freeing them from Persian control, and the city of ALEXANDRIA was founded in his name. Alexander took a journey across the desert to the temple of Zeus Ammon, where an oracle told him of his future and that he would rule the world. From Egypt, Alexander corresponded with Darius, the Persian king. Darius wanted a truce, but Alexander wanted the whole of the Persian Empire.

The same year he marched into Persia to pursue Darius. He conquered the lands around the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Alexander encountered Darius at Gaugamela and defeated the Persian army. Babylon and Susa fell, and he reaped their riches. After conquering the Persian capital of Persepolis, he rested there for a few months and then continued his pursuit of Darius. However, his own men had already assassinated Darius.

Alexander started to adopt Persian dress and customs in order to combine Greek and Persian culture as

a new, larger empire. He married Roxane, creating a queen who was not Greek, and this lost some of his Greek supporters. Still he gathered enough military support to invade India in 327. After many conquests he encountered Porus, a powerful Indian ruler, who put up a great battle near the river Hydaspes. After this his men were then reluctant to advance further into India. Alexander was seriously injured with a chest wound, and his armies retreated from India.

Alexander died on June 10, 323 B.C.E., at the age of 33. Different scenarios have been proposed for the cause of his death, which include poisoning, illness that followed a drinking party, or a relapse of the malaria he had contracted earlier.

Rumors of his illness circulated among the troops, causing them to be more and more anxious. On June 9, the generals decided to let the soldiers see their king alive one last time, and guests were admitted to his presence one at a time. Because the king was too sick to speak, he just waved his hand. The day after, Alexander was dead.

See also PERSIAN INVASIONS OF GREECE.

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Alexandria

Alexandria, also known by its Arabic name al-Iskandariyya, was named after ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Alexandria was built on the Mediterranean Sea coast of Egypt at the northwest edge of the Nile Delta. The city lies on a narrow land strip between the sea and Lake Mariut (Mareotis in Greek). Alexander the Great founded the city in 331 B.C.E. He ordered Greek architect Dinocrates of Rhodes to build the city over the site of the old village of Rakhotis that was inhabited by fishermen and pirates. Alexander left the city under the charge of his general, Ptolemy (also known as Ptolemy I). The city would later become Alexander's final resting place.

After it was built, Alexandria evolved into an important economic hub in the region. It began by taking



A sphinx and pillar from the temple of the Serapis in Alexandria, Egypt. Alexandria was the commercial center of the Mediterranean.

over the trade of the city of Tyre whose economic prominence declined after an attack by Alexander. Alexandria soon surpassed CARTHAGE as well, an ancient city that was the center of civilization in the Mediterranean. Although the city rose to great prominence under the Ptolemaic rulers during the Hellenistic period, it was soon surpassed by the city of Rome. During its peak Alexandria was the commercial center of the Mediterranean. Ships from Europe, the Arab lands, and India conducted active trade in Alexandria, and this contributed to its prosperity as a leading port in the Mediterranean Basin.

The inhabitants of Alexandria consisted mainly of Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians. The Egyptians provided the bulk of the labor force. Alexandria was not only a bastion of Hellenistic civilization; it occupied a very prominent position in Jewish history as well. The Greek translation of the Old Testament in Hebrew was first produced there. Known as the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible took between 80 and 130 years to translate.

Thus, Alexandria was a major intellectual center in the Mediterranean. The city boasted two great

libraries, with huge collections, one in a temple of Zeus, and the other in a museum. As early as the third century B.C.E., the libraries housed somewhere between 500,000 and 700,000 papyri (scrolls). A university was built near the libraries, attracting renowned scholars to Alexandria. One of them was the great Greek mathematician Euclid, a master of geometry, and author of the famous work *Elements*. After Cleopatra the queen of Egypt committed suicide in 32 B.C.E., the city of Alexandria came under the rule of Octavian, later known as Augustus, the first Roman emperor. Augustus installed a prefect in Alexandria, who governed the city in his name. Trade continued to flourish in the city under the Romans especially in the product of grain.

The city went into decline under the Romans. A Jewish revolt in 116 C.E. weakened the city. It resulted in the decimation of the Jewish population residing there. Nearly a century later in 215 C.E., for reasons that are unclear, the Roman emperor Caracalla decreed that all male inhabitants be massacred, perhaps as punishment. This further undermined the city's importance in the region and was worsened by the rise of other important cultural, economic, and intellectual centers such as CONSTANTINOPLE, founded in 330 C.E. by Roman emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

In both 638 and 646 C.E. Muslim Arabs invaded the city. During this time Cairo became another rival city. Alexandria soon weakened, and it was not resurrected until the 19th century.

See also JEWISH REVOLTS; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Alexandrian literature

Alexandrian literature was very rich due to its multicultural heritage, as ALEXANDER THE GREAT's empire encompassed Europe, Asia, and Africa. Alexander's conquests opened up trade and travel routes across his empire, and ALEXANDRIA developed as a center of commerce between the Middle East, Europe, and India. The city was also known as a center of learning. Greek

was the lingua franca in Egypt for the people of different origins residing there. Due to the distinguished community of intellectuals living within the borders of Alexandria, Alexandrian literature is of high quality. The excellent libraries also attracted scholars of diverse origins to further enrich intellectual life in the vibrant city.

In 283 B.C.E. a *synodos*, formed by 30 to 50 scholars, set up a library with several wings, shelves, covered walkways, lecture theaters, and even a botanical garden. The library was built under the direction of a scholar-librarian who held the post of royal tutor appointed by the king. By the third century B.C.E. the library had an impressive collection of 400,000 mixed scrolls and 90,000 single scrolls. The earlier scrolls on which scholars wrote were made of papyrus, a product monopolized by Alexandria for a period of time. Later scholars switched to parchment when the king, in a bid to stifle competing rival libraries elsewhere, stopped exporting papyrus. These scrolls, which constitute books, were stored in linen or leather jackets.

In the library there were numerous translators, known as *charakitai*, or “scribblers.” The translators performed a vital function in transmitting the wisdom found in manuscripts that had been written in other languages in Greece, Babylon, India, and elsewhere. These manuscripts were meticulously copied and stored in the libraries of Alexandria, as the kings wished to amass all the knowledge that was available in the world of antiquity. This contributed greatly to Alexandria’s position as a center of knowledge in ancient civilization.

Among the eminent scholars based in Alexandria were Euclid (325–265 B.C.E.), the famous mathematician who composed his influential masterpiece *Elements* in the city in about 300 B.C.E. Euclid provided useful definitions of mathematical terms in *Elements*. Apollonius of Perga wrote an equally seminal work in mathematics known as *Conics*. In this work, Apollonius discussed a new approach in defining geometrical concepts. Another Apollonius—Apollonius of Rhodes, who was a mathematician and astronomer—wrote his epic *Argonautica* in about 270 B.C.E. The epic was dubbed as the first real romance and regarded as an enjoyable read as it was written for pleasure and not for any explicitly didactical purpose. Alexandrian prose was often criticized for being pedantic, ornamental, and pompous; though some perceived Alexandrian literature to be erudite and polished. The novel is said to be an invention of Alexandrian writers.

Archimedes of Syracuse (287–212 B.C.E.), the famous Hellenistic mathematician observed the rise and fall of the Nile, invented the screw, and initiated hydrostatics. The basis of calculus began in Alexandria, as it was where Archimedes started to explore the formula to calculate area and volume.

Another brilliant scholar of Alexandria was the librarian Eratosthenes who was a geographer and a mathematician. Eratosthenes correctly calculated the duration of a year, postulated that the Earth is round, and theorized that the oceans were all connected. There was also Claudius Ptolemy whose great work was *Mathematical Syntaxis (System)*, usually known by its Arabic name *Almagest*. It is an important work of trigonometry and astronomy.

From the middle of the first century C.E., Christian hostility managed to push scholars away from Alexandria. As a result the city declined as a city of learning in the Mediterranean. The library in Alexandria was destroyed during a period of civil unrest in the third century C.E. In the fourth century not only were pagan temples destroyed, but libraries were also closed down under the orders of Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria, further eroding Alexandria’s function as a bastion of literature.

See also LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Ambrose

(c. 340–397 C.E.) *bishop and theologian*

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was born in Trier of the noble Aurelian family. His mother moved the family to Rome after the death of his father. Educated in rhetoric and law, Ambrose was first employed in Sirmium and then in c. 370 C.E. as governor of Milan. After the death of the Arian bishop of Milan, a violent conflict broke out in the city over whether the next bishop would be a Catholic or an Arian. Ambrose intervened to restore peace and was so admired by all that both sides accepted him as a candidate for bishop, although

he was not even baptized at the time. He was baptized and consecrated a bishop within a week. He immediately gave his wealth to the poor and devoted himself to the study of scripture and the Greek fathers of the church. As a bishop, he was famous for his preaching, which was partly responsible for the conversion of the great theologian AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, whom Ambrose baptized at Easter in 387.

Ambrose's career was heavily involved with politics. He was continually defending the position of the Catholic Church against the power of the various Roman emperors during his episcopate: Gratian, Maximus, Justina (pro-Arian mother of Valentinian II), and THEODOSIUS I.

He was able to maintain the independence of the church against the civil power in his conflicts with paganism and ARIANISM. Regarding the former, Ambrose battled with Symmachus, magistrate of Rome, over the Altar of Victory in the Senate: The emperor Gratian had removed the altar in 382, and after Gratian's death Symmachus petitioned Valentinian II for its restoration. Under Ambrose's influence, the request was denied.

Arianism received a blow when Ambrose refused to surrender a church for the use of the Arians. His decision was taken as sanctioned by heaven when—in the midst of the controversy—the bodies of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius were discovered in the church. Ambrose further strengthened the church's authority before the state in two incidents in which he took a firm stand against the emperor Theodosius I.

One incident involved the rebuilding of the synagogue at Callinicum in 388; the other had to do with the emperor's rash order that resulted in the massacre of thousands of innocent people at Thessalonica in the summer of 390. Ambrose refused to allow Theodosius to receive the sacraments until he had performed public penance for this atrocity. The reconciliation took place at Christmas 390. One reason for Ambrose's influence over Theodosius was that, unlike most Christian emperors who delayed their reception into the church until their deathbed, he had been baptized and so fell under the authority of the church in his private life.

Ambrose's knowledge of Greek enabled him to introduce much Eastern theology into the West. His works include hymns, letters, sermons, treatises on the moral life, and commentaries on scripture and on the sacraments. He was also a strong supporter of the monastic life in northern Italy.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Andes: Neolithic

In order to impose temporal order on the variety of cultures and civilizations that emerged in the Andes in the millennia before the Spanish invasion (early 1530s C.E.), scholars have divided Andean prehistory into "horizons" and "periods," with horizons representing eras of relatively rapid change and periods being eras of relative stasis:

Late Horizon	1400–1533 C.E.
Late Intermediate Period	1000–1400 C.E.
Middle Horizon	600–1000 C.E.
Early Intermediate Period	100 B.C.E.–600 C.E.
Early Horizon	700–100 B.C.E.
Initial Period	1800–700 B.C.E.
Preceramic Period	3000–1800 B.C.E.
Lithic Period	>10,000–3000 B.C.E.

The boundaries between these temporal divisions are fluid and are mainly a matter of scholarly convenience and convention. Spatially, the Andes region is generally divided into coast and highlands, with these subdivided into northern, central, and southern, yielding a total of six broad geographic zones.

ÁSPERO

The earliest evidence for the formation of complex societies in the Andes region dates to between 3200 and 2500 B.C.E. along the Pacific coast. Altogether more than 30 rivers cascade down to the Pacific from the Cordillera Occidental of the Andes, many of whose valleys held the development of complex societies during the Preceramic Period.

One of the most extensively researched of these coastal zones is the North Chico, a 30-mile-wide ribbon of coastland, just north of present-day Lima, encompassing the Huaura, Supe, Pativilca, and Fortaleza river valleys.

Archaeological excavations in the North Chico beginning in the 1940s have revealed evidence of at least

20 large settlements with monumental architecture, whose origins date to between 3200 and 1800 B.C.E. The most intensively researched of these sites are Áspero, at the mouth of the Supe River, and Caral, about 13½ miles upstream from Áspero.

It was his work at the site of Áspero that in 1975 prompted U.S. archaeologist Michael E. Moseley to propose a hypothesis conventionally called the “maritime foundations of Andean civilizations” (MFAC). According to the MFAC hypothesis, the initial formation of complex societies in the Andean region took place along the coast and was made possible through the intensive exploitation of maritime resources. This, in turn, was made possible largely through the cultivation of cotton, which was used to manufacture the nets needed to harvest the coast’s abundant fish, especially anchovies and sardines.

Evidence unearthed at Áspero and other sites in the North Chico since the 1970s strongly supports the MFAC hypothesis, though debates continue regarding the origins and characteristics of these societies. The site of Áspero presents numerous anomalous features. It contains no pottery, only a few maize cobs, and some 17 large earthen mounds, some nearly 16 feet tall.

The largest structure at the site, a flat-topped pyramid called Huaca de los Ídolos, covers some 16,145 sq. feet, upon which, it is hypothesized, Áspero’s elite undertook ritual and ceremonial displays. The site also contains some 30 to 37 acres of domestic middens (refuse areas), along with evidence that its residents were continually rebuilding the mounds and other structures. This latter characteristic is also apparent at other Pacific coast sites.

Upriver from Áspero, at the site of Caral, which covers some 150 acres, investigations have revealed some 25 pyramids or mounds, one reaching 82 feet in height and covering some 247,570 sq. feet; two large, rounded, sunken ceremonial plazas; arrays of other mounds and platforms; extensive residential complexes; and evidence of long-term sedentary inhabitation. Radiocarbon dates indicate that Caral was founded before 2600 B.C.E. The same dating procedure applied to other sites in the North Chico indicates that most were founded between 3000 and 1800 B.C.E.

Middens at Caral and other North Chico sites indicate that maritime resources exploited through cotton cultivation and net manufacture were supplemented by a variety of cultigens, including legumes and squash, and by the gathering of diverse wild foods. In addition to Áspero and Caral, the most extensively researched

of these sites to date include Piedra Parada, Upaca, Huaricanga, and Porvenir and in the Casma Valley, the sites of Sechín Alto, Cerro Sechín, and Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke. All fall within what is called the Áspero tradition. Other major Preceramic Pacific coast traditions are the Valdivia tradition (on the coast of contemporary Ecuador); the El Paraíso tradition (just south of the Áspero sites); and the Chinchoros tradition (centered at the Chinchoro complex near the contemporary Peru-Chile border). Archaeological excavations at these and other Preceramic coastal sites continue, as do scholarly efforts to understand the civilizations that created them.

HIGHLANDS

A related arena of debate among Andean archaeologists concerns the relationship between the Pacific coast settlements and the formation of complex societies in the highlands. Most scholars agree that complex societies began to emerge in the Central and South-Central Highlands soon after the florescence of complex societies in the North Chico and other coastal valleys. In the Central Highlands scholars have investigated what is called the Kotosh religious tradition at the Kotosh site. Not unlike those in the North Chico, this site includes a series of raised mounds with platforms, sunken plazas, and an array of small buildings. Sites exhibiting similar characteristics in the Central Highlands include Huaricoto, La Galgada, and Piruru.

In the South-Central Highlands the emergence of complex societies evidently began in the Lake Titicaca Basin around 1300 B.C.E. Excavations at the site of Chiripa (in present-day Bolivia) have revealed that by this date there had emerged a nucleated settlement that included an array of small rooms, built of stone, with plastered floors and walls. By 900 B.C.E. the settlement of Chiripa included a ceremonial center surrounded by residential complexes.

Between 1000 and 500 B.C.E. complex societies had emerged throughout much of the Lake Titicaca Basin. To the north the Qaluyu culture reached florescence in the five centuries after 1000 B.C.E. The Qaluyu type site, covering 17 acres, includes a large ceremonial mound, sunken plazas, and extensive residential complexes. Other Qaluyu sites in the north Titicaca Basin include Pucará, Ayaviri, and Putina.

TITICACA BASIN

The overall trajectory of this period was marked by the decline of North Coast polities and the rise of a

series of civilizations and culture groups in the Central and Southern Highlands and Central Coast. After 1000 B.C.E. the Titicaca Basin constituted one broad locus of complex society formation. A second such locus emerged further north, in the Central Highlands and Central Coast, most commonly associated with the Chavín state and culture complex, which first emerged around 800 B.C.E. and declined some six centuries later. At the Chavín type site, Chavín de Huantar, excavations indicate a population of at least several thousand in a settlement covering some 104 acres. At the site's core lie the ruins of a large and imposing ceremonial temple, dubbed El Castillo, built in the U shape characteristic of the North Chico architectural style.

The evidence indicates that Chavín de Huantar was the political center of an expansive polity that extended through much of the Central Highlands and Central Coast. By this time exchange relations throughout the Andes and adjacent coastal regions were highly developed. These exchanges were based less on markets than on institutionalized reciprocal exchanges between extended lineage groups tracing their descent to a common ancestor, called *ayllu*, as well as between political networks resulting from the growth of state and imperial power.

Such exchanges were based on what anthropologist John Murra described in the 1970s as the “vertical archipelago,” a concept that has gained broad scholarly acceptance. In the simplest terms the basic idea is that the Andes region consists of a vertical environment and that exchanges of goods and services took place among members of *ayllus* who lived in different “resource oases” or “islands” in different altitudinal zones. From the high plateau (or *puna*, elevation higher than 11,810 feet) came wool, meat, and minerals such as gold, silver, and copper; from the upper mountain valleys (between 9,840 and 11,810 feet) came potatoes, grains, including maize and quinoa, and other crops; and from the lowlands (below 6,560 feet) came maize, cotton, coca, legumes, and many fruits and vegetables.

Scholarly consensus holds that large-scale state systems such as the Chavín built upon these lineage-based reciprocal exchange networks in order to extend their reach across vast expanses of territory without recourse to long-distance trade, as the concept of “trade” is generally understood.

For these reasons, “markets” and “trade,” as understood in European, Asian, and African contexts, played little or no role in the formation and growth of complex societies and polities in the Andean highlands

or coastal regions during the whole of the preconquest period. This was also the case with the Inca.

As Chavín declined around 400 B.C.E., there emerged in the northern Titicaca Basin, in the six centuries between 400 B.C.E. to 200 C.E., a site and polity known as the Pucará, with architectural features similar to those described above, and ceramic styles suggesting Chavín influence.

On the opposite side of the lake, in the southern Titicaca Basin during roughly the same time period, there emerged the settlement and state of Tiwanaku—again, with similar architectural features. By around 400 C.E. Tiwanaku had developed into a formidable state system. Scholarly debates continue on whether, during the period under discussion here, these were true urban centers or ceremonial sites intended principally for ritual observances and pilgrimages.

NAZCA

Another enigmatic culture complex to emerge during the Early Intermediate Period was the Nazca, centered in the southern coastal zone around the watersheds of the Ica and Nazca Rivers. Nazca pottery styles went through at least eight distinct phases, until their decline around 600 C.E. The Nazca are especially well known for their geoglyphs, or large-scale geometric symbols etched into the coastal desert. Further north, the Moche were another important coastal culture group and state to emerge in the Early Intermediate.

The site of Moche, in the Moche River valley, has been identified as the capital of the Moche polity. Archaeologists consider Moche to have been a true city; perhaps South America's first. The largest structure at the Moche type site, a pyramid dubbed Huaca del Sol, measures 525 by 1,115 feet at its base and stands some 131 feet tall, making it one of the Western Hemisphere's largest preconquest monumental structures. All of these developments laid the groundwork for the subsequent emergence of two other major state systems, or empires, toward the end of the period discussed here: the Huari and the Tiwanaku.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Antonine emperors

The four Antonine emperors of Rome—Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161 C.E.), MARCUS AURELIUS (r. 161–180 C.E.), Lucius Verus (r. 161–169 C.E.), and Commodus (r. 180–192 C.E.)—ruled over a time extending from the height of the PAX ROMANA to one where the Roman Empire was having increasing difficulty carrying its many burdens.

The founder of the dynasty, Antoninus Pius, was born to a family that already numbered several consuls among its members. He served for many years in the Senate and as Roman official before being adopted as successor to the emperor HADRIAN in 138 C.E. Part of the arrangement was that Antoninus would in turn adopt two boys as his heirs. One was the nephew of his wife, Annia Galeria Faustina. This was Marcus Antoninus, the future Marcus Aurelius. The other was Lucius Verus, the son of Hadrian’s previous choice as successor, Lucius Aelius Caesar. When Hadrian died the same year, Antoninus succeeded peacefully. Antoninus was more than 50 when he became emperor.

The reign of Antoninus was marked by peace and by an emphasis on Italy and Roman tradition that broke with the practices of the globetrotting philhellene Hadrian. His dedication to traditionalism was one of the qualities for which the Senate gave him the title of “Pius.” Antoninus also cut back on the heavy spending on public works that had marked Hadrian’s reign.

Antoninus spent most of his time in Rome, by some accounts never leaving Italy during his reign. The 900th anniversary of the city’s legendary founding took place in 147 C.E., and a series of coins and medallions with new designs stressing Rome’s ancient roots were issued to commemorate the occasion. In foreign policy Antoninus preferred peace to war and did not lead armies himself, but the empire waged war successfully on some of its borders.

Antoninus’s death was followed by a dual succession, the first in Roman history. Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius became co-emperors, although Marcus was clearly the dominant partner in the relationship. The new emperors faced many challenges. In the east, the king of Parthia hoped to take advantage of the inex-

perienced new rulers with an intervention in the buffer state of ARMENIA. Marcus sent Lucius, accompanied by a number of Rome’s best generals, to deal with the Parthians. The Parthian war was successful but followed by a devastating plague and pressure from the Germanic peoples across the Danube as the Marcomanni and Quadi actually made it as far as northern Italy.

The relationship between the emperors was troubled, as Marcus’s austere dedication to duty clashed with Lucius’s sometimes irresponsible hedonism. Lucius died on campaign against the Germans, however, before any open break could occur, and Marcus referred to him fondly in his *Meditations*. Marcus’s long campaigns against the Germans were successful, but he died before he could organize the conquered territories into Roman provinces, and his son and successor Commodus (who received the title of emperor in 177) quickly abandoned his father’s conquests, returning to Rome in order to enjoy the perquisites of empire. Commodus was the first son to succeed his natural father, rather than to be adopted by an emperor, since Domitian.

The hedonistic and exhibitionistic Commodus contrasted with his grim, duty-bound father. His policy of generosity made him popular among Rome’s ordinary people, particularly in the early part of his reign, but the Senate despised him. Commodus was extraordinarily arrogant, renaming the months, the Senate, the Roman people, and even Rome after himself. Unlike Marcus, Commodus had little interest in persecuting Christians, and subsequent Christian historians remembered his reign as a golden age. In 192 he was removed in the traditional fashion for “bad emperors,” through an assassination plot—the first emperor since Domitian to be assassinated. Commodus left no heirs, and his death marked the end of the Antonine dynasty.

See also HADRIAN; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

Anyang

Anyang is the modern town where the last capital (Yin) of the SHANG DYNASTY (c. 1766–c. 1122 B.C.E.) of China was located. The discovery of inscribed oracle bones

there early in the 20th century and the scientific excavation of the site beginning in 1928 ended the debate on whether the Shang dynasty was historic. It is located south of the Yellow River in present-day Henan Province. The Shang dynasty, founded by Tang (T'ang) the Successful moved its capital several times until it settled at Yin in 1395 B.C.E. and remained there until its end in 1122 B.C.E. The last phase of the dynasty is therefore also called the Yin dynasty. After the city was destroyed when the dynasty was overthrown by the ZHOU DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 B.C.E.), the site was known as Yinshu, which means the “waste of Yin.”

The discovery of the Shang era ruins at Anyang came by accident. In Beijing (Peking) in 1900 an anti-quarian scholar became ill, and among the ingredients for traditional medicine that were prescribed for him were fragments of old bones carrying incised marks. The apothecary called them dragon bones. This scholar and his friend made inquiries on the bones' origins and traced them to Anyang, where farmers had found them in their diggings. They began to collect the bones and decipher the writings on them, which they established as the earliest extant examples of written Chinese.

Archaeological excavations around Anyang found the foundations of palatial and other buildings but no city walls. They also found a royal cemetery with 11 large tombs, believed to belong to kings, which had all been robbed in centuries past. This authenticates ancient texts that identify 12 kings who ruled from Yin, but the last one died in his burning palace and so did not receive a royal burial. In 1976 an intact tomb belonging to Fu Hao (Lady Hao), wife of King Wuding (Wu-ting), the powerful fourth king to reign from Yin, was discovered. Although her body and the coffin had been destroyed by time and water, more than 1,600 burial objects were found, some with inscribed writing, which included her name, on elaborate bronze ritual vessels. Bronze vessels, jade, ivory, and stone carvings, and other objects show the advanced material culture of the late Shang era.

More than 20,000 pieces of inscribed oracle bones (on the scapulae of cattle and turtle shells) provide important information on Shang history. Kings frequently asked questions and sought answers from the high god Shangdi (Shang-ti) on matters such as war and peace, agriculture, weather, hunting, pregnancies of the queens, and the meaning of natural phenomena. The questions, answers, and sometimes outcome contain dates, names of the rulers, and their relationship to previous rulers, including those of the pre-Anyang era. They were preserved in royal archives. The writing is already sophisticated and must have developed over

a long period, but earlier evidence of writing has not been found. It is the ancestor of modern written Chinese and deciphering the characters and information provided from archaeological evidence has enabled historians to reconstruct Shang history.

See also WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian

The scholarly use and understanding of the word *apocalypticism* has varied much in the history of research on these topics. The different words associated with apocalypticism each possess their own subtle connotations. The specific term, *apocalypticism*, and the many forms associated with it are derived from the first Greek word in the book of Revelation, *apokalypsis* (revelation). The noun *apocalypse* refers to the revelatory text itself. The particular worldview found within an apocalypse and the assumptions that it holds about matters concerning the “end times” is referred to as “apocalyptic eschatology.” The noun *apocalypticism* refers broadly to the historical and social context of that worldview. When scholars use the word *apocalyptic*, they typically assume a distinction between the ancient worldview and the body of literature associated with it.

Apocalypticism refers to a worldview that gave rise to a diverse body of literature generally dating from the time of the Babylonian exile down to the Roman persecutions. Characteristic elements of this literature include a revelation of heavenly secrets to a privileged intermediary and the periodization of history. In these texts the eschatological perspective of the text reinforces the expectation that the era of the author will reach its end very soon. This apocalyptic eschatology suggests that the historical setting of these writings is one of crisis and extreme suffering.

Scholars who work in the area of ancient Jewish and Christian apocalypticism are aware that Jewish apocalyptic literature survived due to ancient Christian

appropriation and interest in it. This is because Jewish apocalypticism and the literature associated with it were generally viewed unfavorably by later forms of rabbinic Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple. The lack of a developed Jewish interpretive framework for these texts accounts for part of the scholarly problem in determining the precise origins and influences of this phenomenon. Many historical questions about the social context and the use of these Jewish apocalyptic writings in ancient Jewish communities remain unclear and largely theoretical. What is certain is that Christian communities were responsible for the preservation and transmission of these writings, and they appropriated the worldview and the literary forms of Jewish apocalypticism.

Scholars have long sought to identify the origins of Jewish apocalypticism with little consensus. Many have presumed that Jewish apocalyptic eschatology grew out of earlier biblical forms of prophetic eschatology. Other scholars have proposed a Near Eastern Mesopotamian influence on Jewish apocalypticism. While there is no clear trajectory from Mesopotamian traditions to Jewish apocalyptic, and admittedly no Mesopotamian apocalypses exist, there exist some striking resemblances between the two. Some shared characteristics include an emphasis on the interpretation of mysterious signs and on predestination. The motifs of otherworldly journeys and dreams are also prominent in both Mesopotamian traditions and Jewish apocalypticism.

Other scholars have observed a Persian influence upon Jewish apocalypticism. Present in both is the struggle between light and darkness (good and evil) and the periodization of history. Identifying the relationship between Jewish apocalypticism and other traditions has been complex because some of these elements (e.g., otherworldly journeys and revelatory visions) become common to the Greco-Roman world as well. While early Jewish apocalyptic was rooted in biblical prophecy, later forms of apocalypticism from the Greek period have more in common with wisdom literature.

LITERARY GENRE

Scholars often make a distinction between the general phenomenon of apocalypticism and the literary genre of “apocalypse.” A group of scholars led by J. J. Collins formulated the following frequently cited definition of the literary genre of apocalypse in 1979: “‘Apocalypse’ is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, in-

sofar as it involves another, supernatural world.” Texts associated with apocalypticism are characterized by an understanding that salvation from a hostile world depends on the disclosure of divine secrets.

The only example of an apocalypse from the Hebrew Bible is the book of Daniel. Other well-known examples of apocalypses include the writings of Enoch and Jubilees and the traditions associated with them, 4 Ezra, 2 BARUCH, 3 Baruch, and Apocalypse of Abraham. Some texts from QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls present a worldview that is properly described as apocalyptic but do not qualify as examples of the literary genre (e.g., “Instruction on the Two Spirits” from the Community Rule text and the War Scroll).

The last book in the New Testament, known as the Apocalypse of John, is an example of a Christian apocalypse. The canonicity of this book was not accepted at first in the East. The book is a record of the visions of John while he was exiled on the island of Patmos and possesses a prophetic authority among Christian communities throughout history. Highly symbolic language, the presumption of a cataclysmic battle, and the disclosure of heavenly secrets to a privileged intermediary make this text a classic example of the genre. Other examples of Christian apocalypse outside the Bible include the Ascension of Isaiah and the Apocalypse of Paul.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; FERTILE CRESCENT; HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; PERSIAN MYTH; PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; SOLOMON; WISDOM LITERATURE; ZOROASTRIANISM.

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ANGELA KIM HARKINS

Apostles, Twelve

The word *disciple* is used most often in Greek philosophical circles to describe a committed follower of a master (such as SOCRATES). JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH had many such disciples, besides the 12 who

became the apostles of the church. For example, Luke 6:13 hints at the existence of a larger circle of disciples: “And when it was day, he called his *disciples*, and chose from them 12, whom he named apostles.” Among the disciples who were not chosen as the 12 were women. This is noteworthy because few masters in the time of Jesus had female disciples.

Beyond these disciples, many men and women were drawn to Jesus and followed him casually. The Gospels call them “crowds.” Jesus shared with the disciples thoughts that were kept from the crowds. For example, according to Mark, after Jesus had finished telling parables to the crowds, the disciples came to Jesus to learn their hidden meanings. The reason for this private tutoring was that the disciples were expected to develop ears and eyes to discern the true and deeper meaning of Jesus’ teachings.

The 12 who were chosen, however, followed Jesus even more fully than the other disciples by leaving behind everything they had, including their jobs and families. The 12 were allowed to witness private details of Jesus’ life not available to the other disciples. For example, only the 12 were with Jesus on the night of his arrest. According to the synoptic Gospels and Acts, the names of the 12 were Simon Peter; James, son of Zebedee; John; Andrew; Philip; Bartholomew; Matthew; Thomas; James, son of Alphaeus; Thaddaeus (Judas); Simon the Cananaean; and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus. Unlike the other names, Simon Peter, Philip, and James, son of Alphaeus, consistently occupy the same positions (first, fifth, and ninth, respectively) on the list. Based on this observation, it has been suggested that the 12 were organized into groups of four and that Peter, Philip, and James, son of Alphaeus, were their group leaders. This intriguing suggestion, however, has no hard evidence for support.

As far as we know, the 12 were all from Galilee. Peter, Andrew, James, and John were fishermen, who, except perhaps Andrew, constituted the innermost circle of Jesus’ apostles. Simon Peter was the undisputed leader of the 12. Andrew was his brother and introduced him to Jesus. According to tradition, Andrew preached in Greece, Asia Minor (Turkey), and the areas north and northwest of the Black Sea. Tradition claims that he was martyred in Patras. A late tradition claims him to be the founder of the church of CONSTANTINOPLE, the seat of the GREEK CHURCH.

James and John, sons of Zebedee, were also brothers. Possessors of a fiery temper and ambition, they asked Jesus to appoint them to sit at his left and right hand when his kingdom came. James (known also as

James the Greater to distinguish him from James, son of Alphaeus) became the first of the apostles to be martyred under Herod Agrippa I. According to tradition, James had preached in Spain before meeting his untimely death in Jerusalem. As for John, tradition claims that he was the beloved disciple who wrote the Gospel of John, the three Epistles of John, and possibly also the book of Revelation. Tradition also claims that John, having survived a boiling cauldron of oil and banishment to Patmos under Emperor Domitian for preaching the Gospel in Asia Minor, died a natural death in Ephesus in the company of Mary, mother of Jesus. Modern critical scholarship rejects most of these claims.

Philip is best remembered in the New Testament for introducing Nathaniel to Jesus and for asking Jesus to show him the Father. According to tradition, Philip’s ministry and martyrdom took place in Asia Minor. Not much is known about Bartholomew in the New Testament. According to tradition, he is the same person as Nathaniel in John 1:43–51, the man whom Jesus said was without guile. Tradition claims Bartholomew preached in ARMENIA and India, among other places.

Thomas, known also as Didymus (Twin), is best remembered as the cynical doubter who wanted to touch the scars on the hands and the body of the resurrected Jesus. Thomas is a prominent figure in the SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH, and according to tradition, he preached in India, where he was martyred. He is also credited with the Gospel of Thomas (reportedly of the Gnostics), which some scholars date to the middle of the first century C.E. Matthew was a tax collector who, according to ancient tradition, was the writer of the Gospel of Matthew. Many scholars reject this tradition, largely because of Matthew’s apparent literary dependence on Mark.

The New Testament gives virtually no information about James, son of Alphaeus (known also as James the Lesser). James and Matthew would be brothers if Matthew is Levi who is also called son of Alphaeus in Mark 2:14. Tradition makes the questionable claim that James the Lesser was a cousin of Jesus. According to one tradition, he preached in Palestine and Egypt, but according to another, he preached in Persia. Thaddaeus (of Mark 3) is probably the same figure as Judas, son of James (of Luke 6 and Acts 1). Not much is known in the New Testament about this man. According to tradition, he preached in Armenia, Syria, and Persia. In some manuscripts, his name appears as *Labbaeus*.

Simon the Cananaean is also called Simon the Zealot. It is unclear whether he was a militant type. According to some tradition, his missionary zeal took

him to North Africa, Armenia, and possibly even Britain. Judas Iscariot, the treasurer for the 12, betrayed Jesus to the Jewish authorities who were seeking to kill him. According to Matthew, Judas hanged himself afterward from guilt. After the death of Jesus, Matthias, a man about whom nothing is known in the New Testament except the name, replaced Judas. According to Armenian tradition, however, Matthias evangelized Armenia alongside Andrew, Bartholomew, Thaddaeus, and Simon the Cananaean. The fact that the disciples of Jesus felt compelled to replace Judas Iscariot with Matthias to complete the number 12 seems to indicate that the 12 were believed to be the heads of a newly constituted Israel.

Simon Peter is also referred to as Cephas in PAUL and John. It is perhaps his unaffected humanity, accompanied by unrefined manners, that endeared him to Jesus and the rest of the group. He appears to have been the spokesman for the 12. For example, on the night Jesus was transfigured, he offered to build huts for Jesus as well as Elijah and Moses, who had come to visit Jesus. The leadership of the church, however, eventually appears to have gone to James, the brother of Jesus. According to ancient tradition, Peter went to Rome, which eventually became the seat of the LATIN CHURCH, and preached there and died a martyr, crucified upside down.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS.

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P. RICHARD CHOI

Arabia, pre-Islamic

Arabia, which spans an area of 1.25 million sq. miles, is a rugged, arid, and inhospitable terrain. It consists mainly of a vast desert, with the exception of Yemen on the southeastern tip, a fertile region with ample rain and well suited for agriculture. The southwestern region of Arabia also has a climate conducive to agriculture. The first mention of the inhabitants of Arabia, or "Aribi," is seen in the ninth century B.C.E., in Assyrian script. The residents of northern Arabia were nomads who owned camels. In pre-Islamic

Arabia, there was no central political authority, nor was there any central ruling administrative center. Instead, there were only various Bedu (Bedouin) tribes. Individual members of a tribe were loyal to their tribe, rather than to their families.

The Bedu formed nomadic tribes who moved from place to place in order to find green pastures for their camels, sheep, and goats. Oases can be found along the perimeter of the desert, providing water for some plants to grow, especially the ubiquitous date palm. Since there was a constant shortage of green pastures for their cattle to graze in, the tribes often fought one another over the little fertile land available within Arabia, made possible by the occasional desert springs. Since warfare was a part of everyday life, all men within the tribes had to train as warriors.

By the seventh century B.C.E. Arabia was divided into about five kingdoms, namely the Ma'in, Saba, Qataban, Hadramaut, and Qahtan. These civilizations were built upon a system of agriculture, especially in southern Arabia where the wet climate and fertile soil were suitable for cultivation. Of the five kingdoms Saba was the most powerful and most developed. Until 300 C.E. the kings of the Saba kingdom consolidated the rest of the kingdoms. Inhabitants of northern Arabia spoke Arabic, while those in the south spoke Sabaic, another Semitic language. As Yemen lay along a major trade route, many merchants from the Indian Ocean passed through it in south Arabia. The south was therefore more dominant for more than a millennium as it was more economically successful and contributed much to the wealth of Arabia as a whole.

By the seventh century B.C.E. the oases in Arabia had developed into urban trading centers for the lucrative caravan trade. The agricultural base of Arabia contributed to the economy of Arabia, enabling inhabitants to switch to economic pursuits in luxury goods alongside an ongoing agrarian economy. The commercial network in Arabia was facilitated mainly by the caravan trade in Yemen, where goods from the Indian Ocean Basin in the south were transferred on to camel caravans, which then traveled to Damascus and Gaza.

Arabia dealt in the profitable products of the day—gold, frankincense, and myrrh, as well as other luxury goods. The role of the Bedu, likewise, evolved. Instead of just being military warriors engaged in tribal rivalries, they were now part of the caravan trade, serving as guardians and guides while caravans traveled within Arabia. These Bedu were different from other nomadic tribes, as they tended to settle in one place.

Assyrians, followed by the neo-Babylonians, and the Persians disturbed unity in Arabia. From the third century C.E. the Persian Sassanids and the Christian Byzantines fought over Arabia. Later on, just before the rise of Islam, there emerged two Christian Arab tribal confederations known as the Ghassanids and the Lakhmid. The city of Petra in northwest Arabia was under the control of the Byzantines (through the Ghassanids), followed by the Romans, while the northeastern city of Hira fell under Persian influence (the Lakhmid). Under the Lakhmid and Ghassanid dynasties Arab identity developed, as did the Arab language.

The central place of worship for the nomadic Bedu tribes was the Ka'ba, a cubic structure found in the city of Mecca, which houses a black stone, believed to be a piece of meteorite. The Ka'ba was the site of an annual pilgrimage in pre-Islamic Arabia. Abraham first laid the foundations of the Ka'ba. Over a millennium the function of the Ka'ba had drastically changed and just before the coming of Islam through Muhammad, idols were found within the shrine. The Bedu prayed to the idols of different gods found within. Although the various nomadic Bedu tribes often formed warring factions, within the sacred space of the Ka'ba, tribal rivalries were often put aside in respect for the place of worship. Mecca became a religious sanctuary and a neutral ground where tribal warfare was put on hold.

By the seventh century C.E., besides being an important religious site, the city of Mecca was also a significant commercial center of caravan trade, because of the rise of south Arabia as a mercantile hub. Merchants of different origins converged in the city. Just before the rise of Islam, the elite merchants of the Quraysh tribe led Mecca loosely, although it was still difficult to discern a clear form of authoritative government in Mecca. Mecca, like southern Arabia, was home to many different people of various faiths.

Different groups of people had settled in Arabia, especially in the coastal regions of Yemen, where a rich variety of religions had coexisted, having originated from India, Africa, and the rest of the Middle East. This is because of its strategic location along the merchant trade route from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They were Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians who had migrated from the surrounding region. These migrants were markedly different from the indigenous inhabitants of Arabia in that they adhered to monotheistic faiths, recognizing and worshipping only one God. Thus, the inhabitants of pre-Islamic Arabia were familiar with other monotheistic faiths prior to the coming of Islam, however, subsequent Muslim society

would refer to those living in pre-Islamic Arabia as living in *jahiliyya*, or "ignorance."

See also SASSANID EMPIRE.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Aramaeans

The Aramaeans interest historians because of the two sources of information about them: the archaeological and the biblical. Part of the challenge in understanding the Aramaeans is in the effort to link both sets of data. According to the first citation, the people of ancient ISRAEL AND JUDAH consider themselves ethnic Aramaeans who became a distinct religious group as a result of their experience in Egypt. According to the second citation, the Aramaeans were a people who experienced the brunt of Assyrian aggression in the 12th century B.C.E.

The 1993 discovery of the Tel Dan Stela, an Aramaic-language stone inscription that mentions Israel and DAVID and apparently was written by Hazael, the king of Aram and the greatest Aramaean warrior, brings these two strands together in a historical and religious debate.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The historian is faced with the dilemma of determining when this people first came into existence versus when there is a historical written record about them. The Aramaeans presumably were a West Semitic-speaking people who lived in the Syrian and Upper Mesopotamian region along the Habur River and the Middle Euphrates for the bulk of the second millennium B.C.E., if not earlier.

Their first uncontested appearance in the written record occurred when Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.E.) claimed to have defeated them numerous times. They very well may be connected to the Amorites who previously had been in that area before they spread out across the ancient Near East just as the Aramaeans would do 1,000 years later.

The early stages of Aramaean history are known not through their own writings, but from what others wrote about them. When the Assyrian Empire went into decline, the Assyrian references to the Aramaeans ceased. Presumably they continued to be the primarily pastoral people that the Assyrians had first encountered and lacked the urban-based political structure of the major powers of the region. They used this time to establish themselves in a series of small polities centering in modern Syria.

The void in the record changed in 853 B.C.E. when, thanks to the Assyrians, the Aramaeans again appear in a historical inscription. They do so in the records of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), an Assyrian king who sought repeatedly to extend his empire to the west all the way to the Mediterranean Sea. His primary obstacle to achieving this goal was a coalition of peoples including Arabs, Egyptians, Israelites, and Aramaeans. According to the Assyrian inscriptions, it was Hadad-idr (Hadad-ezer, c. 880–843 B.C.E.) of Aram who led the coalition. The king was named after the leading deity of the Aramaeans, Hadad, the storm god. That deity is probably better known as Baal, a title meaning “lord,” than by his actual name.

Shalmaneser tried again in 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E. to no avail. At that point the coalition crumbled, enabling Shalmaneser to focus on the new ruler of Aram, Hazael (c. 843–803 B.C.E.), a “son of a nobody” (meaning a usurper). Even though Hazael now stood alone, ASSYRIA was unable to prevail in 841, 838, and 837 B.C.E. Shalmaneser then stopped trying. The withdrawal of Assyria from the land provided Hazael with the opportunity to expand his own rule. His success produced the pinnacle of Aramaean political power during the remaining years of the ninth century B.C.E. Hazael’s stature in the ancient Near East is attested by the Assyrian use of “House of Hazael” for the Aramaean kingdom in the eighth century B.C.E., and later Jewish historian JOSEPHUS’s discussion of Hazael’s legacy in Damascus in the first century C.E.

Eventually Assyria did prevail over Aram. Around 803 B.C.E. Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.) attacked Aram and its new king, Ben-Hadad (c. 803–775 B.C.E.), the son of Hazael. The weakening of Aram aided Israel, which enjoyed resurgence during the first half of the eighth century B.C.E. The political life of the Aramaeans soon ended when Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) absorbed all the Aramaean states into the Assyrian Empire.

In a great irony of history the Assyrians required a more flexible and accessible language through which to govern their multi-peopled empire. Their CUNEIFORM

language was inadequate for the task. Centuries earlier, perhaps around 1100 B.C.E., the Aramaeans had adopted the 22-letter Phoenician alphabet. Following the Assyrian conquest of the Aramaeans, the latter’s language was accorded special status within the empire and then became the lingua franca of the realm. Its usage continued for centuries including among the Jews.

BIBLICAL EVIDENCE

The writers of the Jewish Bible were of mixed opinion concerning the origin of the Aramaeans. In some biblical translations they appear as *Syrians*, reflecting the Greek-derived name for their land, a name that continues to be used to this very day.

In Genesis 10:22, Aram is a grandson of Noah and son of Shem. This genealogy puts the Aramaean people in Syria on par with the Elamites (in modern Iran) and the Assyrians (in modern Iraq). By contrast in Genesis 22:19, the Aramaeans are grandsons of Abraham’s brother Nahor and thus comparable to Jacob, the grandson of Abraham. In Amos 9:7, the Aramaeans had their own exodus relationship with Yahweh from Kir (sometimes spelled *Qir*) west of the Middle Euphrates, just as Israel had had from Egypt under MOSES.

Just as the archaeological record of the Aramaeans contains information involving Israel not found in the Bible, the Bible contains information about the Aramaeans during a time of minimal archaeological information about them. Biblical scholarship has struggled to integrate the archaeological and biblical data into a single story. Examples of points of contention include

1. Do the references to the Aramaeans in the stories of biblical PATRIARCHS better fit the circumstances of the 10th century B.C.E. in the time of David and SOLOMON?
2. What was David’s relationship with the Aramaeans particularly as recounted in II Samuel 8 and 10?
3. What was Israelite king AHAB’s relationship with the Aramaeans particularly as recounted in I Kings 20 and 22?
4. What was Hazael’s relationship with Israel during the Jehu dynasty, given the contrasting comments by the Israelite prophet Elijah in I Kings 19:15–17 and his successor the prophet Elisha in II Kings 8:8–29? According to the biblical text, Elisha was right to weep when he names Hazael king of Aram, given the devastation which the new king would wreak on Israel (see II Kings 10:32, 12:17–18, 13:3). These biblical accounts do agree with the Assyrian account that Hazael was not heir to the throne.

5. What is the solution to the double murder mystery of Israelite king Jehoram and Judahite king Ahaziah: Was the murderer the Israelite usurper Jehu (II Kings 9–10) or the Aramaean king Hazael (Tel Dan Stela)?

According to the biblical record, during the last century of Aram's existence, Ramot Gilead in the Transjordan and the northern Galilee appear to have been a continual source of contention between Israel and Damascus. The biblical accounts in II Kings describe the ebb and flow to ownership of the land, with Hazael representing the pinnacle of Aramaean conquest, and Jeroboam II (c. 782–748 B.C.E.), the height of Israelite success.

During this time Assyria occasionally ventured into this arena generally to attack Aram, indirectly benefiting Israel. All this political maneuvering came to an end when Tiglath-pileser III ended the independent political existence of Aram in 732 B.C.E. Just over a decade later Israel fell to the Assyrians.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; ELAM; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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PETER FEINMAN

Archaic Greece

The Archaic Period in Greek history (c. 700–500 B.C.E.) laid the groundwork for the political, economic, artistic, and philosophical achievements of the Classical Period. Perhaps one of the greatest gifts to Western civilization by the ancient Greeks was the beginning of democratic government and philosophy. The seventh century B.C.E. witnessed the decline of the old aristocratic order that had dominated Greek politics and the rise of the tyrant.

For the Greeks the term *tyrant* referred to someone who had seized power through unconstitutional means. Tyrants were often accomplished men from aristocratic families who had fallen from political grace. They rode the tide of discontent and demand for more opportunities spawned by population and

economic growth to lead the charge against the old aristocracy. In order to help solidify their positions they often encouraged trade and business and sponsored ambitious building projects throughout their city-state. Tyrannies did not last beyond the third generation as the sons and grandsons of tyrants typically lacked the political skills and base of support enjoyed by their father and grandfather.

The Archaic Period saw the continuation of Greek migration that had begun late in the Greek Dark Ages. An increase in population and the resulting land shortage combined with economic growth, primarily in trade, spurred the movement in search of new lands, colonies, and trading posts. The economic expansion brought the Greeks into extensive contact with other peoples and led to the development of Greek colonies throughout the Mediterranean, Ionia, and even into the Black Sea region.

The growing economic prosperity of the Archaic Period led to cultural changes as city-states viewed building projects, particularly of temples, as expressions of their civic wealth and pride. During this period the Greeks used with greater frequency the more graceful Ionic style in their public buildings.

Colonization and trade had brought the Greeks into more frequent contact with other great civilizations, such as Egypt. Some scholars give credit to Egypt and her development of large columned halls as influencing the Greeks and their move toward monumental architecture. The move toward monumental architecture was further encouraged as stone replaced wood in public buildings such as temples, treasuries, and the agora as it transformed from a public meeting site to a local marketplace. In addition to the use of the Ionic column, relief sculptures illustrating mythological scenes increasingly appeared on the pediments and entablatures of late sixth century B.C.E. temples.

The seventh century B.C.E. saw the rise of LYRIC POETRY, a song accompanied by a lyre. Unlike epic poetry (such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), lyric poetry is set in the present and tells the interests and passions of the author. Lyric poetry provides us with a rare insight to the travails of an individual versus the epic sagas involving entire states.

The poet Archilochus wrote a poem wishing harm to a man who had rejected the author as unsuitable for his daughter. SAPPHO, a poetess from the island of Lesbos, wrote a hymn to Aphrodite asking for assistance in a matter of love—her love for another woman. Both poems speak directly and passionately to the audience on matters of a very personal nature.



An illustration depicts life in ancient Greece: A musician plays the lyre for his audience—the seventh century B.C.E. saw the rise of lyric poetry, the performance of a song accompanied by a lyre. Such lyric poetry is set in the present and tells the interests and passions of the author.

In this period the Greeks took the creation of a practical item, pottery, and turned it into such a beautiful piece of art that it spawned cheap imitations and demand for the pieces throughout the Mediterranean. Greek pottery in the seventh century B.C.E. was dominated by Corinthian pottery and its portrayal of animal life. Athenian pottery and its portrayal of mythical themes rose to prominence in the sixth century B.C.E. The same century also saw the shift from black figures engraved on a red background to drawing red figures on a black background, which allowed for more detail and movement in their figures.

Perhaps the greatest contribution made to Western civilization by the Archaic Greeks was in the realm of ideas further developed during the Classical Period that continue to influence us, such as the search for a rational view of the universe, a “scientific” explanation for the world, and the birth of philosophy by the

cosmologists in sixth century B.C.E. Miletus. In addition, the Archaic Greeks bequeathed to humanity the concept of democratic government, wherein members of the POLIS (i.e., free men) enjoyed social liberty and freedom and willingly submitted to laws enacted directly by their fellow citizens.

See also GREEK COLONIZATION; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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Arianism

Arianism receives its name from Arius, a Christian priest of ALEXANDRIA who taught that the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, is not God in the same sense as the Father. He believed that the Son of God did exist before time, but that the Father created him and therefore the Son of God is not eternal like the Father. Arius was accustomed to say of the Son of God: "There was a time when he was not."

When the bishop Alexander opposed Arius, he took his case to EUSEBIUS, bishop of Nicomedia, who had the ear of Emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. In order to put an end to the disputes that arose because of Arius's teaching, Constantine called for a general council that met at Nicaea in 325 C.E. Arius and his followers were condemned by 318 bishops at Nicaea who also drew up a creed laying down the orthodox view of the Trinity. Known as the Nicene Creed, it states that the Son of God is "God from God, Light from Light, True God from True God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father . . ." The term used to express the idea that the Son of God is consubstantial, or of the "same substance," as the Father, *homoousios*, became a rallying cry for the orthodox side, expressing the unity of nature between the Father and the Son of God.

The years following the COUNCIL OF NICAEA were turbulent, in which many groups opposed the teaching of the council. The reason Arianism continued to exert influence after its condemnation was due in large part to the emperors of this period. Some were openly sympathetic to this heresy, while others—wanting political peace and unity in the empire—tried to force compromises that were unacceptable to those fighting for the Son of God's equality with the Father. Some bishops were orthodox in their understanding of the Son of God as truly God, but they were opposed to the word *homoousios* because they could not find it in scripture. Others feared that the word smacked of Sabellianism—an earlier heresy that had made no ultimate distinction between the Father and the Son of God, holding that the divine persons were merely different modes of being God.

The defender of the orthodox position was ATHANASIUS, the successor to Alexander in the diocese of Alexandria. Athanasius vigorously opposed all forms of Arianism, teaching that the Son must be God in the fullest sense since he reunites us to God through his death on the cross. One who is not truly God, he argued, cannot bring us a share in the divine life. Athanasius went into exile five times for his indefatigable defense of Nicaea. A synod held under his presidency in Alexandria in 362

rallied together the orthodox side after clearing up misunderstandings due to terminology. This synod, along with the efforts of the CAPPADOCIANS, theologians who took up the banner of orthodoxy after Athanasius's death, paved the way for the Council of Constantinople in 381, which reaffirmed the Nicene Creed and its condemnation of Arianism.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Aristophanes

(450–388 B.C.E.) *Greek playwright*

Aristophanes was a leading dramatist of ancient Athens and, owing to the quantity and quality of his works that have been preserved, is customarily recognized as being the leading comic playwright of his society and age. Greek comic drama passed through two main phases, referred to as Old Comedy and New Comedy. The transition between the two stages included Middle Comedy, which is largely conjectural, although the last work of Aristophanes is often ascribed to this stage. Old Comedy featured a chorus, which commented on the action in verse and song, mime and burlesque, as well as a sense of ribaldry, broad political satire, and farce. New Comedy dispensed with the chorus and adopted more of a sense of social realism, although this is still relative. As a representative of the end of one phase, Aristophanes was working in a time of innovation and change, and as might be expected, his works excited both favorable and unfavorable comment.

The entire canon of Aristophanes' works is not known, but it is believed to have extended to perhaps 40 works, of which 11 have survived in partial or complete forms. His career coincided with the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, and this formed the backdrop of many of his surviving major works. Aristophanes' most fantastical play is *The Birds*, which follows the adventures of a group of birds who become so disaffected by life in their home city that they leave to establish their own, which is called Cloud Cuckoo Land and is suspended between heaven and earth.

The Birds can be read as an attack on the rulers of Athens and the idea that people would be better off elsewhere. *Acharnians* is an earlier play, which more directly addresses the misery of war. In *Frogs* the actions of the gods are explicitly brought into the sphere of humanity as Dionysus descends into hell to retrieve a famous tragedian to produce work that could enlighten the lives of the people of Athens, given the currently woeful state of that art in the city.

See also GREEK DRAMA.

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JOHN WALSH

Aristotle

(384–322 B.C.E.) *Greek philosopher*

Aristotle is one of the greatest figures in the history of Western thought. In terms of the breadth and depth of his thought, together with the quality and nature of his analysis, his contribution to a variety of fields is almost unparalleled. His areas of investigation ranged from biology to ethics and from poetics to the categorization of knowledge. Born in Stagira in northern Greece, with a doctor as a father, he studied under Plato for 20 years until Plato's death and then left to travel to Asia Minor and then the island of Lesbos.

He received a request in about 342 B.C.E. from King PHILIP OF MACEDON to supervise the education of his son ALEXANDER, who was 13 at that time. He consented and prepared to teach Alexander the superiority of Greek culture and the way in which a Homeric hero in the mold of Achilles should dominate the various barbarians to the east. Alexander went on to conquer much of the known world, although he failed to observe Aristotle's instruction to keep Greeks separate from barbarians by pursuing a policy of intermarriage and adoption of eastern cultural institutions. Alexander proved to be an obstinate student, and Aristotle's influence was slight.

Once this tutelage was completed, Aristotle retired first to Stagira and then to Athens to establish his own academy. He continued to be accompanied by former pupils of Plato such as Theophrastus. His academy became known as the Lyceum. Aristotle wrote his most

developed works at this time, but much of what has been passed down through the ages was subsequently edited, and much of his work gives the impression that it contains interpolated material and other notes. His works were translated into Latin and Arabic and became immensely influential throughout the Western world. Aristotle departed Athens for the island of Euboea in 322 B.C.E. and died that year.

SCIENTIFIC WORKS

At the basis of Aristotle's works is his close observation of the world and his astoundingly powerful attempts to understand and reconcile the nature of observed phenomena with what might be expected. This is perhaps most easily witnessed in Aristotle's scientific works, including the *Meteorologica*, *On the Movement of Animals*, and *On Sleep and Sleeplessness*. Aristotle's works were deeply rooted in the real world, since the establishment of fact is central to the inquiry. This is the strand of Aristotle's work that was later developed by scholars such as Roger Bacon and early scientific experimenters.

CATEGORIES

Aristotle's classification of all material phenomena into categories is contained in his work of the same name. According to this method, everything was part of substance and could be classified as such, while some individual items would be classified as an individual item. The latter are considered to be qualities rather than essential parts of substance. The ways in which Aristotle organized these categories does not always appear intuitively correct, which reflects differences in methods of thinking and language. He also distinguished between form and matter. Form is a specific configuration of matter, which is the basis or substance of all physical things. Iron is a substance or representation of matter, for example, which can be made into a sword. The sword is a potential quality of iron, and a child is potentially a fully grown person. It is in the nature of some matter, therefore, to emerge in a particular form. If form can be said to emerge from no matter, then it would do so as god.

Whether one thing is itself or another thing depends on the four causes of the universe. The material cause explains what a thing is and what is its substance; the final cause explains the purpose or reason for the object; the formal cause defines it in a specific physical form, and the efficient cause explains how it came into existence. According to Aristotle's thinking, all physical items can be explained and accounted for fully by reference to these four causes. In a similar way his exposition of the syllogism in all its possible forms

and the definition of which of these are valid and to what extent are an effort to establish a system that is inclusive and universal and is both elegant and parsimonious in construction. The syllogism is Aristotle's principal contribution to the study of logic.

POETICS

Aristotle's methods enabled him to make a number of influential contributions to language and to discourse. His *Sophistical Refutations*, for example, analyzes the use of language to identify the forms of argument that are valid and discard false or disreputable discourse that is aimed at winning an argument rather than seeking the truth. Aristotle, like SOCRATES and Plato before him, was convinced of the primacy of the search for truth; no matter how uncomfortable this may prove to be. This placed him in occasional conflict with the Sophists, who were more willing to teach pupils to use philosophical discourse for self-advancement. Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* was aimed at determining the extent to which scientific reasoning rested on appropriately considered and evaluated premises that flow properly from suitable first principles. He applied the same rigorous approach to his examination of the Athenian POLIS and also to the study of tragedy in the *Poetics*.

The *Poetics* remains one of Aristotle's most influential works. It aims to outline the various categories of plot and chain of cause and events that are appropriate for the stage and the ways in which the various elements of theater should interact. His conception of the properly tragic character as one whose inevitable downfall is brought about by a character flaw, and that the anagnoresis, or reversal of fortune, was the plot device by which this most commonly was brought about, dominated the production of drama until the modern age.

ARISTOTELIANISM

A number of prominent scholars and thinkers of the medieval ages, called Aristotelians, seized upon Aristotle's methods. From the time of Porphyry (260–305 C.E.), the Aristotelian method of analysis was used as a weapon to attack Christianity. This raised a theme that recurred numerous times throughout western Europe, particularly in the subsequently developed universities. While Arabic scholars generally saw no problem in utilizing the dialectical method as a tool in helping to understand the ways in which the physical universe worked, those from Christian countries faced opposition when Aristotelian thought was classified as irreligious or blasphemous. This was determined by the prevailing political

and religious environment and meant that some scholars were able to avail themselves of Aristotelian thought quite freely, while others were constrained from doing so and their insights were lost to history. Among the former are, notably, Thomas Aquinas (1225–74 C.E.), whose writings investigated the canon of Aristotle with considerable intensity and clarity.

Albertus Magnus (1200–80 C.E.), an important tutor of Aquinas, had achieved a great deal in integrating Aristotelian thought and methods into the mainstream of Christian thought in terms of responsible philosophical inquiry. Together with Roger Bacon (1220–92 C.E.), the Aristotelians made progress toward experimental science that would eventually flourish with the scientific method.

In the Islamic world Aristotelianism is perhaps best known in the person of Ibn Sina (980–1037 C.E.), the Persian physician and philosopher whose ideas perhaps came the closest of all Muslim thinkers to uniting Islamic belief with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Ibn Sina shared Aristotle's devotion to the systematic examination of natural phenomena and his support for logical determinism brought him into conflict with religious authorities. His religious beliefs tended toward the mystic, possibly as a means of resolving the difficulties inherent in the gap between observable and comprehensible phenomena and divine revelations. The eastern part of the Islamic world had enjoyed the infusion of ideas from the Hellenistic tradition for some centuries and so was better able to integrate concepts more peaceably than in, for example, the western Islamic states of the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently the beneficial impact of Aristotle's protoscientific method may be discerned in many of the scholarly works of the medieval Islamic world. This also provided a route by which ideas could be transmitted further east.

See also PLATONISM; SOPHISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Ark of the Covenant

The political and cult symbol of ISRAEL before the destruction of the Temple was the Ark of the Covenant. This cult object was constantly found with the Israelites and treasured by them from the time of MOSES until the time of the invasion of the Babylonians. It was a rectangular chest made of acacia wood, measuring 4 feet long by 2.5 feet wide by 2.5 feet high. The Ark was decorated and protected with gold plating and carried by poles inserted in rings at the four lower corners. There was a lid (Hebrew: *kipporet*, "mercy seat" or "propitiatory") for the top of the Ark, and perched on top of the monument were two golden angels or cherubs at either end with their wings covering the space over the Ark.

The first interpretations about the Ark were simple: It was simply the repository for the stone tablets of laws that Moses received on MOUNT SINAI. It was housed in a tent and on pilgrimage alongside the children of Israel in the desert. Ancient peoples would preserve treaties or covenants in such a fashion.

Soon, however, the Ark became charged with deeper latent powers and purposes. For one thing it was the place where the divine being would choose to make some revelation and communication with Israel. Moses would go there for his meetings with God. So the Ark became more than a receptacle for an agreement; God's presence filled the Ark. A parallel to this notion is the *qubbah*, the shrine that Arab nomads carry with them for divination and direction as they search for campsites and water. In a similar way the Ark was a supernatural protection—called a palladium—that ensured that Israel would never lose in battle. In this sense many Near Eastern cities and nations often had some token of divine protection. Similarly, the Greeks often symbolized their military invincibility through divine emblems such as Athena's breastplate in Athens and Artemis's stone in Ephesus.

When the Jerusalem temple was built under SOLOMON, the Ark took on a more complex meaning. It

had to take into account the kingdom of DAVID and Solomon, the capital city of Jerusalem, and the rituals of temple and sacrifice. So the Ark became the throne or the divine contact point for God's rule over the world. The Ark was no longer housed in a tent; it had its own inner courtroom. The angelic representation over the chest became a divine seat, or at least a footstool. Ancient artistic representations of this concept have been discovered in other cultures of the FERTILE CRESCENT: Human or divine kings are often depicted as sitting on a throne supported by winged creatures.

The Ark disappeared from Jerusalem after the Babylonians invaded in the sixth century B.C.E., but it did not disappear from later popular imagination. Some believed that Jeremiah the prophet or King JOSIAH hid it, others that angels came and took it to heaven; and to this day, Ethiopian Christians believe that they have it safeguarded in their country. That the Ark could fall into godless hands was considered to be more catastrophic than the destruction of the Temple. Whatever the cause, JOSEPHUS said that it was not present in the rebuilt temple of HEROD.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Armenia

Located at the flashpoint between the Roman and Persian Empires, "Fortress Armenia" stretched through eastern Anatolia to the Zagros Mountains. Armenia was a kingdom established during the decline of Seleucid control. Its independence ended with its incorporation into the Roman Empire in the third century C.E. The region was inhabited after the Neolithic Period, and evidence of high culture is evident from the Early Bronze Age. Urartu was an important regional power in the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.E.

The INDO-EUROPEANS arrived from western Anatolia in this period and formed a new civilization that was Armenian-speaking and based on the local culture. The conversion of Armenia to Christianity is associated with a number of stages or traditions. The most

important one was the work of Gregory Luzavorich, the “Illuminator” (d. 325 C.E.). Armenians greatly treasure their heritage as the first nation that converted officially to the Christian faith.

Syriac Christianity first influenced Armenia: The Armenian version of the Abgar legend makes Abgar an Armenian king, and the evangelization of Addai is described as a mission to southern Armenia. The influence of Syriac literature and liturgy on Armenia remained strong even after the Greek influence, primarily from Cappadocia, and increased in the third century C.E. The Greek tradition states that Bartholomew was the apostle to the Armenians. The Abgar/Addai legend is earlier than that of Bartholomew. The traditions of the female missionaries and martyrs Rhipsimé and Gaiane are among the earliest accounts of the conversion of Armenia. Tertullian (c. 200 C.E.) also mentions that there were Christians in Armenia.

The conversion of the royal house of Armenia dates officially to 301 C.E., predating the conversion of the Georgian king Gorgasali and the Ethiopian Menelik by a generation. In that year Gregory the Illuminator persuaded King Tiridates III (Trdat the Great, 252–330) to be baptized. Gregory is identified as the founder of the Christian Armenian nation and as the organizer of the Armenian Church. Gregory founded Ejmiatsin, the mother cathedral of the Armenian Church, after an apparition by Jesus Christ who descended from heaven at the site of a significant pagan temple (Ejmiatsin means “The Only-begotten Descended”). Gregory’s original church was at Vagharshapat.

The revelation to found the church at Ejmiatsin coincided with changing political circumstances. Politically, Armenians were always at the mercy of the great powers of Persia and Rome, and in 387 the Roman emperor THEODOSIUS I and the Persian emperor Shapur agreed to partition Armenia, thus ending its independence. As the site of a dominical apparition, the place of Gregory’s Episcopal see, the residence of Armenian Catholicoi, and the most important administrative center of the Armenian Church, Ejmiatsin is for Armenians a holy site on a par with the Church of the Anastasis (Resurrection) in Jerusalem or the Basilica of Bethlehem, where JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was born.

The second most important event of the formative period of Armenian history was Mesrob Mashots’s (c. 400) invention of the Armenian alphabet, which resulted in the translation of the Bible and the liturgy into Armenian and a rapid introduction of

Christian and classical works, translated from Greek and Syriac into Armenian. During the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Armenian Apostolic Church rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and remains to this day one of the non-Chalcedonian churches that adhere to the strict interpretation of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA’s “one nature of the incarnate Logos” formula. For this reason, Armenians are often erroneously and polemically labeled “Monophysites.”

See also CAPPADOCIANS; DIADOCHI (SUCCESSORS); EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; ROMAN EMPIRE; SELEUCID EMPIRE; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

Artaxerxes

(5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) *Persian emperors*

The Persian Empire reached its greatest strength under DARIUS I; under the reign of the three Artaxerxes it began and concluded its decline, ending with ALEXANDER THE GREAT’s conquests in 330 B.C.E. Artaxerxes I, third son of Emperor XERXES I, acceded to the throne in 465 B.C.E. following the murder of his father and his brother Darius, who was first in line to the throne. According to JOSEPHUS, the first century C.E. Jewish historian, Artaxerxes’ pre-throne name was Cyrus. The first century B.C.E. Roman historian Plutarch adds that he was nicknamed “long-armed” due to his right arm being longer than his left. Earlier kings of the Persian Empire, namely CYRUS II, Darius, and Xerxes, were discussed in the comprehensive works of the near contemporary Greek historian HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus, but unfortunately Herodotus’s work did not cover much of Artaxerxes’ reign, and none of the reigns of later kings.

ARTAXERXES I

The Bible refers to Artaxerxes explicitly in Ezra 4:7, in reference to a letter written by the Jews’ enemies in Samaria. Both Ezra and Nehemiah, significant figures in the later history of the biblical Israelite people, arrived in Judah in Palestine to serve the Jews there during the

reign of Artaxerxes. If this is accurate then it was Artaxerxes for whom Nehemiah was cup bearer (Nehemiah 2:1), a position that gave him close access to the king, and it was to him that Nehemiah asked for permission to go to Jerusalem to oversee the rebuilding of the city walls. A. T. Olmstead in *A History of the Persian Empire* states the opinion that it was also Artaxerxes to whom Ezra went in 458 to ask permission to take a group of Jewish exiles back to Judaea in order to reestablish proper worship (Ezra 7:1, 8:1).

During his reign Artaxerxes generally followed the administrative practices of his father Xerxes. However, it was increasingly clear that the empire, having reached its maximum extent under Darius I, Artaxerxes' grandfather, was weakening. Undoubtedly, a key cause was the high levels of taxation, which was stripping the satrapies, the regions of the empire, of gold and silver, enriching Persia's vaults, but fostering discontent among the king's subjects. In 460 ancient Egypt rebelled, drove out the Persian tax collectors, and requested aid from Athens. The Athenians, who were looking for a fight with Persia, sent a fleet; and by 459 nearly all of Egypt was in the hands of the rebel alliance. It was probably in this turbulent period that Ezra made his application to Artaxerxes to allow a contingent of Jews to organize the worship of the returned exiles in Judaea. The Jews of Babylonia were probably some of the more loyal citizens, and since Persian policy supported organized religion, Ezra's appeal met with sympathetic ears.

In the meantime Artaxerxes sent money to the Athenians' Greek rival, Sparta, in order to counter their support of the Egyptian rebellion. Consequently, Athens was defeated at Tanagra (457), and with Judaea quieted, Artaxerxes sent his general Megabyzus at the head of a huge army down through the Levant to Egypt, taking back the country after one and a half years of siege. The resultant defeat left Athens severely weakened and demoralized. In 449 the Callian treaty was agreed between Athens and Persia in Susa, in which the parties accepted the maintenance of the status quo in Asia Minor, namely that those GREEK CITY-STATES that were in either party's control at the time of the treaty stayed under that party's control.

A few years later the general Megabyzus resigned from the army and retired to the satrapy he governed, "The land beyond the River," namely modern-day Israel, Lebanon, and Syria—and there led a revolt. Possibly it was the rebellious courage stirred up by Megabyzus's actions that led local authorities to pull down the Jerusalem walls lest there be another uprising. In 431 hos-

tilities broke out between Athens and Sparta, thereby beginning the long PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Artaxerxes decided to take a position of noninterference and made no effort to slow the course of events, ignoring the entreaties for support from both sides. Artaxerxes I died of natural causes toward the end of 424 B.C.E.

ARTAXERXES II

Artaxerxes II, the grandson of Artaxerxes I, acceded to the throne in March 404 B.C.E. on the death of his father, Darius II. However, the following year his younger brother Cyrus began plotting his overthrow. Cyrus gathered an army, significantly including 10,000 Greek mercenaries, and marched east. Finally battle was drawn in 401 against his brother's army at Cunaxa in central Mesopotamia, but despite initial success on Cyrus's part, his rashness led to a crucial mistake that resulted in his death, and Artaxerxes won the day. This notwithstanding, the Greek mercenaries were allowed to march the thousand miles home, Artaxerxes not wanting to tackle them. This "March of the Ten Thousand" from the heart of the Persian territory became a symbol of the internal weakness of the Persian Empire at that time.

In 396 Sparta began a new war to take back control of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. While the Spartans played off one Persian satrap against another, Artaxerxes, aware of the empire's military weakness, used its vast wealth to buy an alliance with Athens, Sparta's local rival. The Athenians aided the strengthened Persian navy, successfully countering the Spartan threat, with the result that in 387–386 a peace was struck, which once again required Sparta to give up any claims to sovereignty over the Greek cities in Asia Minor.

In 405 Egypt had revolted and remained independent from Persia throughout most of Artaxerxes' reign. In 374 Artaxerxes sent a force to retake Egypt. The attempt failed, reinforcing the impression that the central authority was weakening. With rebellion rife the situation seemed to be slipping out of control and auguring the end of the empire. However, the rebels' Egyptian ally, Pharaoh Nekhtenebef, died unexpectedly in 360, leaving Egypt in chaos and the satraps of Asia Minor to face the wrath of the emperor alone. Rather than risk losing to the central authority, the rebels made peace with Artaxerxes, and many were in fact returned to their satrapies.

ARTAXERXES III

In 358 B.C.E., after a long and moderately successful tenure, though rife with revolts, Artaxerxes II died. His son Ochus acceded to the throne taking the name

Artaxerxes III. Ochus's bloodthirsty reputation—possibly the worst in this regard of any of the Achaemenid kings—was compounded by the murder of all his relations, regardless of sex or age, soon after his accession. However, his ruthless ferocity did not stop revolts from rocking the empire. Ochus made a fresh attempt to take back Egypt in 351 but was repulsed, and this encouraged further rebellions in the western satrapies. In 339 Persia misplayed its hand with Athens by refusing Athenian aid to deal with the rising power of PHILIP OF MACEDON. Persia took on Philip alone but failed to defeat him, and in 338 Philip took overlordship of the whole of Greece.

Greece united under Philip proved impervious to Persian might, and within eight years Persepolis, the Persian royal capital and the whole empire, was to collapse at the hands of Philip's son, Alexander the Great. Ochus's physician, at the command of the powerful eunuch Bagoas, murdered Ochus, and Bagoas made Ochus's youngest son, Arses, king (338–336 B.C.E.). Arses attempted to kill the too powerful Bagoas and was killed, allowing Darius III to become king. Darius survived until his death in 330 B.C.E. at the hands of Alexander.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PHARAOH.

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ANDREW PETTMAN

Aryan invasion

The conquest and settlement of northern India by INDO-EUROPEANS began c. 1500 B.C.E. The event marked the end of the INDUS CIVILIZATION and altered the civilization of the subcontinent. In ancient times seminomadic peoples lived in the steppe lands of Eurasia between the Caspian and Black Seas. They were light skinned and spoke languages that belong to the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan family. They were organized into patrilineal tribes, herded cattle, knew farming, tamed horses and harnessed them to chariots, and used bronze weapons. For reasons that are not clear, the tribes split

up and began massive movements westward, southward, and southeastward to new lands around 2000 B.C.E., conquering, ruling over, and in time assimilating with the local populations. Those who settled in Europe became the ancestors of the Greeks, Latins, CELTS, and Teutons. Others settled in Anatolia and became known as the HITTITES. Another group settled in Iran (*Iran* is a cognate form of the English word *Aryan*). The most easterly group crossed the mountain passes of the Hindu Kush into the Indus River valley on the Indian subcontinent.

Many tribes who called themselves Aryas (anglicized to *Aryans*) moved into India over several centuries. While there are several theories on the decline and fall of the Indus civilization, there is no doubt that the Indus cities were destroyed or abandoned around 1500 B.C.E., at about the same time that the newcomers began to settle in the Indus region. These newcomers lived in villages in houses that did not endure. Thus, there are few archaeological remains in India of the protohistoric age between 1500–500 B.C.E. Historians must therefore rely in part on the literary traditions of the early Aryans for knowledge on the era. The earliest oral literature of the Aryans were hymns and poems composed by priests to celebrate their gods and heroes and used in religious rites and sacrifices. They were finally written down c. 600 B.C.E., when writing was created.

This great collection of poems is called the Rig-Veda, and it is written in Sanskrit, an Indo-European language. Although primarily focused on religion, there are references in the Rig-Veda to social matters and epic battles that the invaders fought and won. Some of the gods might also be deified heroes. The Rig-Veda and other later Vedas remain part of the living Hindu tradition of India.

The Aryans were initially confined to the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent but gradually spread across the north Indian plains to the Ganges River basin. By approximately 500 B.C.E. the entire northern part of the subcontinent had become part of the Aryan homeland, and Aryans dominated the earlier population.

See also VEDIC AGE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Ashoka

(269–232 B.C.E.) *ruler and statesman*

Ashoka (Asoka) was the third ruler of the MAURYAN EMPIRE. Under his long rule the empire that he inherited reached its zenith territorially and culturally. Soon after his death the Mauryan Empire split up and ended. He is remembered as a great ruler in world history and the greatest ruler in India.

Chandragupta Maurya founded the Mauryan dynasty in 326 B.C.E. Both he and his son Bindusara were successful warriors, unifying northern India and part of modern Afghanistan for the first time in history. Ashoka was not Bindusara's eldest son, and there is a gap of time between his father's death and his succession, due perhaps to war with his brothers. Ashoka continued to expand the empire by conquering southward. One war against Kalinga in the southeast was particularly bloody and filled him with remorse. As a result he converted to Buddhism (from Vedic Hinduism) and renounced war as an instrument of policy. He became a vegetarian, prohibited the killing of some animals, and discouraged hunting, urging people to go on pilgrimages instead. He also built many shrines in places associated with Buddha's life. However, he honored all religions and holy men. Ashoka's son and daughter became Buddhist missionaries to CEYLON (present-day Sri Lanka); Indian missionaries to the island also brought the people the advanced arts and technology of India. Around 240 B.C.E. he called the Third Buddhist Council at PATALIPUTRA, his capital city, which completed the Buddhist canons and dealt with differences among the monastic orders.

A great deal is known about the personality and policy of Ashoka because he ordered many of his edicts, laws, and pronouncements engraved on stone pillars and rock surfaces throughout his empire and ordered his officials to read them to the public periodically as instruction. Most of the inscriptions that survived used the Brahmi script, precursor of modern Hindi, but some were in other languages, depending on the vernacular of the district. Ten inscribed pillars survive. Different animals associated with Buddhism adorned the capital of each pillar; the one with lions (the roar of lion, heard far and wide, symbolized the importance of the Buddha's teaching) is the symbol of modern India. Ashoka called the people of the empire his children and said: "At all times, whether I am eating, or in the women's apartments . . . everywhere reporters are posted so that they may inform me of the people's business. . . . For I regard the welfare of the people as my chief duty."

Ashoka lightened the laws against criminals, though he did not abolish the death penalty. He also exhorted his people to practice virtue, be honest, obey parents, and be generous to servants. He forbade some amusements as immoral and appointed morality officers to enforce proper conduct among officials and the people, allowing them even to pry into the households of his relatives. Little is known of his last years. It is also unclear who succeeded him; some sources even say that he was deposed around 232 B.C.E. In any case the Mauryan Empire soon fell into chaos and collapsed. History honors Ashoka as a remarkable man and great king. Present-day India has his lion and the wheel of Buddha's law that adorned the capital of his inscribed pillar as symbols of the nation.

See also MEGASTHENES.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Assyria

The country of Assyria encompasses the north of Mesopotamia, made up of city-states that were politically unified after the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. Assyria derived its name from the city-state Ashur (Assur). This city was subject to the Agade king, Manishtushu, and the Ur III king, Amar-Sin. During the Ur III period, Ashur also appears as the name of the city's patron deity. Scholars have suggested that the god derived his name from the city and, indeed, may even represent the religious idealization of the city's political power.

THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The Old Assyrian period (c. 2000–1750 B.C.E.) began when the city of Ashur regained its independence. Its royal building inscriptions are the first attested writing in Old Assyrian, an Akkadian dialect distinct from the Old Babylonian then used in southern Mesopotamia. This period also saw the institution of the *limmu*, whereby each year became named after an Assyrian official, selected by the casting of lots. The sequence

of *limmu* names is not continuous for the second millennium B.C.E., but has been completely preserved for the first millennium B.C.E. A solar eclipse (dated astronomically to 763 B.C.E.) has been dated by *limmu* and thus provides a fixed chronology for Assyrian and—by means of synchronisms—much of ancient Near Eastern history.

During the Old Assyrian period Ashur engaged extensively in long-distance trade, establishing merchant colonies at Kanesh and other Anatolian cities. Ashur imported tin from Iran and textiles from Babylonia and, in turn, exported them to Kanesh. Due to political upheavals, Kanesh was eventually destroyed, and Assyria's Anatolian trade was disrupted. Before this disaster, moreover, Ashur itself had been incorporated into the growing empire of Eshnunna.

Around the end of the 19th century B.C.E., the Amorite Shamshi-Adad I attacked the Eshnunna empire and conquered the cities of Ekallatum, Ashur, and Shekhna (renamed Shubat-Enlil). With the defeat of MARI in 1796 B.C.E., Shamshi-Adad could rightfully boast that he “united the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates” in northern Mesopotamia. The Assyrian King List was manipulated so as to include Shamshi-Adad in the line of native rulers, despite his foreign origins.

In the new empire Shamshi-Adad reigned as “Great King” in Shubat-Enlil, delegating his elder son, Ishme-Dagan, as “king of Ekallatum” and his younger son, Yasmah-Adad, as “king of Mari.” Government officials were frequently interchanged among the three courts. This mobility had the effect of homogenizing administrative practices throughout the kingdom, as well as creating loyalty to the central administration instead of to native territories. Shamshi-Adad's empire, unfortunately, did not survive him for long. A native ruler, Zimri-Lim, reclaimed Mari and King Hammurabi of Babylon eventually subjugated northern cities such as Ashur and NINEVEH.

The four centuries after Ishme-Dagan are referred to as a “dark age,” when historical records are scarce. During this time the kingdom of MITTANI was founded. As it expanded its territory in northern Mesopotamia, the city-states once united under Shamshi-Adad became separate political units. The Middle Assyrian kingdom (1363–934 B.C.E.) began when Ashur-uballit I threw off the Mitannian yoke. Whereas former rulers had identified themselves with the city of Ashur, Ashur-uballit was the first to claim the title “king of the land of Assyria,” implying that the region had been consolidated as a single territorial state under his reign. In his correspondence to the PHARAOH, Ashur-uballit claimed to

be a “Great King,” on equal footing with the important rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Hatti.

Mitanni remained in the unenviable position of warfare on two fronts: the HITTITES from the northwest and Ashur-uballit's successors from the east. Adad-nirari I annexed much of Mitanni, extending Assyria's western frontier just short of Carchemish. Shalmaneser I turned Mitannian territory into the Assyrian province of “Hanigalbat,” governed by an Assyrian official. His reign also witnessed the first seeds of Assyria's policy on deportation: Conquered peoples were relocated away from their homeland in order to crush rebellious tendencies as well as to exploit new agricultural land for the empire.

Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered Babylon and deposed the Kassite king, Kashtiliash IV. He appointed a series of puppet kings on Babylon's throne, but a local rebellion soon returned control to the Kassites. This Assyrian monarch also set a precedent by founding a new capital, naming it after himself (“Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta”). Tukulti-Ninurta was eventually assassinated by one of his sons, and the rapid succession of the next three rulers suggests violent contention for the throne.

Stability returned to Assyria with the ascension of Ashur-resha-ishi I. Around this time the increased use of iron for armor and weapons greatly influenced the methods of Assyrian warfare. His son, Tiglath-pileser I, achieved great victories in the Syrian region and even campaigned as far as the Mediterranean. He was the first to record his military campaigns in chronological order, thus giving rise to the new genre of “Assyrian annals.”

To the south conflict between Assyria and Babylonia was temporarily halted by the advent of a common enemy: the ARAMAEANS. They were a nomadic Semitic people in northern Syria, who ravaged Mesopotamia in times of famine. Under this invasion Assyria lost its territory and may have been reduced to the districts of Ashur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Kilizi.

NEO-ASSYRIAN KINGDOM

The Neo-Assyrian kingdom (934–609 B.C.E.) began with Ashur-dan II, who resumed regular military campaigns abroad after more than a century of neglect. He and his successors focused their attacks on the Aramaeans to recover areas formerly occupied by the Middle Assyrian empire. Adad-nirari II set the precedent for a “show of strength” campaign, an official procession displaying Assyria's military power, which marched around the empire and collected tribute from

the surrounding kingdoms. This monarch also installed an effective network of supply depots to provision the Assyrian army en route to distant campaigns.

Ashurnasirpal II has been considered the ideal Assyrian monarch, who personally led his army in a campaign every year of his reign. He subjected Nairu and Urartu to the north, controlled the regions of Bit-Zamani and Bit-Adini to the west, and campaigned all the way to the Mediterranean. Shalmaneser III continued his father's tradition of military aggression. From his reign to Sennacherib's (840–700 B.C.E.), the annual campaigns were so regular that they served as a secondary means of dating (i.e., the "Eponym Chronicle"). At Qarqar on the Orontes River in 853 B.C.E., Shalmaneser fought against a coalition led by DAMASCUS, which included "[King] AHAB, the Israelite."

Under Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III military strategy was honed to great effectiveness: When enemies refused to pay regular tribute, a few vulnerable cities would be taken and their inhabitants tortured by rape, mutilations, beheadings, flaying of skins, or impalement upon stakes. This "ideology of terror" was designed to discourage armed insurrection, lest Assyria exhaust its resources. As a last resort, however, the foreign state would be annexed as an Assyrian province. The strategy of forced deportations was employed with reasonable success.

For the next century Assyria experienced a decline due to weakness in its central government, as well as the military dominance of its northern neighbor, Urartu. Tiglath-pileser III (biblical "Pul"), however, restored prestige to the monarchy by curtailing the power of local governors. Instead of levying troops annually, he built up a standing professional army. Tiglath-pileser defeated the Urartians and invaded their land up to Lake Van. In the west an anti-Assyrian coalition was crushed, and the long recalcitrant Damascus was annexed. He also adopted a new policy toward Babylonia. The Assyrian monarchs had traditionally restrained their efforts to control Babylonia, in deference to the latter's antiquity as the ancestral origin of Assyria's own culture and religion. In 729 B.C.E., however, Tiglath-pileser established a precedent by deposing the Babylonian king and uniting Assyria and Babylonia in a dual monarchy.

Hebrew tradition credits Shalmaneser V with the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.E., the very last year of his reign. Two years later, however, Sargon II still had to crush a coalition led by Yaubidi of Hamath, who had fomented rebellion in Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria. The victory was depicted on relief sculptures in the newly founded royal city, Dur-Sharrukin (mod-

ern Khorsabad). After a prolonged struggle, including a defeat by the Elamites at Der (720 B.C.E.), Sargon eventually wrested the Babylonian throne from Merodach-baladan II. In 705 B.C.E., however, Sargon's body was lost in battle, prompting speculation about divine displeasure. Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, eventually decided to move the capital to Nineveh.

During his 701 B.C.E. campaign in Palestine, Sennacherib became the first Assyrian monarch to attack Judah. He also attempted various methods of controlling Babylonia. When direct rule failed, Sennacherib installed a pro-Assyrian native as puppet king. Thereafter, he delegated the control of Babylonia to his son, who was later kidnapped by the Elamites. Finally, in 689 B.C.E. he razed Babylon to the ground. Sennacherib was assassinated by two of his sons, a crime later avenged by another son, Esarhaddon. The latter was successful in his overtures to achieve reconciliation with Babylon. Esarhaddon may have overstretched Assyria's limits, however, when he invaded Egypt and conquered Memphis in 671 B.C.E.

At his death Esarhaddon divided the empire between two sons: Ashurbanipal in Assyria and Shamash-shuma-ukin in Babylonia. Egypt proved troublesome to hold, and Ashurbanipal eventually lost it to Psammetichus I. Moreover, civil war broke out between Assyria and Babylonia. The Assyrians conquered Babylon by 648 B.C.E. and invaded ELAM, which had been Babylon's ally. Although successful, the civil war had taken its toll on Assyrian forces. Also, the crippled Elam was no longer a buffer between Assyria and the expanding state of Media. In 614 B.C.E. the Medes conquered the city of Ashur. Two years later, in coalition with the Babylonians and Scythians, they overthrew Nineveh. The defeated Assyrian forces fled to Haran, but the allied armies pursued them there and effectively ended the Neo-Assyrian kingdom in 609 B.C.E.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; FERTILE CRESCENT; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

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Athanasius

(c. 300–373 C.E.) *theologian and bishop*

Probably first a deacon (311–328 C.E.) ordained by the bishop Alexander, and Alexander's personal secretary at the COUNCIL OF NICAEEA (325 C.E.), Athanasius was elected bishop in 328 C.E. His tenure was marked by his conflict with the Meletian Church in Egypt, and with the pro-Arian bishops within and outside his jurisdiction. Alexander did not enforce the canons of Nicaea with respect to the Meletian bishops in Egypt, and Athanasius met with strong resistance upon his insistence on the Council of Nicaea's decisions. The Meletians made cause with ARIANISM, whose strength in the East was supported by the pro-Arian CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Athanasius was dismissed from his see by a synod of bishops in Tyre in 335, and Emperor Constantine exiled him to Trier. After Constantine's death (July 22, 337) the pro-Orthodox emperor Constantine II reinstated Athanasius.

Athanasius's main opponents were now the Arians, in part because of the support they enjoyed among the conservative anti-Nicaean bishops of the East as well as in the imperial court of some of the emperors. Indeed, Athanasius's periods of exile correspond to pro-Arian emperors or caesars of the East exercising their religious policy. Athanasius was exiled again in 339 because of resentment of bishops in the east, led by EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, to Constantine II's rejection of the decision of the Synod of Tyre and because these bishops were supported by the emperor of the east, Constantius II. Following official recognition by Pope Julius I of Rome and the Council of Sardica (343), which had been convoked by Constantians, the emperor of the West, Constantians himself exerted pressure on Constantius II, and Athanasius was reinstated in 346.

Constantius II became sole emperor after the assassination of Constantians in 350, and Constantius was free to enforce his pro-Arian policy. Synods and letters denouncing Nicaea and its strongest supporter led Athanasius to flee from arrest. From 356 to 361 he hid among the monks of Egypt, although he remained in control of the pro-Nicene clergy through an intelligence network. Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE recalled him in 361 and because of his popularity and success in unifying the pro-Nicene parties in Egypt he was forced to leave ALEXANDRIA in 363 until the death of Julian the same year permitted his return. The pro-Arian emperor Valens (364–378) exiled Athanasius in 365 but in 366 sought his support against the Goths who were sweep-

ing across North Africa, and he was reinstated on February 1. He remained bishop until his death in 373.

Athanasius's theology must be reconstructed from his works, which were composed for specific occasions such as sermons or specific problems such as commentaries, apologia, or polemical tracts particularly against the Arians. Athanasius described the qualities of God in apophatic terms (such as *inconceivable* and *uncreated*) and rejected anthropomorphism, which reflected the Alexandrine tradition and its debt to Platonist philosophy. God is the source of all creation by his will. God created and governs the world through his Logos with whom he is united from before all time. The Logos became united with humanity through the incarnation into an individual body. This incarnation was real, but Christ did not possess the human weaknesses (such as fear and passion). The incarnation was the union of the Logos with a human body; the Logos did not assume a human soul. Athanasius attempted to solve the problem of the human soul in the incarnated Logos through inclusions of this human soul and human "psychic" qualities in his definition of the human body.

See also GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; NEOPLATONISM; PHILO.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

Athenian predemocracy

Ancient Athens underwent a series of governments and reforms before it became the well-known democratic city-state that epitomized the ideals and the culture of ancient Greece. During the Archaic Period, a historical time period lasting from 8000 to 1000 B.C.E., Athens was a city-state governed by a king, known as a *basileus*. Due to Athens's geographic position on a beautiful harbor surrounded by agriculturally rich lands, the city was able to resist invasion and to maintain and expand its influence. As Athens's trade and influence expanded, the king's powers diminished. The Areopagus, a council of Athenian nobles, slowly usurped the king's power. The council, called Areopagus for the name of the hill upon which they met, was filled with nobles who gained wealth and influence from controlling the city's wine and olive oil markets. With their in-

creased wealth they were able to exert more influence over Athens and the king.

Over time Athens became a de facto oligarchy, consisting of the Areopagus and nine elected rulers, known as archons, who were selected by the Areopagus. The archons tended to all matters of state but always had to receive approval for their decisions and actions from the Areopagus. Upon the end of their term archons became members of the Areopagus.

Since rule was controlled by the wealthy, Athenian government ineffectively addressed the issues facing commoners. Since members of the Areopagus dominated olive oil and wine production, everyday wheat farmers were unable to break into these markets. Eventually, wheat prices dropped as Athens began to trade for cheaper wheat, leaving Athenian farmers in debt and often in partial slavery.

With the city-state ripe for reform, prominent Athenians and members of the Areopagus agreed to appoint a dictator in order to reform the government and the economy. Together, they selected SOLON, a prominent Athenian lawmaker, poet, and former archon. Solon voided outstanding debts, freed many Athenians from slavery, banned slavery loans, and promoted wine and olive production by common farmers.

In the constitution that he created Solon established a four-tier class structure. The top two tiers, based on wealth, were able to serve on the Areopagus, while the third class was able to serve on an elected council of 400 citizens, if selected. This council effectively acted as a check upon the Areopagus. The lowest class was permitted to assemble and to elect some local leaders. Judicial courts were reformed, and trial by jury was introduced. As soon as the constitution was finalized Solon gave control of the government back to the Areopagus.

Although the overwhelming majority of Athenians praised his governmental reforms, Solon failed to improve the economy. Peisistratus, a military general, took control and began reforming not just the economy but also religion and culture. He supported Solon's constitution, as long as his supporters were chosen. Upon his death Peisistratus's son, Hippias, was unable to maintain control, and the Athenian ruler was overthrown by Sparta, whose government placed their own supporters in Athenian posts. The Spartans selected Isagoras to lead Athens, but he began disenfranchising too many Athenians, leading to rebellion.

Opposed by CLEISTHENES, Isagoras was eventually forced to flee. Cleisthenes enfranchised all free men in Athens and the surrounding areas and reformed the

government, allowing all male citizens to participate and to vote for a council made up of elected male citizens over the age of 30. In order to ensure that ambitious Athenians were controlled, the council was allowed to "ostracize" citizens by majority vote, banishing them from Athens for at least 10 years. With these reforms Cleisthenes effectively engineered Athens's transition to democracy.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Augustine of Hippo

(354–430 C.E.) *bishop and theologian*

Born in 354 C.E. to a pagan father and a Christian mother, (St.) Monica, in Tagaste in North Africa, Augustine received a classical education in rhetoric on the path to a career in law. During his studies at CARTHAGE in his 19th year, he read CICERO's *Hortensius* and was immediately converted to the pursuit of wisdom and truth for its own sake.

In this early period at Carthage he also became involved with the ideas of Mani and Manichaeism, which taught that good and evil are primarily ontological realities, responsible for the unequal, tension-filled cosmos in which we live. However, the inability of their leaders to solve Augustine's problems eventually led the young teacher to distance himself from the group. Leaving the unruly students of Carthage in 383, Augustine attempted to teach at Rome only to abandon the capital in favor of a court position in Milan the following year.

This step brought him into contact with the bishop of Milan, AMBROSE, whose preaching was instrumental—along with the writings of the philosophers of NEOPLATONISM—in convincing Augustine of the truth of Christianity. He could not commit himself to the moral obligations of baptism, however, because of his inability to live a life of continence. His struggle for chastity is movingly told in his autobiographical work *Confessions*: Hearing of the heroic virtue of some contemporaries who abandoned everything to become monks, Augustine felt the same high call to absolute surrender to God but was held back by his attachment

to the flesh. However, in a moment of powerful grace which came from reading Romans 13:12–14, he was able to reject his sinful life and to choose a permanent life of chastity as a servant of God.

This decision led him first to receive baptism at Ambrose's hands (Easter 387 C.E.) and then to return to North Africa to establish a monastery in his native town of Tagaste. In 391 he was ordained a priest for the town of Hippo, followed by his consecration as bishop in 395. In his 35 years as bishop Augustine wrote numerous sermons, letters, and treatises that exhibit his penetrating grasp of the doctrines of the Catholic faith, his clear articulation of difficult problems, his charitable defense of the truth before adversaries and heretics, and his saintly life.

Augustine's theology was largely shaped by three HERESIES that he combated during his episcopacy: Manicheism, Donatism, and Pelagianism. As a former Manichee himself, he was intent on challenging their dualistic notion of god: He argued that there is only one God, who is good and who created a good world. Evil is not a being opposed to God but a privation of the good, and therefore has no existence of itself. Physical evil is a physical imperfection whose causes are to be found in the material world. Moral evil is the result of a wrong use of free will. In fighting Donatism, Augustine dealt with an ingrained church division that held that the clerics of the church had themselves to be holy in order to perform validly the sacraments through which holiness was passed to the congregation.

In rebutting the Donatists, Augustine laid the foundation for sacramental theology for centuries to come. He insisted that the church on earth is made up of saints and sinners who struggle in the midst of temptations and trials to live a more perfect life. The church's holiness comes not from the holiness of her members but from Christ who is the head of the church. Christ imparts his holiness to the church through the sacraments, which are performed by the bishops and priests as ministers of Christ. In the sacraments Christ is the main agent, and the ministers are his hands and feet on earth, bringing the graces of the head to the members.

Augustine's last battle was in defense of grace. Pelagius, a British monk, believed that the vast majority of people were spiritually lazy. What they needed was to exert more willpower to overcome their vices and evil habits and to do good works. Pelagius denied that humans inherit original sin of their ancestor Adam, the legal guilt inherent in the sin, or its effects on the soul, namely a weakening of the will with an inclination toward sin. He believed that human nature, es-

entially good, is capable of good and holy acts on its own. In his thought grace is only given by God as an aid to enlighten the mind in its discernment of good and evil.

For Augustine, whose own conversion was due to an immense grace of God, the attribution of goodness to the human will was tantamount to blasphemy. God and only God was holy. If humanity could accomplish any good at all, it was because God's grace—won through the merits of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH—was freely given to aid the will in choosing good. Grace strengthens the will by attracting it through innate love to what is truly good. Thus Christ's redemption not only remits the sins of one's past but continually graces the life of the believer in all his or her moral choices. In the midst of this long controversy (c. 415–430) Augustine also developed a theology of the fall of Adam, of original sin, and of predestination.

Augustine is probably best known for his *Confessions*, his autobiography up to the time of his return to North Africa, and for the *City of God*, undertaken as his response to both the pagans and the Christians after the sacking of Rome in 410, the former because they attributed it wrongly to divine retribution and the latter because their faith was shaken by the horrific event.

See also CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Aurelius, Marcus

(121–180 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Marcus Aurelius was the only Roman philosopher king, author of *Meditations* and last of the “good” emperors. The PAX ROMANA began its slow collapse during his reign. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus was born on April 26 in 121 C.E. His father, praetor Marcus Annius Verus, died when Aurelius was only three months old, and his mother, Lucilla, inherited great family wealth. Emperor HADRIAN felt great empathy toward Aurelius, and Hadrian became his mentor. He made Aurelius a priest of the Salian order in 128. By age 12 Aurelius began to practice STOICISM and became extremely ascetic, scarcely sleeping and eating. Hadrian

controlled his education, having Rome's brightest citizens tutor Aurelius. He studied rhetoric and literature under M. Cornelius Fronto, who taught him Latin and remained a mentor for life. In 136 Aurelius met Apollonius the Stoic. Hadrian adopted Aurelius in 138, and he was given the title caesar in 139. Realizing his death was approaching, Hadrian arranged for the future emperor Antoninus Pius (86–161 C.E.) to adopt Aurelius along with Lucius Verus (130–169 C.E.), who became Aurelius's adoptive brother, making them joint heirs to succession.

Aurelius was betrothed in 135 to Annia Galeria Faustina, the younger daughter of Antoninus Pius and Annia Galeria Faustina the Elder. They married in 141 and had 14 children in 28 years of marriage. Only five of their children, one son, the weak and unstable Commodus (161–192), and four daughters would survive to adulthood.

By 147 Aurelius gained the power of *tribunicia potestas*, and he shared these powers with Pius. Aurelius was admitted to the Senate and held consulships in 140, 145, and 161 C.E., a rare honor for a private citizen. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus became co-emperors on March 7, 161. As co-emperors, Verus conducted battles in the east while Aurelius concentrated on fighting the ever-increasing threat from the German tribes in the north. Aurelius spent the majority of his reign fighting against the encroachment of the formidable German tribes that opposed Roman rule. Aurelius fought the Marcomanni and the Quadi, who settled in northern Italy, and the Parthenians, who moved into the east of the Roman Empire.

Marcus Aurelius instituted positive reform in various elements of Roman society, including changes to Roman civil law. Upon the advice of the revered jurist Quintus Ceridius Scaevola he abolished inhumane criminal laws and severe sentencing. In family law he alleviated the absolute patriarchy fathers held over their children. Aurelius granted women equal property rights and the right to receive property on behalf of children. He created the equivalent of modern-day trust companies enabled to distribute parental/family legacies at the age of majority. Realizing the value of children in Roman society, Aurelius endowed orphanages and hospitals. In the military he allowed promotion only through merit. During the numerous economic crises of his reign Aurelius refused to raise taxes and used his own wealth many times to cover the financial stress caused by continuous warfare. He also debased the silver coinage several times.

Returning legions serving under the command of Verus (who died in 169) brought plague to Rome from

the East. Excessive and repeated flooding destroyed the granaries, leading to starvation. Avidius Cassius (130–175), believing Aurelius was dead, unsuccessfully attempted to seize the throne in 175. He had little support once people realized Aurelius was still alive. His own men murdered him. Realizing the tragedy of Cassius's error, Aurelius would allow no harm to come to Cassius's family. The troops that Cassius had commanded once again brought plague back from the East.

During his campaigns Aurelius wrote his 12 books of *Meditations* in Greek, detailing his reflections of life. His wife Faustina died in 175 at age 45. By 177 he allowed the self-indulgent Commodus full participation in his government. Aurelius died on March 17, 180 C.E., in Vindobona, present-day Vienna, at age 58.

See also: ANTONINE EMPERORS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Axial Age and cyclical theories

The Axial Age is known as a pivotal period in history that dates from 800 to 200 B.C.E. Coined in the 20th century by the philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), the *Axial Age* refers to the period of history when the following major figures, among others, emerged: CONFUCIUS; LAOZI; GAUTAMA BUDDHA; Zarathustra; the Jewish prophets Elijah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; the Greek thinkers Parmenides, Heraclitus, Plato, SOCRATES, and Archimedes; as well as the Greek tragedians. What the aforementioned individuals all have in common are their respective articulations of what have been called transcendental visions—articulations that differed greatly from the cosmological understandings of their time.

The various prophets, philosophers, and sages began to ask a rather common set of ultimate questions regarding the nature and origin of the cosmos and all its various components, including themselves and their respective communities. Their inquiries and experiences



Babylon, early period

Babylon was the most famous Mesopotamian city in antiquity, located along the Euphrates River, 55 miles southwest of modern Baghdad. Major excavations began in 1899 by the Germans and, in recent times, have been continued by Iraq's Department of Antiquities.

The city is first mentioned by the Agade king, Shar-kali-sharri (2217–2193 B.C.E.), who built two temples in Babylon. During the Ur III period (2112–2004 B.C.E.), various officials bore the title “governor of Babylon.” In the following centuries Mesopotamia experienced a large influx of west Semitic nomads, who settled into new cities or populated existing ones. The Sumerians designated these migrants as Martu (the west), from which the Akkadians derived Amurru (Amorites).

In 1894 B.C.E. the Amorite Sumu-abum founded a dynasty at Babylon. His successor, Sumu-la-el, extended Babylon's power by capturing the city-states of Sippar, Kish, and Dilbat. Others, however, were also expanding their kingdoms. Shamshi-Adad I succeeded in conquering all of Upper Mesopotamia, including the important cities of Ashur and MARI. Rim-Sin of Larsa dominated the south, eventually annexing the longtime rival kingdom of Isin. The balance of power further depended on major city-states such as Eshnunna, Qatna, and Yamhad (Aleppo).

The Old Babylonian period began in 1792 B.C.E., with Hammurabi's ascent to Babylon's throne. He is perhaps best known for his Law Code, which contains

many parallels with laws in the Jewish scriptures. In Hammurabi's first 28 years only three campaigns are recorded. Most of his time was spent building Babylon's military defenses, economic infrastructure, and temples, as well as establishing diplomacy with foreign powers. After Shamshi-Adad died in 1782 B.C.E., Assyrian power slowly declined. Hammurabi, nonetheless, continued a defensive coalition with Rim-Sin, motivated by the proximity between their respective territories. He also formed friendly relations with Zimri-Lim, the native ruler who reclaimed Mari's throne from Yasmah-Adad (Shamshi-Adad's son).

From 1764 B.C.E. Hammurabi began to adopt a more aggressive military stance. A coalition of troops from ELAM, ASSYRIA, and Eshnunna was defeated by Babylon. The very next year, aided by Mari and Eshnunna, Hammurabi turned against his ally, Rim-Sin. With Larsa subjugated, the southern cities under its control capitulated to Babylon. For the first time since the great third-millennium empires, both SUMER and AKKAD were united under one kingdom. Conscious of the significance of this, Hammurabi took for himself Naram-Sin's title “King of the Four Quarters (of the World).” Despite changes in ruling dynasties, Babylon would remain the region's capital until the time of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Indeed, all of south Mesopotamia would later be named “Babylonia.”

Hammurabi's ambition now turned toward Upper Mesopotamia. He betrayed Zimri-Lim and conquered Mari in 1761 B.C.E. The prologue to Hammurabi's Law Code mentions that northern cities such as Ashur,

NINEVEH, and Tuttul were united under his control. Babylon's hegemony, however, did not survive Hammurabi for long. Barely a decade after his death his son Samsu-iluna was threatened by the invasion of the Kassites, whose homeland was in the Zagros Mountains. To the south the rise of the First Sealand dynasty encroached on Babylon's territories. For one and a half centuries Hammurabi's successors clung to a dynasty that was a mere shadow of its former glory. In 1595 B.C.E. Murshili I, king of the HITTITES, sacked Babylon, terminated its dynasty, and marked the end of the Old Babylonian period.

See also FERTILE CRESCENT; UR.

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JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

Babylon, later periods

Shortly after Murshili I, king of the HITTITES, sacked Babylon in 1595 B.C.E., political intrigue in the Hittite court compelled him to return to Hatti. Two contenders filled the sudden power vacuum in southern Mesopotamia. In the southern marshlands was a kingdom later known as the First Sealand dynasty. Its kings adopted names that suggest a proclivity to revive the ancient culture of SUMER. In the north were the Kassites, a tribal group originating from the Zagros Mountains. Already known from the time of Hammurabi, their dynasty lasted an unprecedented 576 years.

By c. 1475 B.C.E. the Kassites defeated the Seal-and dynasty and ruled over all of Babylonia (southern Mesopotamia), which they called "Karduniash." The remarkable stability of Kassite rule consolidated the region's identity as a single territorial state (rather than individual city-states), a unity that persisted even after Kassite times. Although foreigners in origin, the Kassites assimilated well into the local culture, adopting native Babylonian customs, language, and religion. Several scholars have dated the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish* to the Kassite period. This epic elevates Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, to the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon, thus reflecting the political primacy of the city of Babylon.

Under the Kassites, Babylonia became an international power. During c. 1500–1200 B.C.E. the rulers

whom PHARAOH regarded as equals were addressed as Great Kings and included the leaders of Babylonia, Hatti, MITTANI, ASSYRIA, Alashiya (Cyprus), and Arzawa (in southwest Anatolia). Their courts kept in contact by direct messenger service, using the Babylonian dialect as the lingua franca. During the reign of the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, so much gold was being imported from Egypt that, for the only time in Babylonian history, gold replaced silver as the standard for transactions. In turn, Babylonia was sought after for its trade in lapis lazuli and fine horses.

Assyria achieved its independence with the decline of Mitanni, and a succession of particularly capable kings ruled Assyria in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E.. Understandably, Babylon began to express concerns about the growing power of this near neighbor. The Kassite king implored the pharaoh not to recognize Assyrian independence and renewed alliances with the Hittites against this common enemy. Nonetheless, in less than a century the Assyrian monarch Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered Babylon and deposed King Kashtiliash IV. A series of puppet kings was appointed in Babylon, until local rebellion returned control to the Kassites. Eventually, however, the Elamites raided Babylonia and plundered such national treasures as Naram-Sin's Victory Stela, Hammurabi's Law Code, and even Marduk's cult statue from Babylon. In c. 1155 B.C.E., the Elamites deposed King Enlil-nadin-ahi, hence terminating the long-lasting Kassite dynasty.

The following period is noteworthy as the only time in Babylonian history when native dynasties ruled the region. Situated in the south, the city of Isin perhaps evaded Elamite devastation in northern Babylonia. A second Isin dynasty (1157–1026 B.C.E.) was quick to ascend Babylon's throne. The most famous of its rulers was Nebuchadnezzar I (r. 1124–103 B.C.E.), who was celebrated as a national hero for avenging ELAM's raid on Babylon and for recovering Marduk's cult statue. When the Babylonian Marduk-nadin-ahhe raided Ekallatum, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I retaliated by attacking Babylon and burning its royal palaces. Animosity between Assyria and Babylonia, however, was temporarily halted by the rise of a common threat: the ARAMAEANS. These were a nomadic Semitic people in northern Syria, who ravaged Mesopotamia during times of famine, eventually contributing to the demise of the second Isin dynasty. Some scholars think that the civil upheavals narrated in the *Epic of Erra* describe conditions resulting from Aramaean invasions.

Northwest Babylonia was the area most debilitated by the Aramaeans, and perhaps it was natural

that native resurgence should now find its strength from the south. In any case the Second Sealand dynasty, 1026–1005 B.C.E., followed by the Kassite Bazi dynasty (1004–985 B.C.E.) and even an Elamite dynasty (984–979 B.C.E.). The few written records of 979–814 B.C.E. seem to indicate good relations between Babylonia and Assyria, which were ratified by treaty agreements.

During 814–811 B.C.E., however, the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad raided Babylonia, deported two Babylonian rulers, and reduced the region to a state of anarchy. When Assyria declined after his reign, the Chaldeans readily filled the power vacuum in Babylonia. These were a tribal people in southern Babylonia, who were more sedentary than the Aramaeans and had well assimilated into Babylonian culture. Under the leadership of Eriba-Marduk from the Bit-Yakin tribe, the Chaldeans seized Babylon from the Assyrians.

The ascension of Nabonassar (747–734 B.C.E.) marks the point when the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic canon begin their systematic account of Babylonian history. It is questionable whether this monarch himself was Chaldean, as he appeared in conflicts with both Aramaeans and Chaldeans. According to Hellenistic tradition, the Nabonassar Era was the time when astronomy became highly developed and the name Chaldean became synonymous with the avocation of astronomer. Nabonassar received strong military support from the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser III, and Babylonia may actually have come under vassalage to Assyria during this time. The growing power of the Neo-Assyrian empire resulted in a polarization of Babylonian opinion: Cities in northern Babylonia, closer to the Assyrian border, tended to be pro-Assyrian. By contrast, the Chaldeans and other southern tribes tended to be anti-Assyrian.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser saw a change in Assyrian policy toward Babylonia. With the exception of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Assyrian monarchs had traditionally restrained their efforts to control Babylonia, in deference to the latter's antiquity as the ancestral origin of Assyria's own culture and religion. In 729 B.C.E., however, Tiglath-pileser established a precedent by deposing the Babylonian king and uniting Assyria and Babylonia in a dual monarchy. Merodach-baladan II, an important sheikh from the Bit-Yakin tribe, took over Babylon after Shalmaneser V (Tiglath-pileser's son) died. This Chaldean had succeeded in buying an alliance with the Elamite army. He was to prove a recurring threat to Assyria and remembered as a hero of Babylonian nationalism. It was only after 710 B.C.E. that Sargon II re-



By the first century B.C.E., most of the city of Babylon was in ruins. This basalt lion was photographed in 1932 in modern-day Iraq.

asserted Assyrian supremacy and chased the Chaldeans back to the south.

The Assyrian king Sennacherib experimented with various methods of governing Babylonia. Shortly after his ascension to Babylon's throne in 703 B.C.E., he was ousted in another coup by Merodach-baladan. After defeating the Chaldean, Sennacherib tried to install a pro-Assyrian native on Babylon's throne. When this failed, the Assyrian king entrusted the control of Babylonia to his son, Ashur-nadin-shumi. Unfortunately, the crown prince was kidnapped by the Elamites, and a certain Nergal-ushezib replaced him. This Elamite stooge was, in turn, replaced by Mushezib-Marduk, a ruler of the Bit-Dakkuri tribe. In 689 B.C.E. Sennacherib razed Babylon, plundered its temples, and removed Marduk's cult statue to Assyria.

Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) preferred a strategy of conciliation. He attained a measure of peace with the Babylonians by rebuilding Babylon and undoing his father's damage. At his death Marduk's statue was returned to Babylon, and the empire was divided between two sons: Ashurbanipal in Assyria and Shamash-shuma-ukin in Babylonia. Civil war, however, soon broke out between the two kingdoms. By 648 B.C.E. the Assyrians were once again in control of Babylon. Moreover, numerous tablets and writing boards were bought or confiscated from Babylonian scholars to stock Ashurbanipal's library at NINEVEH. Among the texts were literary masterpieces such as the *Epic of GILGAMESH* and the Babylonian creation epic (Enuma Elish).

satrap (governor) of Bactria, Bessus, fought with Darius III against Alexander at the Battle of Guagamela, then fled with the Persian ruler. Bessus eventually killed Darius III and tried to rally his army against Alexander. After Alexander's conquest of Bactria in 328 B.C.E. Bessus was maimed and crucified.

Upon Alexander's death only five years later, Bactria—like most of his kingdom—endured civil war and strife, eventually becoming part of the Seleucid Empire set up by Alexander's military heir, Seleucus I, and his son, Antiochus I. Greek cities with temples and GYMNASIUMS were built, and mints were established. Likely, the indigenous tribes were nomadic, probably ancestors of the Tajik people.

They coexisted with the Greeks. In 255 B.C.E. Diodotus, satrap of Bactria, overthrew the Seleucids and established his own dynasty, the Diodotids. They were in turn overthrown by Euthydemus I and his descendants, the Euthydemids.

The Seleucids attempted a reconquest, described by the Greek historian Polybius, which ended in 206 B.C.E. with a marriage between the Bactrian king's son, Demetrius, and a daughter of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus III. At about the same time Sogdiana in the north became independent of Bactria.

When he assumed the Bactrian throne around 185 B.C.E., Demetrius I conquered parts of Iran, Pakistan, Punjab, and northern India. Demetrius I was killed by Eucratides, who may have been a cousin of the Seleucids. Eucratides came out the victor in a civil war between Bactria and the recently conquered Bactrian provinces in India. The last Greek ruler of Bactria was probably a descendant of Eucratides named Heliocles, who was driven away by nomadic tribes from the north and east. These tribes then absorbed Bactria into their KUSHAN EMPIRE. Demetrius I's Indo-Greek provinces remained independent for another 140 years, until 10 C.E.

Under the Kushans, Bactria was known as Tokharistan, after the Western name (Tocharian) of the Yuezhi nomads, who had emerged from central China centuries before. In the third century C.E. the Sassanids of Persia gained control. Several other changes in ownership took place until Arabs conquered the land in the seventh century C.E.

See also SOGDIANS; ZOROASTRIANISM.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Bamiyan Valley

The modern-day Bamiyan Valley was part of ancient Indian culture. It is one of the 34 provinces of modern-day Afghanistan and lies in the geographic center of the country. Its capital city is also called Bamiyan. Bamiyan became one of the largest cities along the SILK ROAD. Before the rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E., central Afghanistan thrived from the Silk Road merchants who passed through the valley on their way to trade with the Roman Empire, China, and India. The Bamiyan Valley provided an important passageway for caravans and merchants attempting to cross the Hindu Kush mountain range. Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang), a Chinese monk traveling through the valley in 634 C.E., reported that it contained a large population and was a center of Buddhist thought and theology. He described specifically the events and rituals he witnessed there.

As a result Bamiyan city became the center of a melting pot of cultures and religious influences. In Bamiyan elements of Greek, Persian, and Buddhist cultural influences merged into a new expression known as Greco-Buddhist art. Buddhism spread outside India along the Silk Road to Bamiyan city where it thrived in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. A Buddhist monastery was founded, along with many sculptures and carvings including several giant Buddha statues carved along the cliffs overlooking Bamiyan Valley. During the third and fourth centuries C.E. and before the introduction of Islam to this region, a large Buddhist colony inhabited the valley. At one time more than 1,000 monks lived and prayed there in caves carved into the cliffs.

From the second century C.E. until the introduction of Islam, a period of approximately five centuries, Bamiyan Valley was a western Buddhist cultural center. Islam overtook the region and dominated the valley for hundreds of years, but the statues remained until March 2001 when the Taliban in Afghanistan destroyed them with explosives. Historians marveled at their enormous size, some more than 180 feet in height, which were probably the largest representations of Buddha in the world at the time of their creation.

Bamiyan Valley was the most far-flung colony of Buddhism that took root in India with a substantially large following. The artistic and architectural remains

of Bamiyan Valley and its importance as a Buddhist center on the Silk Road, are outstanding representations of the complex combination of Indian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Sassanian ancient cultural influences.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; GANDHARA; HELLENISTIC ART.

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STEVEN NAPIER

Ban Biao (Pan Piao)

(3–54 C.E.) *historian*

The Ban family was famous during the first century of the Common Era under the Eastern HAN DYNASTY in China for producing famous historians (one of them the most famous female historian and intellectual in ancient China) and a great general. Ban Biao, the father, began writing a monumental history titled the *Hanshu* (*Hanshu*), *Book of Han* or *History of the Former Han Dynasty*. It was commissioned and produced under court patronage and was the first historical work devoted to a dynasty (the Western Han, 202 B.C.E.–23 C.E.). Although Ban Biao died long before its completion, his essay on sovereignty, which was included in the work, became a basic document on political ideas. However, most of the 100 chapters (divided into 10 volumes) of this work belonged to his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku, 32–92 C.E.). His younger sister Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao, c. 48–116 C.E.) finished the history. She was the outstanding female intellectual in early imperial China.

The classic historical work followed the organizational pattern set by the first great Chinese historian, SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEN), who wrote the *Shiji* (*Shih-chi*), or *Records of the Historian*, but applied to events of a single dynastic period. Its 100 chapters were organized into separate sections consisting of 12 chapters of basic annals, eight of chronological tables, 10 of treatises,

and 70 of biographies and bibliography. Although critics think the prose style of this work is drier and less elegant than Sima Qian's work, subsequent historians have admired the two and have aspired to follow their examples.

Ban Zhao was educated at home, married, had children, and was widowed young. In addition to completing her father and brother's unfinished history, she was often summoned to the palace by the emperor to lecture to the empress and ladies of the court. She lectured on classical writings, history, astronomy, and mathematics. She became adviser to the empress regent and was so influential that the empress fired her own powerful brother on the basis of Ban Zhao's memorial indicting him. The same empress regent was so saddened by Ban Zhao's death that she ordered the court into mourning. Ban Zhao wrote poetry, edited, and added to a first-century C.E. work titled *Biographies of Eminent Women* and a short book of seven chapters titled *Lessons for Women* on proper behavior for ladies that was intended for her young daughters but became widely read and circulated during her lifetime and later. She was the first thinker to formulate a complete statement on feminine ethics and the idea of relative ethics. Significantly, she advocated giving girls an education up to the age of 15 to ensure intellectual compatibility between husbands and wives. After her death her daughter-in-law compiled and published her collected writing, some, including poetry and memorials, have survived.

The fourth member of this distinguished family was Ban Chao (Pan Ch'ao, 32–102 C.E.), who was the twin brother of Ban Gu. A man of action who distinguished himself as a young officer, Ban Chao was a key general who established Chinese supremacy in modern Chinese Turkestan across to Central Asia. In 92 C.E. he was appointed protector-general of the Western Regions (the Chinese name for Central Asia). As both general and diplomat he supervised affairs and protected Chinese interests in the oasis states and guarded commerce along the SILK ROAD for three decades.

In 97 C.E. he led an army all the way to the Caspian Sea and sent forward units further west that reached either the Black Sea or the Persian Gulf before turning back. In the same year he also sent an officer under his command to proceed to Da Qin (Ta Ch'in), the Chinese name for the Roman Empire. But the mission was intercepted in Parthia (modern Iran) and forbidden to proceed further. Parthia lay along the Silk Road between China and Rome and benefited from trade between the two empires. It naturally wanted to thwart any direct relations between China and Rome. As the author of

the *Hou Hanshu* (*Hou Han-shu*), or *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, wrote:

“During the Han period, however, Chang Ch’ien . . . and Pan Ch’ao . . . eventually succeeded in carrying out expansion to the far west and in bringing foreign territories into submission. Overawed by military strength and attracted by wealth, none [of the rulers of the states of the Western Regions presented] strange local products as tribute and his loved sons as hostages . . . Therefore . . . the command of the protector-general was established to exercise general authority. Those who were submissive from the very beginning received money and official seals as imperial gifts, but those who surrendered later were taken to the capital to receive punishment. Agricultural garrisons were set up in fertile fields and post stations built along the main highways. Messengers and interpreters traveled without cessation, and barbarian merchants and peddlers came to the border for trade everyday.”

After three decades of service in Central Asia, for which he had been elevated to the rank of marquis, the aged general asked to retire and returned to the capital city, LUOYANG (LOYANG), where he died a month later.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Baruch

(Sixth century B.C.E.) *religious scribe and prophet*

The Bible portrays “Baruch, son of Neriah” as the companion and secretary to Jeremiah, the famous prophet at the time of the Babylonian deportation of Judah (587 B.C.E.). His dedicated service to Jeremiah brought him into the same ignominy and hardship as his master, though most likely he was born an aristocrat and received the benefit of education. He compiled two scrolls of prophecies, one for the king of Judah, which was burned later, and the other for the possession of Jer-

emiah. This latter scroll may be the core of the biblical book of Jeremiah. Baruch’s role as Jeremiah’s scribe may be why he is cited as author in several sequels to the book of Jeremiah. When Jeremiah was forced to flee from Jerusalem to Egypt (582 B.C.E.) in the aftermath of the Babylonian invasion, Baruch accompanied him. This is the last mentioned abode for Baruch in the Hebrew Bible, though Jeremiah elsewhere in his book promises that Baruch would survive the general turmoil but live the life of a refugee.

According to Christian biblical scholar JEROME, Baruch shared the fate of Jeremiah, who presumably died in Egypt. Later Jewish sources disagree. Rabbinic authorities assume that Baruch went to Babylon. It is here that the deuterocanonical book of Baruch (accepted by Catholic and Orthodox Christians) locates him. This book consists of several distinct parts and is probably an assortment of writings intended to encourage the scattered people of Israel in the centuries following the Babylonian invasion. An even later book called *Second Baruch* or the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (parts of which are accepted by the Syriac Christians) shows the scribe speaking, praying, and writing mainly in the environs of Jerusalem just as the Babylonians are on the verge of conquering Jerusalem.

In this text Baruch overshadows his master. He commands Jeremiah to depart and encourage the exiles in Babylon. Afterward the stage is empty except for Baruch, who dominates the rest of the book with his visions, prayers, and instructions. The focus of Baruch’s ministry in Jerusalem is the training of the surviving elders, but he increasingly addresses larger audiences, first the remaining residents of the city and then the people scattered in the Diaspora. The latter group he reaches through a letter that concludes the book.

The tradition of Baruch survived outside the rabbinic Jewish tradition. Spurious books (parts of books) attributed to Baruch have appeared in many languages, including Latin, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic. Other names for Baruch in Hebrew are Berechiah and Barachel. His name has been found on a clay seal impression, or *bulla*, reading, “[belonging] to Berechiah, son of Neriah, the scribe,” a relatively rare reference to a biblical person from a contemporary non-biblical source.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; PROPHETS; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Basil the Great

(c. fourth century C.E.) *religious leader*

Basil attained a reputation in the early church for his efforts in liturgy, monasticism, and doctrine. The honors extended to him single him out among the greatest Christian teachers of his age: one of the “Three Holy Hierarchs” (the others are John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzus), one of the three “Cappadocian Fathers” (the others are his brother Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzus), and generally referred to as Basil the Great. Among the achievements credited to him are the Liturgy of St. Basil (commonly used in GREEK CHURCH services), the *Philokalia* (spiritual sayings of ORIGEN, compiled by Basil and Gregory Nazianzus), and the Rule of Basil (the constitution followed by many Orthodox monasteries), to say nothing of his untiring efforts to unite Greek culture with the Christian Church emerging from the darkness of persecution and isolation of Semitic origins.

He was born into a wealthy and devout Christian family in Pontus (modern Kayseri, Turkey) around 330 C.E. His privileged status allowed him to receive the best classical education: He sat at the feet of Libanius, a celebrated teacher of NEOPLATONISM in CONSTANTINOPLE and rubbed shoulders with the likes of JULIAN THE APOSTATE. His family, however, did not cling to their social status for they became leaders in the ascetical movement, a trend among Christians to deny themselves worldly comfort and status in order to return to spiritual priorities. Consequently, his grandmother Macrina, his parents Basil and Emilia, his sister Macrina, and his younger brothers Gregory and Peter all are venerated as saints by Christians. Though Basil had the learning of a scholar, he chose the ascetical life. His upbringing, the influence of an early teacher, and his pilgrimages to the Holy Land induced him to start his own community in Cappadocia. His brilliant friend Gregory Nazianzus and many others joined Basil in this life, attracted by young Basil’s zeal and spiritual reflection.

The new way of life begun by Basil was not intended for the spiritually elite or mystical individual. Rather Basil wanted it for all Christians, not just monks. The ideals

included corporate and private prayer, obedience to a spiritual superior, voluntary poverty, charitable outreach, and manual labor. In spite of its ascetical origins, community life was valued more than solitary life, and moderation, more than extreme individual exercises. These ideas became the core of the Rule of Basil, and they had a profound effect on BENEDICT and the Benedictines, the LATIN CHURCH counterpart to Greek monasticism.

He became bishop in 370 and so had to divide his time between monastic and more active life. He became influential among his pastoral charges for his social programs and charitable work. For example, he built a complex of buildings to serve the sick, the poor, the pilgrims, and strangers, thus he became the champion of the common person. Even the emperor Valens, an advocate for ARIANISM and not Orthodox Christianity, supported Basil’s outreach to the disadvantaged of his region. Toward the end of his life Basil became more and more absorbed in ecclesial disputes. He worked hard at building unity between the Greek and Latin Churches, as well as giving direction to theological discussions on the nature of the Trinity and the divinity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. He died in 379 C.E.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; MONASTICISM; PILGRIMAGE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Benedict

(c. 480–c. 547 C.E.) *religious leader*

Benedict was born in Norcia, Italy. What is known of this Christian hero is drawn almost entirely from his biographer, (St.) GREGORY THE GREAT, who records the life and miracles of the great monastic founder in the second book of his *Dialogues*. Although Benedict began higher studies at Rome, the depraved lives of his fellow students led him to abandon the city and to seek solitude in the nearby mountains of Subiaco. For three years he lived in a cave as a hermit until disciples came and a community eventually formed around him. Gregory relates that the community grew into 12 monasteries of 12 monks each.

The jealousy of a neighboring priest, however, forced Benedict to leave Subiaco and to establish a monastery at Monte Cassino (c. 523 C.E.). The hill on which this monastery was established is at a strategically impor-

tant position beside the road that leads from Rome to Naples. Since no one could have occupied such a site without government approval, Benedict must have had connections at court. His fame also spread to the invading barbarians, as we learn from the story of his meeting with Totilla, the king of the Goths, who stopped to visit the man of God on his way to sack Rome. Totilla was impressed by the holiness and prophetic gifts of the abbot, which may account for his subsequent entrance into the Eternal City without destroying it. When Benedict first took possession of Monte Cassino, he found at the summit a temple to Apollo, whom the local inhabitants at the foot of the mountain were still worshipping. The holy abbot tore down the altar to Apollo, turned the temple into a chapel dedicated to the famous saint Martin, and converted the local inhabitants.

Gregory also relates that Benedict had a sister, (St.) Scholastica, who—also consecrated to virginity—would visit him once a year. When she died, Benedict laid his sister to rest in a tomb he had prepared for himself and which he would soon (within 40 days) come to share with her in death (c. 547). Benedict's greatest gift to posterity is his Rule, which outlines a way of life founded on the Holy Scriptures and on several monastic rules prior to Benedict. Benedict's life spanned a time of political upheaval in Italy, as the barbarian tribes slowly gained control of the peninsula. Within 30 years of his death the Lombards destroyed Monte Cassino. (The monastery would undergo several destructions and rebuildings in its history, down to a famous World War II bombing and subsequent reconstruction.)

The Rule of St. Benedict was followed in other monasteries at first in a mixed form, alongside other monastic rules. It began, however, slowly to supersede other rules, due primarily to its intrinsic wisdom and moderation but also to its relation to Gregory the Great and thus to Rome and to the authority of the pope. This was the case in England, which has the oldest extant copy of the Rule dating to the first half of the eighth century. And it was also an Anglo-Saxon, the missionary Boniface, who promoted the Rule of St. Benedict in the Frankish kingdom at the "German Council" of 743 on the continent. A year later Boniface founded the abbey of Fulda in Bavaria, which is the first known abbey to follow only the Rule of St. Benedict.

Its rise to universal prominence, however, was the work of Benedict of Aniane who convinced Emperor Charlemagne—who was looking for a way to unify and reform the monasteries of his realm—that Benedict's Rule was the most balanced and moderate of all the existing rules, capable of being adapted by each monastic

house, and had in its commitment to the scriptures and the liturgy the cultural element Charlemagne needed for his reform. The emperor and his successor, Louis the Pious, then imposed the Rule of St. Benedict on all the monasteries (c. 816). Benedictine monasteries flourished and spread throughout the world.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM; ROME'S FALL.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Bhagavad Gita

The Bhagavad Gita is regarded as one of the most beautiful and influential of Hindu poems. The translation from SANSKRIT is the "Song of God." It forms part of chapter 6 of the *MAHABHARATA* (epic of the Bharata dynasty). It was probably written in the first-second century C.E., which is later than that of the remainder of the *Mahabharata* and has an unknown author or authors. It consists of 18 verse chapters with a total of 700 verses in the Sanskrit language, each of which consists of 32 syllables. As part of one of the great epics of Indian thought expressed in the Sanskrit language (together with the *RAMAYANA*), the Bhagavad Gita has gone on to inspire a large number of adaptations to contemporary settings in both oral and written forms. Its characters have become deeply loved by millions, many of whom consider them to be exemplars for everyday action.

The subject matter of the Bhagavad Gita is a lengthy conversation between Prince Arjuna, an important figure in the *Mahabharata*, and Krishna, who is his charioteer and also the incarnation of the god Vishnu on Earth. Krishna uses the opportunity to expound on many important theological topics for the education of both Arjuna and the audience. The exposition is centered on, but not limited to, the concept of duty and the role that humankind is expected to play in the world. Arjuna, at the moment when the dialogue begins, is standing in the ranks of soldiers about to stage the crucial battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. He is unsure whether the forthcoming carnage is worthwhile and whether he should throw down his weapons

and surrender himself to fate. Krishna advises him that it is appropriate for man to take part in a virtuous enterprise being mindful of God and without seeking earthly rewards or power as the price for participation.

The lesson expands into the ways in which humanity can know and understand God. The Hindu concept of mystic union with God is presented as a threefold approach to transcendence, through merging with the immanent spirit of the universe, through understanding God as the ultimate state of nature, and through the transcendence of the human spirit.

The physical world, in which Krishna is addressing Arjuna, and Arjuna's interaction with the universe are both real and also a reflection of the spiritual realm in which he is expected to undertake his duties. Lord Krishna speaks of the variety of Yogas, which are the forms of unity between self and the universe that are the true goal of the individual. The role of the individual is to become closer to union with the universe through yogic practices and meditation.

Many cogent commentaries on the work have added to the significance of the Bhagavad Gita. One of the most well known is that provided by Mohandas Gandhi, who provided a series of talks to followers over a period of some months in 1926. He used the poem to enthuse his audience with the delights and fulfillment to be found in the true performance of duty. Many Western scholars and academics have also found inspiration in the work, including Carl Jung, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Aldous Huxley, and Hermann Hesse. It continues to have an important inspirational influence on believers in yogic faiths and for those who wish to continue the Indian tradition of argumentative discourse in the search for truth.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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JOHN WALSH

Bible translations

There are two major parts to the Bible: the Jewish scriptures, or Tanakh (largely identical to the Christian Old Testament), and the New Testament (NT), the distinc-

tively Christian scriptures. The ancient texts of these two parts developed in different ways, into the Hebrew Bible and New Testament.

HEBREW BIBLE

The text of the Jewish Bible, which includes both Hebrew and a little Aramaic, is preserved chiefly in the Masoretic text (MT), a product of the mainstream ancient Judaism. The Hebrew Bible attained its final form sometime in the first or second century C.E., but the MT was not recorded until about 1,000 years later. The MT includes the consonants with which Hebrew and Aramaic are primarily recorded, along with a set of markers or diacritical signs indicating the vowels and the singing pattern associated with each word. The MT reflects liturgical usage, both as a sung text and in its use of various euphemisms and clarifying notes.

During the European Renaissance, with its emphasis on the need to return to the sources of learning and culture, other forms of the Hebrew text began to be studied, and this study has continued to the present time. Renaissance scholars realized that the version of the Pentateuch used in the tiny Samaritan religious communities in the Holy Land was an independent ancient witness to part of the Hebrew Bible. (A few of the differences between the MT and the Sam are the result of doctrinal changes introduced by the Samaritans.) In the middle of the 20th century a series of caves in QUMRAN near the Dead Sea were found to contain a large number of scrolls (the Dead Sea Scrolls, or DSS), many of them containing parts of the Bible. Some of the Qumran texts were identical to the MT, and some, witness to a slightly different text. The DSS biblical text is sometimes identical to that behind the Septuagint.

The ancient versions or translations fall into two groups. One group includes those that are based entirely or in part on a Hebrew text. These are the Greek (Septuagint, or LXX), the Latin (Vulgate), the Targums, and the Syriac (Peshitta). All other ancient versions are daughter versions of one of these. The versions used in the east are based on the Greek; these include various translations in Coptic, Classical Ethiopic or Geez, Armenian, and Georgian. Nearly all the pre-Reformation European versions are based on the Vulgate.

Of the four major ancient versions, the Septuagint is the most important. It is the oldest and most independent; both the Vulgate and the Peshitta are based on the Hebrew text but show some familiarity with the Septuagint. Bilingualism, the regular use of two (or more) languages by one person, was common in the ancient world, among merchants, scribes, and even com-

mon people. The bilingual presentation of a single text is found throughout the ancient Near East. There are bilingual teaching texts from ancient Mesopotamia and Anatolia; there are bilingual public inscriptions from every corner of the Near East, including Egypt. The distinctive feature of the Septuagint is that it is the earliest translation that is very long (thousands of times longer than any other ancient translation), that is purely religious in orientation (rather than educational or propagandistic), and that can claim to be literary.

The translation of the Septuagint began in the third century B.C.E. A legend preserved in various forms, including the Letter of Aristeas, attributes the work to the desire of the Greek PTOLEMIES of Egypt to have a complete library of all world thought and literature. This legend also claims that the work was done under direct divine inspiration. Scholars believe rather that Jews undertook the work for Jews, for use in the liturgy. The portion translated in the third century C.E. was the Pentateuch, consisting of the five books of MOSES (also known as the TORAH), and the term *Septuagint* strictly applies to this portion only. (Thus some scholars use the term *Old Greek* for the rest of the ancient translation.) After the rise of Christianity, which largely used the Septuagint in worship, Jews prepared various revised versions of it for their own special use. These revisions, associated with the scholars Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, are closer to the Hebrew than the Septuagint proper, sometimes so close that they are unintelligible in Greek. ORIGEN collected all these Greek versions in his Hexapla.

The Christian community in western Europe developed out of the earlier, Eastern community and took over its scripture in a direct translation from the Septuagint. (In the GREEK CHURCH the LXX is still the officially used version of the Old Testament.) This direct translation, the Old Latin, was largely replaced by the Vulgate translation of JEROME. Scholars consult the surviving portions of the Old Latin as a witness to the Septuagint and for clues to the earliest LATIN CHURCH understanding and use of scripture. The language culturally closest to ancient Hebrew was Aramaic, which was the common language of the ancient Near East for more than a millennium, from the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.E. until the rise of Islam. There are various ancient Aramaic translations of the Bible. Those made by and for Jews are called the Targums. They are written in literary forms of Aramaic that would have been understood throughout the Jewish world prior to the rise of Islam. There are many Targums (translations), and some of the later Targums used elaborate paraphrases and offer extensive additions to the text. The chief form of Aramaic used among Christians

is Syriac, and the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible is known as the Peshitta, or Simple, text. Some portions of the Peshitta reflect knowledge not only of the Hebrew Bible but also of the Targums.

NEW TESTAMENT

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, which is completely attested in only one form, the Greek New Testament is attested in many forms, in thousands of ancient and medieval manuscripts. The study of these manuscripts began with the 16th-century Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus, who attempted to find the best form of the text by looking for the one most commonly used. Now scholars identify the oldest text (rather than the most common) as the best form. From Erasmus's work emerged the earliest NT Greek text developed after the Reformation. This was based largely on minuscule manuscripts (late antique and medieval texts written with lower-case letters). This text, the basis of the NT in the King James Version, is known as the *textus receptus* and has largely been superseded by later textual study.

The earliest witnesses to the Greek NT include extensive quotations in the works of the fathers of the church and early translations. Translations into Syriac and Latin go back to the second century C.E.; the Syriac traditions include both the Diatessaron (a harmony of all four Gospels) as well as translations of the separate Gospels. Coptic translations emerge in the third century C.E.; the earliest are in the Sahidic dialect. Other ancient versions (Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Old Church Slavonic) are sometimes of value for the text traditions.

The best large texts of the Greek are uncial manuscripts (those written entirely in capital letters), dating to the fourth and fifth centuries. The intensive study of these during the 17th–19th centuries led to the recognition of various families of texts, into which individual manuscripts can be grouped. The Byzantine manuscript group provided the basis for the *textus receptus*, but this is inferior to the Alexandrian and Caesarean groups, which have been the basis for NT editions and translations since the late 19th century. The most important uncials, most of which are complete Bibles and thus include the LXX as well as the NT, are Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, from the fourth century C.E., and Alexandrinus and Bezae, from the fifth century C.E.

During the late 19th and 20th centuries about 100 NT papyri were discovered. These were nearly all older than the uncials and thus closer to the time of the original composition of the NT. They generally confirmed the patterns of manuscript distribution proposed during the 19th century. The papyri can be dated to the

second and third centuries C.E. None can be taken as identical to the autograph of any part of the NT; all show various changes.

See also ARAMAEANS; ARMENIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; GEORGIA, ANCIENT; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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M. O'CONNOR

Boethius

(480–c. 526 C.E.) *philosopher*

Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius was a statesman and philosopher during the reign of THEODORIC, Ostrogothic emperor of Rome. Boethius had a good classical education (educated in Athens and ALEXANDRIA) and was particularly influenced by NEOPLATONISM, ARISTOTLE and Aristotelianism, and STOICISM. He was in the midst of a project to translate and even unite Aristotle and Plato when he broke off his academic career in order to serve as an imperial consul in 510 C.E.

Power had shifted away from Italy to CONSTANTINOPLE, leaving the Italian emperor a weak rival. When Boethius was unfairly condemned for a conspiracy allied with the Constantinople authorities, he was imprisoned for a couple of years and then executed sometime between 524 and 526.

Because his writings were circulated and appreciated by many later intellectuals, Boethius has been called the pioneer of medieval thought and founder of the early Middle Ages. His knowledge of Greek made him a natural link with Greco-Roman civilization at a time when the West was losing its knowledge of Greek. His translation of Aristotle was one of the few that the West had until the days of Thomas Aquinas. His attempts to utilize Aristotle for the advantage of theology were 550 years ahead of the Scholastics. He composed *Consolation of Philosophy* while he brooded and waited for his execution in prison. He also wrote on true education (trivium and quadrivium), translations of Porphyry, and commentaries on CICERO, and his own treatises on logic, mathematics, and theology. Although questions have been raised about the authorship of several of his

works and the depth of his Christian convictions, strong evidence for his sympathies with the faith appear in five compositions (the *Opuscula sacra*, or *Theological Tractates*) written before 520. All these works show fresh vocabulary and borrowing of Greek philosophies, perhaps even excelling the ideas of AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO. The tract *De fide catholica* (*On the Catholic Faith*) tells of his objections to ARIANISM, the Sabellians, and Mani and the Manichaeans, while it confirms the ecclesial teachings. Because of its clear-cut support for the LATIN CHURCH, its authorship is often called into question.

Consolation of Philosophy was mandatory reading for every respectable intellectual for the next 1,000 years after Boethius. He imagines Lady Philosophy, the heroine of such religious works as the biblical book of Proverbs, consoling him in his dark night of the philosophical soul. She helps him to realize the fickleness of success and the faithfulness of divine providence. She tells him that true happiness flows from being at peace with God. If success will not crown present virtuous efforts, the balance will be restored in the next life. God stands outside of time and is present at all of our time (past, present, and future) and offers eternal life simultaneously without impeding our free will to choose virtue.

Though *Consolation* does not bring up such Christian mysteries as the incarnation, the crucifixion, and the resurrection, its fundamental premises are in line with orthodox Christian teaching. It is anchored in Augustinian foundations and may subtly show biblical and liturgical allusions.

Historians view *Consolation*, together with the *Opuscula sacra*, as evidence that Boethius turned toward religion and particularly the Christian faith as he got older. He is the first one to use the word *theology* as a technical Christian term denoting the study of the nature of God.

Because the emperor that he served was an Arian, Boethius was regarded as a Christian martyr and in Italy especially is regarded as a Catholic saint. His writings were some of the first translations made into the “vulgar” tongues (Anglo-Saxon, German, Greek, and French—all before 1300), and many great scholars of the Middle Ages continued to debate his arguments up until the time of Thomas Aquinas.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MARTYROLOGIES; WISDOM LITERATURE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Book of the Dead

The Egyptian Book of the Dead is a collection of texts that were used to accompany the souls of corpses into the afterlife and assist them in finding a satisfactory resting place. It should be distinguished from the Tibetan Book of the Dead, which is a Vajrayana Buddhist set of texts aimed at achieving personal enlightenment. The Egyptians were the first people to conceive of an afterlife in which human souls were judged on a primarily moralistic basis rather than on the basis of adherence to some particular religious dogma, which was more common in later peoples.

In Egyptian belief the soul progresses into the presence of the god of the dead, Osiris, when its heart is measured against the scales of truth (*maat*). If found wanting, the Eater of the Dead (Am-mut) awaits; if found to be virtuous, then the soul enters a place where eternal bliss awaits. Both coffin texts and pyramid texts were used to assist the soul to reach the court of Osiris and to pass through the truth-testing process. These texts might be inscribed onto stone in the tomb or sarcophagus, painted onto coffins, or else written onto papyrus to accompany the corpse. A total of some 200 different verses or chapters of this sort have been discovered and have been combined to make the Book of the Dead. However, no individual cache of texts has been found that contains all of the verses, and Egyptian thinkers conceived of no official canon of the Book of the Dead. Instead, individual bodies were accompanied by personalized selections of texts determined on a case-by-case basis. Sufficiently wealthy or powerful individuals could have new verses or spells written for their particular use, while others made do with existing texts.

Pyramid writings were the first of these texts and are most notably found at Saqqarah, where they were created in approximately 2400 B.C.E. The first PHARAOH to receive these texts was Unas, who was the last king of the Fifth Dynasty. The texts included hymns of praise, magical spells, and invocations of various sorts to assist the dead king. They also include valuable historic records, including a battle scene against the Bedouins, trade with Syria and Phoenicia, and the transportation of granite blocks to help build the pyramids. Subsequent pyramid texts also combine religious beliefs with what are presumed to be contemporaneous historical beliefs. Coffin texts were painted onto coffins and are first recorded during the First Intermediate Period (c. 2130–1939 B.C.E.). They are similar in nature to pyramid texts but denote a widening of the possibilities of obtaining access to the afterlife to more social classes. Texts gener-

ally were combinations of HIEROGLYPHICS representing spells and other uses of language and illustrations.

Pyramid texts most commonly featured praise for the sun god Ra, while coffin texts generally favored Osiris. The concept of the field of reeds was also subsequently introduced; in which the soul that was granted continued happy life would be expected to labor on agricultural tasks for eternity. This in turn led to the creation of magical *ushabtis*, which were small statuettes that were enchanted, it was hoped, so that they would come to life and take responsibility for this labor, leaving the soul to enjoy an eternity of ease. The belief was that the soul could be alive within the burial chamber while still laboring in the field of reeds and also touring the heavens in the company of the gods. It was considered possible for these multiple forms of reality to be experienced at the same time.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PYRAMIDS OF GIZA.

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JOHN WALSH

Boudicca

(c. 30–c. 61 C.E.) *Celtic military leader*

Boudicca (Boadicea) was born into the aristocracy. Little otherwise is known of her—some researchers even say that her true name is unknown, that her followers named her Boudiga for the Celtic goddess of victory, which the Romans Latinized as Boudicca.

Around 48 C.E., she became the wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni (50–60 C.E.), a Celtic tribe in modern East Anglia in eastern Britain. Boudicca bore Prasutagus two daughters. The Iceni were among the tribes that had submitted to JULIUS CAESAR after his invasions of 55 and 54 B.C.E. The Iceni prospered through trade with the Roman Empire between 65 B.C.E. and 61 C.E.

The Romans invaded Britain in 43 C.E. and made Prasutagus a client. In 60 C.E., with Roman forces busy fighting the Druids in Wales, the Iceni rebelled. Claudius, needing a quick popularity boost at home, sent 60,000 troops to GAUL. The Iceni reaffirmed their submission, and Prasutagus kept his crown. Rome gave him military

protection, funding and loans, employment, and education—as well as serfdom, slavery, and subordination.

The daughters' names are unknown, but they were teens when Prasutagus died in 60 C.E. Boudicca became either queen or regent of the Iceni and guardian of the daughters' inheritance.

Prasutagus left his daughters half his wealth, enough to cover dowries plus Roman taxes, tributes, and other expenses. He gave half his wealth to Rome to fulfill his client-ruler obligation. Nero seized all his property because it was illegal to will to others over the emperor. Rome also drove Iceni nobles from their lands, enslaved and plundered, and demanded return of money given for the upkeep of the Iceni court. Boudicca protested. The Romans took her hostage, stripped her, and “put her to the rods.” Meanwhile, Roman soldiers raped the daughters. Once freed, Boudicca led the Iceni, Trinivantes, and several tribes in a rebellion that lasted several months. The Iceni minted large numbers of silver coins to finance the rising of 60–61 C.E.

Boudicca was ruthless. Her army of 100,000 proud and warlike CELTS gave no quarter. Men and women together, they had fought the Romans for centuries and earned Roman respect. Reportedly, one Roman legion refused to fight her. Boudicca's forces destroyed Londinium (London), Verulamium (St. Albans), and Camulodunum (Colchester) and killed thousands before the Roman governor, Suetonius Paullinus, crushed the rising. In the final battle the Romans massacred Celtic warriors and camp followers alike. Boudicca took poison. The rebellion killed more than 100,000 people.

After the defeat the Romans relocated the Iceni to Caistor-by-Norwich (also Caistor St. Edmunds) on the river Tas.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Brendan the Navigator

(c. 484–577 C.E.) *explorer and church leader*

For centuries the legend of an Irish monk named Brendan (also called Brenainn, Brandan, or Borodan) circu-

lated among explorers and navigators of late Middle Ages Europe. Some historians speculate that Christopher Columbus might have relied on maps with St. Brendan's Isle on it, located somewhere in the Atlantic off to the far west. Others say that the 10th-century Hiberno-Latin romance called the *Voyage of Brendan* might have been on Columbus's reading list before he did his travels to the New World. The life of Brendan is mostly based on legends and secondhand reports. Thus, it is difficult to state with confidence many of the facts of his life. He was a native Irishman, born at a time when Celtic Christianity was beginning to flourish as the Roman Empire receded. His mother supposedly was Ita, an Irish saint, in County Kerry on the west coast. He was educated by Irish saints and ordained by a famous Irish bishop around the year 512 C.E. Then he began his vocation as an explorer and missionary in Ireland and Scotland and the hinterlands of western Europe.

According to legend he founded many monasteries and achieved a high place in the honor roll of Celtic spirituality, which values its heroes on the basis of supernatural feats and sanctity. One of his monasteries was Cluain Feartha in Clonfert (559 C.E.), which reportedly had 3,000 members. His own home monastery was on Mt. Brandon, Ireland's second highest peak, which today shows a ruined oratory and cells for monks.

Consistent with Celtic spirituality Brendan devised his own discipline and structure for his monasteries. He called his monks to a life of missionizing, seafaring, and exploring, an ideal for which the Irish were already known. One of the ancient Hiberno-Latin chroniclers, Adamnan (c. 10th century), corroborates this adventuresome spirit when he writes that Brendan was a fellow crew-member with Columba of Iona who sailed to the “Isles of the Blessed”—perhaps the Danish Faeroe Islands or Iceland. He is also mentioned in an ancient church litany of St. Aengus the Culdee (eighth century) as sailing with some (perhaps dozens) of his fellow monks.

The account mentioned above, *Voyage of St. Brendan*, is a travel adventure story like *Sinbad the Sailor* or the *Odyssey*. Historians have collected many such Irish tales and suggest that *Voyage* is a deliberate Christian imitation of the Virgil's great travel adventure, the *AENEID*. Most likely *Voyage* was originally written to teach Irish monks about discipline and monastic ideals but soon was translated into the European vernacular languages and read for entertainment.

The natural trajectory of his travels following winds and currents may well have landed Brendan in Canadi-

an Newfoundland 1,000 years before Columbus. The types of adventures that the *Voyage* describes can easily be situated in the North Atlantic and in the New World. The trip was replicated in modern times with a boat built in Celtic fashion. Even more recently claims have been made that Celtic symbols and alphabetical characters were found in the New World farther south in New Hampshire, Vermont, and even West Virginia.

See also CELTS; MONASTICISM; PATRICK; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Buddha

See GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

Buddhism in China

The practice of Buddhism spread in the centuries after the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA through the actions of pilgrims, wandering evangelists, and strong believers who wished to spread the faith to remote lands and also through observation of Buddhist practices by those who traveled overseas from India and Sri Lanka. The various routes that composed the SILK ROAD were important conduits for Buddhism making its way into China, more so than the maritime routes that were more influential in the transmission of the belief into Southeast Asia. Buddhism was recorded as being present in China from the time of the HAN DYNASTY, and according to legend, the emperor Mingdi (Ming-ti, 57–75 C.E.) received a divine vision that inspired him to seek out knowledge of the Buddha from India.

Chinese monks and scholars were dispatched at regular intervals to seek out Indian knowledge and texts that could be brought back to China and translated into the Chinese language. In nearly every case, when Buddhist concepts were introduced to China they were combined with preexisting Chinese religious concepts or else were subsequently modified.

Notably, Buddhism was combined with the Daoist (Taoist) philosophy of LAOZI (LAO TZU), both to show respect to the latter and also to make the new, foreign concepts more intelligible to a Chinese audience. The

sheer size and degree of diversity within China meant that variations in interpretation inevitably occurred. Since most Chinese Buddhists had little knowledge of Pali or SANSKRIT, the rituals in which all monks recited in unison the accepted Buddhist canon had less effect than it did in India.

At times Buddhism was suppressed as a foreign religion that was interfering with native Chinese beliefs. Forced underground during such periods, the rate at which variations in philosophy developed accelerated because of difficulties in communicating with other communities of believers. A number of different schools of Buddhist thought have consequently emerged in China.

TIANTAI (T'IEN T'AI)

Tiantai Buddhism was founded on Mount Tiantai in southeastern China by the monk Chiyi (Chih-I, 538–597 C.E.), during the Sui dynasty. It focused on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharmapundarika-sutra*, or *Fahua-ching* in Chinese) as its central text. The Tiantai school taught that existence was real but impermanent and insubstantial and the need to adhere to the middle path in the search for personal enlightenment. Chiyi's belief was that Sakya-muni knew the entire canon of Buddhist thought at the time of his enlightenment, but it has only subsequently been released into human awareness because of the inability of people to comprehend the entirety of the message. Tiantai Buddhism was introduced into Japan at the beginning of the ninth century under the name Tendai by the monk Saicho.

HUAYAN (HUA-YEN)

The Avatamsaka school of Buddhist thought is known as Huayan in China and Kegon in Japan. It is based on the *Avatamsaka-sutra*, which is also known as the *Garland Sutra* or *Wreath Sutra*. Huayan Buddhism is associated with the monk Fazang (Fa-tsang, 643–712 C.E.), also known as Xianshou (Hsien-shou), the third patriarch who did much to develop the lessons of the school. The basis of Huayan Buddhism is that all elements of reality depend on each other and arise because of each other, spontaneously. At every moment an infinite number of possibilities exist, and it is possible, therefore, for an infinite number of Buddhas (who can internalize all of the possible variations within a harmonious whole) to emerge into the world. Advanced training of the mind and meditation are necessary to be able to comprehend the nature of reality and of how to strive for enlightenment.

Fazang was born into a Sogdian family from CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), and the system he established

is often regarded as one of the most advanced and complete of all the schools of Buddhism to be created in China. It continues to be influential in Japan even in the modern age.

In China itself the Huayan form lost popularity as a result of the general suppression of Buddhism during the later Tang (T'ang) dynasty. It reemerged in part in the fostering of Neo-Confucianism, which flourished from the 11th century C.E.

PURE LAND

The Pure Land form of Buddhism, known in Chinese as Qingtu (Ching-tu), is based on the *Pure Land Sutra* (*Sukhavativyuha-sutra*), which was created in the north of India in the second century C.E. The sutra concerns the process of a monk who sought enlightenment by, in part, vowing to create a pure land in which all could live happily to a long and fulfilled age. Those who practice Pure Land Buddhism commit themselves to various vows that are believed to help them achieve enlightenment.

The 18th vow in particular is significant and holds that pronouncing the name of the Buddha at the point of death is sufficient to ensure that the soul will be reborn in the Pure Land. This form of Buddhism became very popular, largely because it offered the opportunity for ordinary people to aspire to enlightenment within their own lifetime. The belief is that the monk in the *Pure Land Sutra*, whose name was Dharmakara, did achieve enlightenment and now resides in the Pure Land in the form of the Buddha Amitabha, or, in Chinese, O-mi-to-fo. There, together with the goddess Guanyin (Kuan Yin) and Mahasthamaprapta, he assists humans to achieve their goal of being reborn in the Pure Land.

Clearly the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism diverge considerably from the other forms of Buddhism taught in the past. Instead of the historical Buddha's insistence that only what can be personally evaluated and experienced can be used in the struggle for enlightenment, which is the single ultimate goal of human existence, people can rely on the benevolence of the trinity led by Amitabha and have as an ultimate goal rebirth in the paradise of the Pure Land.

ZAN (CH'AN)

Zan Buddhism focuses on the role of meditation in the search for enlightenment. It is known as Dhyana Buddhism in Sanskrit and zen in Japan, where it reached its greatest level of popularity. The Indian monk Bodhidharma brought it to China in 520 C.E.

Zan Buddhism is centered on the belief that all living creatures have within themselves an aspect of Buddhahood and that it is possible, through intensive meditation, to realize this existence, which results in *wu*, or enlightenment. Similar to the teaching of the historical Buddha, it teaches that the realization of the presence of the internal Buddha aspect can by no means be taught or explained by anyone else but can only be appreciated through internal cultivation of consciousness. An intensive regimen of meditation was not something that many people had the opportunity to pursue, which is one reason why the Pure Land school achieved a greater level of popularity. After the death of the fifth patriarch of the Zan school, a split occurred between northern and southern adherents. The southern tendency, which was named after Huineng (Hui-neng), taught that enlightenment through meditation could be achieved much more swiftly and immediately than was proposed by the northern tendency. Huineng was more successful than the gradualist approach of the northern school, which eventually disappeared from China.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; DAOISM (TAOISM); THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Buddhist councils

After the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA (483 B.C.E.), monks and scholars concerned with practicing the lessons he taught met several times at formal councils at which the canon of Buddhist thought was established, the rules of monastic life were agreed, and matters of dogma and ideology were debated and confirmed. The exact number, location, and importance of the councils have been contested, but it is commonly considered that there were three early councils that were of particular importance.

THE FIRST COUNCIL

The First Buddhist Council convened shortly after the death of the Buddha. The council was attended by 500 *arahants*, who had already achieved nirvana, the path to enlightenment. The council wished to itemize and systematize the teachings of the Buddha and was held at Rajagha, in the modern Indian state of Bihar. Of those present one of the most prominent was Ananda, who had attended the Buddha as companion and assistant for three decades. It is believed that since the monks concerned were consistent practitioners of yogic disciplines, their memories were enhanced and, thus, their ability to recall lengthy speeches and lessons with some accuracy.

Ananda, for example, is said to have recited not only every word he heard from the Buddha but also the location and circumstances under which each was uttered. Others who had also been present then confirmed Ananda's responses, where possible. The main achievements of the first council were the assembly of the aphoristic sutras under the supervision of Ananda and the collection of the *vinayas*, the rules to be followed by the *sangha*, or monkhood, under the elder Upali. At the first council, the TRIPITAKA was established and continues to be used today. The three Pitakas, or baskets, were separate receptacles in which the Buddha's teachings were categorized into discourse, discipline, and expressions of higher knowledge.

THE SECOND COUNCIL

The Second Buddhist Council was held approximately 100 years after the death of the Buddha. It was held at Vaisali, also in the modern Indian state of Bihar. It was convened to settle the conflict that had arisen out of an ideological difference among the *sangha*. This difference was not resolved and resulted in the creation of the two major schools of Buddhist thought, the Mahayana and the Theravada.

Controversy is thought to have arisen over the 10 rules (*vinayas*) monks were obliged to follow. These included whether it was acceptable to drink sour milk after the midday meal, using a rug of an inappropriate size, accepting gold and silver as alms, and the storage of salt. The debate centered on two interpretations of the *vinayas*, one of which was much stricter than the other.

It is said that the Vaisali monks were practicing a more relaxed regime of *vinayas* than the remainder of the *sangha*, and after debate their lifestyle was ruled unlawful. In return, the Vaisali faction created its own school. This explanation ignores the issues of dogma that must have underpinned this conflict and the divi-

sion between Theravada and Mahayana forms of Buddhism has little to do with the regimen to be followed by their practitioners. The Chinese version of the original SANSKRIT report created by the Mahasanghika school, which later became the Mahayana Buddhist tradition, records that the debate concerned the nature of the *arahant* and the relationship with the physical universe.

There is little agreement as to the exact nature of the debates that took place. However, it is clear that after the second council, Buddhists divided into a number of different sects, and unity among them was no longer possible because there was no agreement on Buddha's teachings, nor of the order in which they were to be recited.

THE THIRD COUNCIL

The Third Buddhist Council was held under the auspices of the great Buddhist patron King ASHOKA (Asoka) at PATALIPUTRA, which is the modern-day Patna in India, in or around 247 B.C.E. The purpose of the council convened under Ashoka's direction was to resolve the differences between the numerous Buddhist sects that had flourished since the second council.

The council resulted in the creation of the Kathavatthu, which has become the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. A version of the Buddha's teaching, royally approved as the Vibhajjavada, was declared to be appropriate for the monks to learn and to recite once they sought out converts. This doctrine followed the Theravadin school of thought. The sending out of monk evangelists under Ashoka was of considerable importance in the dissemination of the religion.

The councils represented the attempt to resolve different interpretations of dogma through discussion rather than violence, and in this, they were largely successful. By causing the assembled monks to recite the canon they held in common in unison, they focused on what united the *sangha* rather than what set them apart.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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Byblos

The site of ancient Byblos lies on the Lebanese coast about 25 miles north of Beirut. It has been continuously occupied since the late Neolithic Period (c. 5000 B.C.E.), and its tradition claims that it is the oldest city in the world. The Greeks gave the name Byblos to the site because they imported Egyptian papyrus, or *byblos*, through the city. The Egyptians called it Kebeny, but the name of the city was Gubal to its inhabitants, and later Gebal. Byblos persists as the name of the archaeological site, but the town's name in Arabic is Jebeil.

For centuries the location of the ancient city was forgotten until discovered by the French scholar Ernest Renan in 1860. It lay under the town of Jebeil, the walls of its houses containing inscribed stones from the city's ancient past. Between 1919 and 1924 Pierre Montet's excavations revealed the tombs of nine ancient rulers of Byblos. Maurice Dunand succeeded Montet, conducting excavations from 1925 to 1975.

The fourth-century C.E. geographer Strabo described Byblos as a "city on a height only a short distance from the sea." It had an excellent geographical situation where trade routes from north and south met. The city was built on a promontory, behind which the mountains of Lebanon came closest to the sea, providing easy access to vast forests of cedar wood and reserves of copper ore. On either side of the promontory were bays that provided natural harbors, the larger one to the south. On the north side lay the upper town, or acropolis, holding the palaces and temples. The harbors were not particularly large but quite capable of handling the goods that flowed in and out of Byblos. Exports included Canaanite wine and oil and the all-important timber.

The earliest example of the Phoenician alphabet (c. 1000 B.C.E.) is found on the sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos. Remains from nearly 3,000 years of contact with Egypt survive, including artifacts inscribed with names of pharaohs from all periods. Trade was disrupted around 2300 B.C.E. by Amorite tribes from the desert invading the coastal plain and attacking Byblos. The city soon recovered and entered on a period of great prosperity that lasted until the coming of the Sea Peoples in the 13th century B.C.E. The Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.E.) ushered in the Phoenician age of Byblos: the blend of the coastal Canaanites and the Sea Peoples. After 1000 B.C.E. the city was never completely independent of the great powers, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, and Persia.

Byblos always put trade first and submitted to its overlords, including ALEXANDER THE GREAT, to

whom it surrendered and was spared. After Alexander's conquest the city slowly adopted Greek culture and language. The arrival of the Romans in 64 B.C.E. brought three centuries of peace and prosperity to the city, along with the building of temples, theaters, and baths. Byzantine imperial rule brought a Christian bishop to the city, but there are few remains from this period. In 636 C.E. the city passed under Arab rule until taken by the crusaders in 1104. Around 1215 the crusaders built the Church of St. John the Baptist. In 1289 the city surrendered to the Mamelukes, and in the 15th century Byblos was taken over by the Ottoman Turks, under whose rule Jebeil operated as an obscure fishing port.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

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JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

Byzantine-Persian wars

In the third century C.E. the Sassanid dynasty replaced Parthian rule in the Persian Empire. Rome and Persia soon ran into conflict over disputed territorial claims, particularly in the Caucasus region. DIOCLETIAN stabilized the frontier by forcing the Persians from the region and establishing suzerainty in 299 C.E. Hostilities resumed when the Persians invaded ARMENIA, trying to regain dominance, and continued throughout much of the fourth century. In 363 Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE was killed fighting the Persians. Afterward Rome yielded territory, including Armenia. Relations remained tense (and sometimes hostile) for decades until conflict resumed in the early fifth century. Another factor that led to conflict was religion.

The Eastern Roman Empire was set on Christianity, while the SASSANID EMPIRE was set on ZOROASTRIANISM. When the Persians began to persecute Christians, Theodosius II declared war, which resulted in another treaty. In 442 relations were ameliorated when both faced the scourge of the HUNS and mobilized for defense. Peace was broken in 502 when the Persians demanded tribute and invaded Syria and Armenia.

Hostilities continued on and off throughout the sixth century, concluding in 591 with the Caucasus region returning to Roman suzerainty under Emperor Maurice.

When a military revolt led to the murder of Maurice and the installation of Phocas in 602, the Persians invaded—allegedly acting on behalf of Maurice’s family. Thus began the last Byzantine-Persian war (602–629). During the war the Roman governor of Byzantine North Africa sent his son Heraclius (Herakleios) to overthrow the tyrant Phocas in 610. Despite his ability, the war turned badly for Heraclius, who became emperor in 610. Over the next decade the Persians seized Syria, Palestine, and Egypt and plundered Anatolia. Heraclius now strove to shift the war to Persia.

With the support of the patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE, he used church money to buy off the Avars (a hostile people to his north) and rebuild his army with which, in eastern Anatolia in 622, he won his first victory. Operations then focused on the Caucasus region. In 626 the Persians attempted to besiege Constantinople with the aid of the Avars and Slavs. The city withstood the Avars, while the Byzantine navy defeated the Slav boats that were to ferry the Persians to the European side.

The Byzantines credited the Virgin Mary with the defense of their city. While they turned to their faith, the Persians sought to undermine this fervor. When they had captured Jerusalem, for example, they deported Christians to Persia (including the patriarch)

and also took captive the holy relic of the True Cross. Finally, they called for Jews to resettle Jerusalem as a Jewish city.

The momentum began to shift to the Byzantines who were strengthened by an alliance with the Khazars, a Turkic people from the steppes. In 627 Heraclius defeated the Persians and led his army into Persia. Peace was established after Kavad II overthrew his father King Khosraw II. Heraclius obtained the return of the True Cross. The cost of the war was great. It was at this juncture that Islam appeared outside Arabia as the “rightly guided caliphs,” the successors of the prophet Muhammad, led the new Muslim armies out of Arabia at the very moment that Persia, having been defeated, and Byzantium, victorious but gravely damaged, could offer little resistance. Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa were soon in Muslim hands.

See also PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

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MATHEW HERBST

Byzantium

See CONSTANTINOPLE.



Caesar, Augustus

(63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Augustus was a title given to Octavian when he became the first emperor of the ROMAN EMPIRE and established the institutional framework that would serve Romans for 300 years. Octavian was the adopted son and heir of JULIUS CAESAR. His rule initiated the PAX ROMANA, a 200-year period of peace, which ended a century of Roman civil wars. His reign as emperor brought forth a new cultural period, which became known as the golden age of Latin literature and saw many new buildings erected in Rome. This period marked the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of imperial Rome.

Octavian was born Gaius Octavius on September 23, 63 B.C.E., in Rome. His father was Gaius Octavius, and his mother, Atia, was the niece of Julius Caesar. His grandmother Julia was Caesar's elder sister.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

The First TRIUMVIRATE was initially a secret, unofficial political alliance to rule Rome. It consisted of Gaius Julius Caesar (Julius Caesar); Marcus Licinius Crassus, who had suppressed the slave revolt led by Spartacus; and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY). Julius Caesar was assassinated on March 15, 44 B.C.E., the Ides of March. Julius Caesar's will revealed that Octavian

was his adopted son, the heir of his name, and heir of his considerable estate. Octavian became known as Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Upon his return to Rome Octavian discovered that Mark Antony had taken charge. They formed an alliance of three along with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, one of Caesar's most trusted allies. This Second Triumvirate was officially supported by the Roman government and was given special powers for five years. As Suetonius wrote, "the underlying motive of every campaign [after he returned to Rome] was that Augustus [Octavian] felt it his duty, above all, to avenge Caesar." The Triumvirate's first task was to draw up a list of those who had taken part in the conspiracy to kill Julius Caesar. Hundreds of people were arrested and executed, or jailed and their property declared forfeit. This removed all potential enemies. It also hugely enriched the members of the Triumvirate with money for a large army to search for two major conspirators, Cassius and Brutus. These two were defeated at the Battle of Philippi in Macedonia and committed suicide.

The Triumvirate then divided the Roman Empire among them. Lepidus moved to Africa to rule. The western part of the empire, including Italy, was in the hands of Octavian, who controlled Rome. The eastern part, which included Egypt, was under Mark Antony's control. Mark Antony had been smitten by Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, and sailed to Egypt,

becoming her lover and fathering three children with her. Needing a proper Roman wife, Mark Antony married Octavian's sister Octavia Minor in 40 B.C.E. and had two daughters, both named Antonia. Three years later, in 37 B.C.E., he deserted Octavia and lived openly with Cleopatra. Octavian, in the meantime, was building up important alliances in Rome and consolidating his power base. Mark Antony was becoming a troublesome rival to Octavian. However, to the public, Mark Antony was clearly linked with Julius Caesar's triumphs and was an important Roman military figure. Octavian allowed rumors to be spread that Mark Antony was becoming more and more an Egyptian and less a Roman. Mark Antony spread rumors that alleged that Julius Caesar had seduced Octavian. The situation became extremely nasty as Mark Antony sent many letters undermining Octavian to key Roman figures.

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

Octavian felt it necessary to do away with his rival, yet he and the Roman government did not wish it to be viewed as another civil war. The Senate officially declared war on Cleopatra in 32 B.C.E. and officially stripped Mark Antony of his title as triumvir.

Mark Antony and Cleopatra were anxious to prevent Octavian from reaching Egypt and moved with their forces and fleet to the west coast of Greece, in what was clearly a preparation to invade Italy itself. Octavian led his legions and fleet to Greece as well, and on September 2, 31 B.C.E., the issue was decided at the Battle of Actium. It was a massive naval battle with a total of more than 400 vessels. Agrippa, in charge of Octavian's navy, formed his fleet into a center and two wings of equal strength. Mark Antony drew up his ships in the same formation, but left 60 vessels under Cleopatra in reserve. As the two fleets clashed, Mark Antony's center panicked and fled, along with his left wing. Mark Antony realized the battle was lost and signaled to Cleopatra to escape, and he followed. Antony's entire fleet was destroyed and upon seeing this, his land legions fled in the face of Octavian's armies.

In Egypt, in 30 B.C.E., upon being told erroneously that Cleopatra had committed suicide, Mark Antony killed himself. Cleopatra was captured and told that she would be taken to Rome as a captive and taken through the streets in procession. Rather than be taken captive she committed suicide. Octavian then annexed Egypt and returned to Rome in triumph. The eastern half of the empire, loyal to Mark Antony, swore allegiance to Rome and Octavian.

Even with no major rivals, Octavian was wary of his public image and the perception of his power. Octavian had inherited the support of the plebeians, the poor of Rome, who had been the mainstay of Julius Caesar's power base in the city, and was careful to stay in the Senate's good graces. At the instigation of the Senate he became proconsul in 27 B.C.E. Later the same year the Senate invested him with the titles *princeps* and *augustus*, the latter of which he never used. In some ways the title was more a religious than a political one, whereas *Princeps* translated as "first citizen" and was used to signify a semi-imperial authority.

THE SECOND SETTLEMENT

In 23 B.C.E. Octavian achieved what became known as the "Second Settlement," an agreement between himself and the Senate. He was invested by the Senate with the powers of a tribune. This gave him the power to call the Senate at his will and to veto any decisions they made. He had control of all soldiers in Rome and was the head of all Roman forces throughout the empire. He was also granted *imperium proconsulare maius* ("imperium over all the proconsuls"), which allowed him singly to act as he saw fit in any province and overturn the decisions of any provincial governor. In effect he now had dictatorial powers. Octavian was still treading cautiously and using a thin veneer of legitimacy. Although the ruling class could see Octavian gaining too much power, many aspects of this Second Settlement were lost on the poor of Rome who still supported him as the "defender of the people." When Octavian did not stand for election as consul in 22 B.C.E., some plebeians felt that he was being forced from power by the Senate. As a result in 22 B.C.E. and in the next two years the people only elected one consul in order to leave the other position open for Octavian. In 19 B.C.E. the Senate voted to allow Augustus to wear the insignia of a consul before them and in public. Six years later Marcus Aemilius Lepidus died. Octavian took the religious position of *pontifex maximus*, essentially as the high priest of the Roman religion.

OCTAVIAN'S RULE

With Rome at peace Octavian instituted military reforms. He reduced the size of the army from 501,000 to 300,000. Legions were stationed at the frontiers of the empire, which kept commanders from interfering in Roman politics. He formed the Praetorian Guard, which consisted of 10 cohorts of 1,000 men. The Praetorian Guard was garrisoned in Rome, provided protection for

Octavian, and were the only soldiers allowed in Italy. With massive amounts of money flowing to the government coffers in Rome, Octavian was generous in paying the soldiers and in ensuring that veterans were able to have their own land.

Octavian overhauled the tax system to ensure as much revenue as possible. By 6 C.E. the treasury at the capital controlled the fiscal arrangements for the entire Roman Empire. He also ordered a tax census of every person in his empire. In the Bible, Luke writes: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world be taxed" (Luke 2:1). This is the edict that caused Joseph and Mary to go to Bethlehem where JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was born.

Money was channeled into the building of new roads throughout the empire, a system of mail delivery, and also a fire brigade and police force for Rome. In addition to his own actions, Octavian encouraged others to undertake public works. Octavian was later to boast that he "found Rome made of brick and left it in marble." As with so many other rulers, Octavian is accused of overtaxing agriculture and spending the money on grandiose projects and games. However, he did remarkably well given that Rome was no longer invading other countries and carting their treasuries home.

Octavian was a generous benefactor to the arts. He allocated much in commissions to sculptors and artists, poets and writers. This period was the golden age of Roman literature. Many epic works come to us from this time. Virgil wrote the *AENEID* about the founding of Rome by Aeneas. Later in his rule Octavian became a moralist, creating laws to try to change Roman society. He launched a morality crusade to restrict prostitution and homosexuality, as well as adultery, but in Rome this was not successful.

THE SUCCESSION

One of the issues which overshadowed the latter part of Octavian's reign was succession. Octavian had one child, his daughter Julia. Octavian died on August 19, 14 C.E., after adopting his stepson Tiberius Claudius, son of his third wife, Livia Drusilla. Tiberius became the next emperor, named Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Octavian was proclaimed a god. In addition the sixth month of the year, then known as Sextilis, was renamed Augustus (August) after him.

See also ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDING, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Caesar, Julius

(100–44 B.C.E.) *Roman general*

Gaius Julius Caesar expanded the Roman Empire into a power that included half of Europe. According to legend, he was a descendant of Aeneas, the Trojan prince who founded Rome, himself the son of the Greek goddess Aphrodite or the Roman Venus.

EARLY LIFE AND THE POLITICS OF ROME

Julius Caesar grew up with many political connections through his father Gaius Julius Caesar, who had been a praetor, and his uncle Gaius MARIUS, a war hero and politician who had married his father's sister Julia. His mother was Aurelia Cotta.

The politics in Rome were embroiled between those who wanted a populous electorate, the *populares*, and those who wanted aristocratic rule, the *optimates*. Caesar's uncle Marius was a *popularis*. In his opposition was Lucius Cornelius Sulla, an *optimas*. Both were political leaders. These opposing political camps caused many civil wars, coups, and attempted coups. Caesar's life, politics, and military career were directly affected by which camp was holding power.

At this time King Mithridates of Pontus, on the south coast of the Black Sea, threatened Rome's eastern provinces. Sulla was chosen to lead his army against Mithridates. While he departed Rome to join his army, the government appointed Marius to lead the war against Mithridates. Sulla received word of this and marched on Rome and seized power. Marius fled to Africa. The appointment was returned to Sulla, and his army marched to the eastern provinces. Marius and his army then marched on Rome. He and his allies,

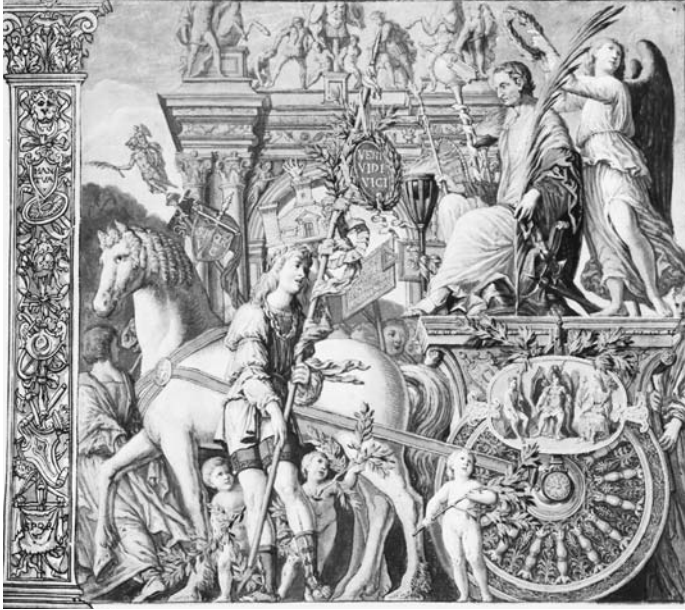


Photo of a woodcut depicting the triumph of Julius Caesar, with a sign bearing his famous slogan, “Veni, vidi, vici.”

including Lucius Cornelius Cinna, seized power. There was a purge of the supporters of Sulla. Marius died in 86 B.C.E., but his faction remained in power. Julius Caesar was allied with Cinna and married his daughter Cornelia in 84 B.C.E.

Sulla was victorious in the east and marched on Rome. He waged war against the army of Marius and defeated them in 82 B.C.E. Sulla had himself declared dictator and initiated a massive purge of the *populares*. Caesar was on this list, being related to Marius and Cinna. Caesar's political appointment, inheritance, and wife's dowry was appropriated. He was in hiding but was reprieved because his mother's family had influence with Sulla.

MILITARY CAREER

Caesar joined the army and left Rome, and became an aide of the governor of Asia. There he was involved in a military victory against Mithradates VI, king of Pontus. In this action he was awarded the *corona civica*, or Civic Crown, one of the highest Roman military decorations. Sulla retired as dictator and died in 78 B.C.E. Julius Caesar returned to Rome at this time. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, a close ally of his, had attempted a failed coup against the Sullan government. Julius Caesar sailed to Rhodes to study in 75 B.C.E. He was captured by pirates and ransomed for 50 talents of gold. Later, Caesar crucified the pirates. After this he again led an army against the king of Pontus. He went on

to Rhodes to study under Apollonius Molo, who had taught Cicero.

Caesar returned to Rome in 72 B.C.E., where he was elected as a military tribune. He then became quaestor and prepared to fulfill this position with the army in Hispania (Spain) in 69 B.C.E. He served as quaestor in western Hispania and returned to Rome and married Pompeia, the granddaughter of Sulla. He was elected *aedile*. After this Caesar was then elected *pontifex maximus*, the chief priest of Roman. He was elected praetor in 62 B.C.E. He was appointed *propraetor* in 61 B.C.E. and left Rome to govern Hispania Ulterior (Furthest Spain). In western Hispania he led the conquest of the Callaici and Lusitani people. His army hailed him as imperator, and he entered Rome in triumph. Caesar wanted to be consul, which was the highest office in the Republic, and entered Rome to run for consul in 60 B.C.E.

In his campaign for consul of Rome, Caesar allied himself to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY the Great), a formidable military figure with a long-term goal to get free land for his veterans to settle. Marcus Licinius Crassus, said to be the richest man in all of Rome, joined them in a three-person political alliance for power. Caesar provided the political skills, Pompey the influence, and Crassus the money. To cement the alliance, Pompey married Caesar's only daughter, Julia.

In the same year Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, who would be elected consul the year after. Their political opponents called their powerful political alliance “the three-headed monster.” This was the First Triumvirate. In 59 B.C.E. Caesar won as consul, but his opposition, Bibulus, won the other co-consul position. Caesar turned Pompey's measures into law and pushed Crassus's interests.

THE GALLIC WARS

Caesar became proconsul of GAUL in 58 B.C.E. His Gallic Wars lasted from 58 to 49 B.C.E. Caesar began with a lightning campaign in Helvetii (modern-day Switzerland). The following year he conquered the Belgic confederacy (in modern-day Belgium) and the Nervii. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus met in Caesar's province in 56 B.C.E. to renew their TRIUMVIRATE. By now Caesar had taken great riches in battle from the Gauls. By the end of 56 B.C.E. he had decided to annex all of Gaul (modern-day France). Pompey and Crassus would be consuls the following year and promised to extend his proconsulship of Gaul for five more years. With this Caesar became even more ambitious.

In the middle of 55 B.C.E. he planned an invasion of Britain. Caesar's army marched to the river Thames and defeated a large force, capturing the fort of King Cassivelaunus and then returned to Gaul. Caesar's strong political power base was waning, however, and his alliance with Pompey was weakening. Crassus received command of the eastern armies but was defeated by the Parthians, and he died in the battle.

Gauls had united under VERGINGETORIX. In 52 B.C.E. Caesar decided to attack with a siege at Alesia, and 250,000 Gauls arrived to aid Alesia in fighting the Romans. The Romans held, and Caesar's cavalry was able to surprise the Gauls from the rear, sending them fleeing. Alesia surrendered, and the population was enslaved. In politics, there was rioting in Rome and with one consul dead (Crassus), Pompey served as "consul without a colleague." With Caesar's siege of Uxellodunum in 51 B.C.E., Gaul was conquered. During his campaigns Caesar wrote seven books, which form *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*). According to Plutarch, Caesar had conquered 800 cities and subdued 300 tribes. There are figures cited that he had 1 million men and boys become Roman slaves and left another 3 million dead on battlefields.

CIVIL WAR

Caesar was victorious as a general, but his political position was less secure. Pompey and Caesar were maneuvered into a public split, with Pompey now siding with the *optimates*. The Senate had ended Caesar's term as proconsul and ordered him to disband his army and return to Rome. Without a government position he would face charges and prosecution. It was against Roman law for any army from a province to cross the border of the river Rubicon into Italy. By law this act was a rebellion against Rome. Caesar said, "*Alea iacta est*" ("The die is cast"), and led his army across the river toward Rome on January 10, 49 B.C.E. Caesar quickly advanced to Rome with only the XIII Legion. His opponents fled Rome. Pompey's legions were stationed in Hispania. He and the Senate fled to Brundisium and sailed to the east. Caesar set up his own senate and was declared dictator by them, with Mark Antony as his equerry. He then declared a policy of clemency for all. Caesar tried to make peace with Pompey, but civil war was inevitable. Caesar knew that he had to lead his legions to Hispania, to prevent Pompey's army from traveling to the East. With Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in charge of Rome and Mark Antony in control of Italy, Caesar set off for Hispania, where he defeated an ally of Pompey and

his army. Caesar resigned as dictator and was elected consul. He then headed for Greece and on July 10, 48 B.C.E., attacked Pompey at Dyrrachium (modern-day Durres or Durazzo, the main port in Albania). Caesar narrowly escaped defeat but smashed Pompey's forces at Pharsalus in Greece on August 9.

JULIUS CAESAR IN EGYPT

Pompey fled from Greece to Egypt, with Caesar pursuing him. When Caesar arrived in Egypt he was presented with Pompey's head. An Egyptian army officer had slain him. Caesar is reported to have wept.

Egypt was ruled from its capital city, ALEXANDRIA, by the Ptolemy dynasty, the descendants of the general of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. War had broken out in Egypt over who was to rule, between Cleopatra VII and her brother and husband Ptolemy XIII. Each had their armies and supporters. Caesar was smitten by Cleopatra's great beauty. He led his army against the opposing army and deposed Ptolemy XIII. A romance between Caesar and Cleopatra continued for many years. Caesar spent the first part of 47 B.C.E. in Egypt, leaving to attack King Pharnaces II of Pontus. His victory at the Battle of Zela in May was so quick that Caesar sent to Rome his now famous message, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" ("I came, I saw, I conquered").

CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE SONS OF POMPEY

Evading the enemy fleet, Caesar reached the African coast and marched his army inland. Finally Caesar's forces, estimated at 40,000, took on a depleted opposition of 60,000. In February at Thapsus he defeated them, losing only 1,000 men to Metellus Scipio's 10,000. In May Caesar again returned to Rome in triumph.

The sons of Pompey, Gnaeus Pompeius and Sextus Pompeius, were rallying forces against Caesar and had raised an army in Hispania. Caesar took a small force of veterans to fight them. Once in Hispania he quickly enlisted more veterans who had settled in the region after the Ilerda campaign. He amassed an army of 40,000 to that of Pompey's sons' army of 50,000–60,000 men. Caesar attacked in the Battle of Munda, on March 17, 45 B.C.E., and was able to drive Pompey's sons' men from the field. In September 45 B.C.E. Caesar returned to Rome, the unchallenged ruler of the Roman Republic, and was given the title *imperator*.

ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR

In Rome, Caesar wrote his will, naming his great-nephew Octavian as his heir and adopting him as his son. By 44 B.C.E. Caesar had been named *dictator perpetuus*.

His opponents saw this as the end of the Republic and the political power of the aristocracy, and a conspiracy grew. The assassination plans were for March 15—the Ides of March—when Caesar would meet the Senate. There were 20 men in the conspiracy. It is thought that Brutus went along with the assassination because he thought that Caesar would end the Roman Republic. Caesar entered the Senate, and hired gladiators blocked the outside door. Trebonius detained Mark Antony with conversation. As Caesar approached the senators, he was stabbed 23 times.

The murder of Caesar so enraged many in Rome that they eagerly listened to Mark Antony give a eulogy. Mark Antony and Octavian seized power and went on to avenge the death of Caesar, defeating the forces of Brutus and the chief conspirator, Cassius, in Greece before they fell out with each other. Two years after his death, Julius Caesar was formally declared a god as Divus Iulius (Divine Julius).

See also *AENEID*; CAESAR, AUGUSTUS; CATO, MARCUS PORCIUS (THE YOUNGER); ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Cambyes II

(c. 560–522 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Cambyes II was the eldest son of CYRUS II, the founder of the Achaemenid (or Persian) Empire, whose father was Cambyes I. The exact date of his birth is not known but is estimated to be around 560 B.C.E., and

he was said by the Greek writer HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus to be the eldest son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, also a member of the Achaemenid ruling family. Cyrus took control of Babylonia in 539 B.C.E. and returned to Ecbatana, one of the royal capitals, leaving his son Cambyes as his representative. Cambyes made his headquarters at Sippar, a town to the north of the city of Babylon. However, following his father’s policy, he was active in taking part in the spring New Year ceremonies that took place in Babylon. For eight years, on behalf of his father, Cambyes took charge of the area of Babylonia, and the evidence we have suggests a prince hard at work in his routine duties.

In 530 B.C.E. his father, Cyrus, set off to solve problems on the northeastern border of his empire and, following Persian custom, appointed Cambyes his regent, at the same time giving him permission to be called king of Babylon. News of his father’s death in action reached Cambyes in Babylonia in September 530 B.C.E., and he assumed the full title King of Babylon, King of Lands, and by local custom married his two sisters, Atossa and Roxana.

The most significant event of Cambyes’ reign was his invasion of Egypt, which began a few years after his accession. Most likely before he left Persia for the invasion Cambyes had his brother, variously called Bardiya or Smerdis, quietly killed as a precaution against his leading a rebellion in the king’s absence. Cambyes crossed the Sinai desert, Egypt’s first line of defense, and met the Egyptian army under the command of Psamtik III, at Pelusium. The battle went the Persian way not least because of the treachery of Polycrates of Samos, whose navy Psamtik erroneously thought he had secured but who on the day of combat fought for Cambyes. Heliopolis (the site of modern-day Cairo) was soon thereafter taken by siege, Psamtik fled across the river to Memphis, which early in 525 B.C.E. was also taken, and Cambyes was proclaimed the new PHARAOH.

A year later Cambyes marched south down the Nile and occupied Thebes. From there he considered invading Ethiopia but decided to stop at the border, Ethiopia becoming a vassal state. There is much debate as to how Cambyes behaved toward the religion of the Egyptians. Herodotus claims that he committed various atrocities and that this was due to Cambyes’ being mad. However, not everyone agrees with Herodotus, and it is very possible that what Herodotus records is propaganda against Cambyes after DARIUS I’s accession in 522 B.C.E.

In the spring of 522 B.C.E. a man called Gaumata, claiming to be Cambyses' brother Bardiya, seized the Achaemenid throne. Cambyses began the journey back to Persia to deal with the usurper but died early on in the journey. Whether his death was from suicide or from accidental poisoning following a sword wound is still debated.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT; MARATHON, BATTLE OF; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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ANDREW PETTMAN

Cappadocians

(third–fourth centuries C.E.)

Cappadocia, a Roman province from 17 C.E., became Christianized in the second century C.E. Cappadocia was a rural province, and its capital Mazica, later called Caesarea, was its only major city. Characteristic of theology in Cappadocia was the early influence of ORIGEN on the third-century Cappadocian church leaders Alexander (after 212 C.E., bishop of Jerusalem and a friend of Origen) and Firmilian, the bishop of Caesarea (230–269 C.E.). Origen himself escaped to Cappadocia during the persecution of Maximinus Thrax (235–238 C.E.). His impact remained present in the work of the Cappadocian writers BASIL THE GREAT, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzus.

Basil became bishop of Caesarea in 370 C.E., having studied rhetoric and other disciplines at home in Caesarea, CONSTANTINOPLE, and Athens. In Athens he met Gregory Nazianzus, who would become a lifelong friend and ally against the neo-Arian writers Eunomius and Aetius. From a tour of the Christian monasteries in the Near East after 355 C.E., he gained his lifelong devotion to the ascetic life and concern for monastics. This experience and encouragement from his sister Macrina, who sometimes is spoken of as “the fourth Cappadocian theologian,” persuaded him to be baptized. As successor of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, Basil was active in theological, political, and ecclesiastical conflicts. His fight against the neo-Arians gained him the opposition of the Arian emperor Valens (364–378 C.E.), who di-

vided the province of Cappadocia in two. A struggle with the Arian bishop Anthimus of Tyana over the control of churches in this new province ensued. Basil ordained his brother Gregory to the see of Nyssa (nominally now under Anthimus's control). Unsuccessfully he also attempted to ordain Gregory Nazianzus to the see of Sasima. Basil was also embroiled in a controversy with the Arian bishop Eustathius of Sebaste, who had mentored Basil. Basil died in 379, leaving the resolution of the neo-Arian crisis to the two Cappadocian Gregories.

Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa (c. 331–395 C.E.) assumed the mantle of the struggle against the neo-Arians after Basil's death. His theological position was critical at the Council of Constantinople (381). There the anti-Arian emperor THEODOSIUS I declared communion with Gregory one of the conditions for orthodoxy. Gregory traveled to ARABIA and Jerusalem to mediate ecclesiastical disputes. His writings addressed questions of the Trinitarian controversies (*Against Eunomius*, *Ad Petrum*, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*) and argued against the Christology of Apollinaris (*Ad Theophilum*, *Adversus Apollinaristas*, *Antirheticus adversus Apollinarem*). He composed a hagiobiography of his sister, the *Life of Macrina*. His theology owes much to PLATONISM, NEOPLATONISM, and Origen. His writings assert both the full divinity and the full humanity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, although in opposition to Origen and Neoplatonism he rejected the preexistence of souls. His writings exhibited great influence on the thought of speculative theologians such as JOHN DAMASCENE, Gregory Palamas, and Duns Scotus.

Basil and Gregory's friend, Gregory Nazianzus (c. 329–390), was bishop of Constantinople (379–381) and represented the imperial city at the Council of Constantinople. Gregory's opponents among the Alexandrian and Macedonian bishops objected to his appointment to Constantinople, and Gregory, citing poor health, returned to Nazianzus. He was eventually persuaded to become bishop of that city (Basil had appointed him as auxiliary bishop earlier). In 384 he left Nazianzus and returned to his family estate in Arianus, where he devoted himself to writing until his death in 390. Gregory's *Orations* are among his most important works, most of which were delivered for festivals. As a theologian, Gregory opposed the assumptions of the Eunomians that language was a God-given system, that names were the only way of access to the essence of the thing named, and that statements about God's essence were a matter of logical inference.

Gregory contended that God is known only insofar as he has revealed himself to humanity. Like the other Cappadocians, Gregory expressed the single nature of the Trinitarian Godhead—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and the full humanity and divinity of Christ. Gregory maintained that the Son of God became human so that human beings could participate in God's divinity. Gregory's other writings include a collection of his letters, which he assembled before his death.

See also ARIANISM; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

Caracalla, Edict of (212 C.E.)

The Roman emperor Caracalla (or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) issued the Edict of Caracalla, also known as the *Constitutio Antoniniana* or Edict of Antoninus, in 212 C.E. Prior to this Roman citizenship had been highly treasured and was extended only to people from Rome, children of existing citizens, and people who had served a term in the military, being gradually extended to cover all the freeborn people in the Italian peninsula. The Edict of Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to include all freeborn men throughout the Roman Empire and gave all freeborn women in the empire the same rights as Roman women.

Caracalla was born in Gaul in 186 C.E., the son of the future emperor Septimius Severus. When Caracalla was born he was called Lucius Septimius Bassianus, and when he was seven, his name was changed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to emphasize his family's connection with the late emperor MARCUS AURELIUS. *Caracalla* was a nickname given to him when he was a young man on account of the Gallic hooded tunic that he often wore. Caracalla's father had become emperor in 193 and died in 211. Caracalla and his brother Publius Septimius Antoninus Geta became co-emperors, but Caracalla was anxious to reign by himself, and Geta and his own father-in-law, Gaius

Fulvius Plautianus, were both murdered soon afterward. The method by which Caracalla came to power led to public criticism, and a satire play was produced in the city of ALEXANDRIA in Egypt. In 215 Caracalla killed a deputation from the city and then let his soldiers slaughter up to 20,000 people in Alexandria. Caracalla had once been told by his father to look after the army, and to this end he gave the legionnaires pay of 675–750 denarii (raised from 500 denarii), as well as other benefits. This was largely because the period before Caracalla become emperor had been one of significant inflation. Caracalla not only ensured that the salaries raised, but also soldiers were partially paid in kind—with food and materials—which would obviously not be affected by price rises. This was meant not only to reward the soldiers and ensure their loyalty but also to try to get more people to join the Roman army. This has long been suggested as one of the reasons for Caracalla's edict. However, there were more pressing reasons. There had not been enough money in the treasury for the pay rise for the soldiers, so the silver content in Roman coins was lowered by a quarter. The real reason for the edict can clearly be seen as being connected with revenue raising.

Traditionally Roman citizens were freeborn people who lived in the city of Rome. In addition, descendants of Roman citizens around the empire had citizenship, along with men who had served in the army (as was the case during the Roman Republic) and also auxiliaries (from the reign of Augustus). The Romans also allowed client kings, nobles, and others to become Roman citizens. In Acts of the Apostles, Paul proclaims his Roman citizenship several times.

As well as the obvious advantages in being a Roman citizen, there were several disadvantages. All Roman citizens paid two taxes from which noncitizens were exempt. The first was inheritance taxes, which were paid by the beneficiaries on the death of somebody who left them money or property. Initially in the Roman Empire it was impractical to levy inheritance taxes on everybody, but by the time of Caracalla there was a large middle class in the empire and well-regulated methods of collecting taxes. The other tax that was levied on Roman citizens was an indirect tax when slaves were emancipated. Because of inflation, the monetary value of slaves had risen, and with growing affluence, more masters were freeing their slaves, who often continued to work for them; many slaves were able to buy their own freedom.

Caracalla was also responsible for the building of a large complex in Rome that became known as the

Baths Carthage 69 of Caracalla. However, he became increasingly unpopular with many in the Roman Empire. He was killed on April 8, 217, at Harran, Parthia. The account by Cassius Dio says that he was slain when he was relieving himself, with a single stroke of the sword.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Carthage

The city of Carthage in North Africa (modern-day Tunisia) was the capital of the Carthaginian empire that controlled parts of the Mediterranean from the seventh century B.C.E. until it was destroyed in 146 B.C.E. Tradition has the city founded by Queen Dido, from Tyre, a Phoenician city in modern-day Lebanon. According to that legend, after TROY was sacked by the Greeks, Prince Aeneas fled by sea and was shipwrecked there. Queen Dido fell in love with him, but his destiny was to found Rome. Roman historians give different dates for the founding of Carthage. Timaeus gives c. 814 B.C.E., but Apion states 751 B.C.E. The earliest known tombs date from 725–700 B.C.E.

Carthage was founded for trade, which created great wealth and helped it to dominate parts of North Africa and the central and eastern Mediterranean. Metals from North Africa were traded for wine, cloth, and pottery. By the sixth century B.C.E. it was ruled by an aristocratic oligarchy through a senate.

Carthaginian trade in Sicily and Italy led to clashes with the Greeks and the ETRUSCANS. Carthage occupied the island of Ibiza off the Mediterranean coast of Iberia in 591 B.C.E, and in the 540s B.C.E. it conquered Sardinia.

The city lay on a peninsula in the gulf of Tunis. The Greek historian Appian recorded that it had three rows of walls each 45 feet tall and 30 feet wide, with barracks for 24,000 men and stables for 4,000 horses and 300 elephants. Carthage had two great harbors between the peninsula and the mainland. Large iron chains could be raised at the mouth of the harbor as protection from attacks. Vessels came from all parts of

the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts of Africa, Spain, France and Britain. They had trade in Tyrian royal purple dye, Tyrian royal blue dye, and dyed fabrics, tin for bronze, silver, gold, lumber, wine, cloth, pottery, carpets, jewelry, lamps, and other goods. Beyond this harbor was the military harbor. The entrance was narrow with a tall watchtower overlooking the harbors and sea. The Greek writer Appian reported that 220 ships could be accommodated.

The First Punic War broke out with Rome over disputes in Sicily regarding control of the city of Messina (modern, Messina, Sicily) in 265 B.C.E. The Romans sent a force to Africa. At the Battle of Tunes (Tunis) in 255 B.C.E., near the city of Carthage, the Carthaginians, with Greek mercenaries, destroyed the Roman army. The defeat of Rome left Carthage safe. Carthage was forced to leave Sicily after its navy was defeated in 241 B.C.E.

Romans captured the island of Sardinia in 238 B.C.E. Carthage then focused on Iberian Peninsula territory. There the Carthaginians built the city of New Carthage (present-day Cartagena). From there Commander Hamilcar Barca and his son HANNIBAL launched an attack on Rome in the Second Punic War in 219 B.C.E. Roman commander Scipio landed in North Africa in 204 B.C.E. Hannibal's army of 18,000 men left Italy for Carthage and raised a large army. He met the Romans and Numidians near Carthage at Zama in 202 B.C.E. Hannibal was defeated. The Romans forced the city to hand over all its warships and elephants and pay a massive indemnity to Rome. In 146 B.C.E. Roman forces leveled Carthage and then plowed the fields with salt so that no one could grow food there and rebuild. Later, Rome built Colonia Julia Carthago, the capital of Roman Africa.

See also AENEID; PHOENICIAN COLONIES; SYRACUSE.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

caste

Caste, or class, is English for the Sanskrit word *varna*, which categorizes the Hindus of India into four broad classifications. The Rig-Veda, the holiest text of Hinduism, mentions many occupations and divides the Aryan people into broad categories. For example, the Hymn of the Primeval Man in the Rig-Veda says:

When they divided the Man,
Into how many parts did they divide him?
What was his mouth, what were his arms,
What were his thighs and feet called?
The brahman was his mouth,
Of his arms was made the warrior,
His thighs became the vaisya,
Of his feet the sudra was born.

Early Aryan society already had class divisions. In India the class stratification became more rigid due to color consciousness—differences in skin color between the Indo-European Aryans and the indigenous peoples—thus the use of the word *varna*, which originally meant “covering,” associated with the color of the skin covering people’s bodies to differentiate the status of different categories of people. The four *varna*, or broad classifications of peoples of India, were as follows:

1. *Brahman*: priests, teachers, and intellectuals who presided at religious ceremonies, studied, and transmitted religious knowledge.
2. *Kshatriya*: warriors, princes, and political leaders, the people who spearheaded the invasion and settlement of northern India and ruled the land.
3. *Vaisya*: landowners, artisans, and all free people of Aryan society.
4. *Sudra*: *dasas*, or indigenous people, who were dark skinned and became serfs and servants.

The idea of *varna* became deeply embedded in Aryan, and later Hindu, society. When Aryan religious concepts later spread to Dravidian southern India, sharp distinctions were also enforced there between the three higher (or Aryan) castes and *sudras*.

The three high, or Aryan, castes were called “twice born,” because of a sacred thread ceremony or religious birth as they entered manhood, which gave them access to Vedic lore and rituals. *Sudras* were not eligible, which justified their exclusion from certain religious rites, and their low status. The Rig-Veda did not mention “un-

touchables” as a group of people. However, early Aryans were deeply concerned with ritual pollution, which was likely the origin of the Untouchables. A subclass of Untouchables emerged, who performed “unclean” tasks, such as handling the carcasses of dead animals, tanning, and sweeping dirt and ashes from cremation grounds.

After the late VEDIC AGE Indians defined caste much more narrowly. Besides belonging to a caste, each person belonged to a *jati*, which was defined as belonging to endogamous groups related by birth (marriage is only legitimate to members within the group), commensality (food can only be received between members of the same or a higher group), and craft exclusiveness (craft or profession can only be inherited; no one can take up another profession). Thus in operation the caste or class system was a combination of *varna* and *jati* systems.

Caste had its origins in the class and occupational groups in early Aryan society. It acquired a deep color consciousness as it broadened to include the people of the INDUS CIVILIZATION and other indigenous people the Aryans encountered as they expanded throughout northern India. It continued to develop over the succeeding centuries as a result of association between many racial groups into a single social system.

See also ARYAN INVASION; VEDAS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger) (95–46 B.C.E.) *Roman statesman*

The great-grandson of the legendary Marcus Porcius Cato (the Censor), the younger Cato, orphaned at an early age, received his education through his maternal uncle, Marcus Livius Drusus, and steeped his mind in STOICISM and politics. As a good practitioner of Stoic philosophy, he subjected himself to the most rigorous of physical disciplines, ate sparingly, and lived simply.

Cato’s military career began with his service in 72 B.C.E. during the Servile War against SPARTACUS and his followers. As a military tribune in Macedonia in 67 B.C.E., he served alongside his men and shared in

their hardships and sacrifices. While in Macedonia, his brother Caepio died, and he journeyed to the Middle East, probably in an attempt to assuage his grief. When Cato returned to Rome in 64 B.C.E. he won election as a quaestor, dealing with the financial interests of the Roman state. Known for his honesty and integrity, Cato discovered that former quaestors had participated in fraud and murder, and he responded to the revelations by promptly bringing the offenders to justice. He left office amid much public praise and gratitude.

In 63 B.C.E. Cato won election to the tribune of the *plebs*, an office devised to protect the plebeians (the less privileged) from arbitrary treatment by the patrician (privileged) class. Once in office Cato fought JULIUS CAESAR at every opportunity, disliking Caesar's morals and actions. Caesar, in turn, had Cato arrested for obstructionism. Once released, Cato attempted to stop Caesar from receiving a five-year appointment as a provincial governor, but to no avail. POMPEY also stood in opposition to Cato, but rather than continually battle his adversary, Pompey proposed an alliance through marriage to one of Cato's relatives. Cato, believing it was simply a way for Pompey to gain political influence, would not permit the marriage. It may have been, as Plutarch implies in his brief biography of Cato, a fatal mistake, because Pompey then married Caesar's daughter, Julia, a union that cemented the relationship between the two leaders—a relationship that eventually destroyed constitutional government in Rome.

In 58 B.C.E. Clodius, a tribune, hoping to rid Rome of the troublesome Cato, appointed him governor of Cyprus. As governor, Cato was meticulous in his record keeping and was fiscally responsible. He returned to Rome two years later amid great accolades for his service in Cyprus. In 54 B.C.E., as the First TRIUMVIRATE disintegrated, Cato became a praetor, an official in charge of judicial affairs, and used his office to halt Caesar's schemes. In 53 B.C.E. Cato lost an election for one of the two consulships and then retired from public service. When one of the consuls, Crassus, died at Carrhae that summer, Cato chose to accept Pompey as sole consul of the state. Civil war ensued in 49 B.C.E., and Caesar's army crossed the Rubicon bound for Rome. Cato took command of the Republican forces in Sicily, but outnumbered, he left the island without fighting a battle and then chose to follow Pompey to Greece.

Caesar defeated Pompey's forces at Pharsalus on August 9, 48 B.C.E., and shortly after the debacle, the Egyptians assassinated Pompey as he disembarked on their shores. Cato and the military commander, Quintus Caecilius Metellius Pius Scipio, fled to Africa and

continued to resist Caesar from Utica. Caesar pursued Cato and his allies; in February 46 B.C.E., Caesar defeated Scipio's forces at the Battle of Thapsus. When Cato received word of Scipio's defeat in 46 B.C.E., he chose to commit suicide rather than live under the rule of Caesar. Remembered for his Stoic lifestyle, integrity, and Republican ideals, Cato fought until the day of his death to preserve the Roman Republic and remains for many a model of virtue in public service.

See also ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JAMES S. BAUGESS

cave paintings

The oldest known cave paintings were found in the Chauvet Cave, located in southeast France. Discovered in 1994, the cave was filled with images of diverse animal species, including rhinoceroses, cats, and bears. Radiocarbon dating showed the images to be more than 30,000 years old.

Eliette Brunel Deschamps, Jean-Marie Chauvet, and Christian Hillaire discovered the Chauvet Cave. This group previously discovered other decorated caves in the region, including Les Deux-Ouvertures, Le Cade, the Grotte du Louoi, and the Caverne de Poitiers. The Chauvet Cave stretches more than 1,700 feet, larger than any previous cave painting discovery. Some of the images they found were of bears, panthers, cacti, handprints, horses, and lions. In addition to the painted images, engravings were found, including horses and mammoths. The images were, for the most part, natural and realistic looking and easily recognizable. Perspective was used as well. Some of the walls were prepared by scraping so the images would stand out better, and scraping was also used to add contours and highlighting. In Chauvet, like most other caves with prehistoric art, it is clear that not only was there more than one artist; different paintings were done at different times, often many years apart.



Ancient Celtic dolmen were slabs of rock built to protect the dead from the elements, as this one at Poul nabroun in Ireland shows.

The Lascaux Cave, located in south-central France, was discovered in 1940. Like the Chauvet Cave, it has many chambers. The first chamber is the “Hall of Bulls,” whose walls are covered with giant bulls, cows, stags, horses, and a figure thought to be a unicorn. This cave also has an image of a dead man, the reason of which is unknown. The Lascaux painters, like those in Chauvet, took advantage of the natural coloring in rocks, allowing colors like red, black, and yellow to be used. Radio-carbon analysis puts the paintings at Lascaux between 15,000 and 13,500 B.C.E.

The Altamira Cave, located in northern Spain, was originally discovered in 1868, but it was not until 1879 that its images were noticed. It was not until 1901, when other caves were discovered, that Altamira was revisited. This time the importance of the discovery was acknowledged, as the cave contained some 100 figures, including bison, horses, deer, wild boar, and handprints.

Why prehistoric peoples decided to create images in caves is a matter of conjecture. Different theories pose that the paintings were magical, intended to exercise control over what was depicted in the images. In addition, there is the thought that these images were simply representations. Other questions include dating and authenticity. The use of carbon dating, which measures the amount of carbon 14 remaining in organic materials, charcoal, bones, or cinders, leads to an approximation of age; however, there is a margin of error.

Whatever the reason prehistoric man decided to put images on the walls of caves, it remains a fascinat-

ing aspect of human culture and nature. The majority of prehistoric cave paintings have been found in western Europe, but others have been found in Russia, Africa, Oceania, and possibly Brazil.

See also PALEOLITHIC AGE.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Celts

The Celts were a tribal people of the Bronze and Iron Ages united by a common language, culture, and art. They lived throughout Europe. Most were eventually conquered by the Romans and became a part of the Roman Empire. Many unconquered areas have retained their separate language and culture for centuries. Ireland and parts of France, England, Wales, and Scotland can claim to be largely Celtic to this day. Language studies indicate that the Celts were an Indo-European group, first identified in Switzerland and Germany.

The first written references to Celts come from the Greeks in 630–600 B.C.E., who describe the Keltoi as mining and trading silver from the Iberian Peninsula. The period of Celtic history from the fifth through the first century B.C.E. is called La Tène, after a village on Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, where ancient pilings leading into the lake prompted excavations in the mid-19th century. Swords, shields, pins, razors, cauldrons, and even human remains were found buried in the silt of the lake, and many artifacts were decorated with graceful curving lines, whimsical faces, and plant motifs. The La Tène art style, since found in graves and monuments throughout the Celtic world, displayed the creativity and technical sophistication of the Celts.

Before and during the La Tène period, Celts had migrated, tribe by tribe, throughout Europe. By the seventh century B.C.E. they moved south through the Alps and into the Po Valley of Italy, where the Boii, In-

subres, and Senones tribes of Celts attacked Etruscan cities. Romans intervened as the Celts continued south but were defeated at the Battle of Allia in 390 B.C.E., after which the Senones, under the command of Brennus, sacked Rome and occupied the city for seven months. At that point Brennus accepted a bribe of 100 pounds of gold to leave, though Celtic forces harried the city for the next 50 years. Other Celtic tribes lived in the Russian steppes by the mid-fourth century B.C.E. and were well established on the Balkan borders of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's empire. They conquered Thrace and set up a Celtic dynasty to rule there through most of the third century B.C.E. This century marked the height of Celtic power and dominion. The Celts had no empire, but independent tribes, some with populations in the hundreds of thousands, controlled much of Europe from the far west to the Black Sea. To the west the miners and artisans of Britain, Ireland, Spain, and Brittany traded in metals for centuries before being identified as Celtic. The tribal names that were eventually used to identify them during the La Tène period (for instance, the Icenii and Veneti) do not reveal whether the people were indigenous or conquered indigenous groups or mixed with them. It is possible that these populations of these places considered themselves Celtic throughout the first millennium B.C.E.

Their enemies' writings describe bloodthirsty savages whose cruelty knew no bounds. However, Celtic tribes could not have existed for centuries in their lands if they did nothing but wage war. Graves and offering pits with spectacular weaponry point to a war-like people, but archaeologists find evidence of family homesteads with marked fields with grazing land. Like most Iron Age people, the Celts worshipped and sacrificed to a myriad of gods, many local and unique. Their learned class—the DRUIDS—were masters of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and history; they scorned writing and put their faith in training the memory. Celtic women had more options and independence than women in Greece or Rome; writers such as Diodorus, Siculus, and Tacitus describe women who fought as warriors or served as tribal rulers.

Celtic warriors were renowned for being terrifying, functioning as independent fighters, and seeking to enhance personal reputations for heroics and glory. Many of these fighters would prove their skills by forgoing the lightest of Celtic armor and shields. Opposing armies would often be faced with the frightening psychological warfare of fierce, crazed, unclothed long-haired barbarians. They were also known for a frightening habit of collecting heads.

Roman armies conquered the Celts or Gauls of northern Italy, warring from 225 B.C.E. through 190 B.C.E. The Dacians defeated the Celts of Bohemia in 60 B.C.E. JULIUS CAESAR took western Iberia and then chronicled his conquests of the Celts or Gauls in *The Gallic Wars*. His siege of Alesia in the Auvergne region, capturing tribal king VERCINGETORIX, completed his victories in 52 B.C.E. In the reign of Claudius, in 43 C.E., much of Britain was conquered. The Celtic queen BOUDICCA led a major, but unsuccessful, revolt in 61 C.E. After earlier wars with Rome and Pontus, Celtic Galatia was absorbed into Cappadocia in 74 C.E. and a process of Romanization in GAUL occurred as in other Celtic lands. Ireland was not conquered and remained independent and Celtic for centuries. It later adopted Christianity and writing. The few Irish books that have survived provide an account of ancient myths, poems, legal codes, and cultural practices of the Celts.

See also CARTHAGE; INDO-EUROPEANS; LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Ceylon

Ceylon was the name of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka before 1972. It is an island nation off the southeast coast of the Indian subcontinent, located in the tropics. Ceylon was also known in ancient times as Sinhale, Lanka, Lankadeepa, Simoundou, Taprobane, Serendib, and Selan. Some scholars and historians believe that Prince Vijaya migrated to Sri Lanka from Orissa, in northeastern India, sometime during the sixth century B.C.E. Some contest the date and believe the origins date back some 25,000 years more. They believe that the Indian princes, or *veddas*, ruled Sri Lanka much earlier. Ceylon's origin is discussed in the *Mahavamsa*, which gives a complete history of the region. This manuscript describes the Sinhalese kingdom started by King Vijaya and his

followers in the sixth century B.C.E. Vijaya's minister, Anuradha, founded the settlement of Anuradhapura, which later became known as Anuradhapura, and the center of government for Ceylon. Archaeological evidence contradicts this version by unearthing evidence of continuous established settlement in the region by peoples with knowledge of animal domestication, agriculture, and the use of metals from the 10th century B.C.E. onward.

Buddhism arrived on the island in the third century B.C.E. with the coming of Arahath Mahinda Thero, a missionary of Indian emperor ASHOKA. Buddhism thrived, and a sophisticated system of irrigation became the pillars of classical Sinhalese tribes from 200 B.C.E. until 1200 C.E.

The origin of the Tamil presence in Ceylon is unclear. South Indian princes and kings invaded Sri Lanka on a number of occasions. Occasionally, those attacks resulted in Tamil control of the island for extended periods. Many Sinhala rulers were known for expelling the Tamil invasions and reestablishing authentic Sri Lankan rule. Cinnamon, which is native to Sri Lanka, was in use in ancient Egypt in about 1500 B.C.E., suggesting that there were trading links with the island. A large settlement appears to have been founded before 900 B.C.E. at the site of Anuradhapura and signs of an Iron Age culture have been found there.

Ceylon was known to the Greeks and to the Romans, who called it Taprobane, probably after Tambapanni. In the first century B.C.E., the king sent an embassy to the Roman emperor Claudius. Anuradhapura remained Sri Lanka's royal capital until the eighth century C.E., when Polonnaruwa replaced it. Tamil people from India began to arrive in Sri Lanka as early as the third century B.C.E., and there were repeated wars between the Sinhalese and Indian invaders. For much of the first millennium C.E., the island was controlled by various Tamil princes. The island was known to the Persians and Arabs as Serendib and features in the Sindbad stories in the famous *1001 Nights*.

See also INDO-EUROPEANS; INDUS CIVILIZATION.

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STEVE NAPIER

Chandragupta II

(r. c. 375–415 C.E.) *Indian ruler*

Chandragupta II was the third ruler of the GUPTA EMPIRE of India. He reigned when the Gupta dynasty reached its zenith of power, and Indian classical culture was at its high watermark. He ruled all northern India except the northwest and central India down to the Deccan Plateau. The Gupta dynasty was founded in 320 C.E. when a north Indian prince named Chandragupta crowned himself Great King of Kings in the ancient Mauryan capital PATALIPUTRA. The dynasty was consolidated by his son, Samudragupta, but reached its peak under the founder's grandson, Chandragupta II.

Whereas the Greek ambassador MEGASTHENES wrote an account of India under Emperor Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C.E., a Chinese Buddhist monk named FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN) did so for fifth-century C.E. India. Fa Xian traveled around India for six years during Chandragupta II's reign and recorded his impressions; his work, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, has survived. He found Pataliputra a rich city where hospitals provided care for the poor without charge. Buddhism still flourished, but Hinduism was regaining vitality. He also noted the presence of Untouchables on the edges of cities, carrying out menial tasks and having to sound gongs as they walked to warn others of their polluting presence. He admired the piety and prosperity of Indians and the leniency of Indian laws. A passage from his work said: "The king governs without decapitation or [other] corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances [of each case]... Throughout the country the people do not kill any living things, nor eat onion or garlic... they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the market there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink... [In the towns] the inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness."

The Gupta era was noted for its artistic refinement, the excellence of its bronze sculptures, and architecture, including magnificent temples and cave temples. Indian merchants and missionaries traveled widely by sea in Southeast Asia and by land via the SILK ROAD to Central Asia and China. Chandragupta II's reign represented the apogee of the Gupta dynasty.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Chang'an

Chang'an (Ch'ang-an), literally "Perpetual Peace," was the largest city in the world of its time, boasting a population of over a million by the eighth century C.E. and covering nearly 32½ sq. miles. Chang'an actually refers to two cities. The first capital city, typically called "Han Chang'an" because of its construction during the HAN DYNASTY, was built in 202 B.C.E. The famous emperor HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI) was known to have built gorgeous palaces there. The so-called Early, or Western, Han dynasty ended in 9 C.E., and China was ruled by a Chinese nobleman, WANG MANG, whose reign lasted until 25 C.E., when rebels killed him and burned down Chang'an. The first city was abandoned and the capital of the Later, or Eastern, Han dynasty was relocated to the ancient capital city LUOYANG (LOYANG).

The capital city remained in Luoyang until the beginning of the Sui dynasty in 580 C.E. Emperor Wendi, the first of the Sui emperors, commissioned the building of a new Chang'an in 582–583 C.E., a declaration he made from the old Han Chang'an. The new Chang'an, much like its Han cousin, was built using a mix of geomancy, feng shui, matching topography to the hexagrams in the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), and comparing city design to the position of the stars. Therefore the city was split into two symmetrical halves with avenues running east to west and north to south forming wards, or city blocks. The palace city, primary residence of the emperors, was located at the northernmost point of the city, a location that represented the North Star. Buddhist monasteries were built in the southwest section of the city, the most dangerous location according to geomancy, because it was believed they helped ward off bad luck.

Directly south of the palace compound was the imperial city, which housed the administrative offices of the government, and acted as a buffer between the son of heaven and the throngs of commoners occupying 88 percent of the space in Chang'an. The residence wards included two large market areas with approximately 220 bazaars hosted in each. City officials strictly regulated these centers of trade. In addition to a standardized system of weights and measures, all products underwent strict quality control. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of

the marketplace attracted merchants, restaurant owners, and entertainers from Central Asian tribes and kingdoms such as the Uighurs and SOGDIANS.

The Tang dynasty and its capital at Chang'an began its decline during the An Lushan Rebellion of the mid-eighth century C.E. Over the next century a succession of attacks from Tibetans, rebels, mutineers, and warlords forced much of the business and its residents out of the city. In 904, the last Tang emperor fled Chang'an for Luoyang, abandoning Chang'an to the weeds. It eventually decayed and collapsed, never again serving as the capital of China.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

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MICHAEL WERT

choregic poetry

Perhaps the best known of the choregic poets, Pindar (522–443 B.C.E.) drew inspiration from the early history of Greece, the Dorians, MYCENAE, and the Achaeans. Pindar was part of the great generation of Greeks who had turned back the PERSIAN INVASIONS of DARIUS I and XERXES I and witnessed the great victories of MARATHON against Darius (490 B.C.E.) and Salamis against Xerxes (480 B.C.E.). After such victories, poets like Pindar could look back with pride on the Mycenaean Age, and the HOMERIC EPICS that celebrated Agamemnon, Ulysses, and the fall of TROY.

Pindar produced some 15 books of poetry, of which unfortunately only his *Epinikia* (Victory odes) have survived. The papyrus texts in Egypt were most likely brought there after its conquest by the Greek general Ptolemy II, who took Egypt after the wars of succession that followed the death in Babylon of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 323 B.C.E.

The *Epinikia* were written largely to celebrate the athletic competitions that formed such a great part of Greek culture, much like the events found at the OLYMPIC GAMES. The very term *marathon* came from the runner who carried the news of the great victory of Marathon back to Athens, after which he collapsed and died from exhaustion.

Under the choregic system, Pindar's greatest poetic rivals were Simonides and Bacchylides. The rivalries were not just for glory but because rulers like Hiero I (478–467 B.C.E.) and Theron were wealthy patrons, who amply rewarded the poets who lauded their athletic prowess. Simonides of Ceos (c. 556–469 B.C.E.), for example, found a patron in Hipparchus of Athens. After the assassination of Hipparchus in 514 B.C.E., he fled to Thessaly where the aristocratic Scopadae and Aleuadar families befriended him. After Marathon, Simonides returned to Athens but only stayed briefly. He then journeyed to Sicily at the invitation of Hiero, where he lived until his death.

Simonides is best remembered for his poetry, and even early in his career wrote *paens* to the sun god of the Greeks, Apollo. He was an intimate of THEMISTOCLES, the architect of the great naval victory at Salamis. Themistocles could be considered the father of ancient Greek naval power.

His Greek patriotism was reflected in his verse. Simonides' philosophy was earthy and practical, as one might expect from one who had seen the best and worst of men in war. One of Simonides' best-known surviving works is "The Lamentation of Danae," in which "Danae and her infant son were confined by order of her father Acrisius in a chest and set adrift on the sea. The chest floated towards the island of Seriphus, where both were rescued by Dictys, a fisherman, and carried to Polydectes, king of the country, who received and protected them." Danae's infant son Perseus would grow up to slay the monster gorgon Medusa, who had snakes for hair and whose gaze could turn a man into stone.

Bacchylides, interestingly enough, was the nephew of Simonides: His mother was the sister of the poet. Compared to Simonides and Pindar, biographical data on Bacchylides is sparse. Among his odes the earliest can be approximately dated to 481 or 479 B.C.E.; the latest date is fixed to 452 B.C.E. Like Pindar and Simonides, he went to the court of the ruler of SYRACUSE, Hiero. Indeed, it appears that the rivalry between Bacchylides, Pindar, and Simonides was acute at the Syracusan court. Out of the work created by Bacchylides, some six dithyrambs, poems based on mythological themes, and 14 *epinikia* are known to have survived.

Considering that Hiero's victories took place in the Olympic Games, the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides became known throughout the *oecumene*, the Greek-speaking world. Hiero's victories involved horse racing, showing the importance of the horse in Greek culture and warfare. Bacchylides wrote two works on the life

of Theseus, who according to Greek mythology killed the Minotaur, the half-man, half-bull monster who lived within the labyrinth on the island of Crete.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; LYRIC POETRY.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Choson

The kingdoms of ancient Choson developed in Korea from the Bronze Age when tribal groups started to dominate the land between the Liao River in southern Manchuria, and the Taedong River in northern Korea. The legendary founder of the dynasty was Tan'gun, hailed by Koreans in modern-day North Korea and South Korea as the founder of their nations.

Tan'gun is claimed as an ancestor for the kingdom of ancient Choson; the term *ancient* is used to differentiate it from the Yi dynasty, which ruled 1398–1910 C.E. and used the name *Choson* for Korea. Ancient Choson from the fourth century B.C.E. was a series of tribal leagues that controlled the area from southern Manchuria to the Taedong River. It was powerful for more than 100 years at a time when China was preoccupied with what has become known as the Warring States period. A major innovation in ancient Choson that enabled the kings to maintain their independence was the use of iron. Prior to this most warriors in the region had used bronze. It is believed that the northern Chinese may have introduced iron when they were escaping the attacks of the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) or HUNS.

One of these refugees was a former Chinese general called WEI MAN (WIMAN) who had served in the Chinese state of Yan (Yen). Wei Man was the descendant of important landowners in China during the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY and had been welcomed in Choson, as he and his followers were experienced soldiers. They were given land in the north of Choson where they offered to act as frontier guards. Wei Man was given a jade insignia denoting his importance as a Korean general. As more Chinese refugees came to live on his lands, his number of potential supporters increased, and his power grew. Very soon Wei Man realized that the kingdom was

weak, and he had many supporters among the Chinese refugees who had already arrived in Choson and were either living in his lands or elsewhere in the kingdom. He also managed to get support from some local tribes who felt that they had not been well treated by the kings of Choson. In 190 B.C.E. Wei Man wrote to the rulers of Choson saying that the Chinese had invaded from several sides, and he had to guard the king. He and his supporters then moved quickly on the Choson capital of Pyongyang on the pretext of protecting the royal court against a Chinese invasion, which everybody had feared for several hundred years. Wei Man then took over the capital and the existing king, Chun, and went further south, establishing himself as King Han, which has no connection to the dynasty in China of the same name.

Wei Man, who claimed descent from the Chinese sage Qizi (Chi Tzu), used his contacts in China to ensure that the Chinese recognized him as a king, and he reciprocated by acknowledging the emperors of China. He established cordial relations with the governor of Liaodong (Liao-tung), the neighboring Chinese province. However, the tribute that Wei Man had promised to the Chinese emperor was never sent. Wei Man and his descendants had initially felt that they were well entrenched, but when the civil war ended in China and the HAN DYNASTY came to power, they faced several Chinese invasions. Diplomatic problems first arose when some Chinese rebels who had been involved in the Seven Princes' Rising in 154 B.C.E. fled to Korea. The Chinese were also sending out emissaries to some of the tribes who lived in northern Choson.

The actual dispute leading to the invasion was over tribute. A Chinese delegate visited Yu Ku (or Ugo), the grandson of Wei Man, to ask why no tribute had been paid. Furthermore, Yu Ku had tried to stop tribes that he felt were part of his kingdom from acknowledging their overlordship by the Han. This was particularly true of the tribes on lands in central and southern Korea. Yu Ku realized the situation was tricky, but having built up a relatively strong army, he prevaricated and eventually the envoy returned to China. On the return trip the envoy allowed his charioteer to kill a Korean prince who had been sent to escort him to the border. This envoy claimed that he had killed a Korean general and was applauded by the Chinese court that decorated him with the title "Protector of the Eastern Tribes of Liao Tung."

The Koreans protested, but a Chinese attack was inevitable and came in 109 B.C.E. when Emperor Wu of China sent his soldiers into Choson. Some 50,000 Chinese soldiers were dispatched by ship from Shan-

dong (Shantung), with additional troops attacking by land. The two armies were able to invade Korea, but their attacks were not coordinated, and they were unable to unite. As a result they were not able to defeat the Koreans in battle—the Koreans remained in their fortifications. With the bitter winter imminent, the Chinese sent an envoy to Yu Ku who replied that he would accept the emperor of China as his overlord but would not send his son as a messenger in case he suffered the fate of the prince killed by the previous envoy. The only initial casualty of these negotiations was the Chinese envoy who was executed when he returned empty-handed. In 189 B.C.E. the Chinese attacked the Koreans again, and this time they succeeded in seizing the kingdom and established four Chinese commanderies called Nangnang (Lolang in Chinese, Rakuro in Japanese), Chinbon, Imdun, and Hyont'o. The latter three soon lapsed into Korean areas, with the Chinese only holding on to Nangnang. There a Confucian school was established, and several historical texts were written that described some of the early events in Korean history. The CONFUCIAN CLASSICS remain an important part of Korean culture.

Over the next 400 years the Koguryo tribes of northern Korea started agitating against Chinese rule. As they rose in power, they amassed a large army and in 313 C.E. ejected the Chinese from Nangnang. In 342 C.E. the Koguryo king, Kogugwon, established his capital at Hwando just north of the Yalu River. Facing threats from China, it was soon moved to Pyongyang. There the Koguryo kingdom imported many ideas from China including Buddhism, which is seen in many of the archaeological remains discovered in recent years.

See also KIIA; THREE KINGDOMS, KOREA.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)

Gnosticism arose around the same time and place as Christianity. Some Gnostics were Christian, some Jewish, and some pagan. Gnostics believed that gnosis (Greek: "knowledge"), not faith, brought salvation.

Not education or experience, but revelation gave gnosis. This article will deal with the concept, the origins, and the varieties of Gnosticism, especially as it was expressed in Valentinianism, Marcionism, Manichaeism, Mandaism and at Nag Hammadi. Many other forms of Gnosticism circulated in ancient religious circles too numerous to relate here, including Sethian-Barbeloites, Ophites, Naassenes, and Hermetics.

CONCEPT AND ORIGINS OF GNOSTICISM

The content of gnosis was that our universe arose because of a problem in a preexisting state. One version of this problem, from Iranian religion, was the meeting of two eternal antithetical realms, one of spirit, the other of matter, resulting in our universe. The more common version was that the supreme God generated lesser gods, one or more of whom created the material universe, imprisoning divinity in a material body. Understanding of the content of gnosis brings about salvation, which is the escape of the divine spark from its material prison to its divine home.

Regarding the body as evil had contradictory ethical consequences. Some Gnostics tried to deny the desires of the body by avoiding sex, meat, and alcohol. Because they considered what was done with the body unimportant, others perhaps enjoyed all three, sometimes practicing contraception to prevent trapping spirit in new bodies.

There is debate about whether Gnosticism came from Iran or from Hellenism, but it probably grew from Judaism, perhaps in response to oppression by Gentiles. The fathers of the church traced Gnosticism to Simon Magus, converted in Samaria in Acts 8.

The second century C.E. saw a proliferation of Gnosticism. Basilides, a Jewish Christian in ALEXANDRIA around 140, was called a disciple of a disciple of Simon, although Basilides claimed to be taught by the apostle Matthias or an interpreter of Peter. Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200) tells one version of Basilides' teaching: The supreme Father emanated five beings, from the lowest of which 365 heavens descended.

The angels in the lowest created the world, with divine spirit in human bodies. The Jewish god, one of these angels, tried to make his people rule the world, but the other angels stopped him. The Father sent his Son, seemingly crucified, to free the spirit. The belief that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH only seemed to suffer and die as a human is called "docetism."

Hippolytus (c. 160–235) relates another version of Basilides' teaching: The "nonexistent" God generated a "Seed" containing three principles called "Sonships,"

of which two flew to God, but the third stayed in the Seed. Two rulers emerged from the Seed. One created the world above the Moon. A second, the Jewish god, created the world below the Moon. Jesus of Nazareth separated the mixed parts of creation. When the third Sonship has been restored to the spiritual world, God will subject the lower creation to ignorance, making it content in its inferiority.

VALENTINIANISM

The Alexandrian Valentinus was perhaps nominated for bishop of Rome around 143 but repudiated as a heretic. Valentinians believed in a divine world, the Pleroma, of at least 30 aeons. *Aeon* means a "world," an "age," and a "god." The greatest was Abyss, who with his wife, Thought, produced the 14 remaining aeon couples.

The lowest, Sophia (Greek: "wisdom"), desired to "know" Abyss, which would have destroyed her. Sophia was protected from her desire but bore by herself a monster, Achamoth (Hebrew: "wisdom"), which was thrown out of the Pleroma.

Sophia's distress at the birth of Achamoth became matter, her repentance of her desire to know Abyss became the soul (psyche), and the product of Achamoth's "purification" by Jesus, a perfect being produced by all the aeons, became the spirit. Achamoth produced from psychic substance the Demiurge, who created the universe and a man of matter into whom he breathed a soul. Achamoth then secretly planted her spirit in some humans.

Valentinians distinguished three types of people, the material, certain to perish; the "psychic," to perish or be saved by their choices; and the spiritual, certain to be saved. Three Christs—spiritual, psychic, and bodily—were also hypothesized.

MARCIONISM

Marcion, the ship-owning son of a bishop near the Black Sea, came to Rome and generously funded the church but was expelled in 144. Like Gnostics, Marcion traced matter to an inferior god, denied a real body to Jesus, and prohibited sex, wine, and meat to his followers. However, Marcion is usually not considered Gnostic. Humans were purely creatures of the inferior god and, like their creator, had no essential relation to the superior God. This god purely from compassion sent his son Jesus, dying to save the Jewish god's creatures. Denying salvation by knowledge, Marcion preached salvation by faith in Jesus.

Marcion wrote *Antitheses*, contrasting Old and New Testaments, and edited his own bible, partly mo-

tivating the formation of the Catholic Bible. Marcion omitted the Old Testament, and of the New Testament included only the gospel of Luke and 10 epistles of PAUL, removing references to the Old Testament, the creator, and Jesus' birth. Most Gnostics were loosely organized, but Marcion founded a well-organized church that may have persisted until the 10th century.

MANICHAEANISM

Mani was born in 216 in Mesopotamia. His parents were Elkesaites, Jewish-Christian Gnostics. Mani also seemingly was influenced by another Gnostic sect called Mandaism. Inspired by a vision of his "twin," the Holy Spirit, Mani left the Elkesaites. Mani's teaching briefly enjoyed the favor of Persian kings; however, Bahram I favored ZOROASTRIANISM, resulting in Mani's imprisonment and death in 276.

Mani's followers extended from Spain to China, where they perhaps survived until the 17th century. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO was deeply affected by Manichaeism. In the West persecution destroyed Manichaeism by the early Middle Ages. So-called Manichaeism in later medieval Europe was not authentic.

The Paulicians arose in Armenia around 650 from generally Gnostic origins rather than as a specifically Manichaean refugee group. The Bogomils appeared in 10th-century Bulgaria after Paulicians were exiled in 872 in Macedonia. By the 11th century Bogomilian ideas spread to Italy and France, where the Cathars, suppressed in the Albigensian Crusade of the 13th century, espoused them.

Mani's followers presented him as the present incarnation of Zoroaster's son, of Maitreya (the future Buddha), as well as of the Holy Spirit. Mani claimed his own religion included all previous religions; and the Hebrew patriarchs, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and Paul preceded him as revealers of gnosis. Like Valentinianism, Manichaeism has three forms of Jesus, the Jesus Splendor, Jesus of Nazareth, and Jesus *patibilis* ("suffering Jesus"), who symbolized the suffering particles of light throughout creation. Thus, whether Manichaeism generally is Christian is questionable because it adapted itself to whatever religious environment it entered.

Like Marcion and Mandaeans, Mani did not derive evil from the supreme God but taught that the worlds of light and darkness had existed separately from eternity. In response to the attack of darkness, God created Wisdom, who bore the first Man. In battle with darkness, Man left his soul in the underworld. Then God sent Living Spirit, who, to free Man's soul, created the universe, which is a mix of particles of Man's soul and

matter from the world of darkness. The particles climb the Milky Way to the Moon, whose waxing is its filling with particles, which wait until it is full, and its waning the particles' journey to the Sun. From the Sun the particles go to the "new aeon," where they await the end of time, when they will join the world of light.

To bind the light, evil rulers, having swallowed particles, created Adam and Eve. God sent the Jesus Splendor to give Adam gnosis. Human souls with gnosis escape from their bodies upon death, but ignorant souls enter new bodies. Sufficient light having been freed, Jesus will judge the world, which will burn to purify the remaining light. Matter will then be imprisoned forever.

Mani's ethic intended to protect and liberate the imprisoned light. The Manichaean church consisted of the "chosen," who abstained from meat, wine, sex, and many other things, and "hearers," who did not. Manichaean rites included prayers, reading, music, fasting, and feasts. Central was the "table" of the chosen, the daily meal of plants containing much light, such as melons, wheat bread, and juice or water. The chosen liberated the light within these plants by consuming them. Unlike other Gnostics and like Marcion, Mani founded a well-organized church, perhaps accounting for Manichaeism's survival after the demise of almost every other Gnostic system.

NAG HAMMADI AND MANDAEISM

Gnosticism was known mostly through its enemies, the fathers of the church, until 1945, when peasants near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, found 13 codices containing 46 tractates. Some are previously known works, others are complete works previously known only in fragments or only by name, and many were previously unknown. Some are not Gnostic, such as Plato's *Republic* and the Acts of Peter and the Twelve, and perhaps Thomas-Christian writings. The Gospel of Thomas may as accurately record Jesus' words as the canonical Gospels. The Gospel of Truth and the Gospel of Philip are Valentinian, the Apocryphon of John is Sethian, and others are Hermetic. The Nag Hammadi writings revolutionized Gnostic studies.

Medieval persecution largely suppressed Gnosticism, and the only Gnostic sect existing today is Mandaism, mostly in Iraq. Like Marcionism and Manichaeism, Mandaism teaches that the worlds of light and darkness existed independently from eternity. Unlike them, Mandaism prescribes child bearing and meat eating.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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GRANT R. SHAFER

Christianity, early

Christianity grew out of Second Temple Judaism and inherited its most important legacy, the Jewish scripture. It also inherited much of the Jewish interpretive traditions, such as the concepts of monotheism, covenant, election, and revelation, that had shaped the interpretation of these scriptures. The New Testament (NT) writers reinterpreted these traditions, as well as the scriptures, to confirm and to bolster the conviction that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, a person of the peasant class in the Greco-Roman world, was the promised Messiah, the Son of God, who established the new covenant by his blood, inaugurated the new age of eternal life, and gave all humans—male, female, old, young, slave, free, Jews, and Gentiles—the right to receive salvation by faith.

A very able articulator of these new views was the apostle PAUL of Tarsus, a Diaspora Jew and a former persecutor of the church. After a dramatic encounter with the risen Jesus, he became convinced that the death and the resurrection of Jesus fulfilled all the promises of the Jewish scriptures. Armed with this conviction, Paul redefined Jewish monotheism in new and surprising ways. If God had chosen to reveal himself fully in the death of Jesus, Paul argued, God, like Jesus, must be a friend of sinners. “God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us” (Rom. 5:8; Revised Standard Version). No Jewish literature prior to Paul depicts God’s love toward humans in these radical terms. God was customarily viewed in Judaism as a judge who punished sinners. Judaism did not teach that God loved sinners. Paul’s teaching that the dying figure of Jesus on the cross was the most complete revelation of God’s love toward sinful humans was simply revolutionary. This radical vision of God is precisely what early Christianity came to embrace as its central conviction, and it is this conviction that caused Christianity to take root and prosper in the ancient world.

Christianity’s explosive growth, however, was due to more than just doctrines, scriptural interpretations, or its message, brilliant as they were. There were other factors aiding its growth. Perhaps the most important of these was Christianity’s aggressive missionary zeal. In fact, Christianity was the most missionary-minded religion of antiquity. Neither Judaism nor Hellenistic philosophical schools engaged in missionary activities to the degree of Christianity. All the apostles were missionaries who made evangelistic forays into the far reaches of the Roman Empire. Of early Christianity’s missionaries, the most successful was Paul. He founded churches throughout Asia Minor (Turkey) and Greece. The second factor aiding Christianity’s growth was that Christianity was an urban religion. This was a surprising development because Christianity began as a small Jewish reform movement in Galilee led by one of its peasants. Within 50 years of the death of its founder, this humble rural religious movement took root in every major urban center of the empire. Antioch on the Orontes, ALEXANDRIA, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Rome all became the major centers of Christianity’s growth and eventual domination. Ironically, the rural territories of the Roman Empire were the last to be converted to Christianity.

The urban settings of the empire offered, among others, two conditions that made Christianity attractive: openness to new ideas and ethnic diversity. The city people were open minded, and Christianity had plenty of novel ideas to offer about God, humanity, and the world. But unlike Hellenistic philosophers, Christian preachers offered a relatively simple and practical message that appealed to many different classes of people, including the illiterate. Celsus, a second-century opponent of Christianity, ridiculed Christianity for exploiting the ignorant and appealing to the disadvantaged.

More important was the ethnic diversity of the Roman cities. The cities of the empire were cosmopolitan. People came from all parts of the empire to live and work in the cities, creating a network of relations in which merchants, soldiers, and slaves frequently intermingled with one another. Christianity’s key attraction was that no particular ethnic ties bound it. It preached its message to persons of any class and ethnic origin who were willing to listen. Unlike many pagan religions, Christianity was not tied to the customs of the land and did not discriminate against anyone. For example, Mithraism, a rival religion to Christianity, did not accept women into its fellowship. Early Christianity welcomed all who chose to accept Jesus

as Lord. Early Christian preachers saw the cosmopolitan cities of the empire as offering exceptional opportunities to spread the gospel “to every nation and tribe and language and people” (Rev 14:7). Christianity had an unexplainable power to appeal to displaced people who were experiencing insecurity and distress in the major cities of the empire.

Christianity quickly established itself in North Africa in Alexandria and CARTHAGE, where the great apologists Tertullian (c. 185 C.E.), ORIGEN (c. 185–254 C.E.), and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 200 C.E.) worked, all of whom played a critical role in shaping the church’s Trinitarian doctrine. The city of Rome became home to Clement (c. 96 C.E.), Justin Martyr (150 C.E.), and Pope Callistus (217–222 C.E.). The churches in these Italian and North African cities became centers from which Christianity spread and took root in the Western Roman Empire. Lyon of GAUL (France) became home to Bishop Irenaeus (160–220 C.E.), one of the greatest apologists of early Christianity, whose writings provided a rich source of information about CHRISTIAN DUALISM before the Nag Hammadi codices were discovered. Christianity also took root in the cities of the East. The powerful Christian centers Ephesus, Smyrna, and Laodicea were all important cities of Asia Minor. The Antioch of Syria on the Orontes became an ancient center of Syrian Christianity going back to the very beginning of Christianity. Antioch gave birth to the great bishop Ignatius (c. 98–117 C.E.), whose letters are a valuable source of information about Christianity in Greece and Asia at the end of the era of the TWELVE APOSTLES.

The third factor aiding Christianity’s growth was its high ethical tone and moral purpose. The Roman moral sensibilities were somewhat schizophrenic. On the one hand, Rome extolled morality and law. On the other hand, it encouraged debauchery and savage entertainments, such as gladiator fights and the circus. In the midst of the moral confusion Christianity became a clarion call of protest, particularly on behalf of women and lower-class people. Also, in contrast to the high-brow Roman intelligentsia, Christians actually tried to live a moral life rather than simply pass judgment on society. Many ordinary believers lived an exemplary moral life. This became perhaps most evident in the martyrdom of the early Christians. If apostasy represents dissatisfied customers, martyrdom represents brand loyalty. The early Christian martyrs showcased their unflinching loyalty to the Christian ideals of non-violence and moral purity before the eyes of the crowds that had come looking for a violent entertainment.

Finally, the most important factor aiding Christianity’s growth was its phenomenal efficiency. Owing mostly to Roman persecutions, the church did not possess significant assets or real estate, so no extensive and centralized administrative oversight was necessary. Also it did not take many to start a church. It took only a handful of the disciples of Jesus to form the initial bands of believers in Palestine. It took only one person, Paul, to found churches throughout Asia Minor and Greece. In cities such as Rome and Alexandria it did not even take an apostle to plant Christianity. Maintaining the newly planted churches also required little manpower. The chief reason was the simplicity of the liturgy.

Many of the original congregations were “house churches” that met in private homes and were of no more than 30 or 40 individuals each. Even in the second and third centuries, when many churches grew in size, house church continued to be the way new churches got started. In these house churches the worship consisted basically of the Eucharist, singing of hymns, reading of scripture, mutual sharing of insights, and a fellowship (agape) meal. Rarely did a virtuoso preacher stand in front with a polished sermon, and there were no elaborate initiation rites, as in the mystery religions. Nor was there a painful rite, like Jewish circumcision. The converts were simply baptized by water in a baptismery or a shallow river. The main “service” that Christianity provided to its adherents was *koinonia*, or “spirit-filled fellowship.” There were deacons, presbyters, bishops, synods, and even councils that looked after the growing church. The presbyters oversaw communities, and the deacons looked after the affairs of the local churches. The most important ecclesiastical office was that of the bishop, who oversaw large territories in the empire. The bishops of major cities were rather powerful. The bishops of Rome in particular, later called the pope, exercised great power, both spiritually and politically. From the middle of the first century C.E. until CONSTANTINE THE GREAT converted to Christianity and made it Rome’s official religion in 322, Christianity proliferated more or less spontaneously, where it was least controlled.

Christianity became the spawning ground of exotic ideas, later termed HERESIES. Gnosticism, Monarchialism, Montanism, and Manichaeism are some of the names given to these exotic ideas. For a religion growing without close supervision in urban centers of the Roman Empire, mostly among Gentile converts, this was to be expected. Most of the Gentile converts to Christianity did not know the Jewish traditions that stood behind much of the NT. Their intellectual context was

Hellenistic philosophy whose general focus was nature. Consequently, the debates that flared up between the fathers of the church and their opponents were about the nature of things: the nature of divine revelation, the nature of God, the nature of Christ, the nature of the Holy Spirit, the nature of the Trinity, the nature of the church, the nature of man, and the nature of redemption—in short the nature of Christianity.

By far the most important theological controversy in early Christianity was about the nature of Christ. The NT writers, most of whom were Jews, had been only minimally concerned with the nature of Christ. Their focus was history, the work of Jesus—that he was born, died for our sins, was buried and raised on the third day, and ascended to sit at the right hand of God to reign and to intercede for the saints before God. Even the writings of the apostolic fathers, such as the *Didache*, the Letters of Ignatius, 1 Clement, Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which were composed at the turn of the first century C.E., continued to focus mostly on the work of Christ and its saving effect on humans. Even their discussions about the preexistence of Christ were about his work in creation and Israel's history. From the second to third centuries, however, Christian apologists shifted their attention to defining the nature of the relationship between Christ and God—whether Christ had the same nature as that of God the Father.

The “apologists,” such as Justin, Tertullian, and Irenaeus, vigorously fought for a particular conception of the faith and argued for the unity of Christ and God: Christ was uncreated and of one substance with God the Father, and Christ was fully divine and fully human. This notion of divine unity became early Christianity's orthodox Christology. The main strategy that the apologists used was to argue that they had the true apostolic tradition and that the scriptures must be read in light of this tradition. Irenaeus accused his opponents of developing their doctrines based on obscure scriptural passages and by appealing to forgeries, like the Gospel of Judas, rather than accepting the authentic apostolic tradition. The monumental triumph of the fathers of the church's orthodoxy came in 325 when the COUNCIL OF NICAIA declared that Christ is “very God of very God.” It was a temporary victory, however. The reality was that at the time of the Nicene Creed, there was still no widespread consensus on the nature of Christ in early Christianity, and by the end of the fourth century a new conception of Christ had taken hold in mainstream Christianity, ARIANISM.

See also GREEK CHURCH; HELLENIZATION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); LATIN CHURCH; MARTYROLO-

GIES; MESSIANISM; MYSTERY CULTS; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

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P. RICHARD CHOI

Chrysostom, John

(c. 347–407 C.E.) church leader and theologian

John Chrysostom was bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE and perhaps the greatest preacher in the early church, earning him the title *chrysostomos* (Greek: “golden-mouthed”). John was born to Christian parents of the educated upper class in Antioch in Syria and as a young man, studied rhetoric under the distinguished philosopher of NEOPLATONISM, Libanius. Although his education and exceptional gifts prepared him for a career in law or the imperial service, John chose instead to enter the clergy. He was baptized by Bishop Melitius of Antioch around 367 C.E., became a lector (a minor church official who read scripture in the liturgy or public worship), and devoted himself to the study of scripture and theology under Diodore of Tarsus, the leader of the Antiochene school.

Before advancing further in his ecclesiastical career, John withdrew from Antioch in order to pursue the ascetic life between 372 and 378. Under a strict ascetic regimen, however, John's health deteriorated, forcing him to return to the city. In 381 John was ordained deacon, and in 386, presbyter, or priest. The next decade was the most productive in his life and marked the beginning of his extraordinary career as a preacher and writer. The vast majority of John's work during these years consisted of sermons addressed to the people of Antioch. It was the rhetorical skill, spiritual depth, and practical applicability of his sermons that earned John the distinguished title *chrysostom*. In contrast to many early Christian interpreters of scripture, who favored allegorical reading, John epitomized the Antiochene

school's emphasis on the literal sense. At the same time, however, his preaching aimed primarily to draw out the spiritual and moral implications of the biblical text and apply them to the lives of his hearers.

Against his wishes John was made bishop, or patriarch, of Constantinople in 398. He quickly became enmeshed in imperial and ecclesiastical politics, areas in which he possessed significantly less skill than in preaching. Through a combination of his asceticism, uncompromising zeal for moral reform, and tactless disdain for the opulence of the court, John made himself the enemy of several very prominent people, including the empress Eudoxia and Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria. In a synod held in a suburb of Chalcedon in 403, Theophilus and a number of other Egyptian bishops condemned John on 29 concocted charges, including uttering defamatory and treasonable words against the empress.

John was eventually deposed and exiled near Antioch before being banished to Comana, an isolated village of Pontus on the Black Sea. In spite of support from the people of Constantinople, Pope Innocent I, and the entire Western LATIN CHURCH, John lived out his final days in exile. He died at Comana on September 14, 407, and his body was removed to Constantinople 30 years later. In the Western church his feast day is celebrated on September 13, and in the Eastern Church on November 13.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; MONASTICISM; SECOND SOPHISTIC.

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FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

Cicero

(106–43 B.C.E.) *orator and statesman*

Marcus Tullius Cicero was a famous Roman orator, writer, and political leader. He was a contemporary of Sulla, POMPEY, and JULIUS CAESAR. He was born in Arpinum in the year 106 B.C.E. and died in 43 B.C.E. He followed the custom of going to Rome for his formal education, studying rhetoric, philosophy, and law. After Rome he also studied rhetoric and philosophy with the Greeks at Athens and Rhodes. The Romans

considered him a great orator, and his writing style had a strong influence on writing in the Western world. Politically and philosophically, his stand against autocratic rule and for a republican style of government has also been influential.

Cicero's family was well to do and of the landed gentry but still not of the highest social class. Nevertheless, Cicero's father made sure that Cicero and his brother, Quintus, had the best teachers in Rome. At age 16, he studied law under Mucius Scaevolia, one of Rome's best lawyers. During the Social War (91–88 B.C.E.), the war between the Romans and other Italian cities over the right to citizenship, Cicero served as a soldier for a short time under Consul Pompeius Strabo. After this he began his career as a lawyer. In 82 B.C.E. he demonstrated his political courage by defending Sextus Roscius, an enemy of the dictator Sulla. He won the case and went to Greece to continue his education, returning to Rome in 77 B.C.E.

Intelligent and ambitious, he followed the Roman road map to success, working his way up through various government jobs. The government first appointed him as a quaestor (financial administrator) in Sicily in 76 B.C.E. This was also the year that he married his first wife, Terentia, who gave him property and eventually an unhappy marriage. He further made his name in the legal profession in 70 B.C.E. when he successfully prosecuted Gaius Verres, the former governor of Sicily, for corruption.

In the year 63 B.C.E. Cicero became a consul, a position that gave him the highest of Roman class distinctions: a member of the nobility. But his time in office was a time of crisis for the Republic. The bulk of the Roman army was with Pompey in the east. In the meantime, Catiline, who had run for the position of consul and lost, had put an army together with the hopes of taking over the government.

Cicero discovered the plot and had many of the conspirators arrested. The Senate decided to put some of the conspirators to death without a trial. They argued that it was a time of martial law and the government was in grave danger. Cicero went along with this and was declared *Pater Patriae*—Father of His Country. But not everyone was happy with the decision.

After testifying in a case against a patrician named Clodius, Cicero found his citizenship—and possibly his life—in danger. In revenge for the testimony Clodius had a law passed that stated that anyone involved with putting to death a citizen without trial should be exiled or executed. Cicero fled the country and could not safely return until the next year (57 B.C.E.). In the

meantime, Roman officials destroyed his house and confiscated his property.

Cicero, a firm believer in republican principles, did not like the trend in Roman politics toward dictatorship. Unfortunately, these were the years of the First TRIUMVIRATE of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus. Then Crassus was killed in battle, and the country was ripe for civil war. Eventually, Caesar and Pompey clashed militarily, and Pompey was killed. Caesar proclaimed himself perpetual dictator in February 44 B.C.E. Then, on the Ides of March, a group of conspirators representing those for the return of the Republic assassinated Caesar. Cicero was not a member of the conspiracy. It was the hope of all of the conspirators, as well as Cicero, that with the death of Caesar, the Roman Empire would return to a republican style government. It did not.

Instead, Mark Antony took power, increasing his political and military power. Brutus left the country; Cicero started to leave, but Brutus convinced him he should remain and use his powers to try to persuade the populace that Antony was not their answer. In response, Cicero then wrote his famous *Philippics*, a series of speeches attacking Antony. Again, the result was not the desired one.

In a complicated zigzag of power shifts, Octavian, Caesar's nephew, returned to Rome and pledged his loyalty to the republican cause. At first, he was successful in his military challenge to Antony, then in a complete reversal, Octavian struck a deal with Antony and Lepidus to create the Second Triumvirate. Part of the deal included a proscription—a death list of people who the new government felt were a threat. Cicero was on the list and was hunted and killed. His head and hands were cut off and placed in Rome as a warning to those who would write and speak against those in power.

Cicero's life and examples are evident in his writings. His letters are superb examples of clear writing as well as a prime source of historical data. In terms of influence, his thoughts have affected many, including John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; CAESAR, JULIUS; MARIUS AND SULLA; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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WILLIAM P. TOTH

classical art and architecture, Greek

The Greek CLASSICAL PERIOD began with a war. In 499 B.C.E. the Ionian cities along the coast of Asia Minor revolted against the Persians under whose rule they had lived. In retaliation the Persians, led by DARIUS I, crushed the rebel cities and moved against Athens and Sparta, which took part in the revolt. When the Persians moved onto the mainland in 490 B.C.E., the Athenians defeated them at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, a few miles from Athens. Darius died (486 B.C.E.) and his son XERXES I, who succeeded him, moved against Athens with an army of 200,000 soldiers, 1,200 warships, and 3,000 smaller craft, and burned the city down. As Xerxes retreated, the Athenians, aided by the Spartans, followed the Persians to Plataea, and there they defeated the Persians again.

In 477 B.C.E. the Ionian and Aegean coastal cities formed the Delian League with Athens to unite themselves against this enemy. In 454 B.C.E. the military defense treasury was moved from Delos to Athens, and the annual payments collected from each member was spent on rebuilding the city. Under the leadership of PERICLES, Athens became the world's cultural center.

THE PARTHENON

The destruction of Athens by the Persians meant that the temples and statues of the Acropolis, the sacred hill in the city, had to be rebuilt. This major project introduced classical Greek art and architecture. The grand main gate to the new Acropolis is the Propylaea, a Doric structure constructed by Mnesicles in 437–432 B.C.E. It contained a *pinakothekē* (picture gallery), the first known in history, and a library where visitors could rest after the steep climb. Visitors would next see the impressive PARTHENON, the ultimate expression of the classical Greek architectural style. It was built by Ictinus and Callicrates in 448–432 B.C.E. Plutarch writes that the structure was dedicated to Athena Parthenos (Athena the Maiden), who was the patron goddess of Athens.

The Parthenon housed a colossal 40-foot-high statue of Athena Parthenos, who held a winged victory figure in her hand. The sculptor Phidias created the sculpture, covered with ivory and gold. It has since been destroyed.

The Parthenon is a Doric structure, which includes Ionic features, specifically the continuous frieze that originally ran along the top of the exterior. The frieze depicts a procession of figures in motion with their draperies fluttering in response to their movements.

This new art style using the expression of motion defined classical Greek art. This was a change from the earlier Greek ARCHAIC Period with its stiff, frozen style of art. The classical figures were deeply carved and twist and turn within the pictorial space. Their draperies were composed of small, repetitive folds, seemingly pulled by gravity and motion and revealing the body forms underneath. This treatment of drapery is often called the Phidian style.

The genius of Phidias's counterparts, Ictinus and Callicrates, lies in the fact that they added optical enhancements to the Parthenon to give it an impressive sculptural quality. When a viewer enters an area they expect to see a front view of a building. The structure was placed at an angle so that when entering the Acropolis through the Propylaea, the viewer looks upon the corner of the large structure, seeing both the front and the side at the same time. This enhanced the three-dimensional aspect of the building. An optical illusion was created by building a foundation, bowed higher in the center of a wall and lower at each corner, making it appear that the corners of the building are even farther away. The columns all lean uniformly inward at the top, making them appear taller than they actually are. This calculated design was done in order to give to the viewer an impression of the Parthenon as being ethereal and otherworldly in appearance. The building was painted in several bright pastel colors, which enhanced the architectural elements and allowed the relief sculptures on the exterior to be seen from a distance.

The Parthenon today is a shell of its original design. It remained intact until 1687 when Venetians shot at the structure that was then being used by the Turks to house their ammunition. The ammunition exploded, destroying a significant portion of the building.

TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE AND ERECTHEUM

The Temple of Athena Nike, built by Callicrates in 427–424 B.C.E., stands next to the Propylaea. It is a small Ionic temple, the first on the mainland. A continuous frieze depicts the Battle of Plataea, when the Athenians defeated the Persians.

The Erechtheum, like the Temple of Athena Nike, is an Ionic temple and was built to house the statue of Athena Polias. The Erechtheum, named after the Athenian king Erechtheus, was built by Mnesicles in 421–405 B.C.E. on the site where the contest between Athena and Poseidon is said to have taken place. It is also the site of Poseidon's mythological well, believed to lie far below the building's underground crypt. To add visual interest Mnesicles added three porches. This



The ultimate expression of the classical Greek architectural style is the Parthenon, built by Ictinus and Callicrates in 448–432 B.C.E.

includes the famed Porch of the Maidens, where caryatids (human figure columns) are standing in *contrapposto* (counterpoise; literally, a counter pose where the shoulders are leaning to an angle in one direction and the hips are angled counter to that direction). This counter-angular stance of body creates an S-shaped stance, rather than a figure standing straight and stiff. These caryatids support the architrave (a beam that extends across the columns of a temple).

EARLY CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

Contrapposto was a Greek classical invention, first seen in a freestanding statue called the Kritios Boy (c. 480 B.C.E.). It was found in the Acropolis and named after the sculptor thought to have rendered it. This figure, a *kouros* (youth) type, is a transitional piece that falls somewhere between the Greek Archaic and Early Classical Periods. The male youth stands with one leg supporting him and the other leg relaxed, thus the hips are at an angle. His shoulders lean at an opposite angle. The shoulders and hips form two counter, or opposing, angles—a natural pose that represented a major breakthrough in sculpture as it implied movement. Also new in the Kritios Boy is the rejection of the usual archaic smile in favor of a neutral expression.

True early classical sculptures are the two Riace Bronzes (c. 460 B.C.E.), among the few Greek original bronze statues to have survived. Most are known only through Roman marble copies. The reason the Riace Bronzes survived is that they were on a ship that sank in the fifth century B.C.E. and only found in the 1980s. Both of these bronze figures have the fluid, seemingly live motion of their relaxed counterpose. To enhance realism

the sculptor of these pieces used glass for the eyes and silver and copper inserts to highlight the figures' teeth, lashes, lips, and nipples. Their *contrapposto* stance is more emphatic than in the Kritios Boy, as are the details of anatomy. The left arm in the Riace Bronzes moves forward to break into the viewer's space, also breaking from the rigidity of the *kouros*-type figures of the Archaic Period.

In c. 450 B.C.E. Polyclitus took the elements of these statues one step further when he rendered his Doryphoros, or Spear-Bearer, known only through Roman copies. With this work Polyclitus established the proportions for the Early Classical Period. This resulted in muscular, athletic figures. He wrote a treatise on the subject of human proportions that he based on a Pythagorean mathematical method. The ratio of these human proportions were based on the fifth finger, as a unit of measure. To him the harmonious ratio between the various elements of a sculpture were imperative.

Once *contrapposto* was fully mastered, the figure could take on any pose, including the most complex. Myron, who specialized in the depiction of athletes, rendered the Discobolos (c. 450 B.C.E.), a figure throwing the discus, the composition based on two intersecting arches.

The anonymous Dying Niobid (c. 450–440 B.C.E.), originally part of a temple pediment, shows the female on one knee as she tries to remove the arrow of Apollo from her back. She has been shot because her mother Niobe boasted of her seven sons and seven daughters during a festival in honor of Letona, Apollo's mother. As she sinks to the ground, her head, torso, and left thigh form a straight line while her lower left leg, right thigh, and arms diagonally break away from that central axis. The contortions of her arms as she tries to remove the arrow have caused her drapery to slip off to reveal her youthful nude body, becoming the earliest female nude in Greek art. Emotion is conveyed, not through grimaces, but pose, and even then the pathos is restrained. For this, the sculpture of the Early Classical Period is normally qualified as the Severe Style.

LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

In 431 B.C.E. the PELOPONNESIAN WAR between the Peloponnesian League, headed by Sparta, and the Delian League, headed by Athens, broke out, lasting for 27 years. Sparta, with the help of the Persians, defeated the Athenians, who lost their preeminence as the strongest power in Greece. In the 350s B.C.E., PHILIP

OF MACEDON invaded the Greek cities one by one, and by the 330s B.C.E. he unified them, establishing the first European nation. Philip was murdered in 336 B.C.E., and his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT succeeded him. Alexander engaged in a conquering campaign that took him as far east as India. These events marked the Late Classical Period. In this period Skopas, Lysippos, and Praxiteles became the leading masters.

To this Late Classical Period belongs the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, built in 350 B.C.E. by Satyrus and Pythius. It is one of the seven ancient wonders of the world. The building of the colossal mausoleum was commissioned by Queen Artemisia of Caria. It was to be a worthy royal funerary monument built for Mausolus, her brother and her consort, whom she loved. Artemisia summoned the greatest of Greek masters. The Mausoleum was destroyed in the 15th and 16th centuries but has since been reconstructed in the British Museum based on ancient descriptions and including fragments from the original structure. It combined Greek Ionic elements, including voluted columns (columns capped by a spiral ornament) and a continuous frieze, with non-Greek elements like a tall base, hipped roof, and colossal scale. In between the columns were statues depicting lions, and above the roof was a chariot with the portrait of Mausolus and Artemisia by Skopas. The portrait of Mausolus still exists and presents a different view on each side, denoting that, unlike most of the sculptures of the Early Classical Period, which focused on the frontal plane, this one invites the viewer to walk around it.

The continuous frieze that crowned the monument shows a battle between the Greeks and the Amazons (an Amazonomachy), the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and chariot races. The sculptors in charge of the reliefs were Bryaxis, Leochares, Timotheus, and Skopas, the most famous. Here the figures are in higher relief, in fact, almost completely in the round, in aggressive, vigorous poses, their draperies responding more emphatically to their violent movements.

The second major figure of the Late Classical Period was Lysippos from Sikyon, Alexander the Great's official sculptor. Douris of Samos reported that Lysippos had asked the painter Eupompos where he obtained his inspiration. The painter pointed to a crowd to answer the question and then admonished the sculptor to follow nature instead of imitating other artists. His attitude reflects the Aristotelian approach of empirically observing nature and its phenomena and then replicating those observations on the pictorial or sculptural surface.

Lysippos followed the advice. His *Apoxyomenos* of c. 330 B.C.E., a copy of which is housed in the Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican, presents an athlete scraping the oil and dust off his body after a contest, a common occurrence in Greek everyday life. Lysippos introduced a new set of proportions for the depiction of the human form resulting in more slender figures than those of the Early Classical Period.

The body, when depicted, is eight, not seven, times the length of the head, supplanting the more muscular mode of representation introduced by Polyclitus a century earlier. As the arms of his figure lift to engage in the action of scraping, they break into the viewer's space and offer an unobstructed view of the torso. This feature emphasizes the sculpture's three dimensionality and grants it a greater sense of movement. Each side offers a different view, forcing onlookers to walk around to fully experience the sculpture. As the arms move forward, the back takes on a convex form, typical of the art of Lysippos.

The final major figure in art of the Late Classical Period was Praxiteles, his signature work being the *Hermes and the Infant Dionysus* of c. 330 B.C.E. It presents Hermes, the messenger of the gods, taking the infant Dionysus, god of wine, to the Nymphs, who reared him. In Praxiteles' work, Hermes teases Dionysus by holding up a bunch of grapes that have since broken off along with his right arm. The sculpture represents the humanization of the Greek gods and their portrayal as having the same weaknesses and faults as humans. The work uses the proportions established by Lysippos, but its elegant quality is Praxiteles' own. He achieved this by exaggerating the S curve of Hermes's body, idealizing its forms, and giving a dreamy expression to his face.

Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C.E. and his conquered lands were divided among his generals. Egypt went to Ptolemy; Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, and most of Asia Minor to Seleucus; and Macedonia and Greece to Antigonos. The outside influences brought by Alexander's conquests resulted in an art that combined Eastern and Western idioms, marking the end of the Late Classical Period and the beginning of the Hellenistic era, when less restraint and more drama were infused into art.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENISTIC ART; HELLENIZATION.

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LILIAN H. ZIRPOLO

Classical Period, Greek

The Greek Classical Period (500–323 B.C.E.) had a vast amount of influence on Western culture in terms of art, literature, philosophy, and architecture. This period occurred between the Archaic Period (800–500 B.C.E.) and Hellenistic Period (323–31 B.C.E.) and took place near the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Many renowned philosophers and writers appeared at this time, such as ARISTOTLE, EURIPIDES, and SOPHOCLES.

Greece was a collection of city-states with different forms of government. The Classical Period marked the contribution of democracy to Western civilization, with its roots in the city-state of Athens. It was an aristocrat, CLEISTHENES, who brought the ideas of democracy to Athens in 510 B.C.E. The word *democracy* comes from the Greek word *demos* meaning “the dominion of the people.” Cleisthenes' objective was to attain more power for the Greeks in Athens, by giving the people the power to vote. Democracy for the Greeks meant that a majority of votes, taken in an assembly (which was every male's duty when randomly chosen to attend), decided an issue. Males who did not attend a required assembly were no longer considered citizens, and their civil rights were taken away.

There were political conflicts during the Classical Period as well. The golden age, during the Classical Period, marked a time when Athens was strong. During this time the Greeks waged war on the Persians, who were a great threat with their growing military power, wealth, and size. A deadly war broke out in 479 B.C.E., during the PERSIAN INVASIONS, in which the Greeks destroyed the Persians. Although Sparta and Athens joined forces in their conquest over the Persians, hostility between the two city-states grew and eventually erupted into a war against each other, known as the PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431–404 B.C.E.). The end of the Peloponnesian War marked the end of the golden age due to the Spartans' defeat of the Athenians.

Greek literature during the Classical Period brought about drama and its genres. The three tragedian playwrights were Euripides (484–406 B.C.E.), Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.E.), and Sophocles (496–406 B.C.E.). Euripides was known for such plays as *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.E.) and *Medea* (431 B.C.E.) and his development of the New Comedy, such as in *Alcestis*, all while bringing his realist views into drama. Aeschylus, a great poet as well as playwright, first brought a second actor to the stage. Aeschylus is known for many tragedies such as *Suppliants* (490 B.C.E.), *Agamemnon* (458 B.C.E.), and *Prometheus Bound* (456 B.C.E.). Sophocles was also a popular and talented tragedian who performed his plays at the Festival of Dionysus. Sophocles was known for writing tragedies such as his *Theban Plays: Antigone* (441 B.C.E.), *Oedipus Rex* (425 B.C.E.), and *Oedipus in Colonus* (401 B.C.E.) as well as *Electra* (c. 410 B.C.E.) and *Ajax* (c. 440 B.C.E.). Sophocles is noted as one of the first playwrights to bring a third actor to the stage.

Philosophy was ignited during the Classical Period because classical Greeks started to realize the importance of rational thinking and that life occurrences happened by means other than the supernatural. This redefined and pervaded philosophical thought throughout Athens. The three major philosophers of this period were Socrates (470–399 B.C.E.), Plato (427–347 B.C.E.), and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). Socrates taught Plato, one of his top students, his views on the world. Plato then went on to become a philosopher, and his top pupil was Aristotle. Aristotle, who developed the scientific method, went on to educate ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Much of Western philosophy has been built on these great thinkers' ideas.

Sculpture became more realistic during the Classical Period. The human form through sculpture became more precise and three dimensional, emphasizing Greek realist ideals. Phidias and Polyclitus were two popular sculptors during this time. Phidias (490–430 B.C.E.) created statues of Athena and sculptures in the Parthenon as well as the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Polyclitus, popular during the early fifth century B.C.E., sculpted a famous statue of Hera as well as one of Doryphoros, a spear-bearer. The masterpieces of the time characterized the Greeks' use of ebony, marble, bronze, ivory, and gold.

Architecture also became more distinct and had features unique to Greece. There were three types of columns developed during this period, demonstrated by the Parthenon in Athens: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. These architectural features were named after

the cities in which they were developed. Doric is the simplest column with no ornamentation at the top. The Ionic had slightly more elaborate decorations at the top and bottom of each column. Corinthian columns were ostentatious and were highly ornamental. PHILIP OF MACEDON (381–336 B.C.E.) unified the Greeks through conquest. The Classical Period ended with the rise of Philip II's son Alexander the Great (353–323 B.C.E.) and his conquest of the Persian Empire. This led to the development of the Hellenistic culture, which blended the cultures of Greece, India, Persia, and Egypt.

See also: ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; CLASSICAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE, GREEK; GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA.

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NICOLE DECARLO

Cleisthenes

(c. 565–c. 500 B.C.E.) *Greek statesman*

Cleisthenes was an Athenian nobleman often credited with having given rise to the first democratic political structure in his native city-state. At the end of the sixth century B.C.E. he implemented various reforms that changed politics as well as life in general for the Athenian citizenry. The importance of Athenian democracy can hardly be overstated, not only because of its uniqueness and its expansion of freedom, but also because it allowed the golden age of Athenian civilization to dawn in the fifth century B.C.E. The reforms implemented by Cleisthenes in 508–507 B.C.E. brought a period of one-man rule by tyrants to an end and granted Athenian men unprecedented powers over their political community. In order to make such changes Cleisthenes first had to overcome numerous challenges and adversaries while continuing to deal with ongoing criticism. Still, some scholars argue that his reforms were largely self-serving by greatly benefiting him and his clan. Regardless to what degree Cleisthenes might have personally profited from his actions, there is little doubt that Athens did as well, while the rest of the world gained in having an early model of democracy to inspire later democratic political regimes.

Cleisthenes was born in 570 B.C.E. into the wealthy and aristocratic Alcmaeonid family. He was named after his grandfather, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, who had ruled Sicyon and who had also established a name for himself for various other deeds, including an Olympic victory in chariot racing and a yearlong competition to determine the suitor who would marry his daughter. Megacles, an important Athenian statesman, was the eventual winner of the bridal contest, and the couple's child (the younger Cleisthenes) was to follow in the family's footsteps by participating directly in Athenian politics. Raised on the HOMERIC EPICS and inspired by the notion of immortality through important individual deeds, the young Cleisthenes had no shortage of ambition and determination; however, he found himself in rather precarious times in Athens.

After the stable and rather prosperous period of rule under PEISISTRATUS, who was hardly an oppressive or cruel tyrant, the situation changed drastically. Upon his death in 527 B.C.E., his son Hippias took over, and although he initially ruled in a rather passive manner, he increasingly turned to more brutal and dictatorial methods. The assassination of his brother and political confidante, Hipparchus, only made matters worse. In addition, a great deal of friction existed between the noble landowners and the farmers. The arrangement at the time forced tenant farmers to hand over a large percentage of what they produced to the landowners. The result was that much of the citizenry that lived off the land was poor, which included the majority of Athenians. The fear of politicians was that rival clans or families would attempt to rally the support of the farmers and the slaves so as to instigate a rebellion by promising to eliminate their state of destitution. Rather than attempting to address the issue, the tyrants of the past largely sought to strengthen the power of their proper family while weakening their adversaries and the people in general.

The momentum for change initially began when Cleisthenes obtained help from Sparta in overthrowing Hippias. Despite his success in forcing the tyrant to flee, Cleisthenes was unable to assume the reigns of leadership as Isagoras, a fellow nobleman and powerful politician, immediately challenged him. By proposing a number of major reforms, Cleisthenes boldly garnered support well beyond the traditional bases of support in the aristocracy. He promised that all citizens would have an opportunity to participate in government and declared them to be his companions, or *hetairoi*. Realizing how powerful Cleisthenes was becoming, Isagoras, ironically enough, pleaded with the

Spartan king who had earlier helped topple Hippias. Cleomenes, king of the Spartans, obliged and sent a small force with the intention of establishing an Athenian council formed of his own supporters. No match for the approaching troops in terms of military power, Cleisthenes had no other option than to flee. Isagoras established himself as head of a new regime composed of 300 other aristocrats that was upheld with Spartan military might and influence. Tyranny had crept its way back into Athenian politics. Cleisthenes' clan, the Alcmaeonids, and numerous of his supporters were exiled from the city, and other possible hindrances to Isagoras's power were slowly dismantled. The much earlier reforms of SOLON were undermined, including the removal of the Council of Four Hundred, which was representative of the population as a whole.

Eventually the Athenians became outraged at the actions of Isagoras, whereupon rioting broke out. To the surprise of both Isagoras and Cleisthenes the situation escalated into a large-scale rebellion. For two days and two nights the people besieged Isagoras, his supporters, and the Spartans in the Acropolis. Realizing his mistake, Cleomenes arranged for a truce. The fleet-footed Isagoras managed to escape; however, his cohorts were arrested and executed. The Athenians recalled Cleisthenes from exile and requested that he implement his previously mentioned reforms and aid them in establishing a government of the people with equality for all citizens under the law (known as *isonomia*).

In order to bring about greater opportunity and equality Cleisthenes eliminated the earlier kinship clan system that was not only exclusive but conducive to domination by a single family. Whereas the city-state was previously divided into four clans along bloodlines, known as the Ionic tribes, Cleisthenes established a new system of 10 tribes that were based on one's locale of residency, or what was known as one's *deme*. The entire city-state was divided into three major regions: the city region (*asty*), the coastal region (*paralia*), and the inland region (*mesogeia*). These regions were each subdivided into 10 sections known as *trittyes*, or thirds. The 30 *trittyes* of the city-state consisted of the numerous *demes*, which seem to have numbered roughly 139 or 140. All male citizens at the age of 18 and older registered within their *deme* and this became an important association, more important than the previous *phratry*, or familial association, which further served to undermine strict blood ties.

Cleisthenes also reformed the previous Council of Four Hundred into the *boule*, a council consisting of 500 members, 50 men from each of the 10 tribes. This

institution was at the heart of the new system and served as the executive carrying out policy made by the assembly. Access to various levels of government was opened for members of society beyond the noble-blooded aristocratic class, albeit one had to have a certain amount of wealth or property. Cleisthenes also reformed the legislative body and introduced the policy of OSTRACISM. In sum, building on the earlier reforms of Solon, Cleisthenes placed the state into the corporate power of the citizens resulting in a new political dynamic in favor of greater freedom and control for the Athenian citizenry.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES.

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TREVOR SHELLEY

Clement of Alexandria

(c. 150–c. 215 C.E.) *religious teacher and philosopher*

Clement of ALEXANDRIA (Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus) is one of many brilliant Alexandrian theologians that arose between the first and third centuries C.E. The writings of Jewish sages such as PHILO and Sirach influenced all these Alexandrian thinkers. His teacher was supposedly Pantaenus, a noted Christian thinker who was principal of the “official” school for aspiring candidates for Christianity. (Conversion to Christianity required a rigorous initiation program in the early days.) Clement in turn took Pantaenus’s position and educated ORIGEN, the brilliant Christian polymath of the early third century C.E. Most of the speculation about Clement of Alexandria’s life comes from EUSEBIUS of Caesarea in the fourth century C.E.

In fact, Clement never cites Pantaenus, and Origen never cites Clement. Eusebius’s claim that the school was an official catechetical school does sit well with the usual picture that historians project of the usually quite private institutes that are organized around philosophers and thinkers. Eusebius was enamored with Origen and may have simply wanted him connected to the apostles who would have set up such

programs for believers. Eusebius says that Clement traveled around the Mediterranean world seeking out intellectual mentors until he found what he was looking for in Alexandria. The school he operated seems to have been set up for the rich and the educated. His writings give clues about the intellectual life of second-century Alexandria. The city was stratified into groups of “simple believers,” more advanced students of philosophy and religion to whom Clement offered instruction and advice, CHRISTIAN DUALISM and its adherents who claimed secret knowledge, and conventional pagan intellectuals and the pagan religionists who followed the MYSTERY CULTS. Clement criticized the latter groups.

The most famous extant work is a trilogy: “Exhortation,” “Instructor,” and “Miscellaneous.” The trilogy seems to address progressively select audiences. The “Exhortation” speaks to beginners and outsiders about the advantages of Christianity; the “Instructor” speaks to those who are converted and needing discipline; and the “Miscellaneous” is a patchwork of material, but at least some of it addresses those who are true “Gnostics.” While Clement writes in elegant Greek, at times he is pretentious and rambling. His main point is that knowledge of Christ as Logos brought salvation to the believer. *PAIDEIA*, or education, is the way to know the Logos better, and Clement’s school was to offer this education. Clement avoided the heresy of Gnosticism because he affirmed the material world as real and Christ as incarnate (fleshly), although he conceded that much of the Bible was better understood as allegory and not literal truth.

The problems people have with Clement’s thinking were many. He downplays the plain meaning of the Bible and through allegory brings in classical Greek philosophy. He fosters elitism in his preference for the secret and more mature understanding of religious knowledge. This elitism is found in the writings of later Christians (such as Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fenelon) and shows why the public resented second-century Gnostics. On the other hand, his theology is truly innovative for Christian mysticism, and individuals like the Pseudo-Dionysus, Meiser Eckhart, and John Wesley found consolation in his writing.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Code of Justinian

Among the most lasting accomplishments of the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I (527–565 C.E.) was his comprehensive compilation and organization of Roman law. The emperor believed that law was as essential to the security of the empire as military power. His legal achievement (like his martial effort) was an attempt to ensure the power and legacy of his reign.

Justinian selected and changed a commission, which included Tribonian, the day's greatest legal mind, with the task of organizing the past and present laws of the empire. In 529 the commission completed its work, the Code, which arranged centuries of imperial legislation, removing that which was no longer needed. This code was revised and updated in 534. Copies were distributed throughout the empire, and only laws that were recorded in it were valid in the empire's courts. After this Justinian entrusted Tribonian and his commission with the task of compiling, editing, and organizing past legal decisions or commentaries on the laws. This work, known as the Digest, was completed in 533. It was divided into 50 books, by subject headings for easy reference. Justinian further entrusted Tribonian with the publication (534) of an official legal textbook, the Institutes, for the training of lawyers. These three parts—along with a fourth part consisting of Justinian's new laws called Novels (meaning new laws)—all written in Latin, became known as the Corpus Juris Civilis, or Body of Civil Law.

This work had a profound effect on future legal procedure. The Corpus influenced Byzantine law down to 1453, when the Byzantine Empire fell to the Ottoman Turks. The Corpus largely influenced Byzantium through a later Greek legal compilation known as the Basilika (ninth century). In the West, Roman law was diminished by the transition to Germanic rule during the early Middle Ages. In the 11th century, however, legal scholars at the University of Bologna in Italy revived the study of Justinian's Corpus. In the 12th century this study led GRATIAN, a Bolognese monk, to create a systematic organization of canon law (church laws) called the Decretum. This study also gave birth to secular legal developments in western Europe. The Code of Justinian still heavily influences many European legal systems.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Confucian Classics

Since the beginning of the historic period the Chinese have held the traditions handed down from antiquity with deep awe and reverence. Works traditionally accepted as the heritage of ancient times long preceded CONFUCIUS (551–479 B.C.E.) but are nonetheless called the Confucian Classics.

The Five Confucian Classics are the most revered canonical works of the classics. They are

1. *Yi Jing (I Ching)*, or *Book of Changes*
2. *Shu Jing (Shu Ching)*, or *Book of History* or *Documents*
3. *Shi Jing (Shih Ching)*, or *Book of Odes* or *Poetry*
4. *Li Jing (Li Ching)*, or *Li Ji (Li Chi)*, or *Book of Rites*
5. *Qunqiu (Ch'un-ch'iu)*, or *Annals of Spring and Autumn*

Confucius is the author of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*. All others are collections of ancient documents that tradition says were edited and compiled by Confucius and his disciples.

The *Yi Jing*, or *Book of Changes*, is a collection of short texts that give clues to interpreting the results of divination cast by priests by means of tortoise shells and milfoil stalks on orders from kings of the SHANG DYNASTY (c. 1700–c. 1122 B.C.E.). According to tradition, Confucius wrote a number of “wings” to these texts that elaborate on their interpretations and explain their significance. Modern historians attribute the “wings” to eras later than Confucius.

The *Shu Jing*, or *Book of History*, is a compilation of short documents. They are announcements, speeches, manifestos, and reports by ancient rulers and their ministers, beginning from the mythical ideal kings YAO, SHUN, AND YU down to the early ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 B.C.E.). Confucius, who also wrote introductions to the documents to explain their significance, supposedly edited them. Modern historians think that while the Zhou documents are authentic, ones attributed to earlier eras were written much later. The *Shi Jing*, or *Book of Poetry*, is an anthology of 300 poems. Some were folk songs, while others were

songs used by leaders for ceremonies. They date to the early Zhou period and were reputedly selected and edited by Confucius. The *Li Jing*, or *Book of Rites*, is a varied collection that includes rules on the organization of the Zhou government, a code of conduct for lords and gentlemen, and rules for important events in life such as weddings, funerals, and sacrifices. The DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU), a founding father of the Zhou dynasty, was supposedly the author of many of the documents in this classic. Again, Confucius is credited with selecting and editing the documents.

The *Qunqiu*, or *Annals of Spring and Autumn*, is a chronicle of the state of Lu between 722–481 B.C.E. and was compiled by Confucius, who came from that state. The book is important because through his choice of words Confucius gave his moral judgment of the persons and events that were chronicled. When Emperor Wu of the HAN DYNASTY made Confucianism China's official ideology around 110 B.C.E., the Five Classics gained the status of canonical works. Great Han scholars worked on publishing an official version and officially endorsed interpretation. Students studied them and official examinations that recruited government officials were based on them, producing an educated elite in Chinese society for the next 2,000 years that were welded in the same tradition.

More than a thousand years after their canonization, during the Song (Sung) dynasty (960–1279 C.E.) there was a great movement to reexamine and reinterpret Confucianism. It was called Neo-Confucianism. A leader of this movement was Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi), who lived between 1130–1200. Zhu encouraged the study of four additional texts. The Four Books are

1. *Lunyu* (*Lun-yu*), or *Analects of Confucius*. A collection of Confucius's conversations and activities recorded and compiled by his students after his death. It consists of 20 chapters. They give clues to his character and ideals. For example: "Confucius said: 'At fifteen, I set my heart on learning. At thirty, I was firmly established. At forty, I had no more doubts. At fifty, I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty, I was ready to listen to it. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire without transgressing what was right.'"
2. *Mengzi* (*Meng Tzu*), or *Book of Mencius*. It is a compilation of the writings of MENCIUS (372–289 B.C.E.), who was honored as the second sage of the Confucian school, second only to the master.
3. *Daxue* (*Ta-hsueh*), or *Great Learning*
4. *Zhongyong* (*Chung-yung*), or *Doctrine of the Mean*

Great Learning and *Doctrine of the Mean* were two essays taken from the *Book of Rites*. They stress that improving the mind is the start of improving the world. As stated in the *Great Learning*: "Those in antiquity who wished to illuminate luminous virtues throughout the world would first govern their states; wishing to govern their states, they would first bring order to their families; wishing to bring order to their families they would first cultivate their own persons...."

The Five Classics and Four Books are the most revered books in China. They are also essential in Japan and Korea, countries that adopted the fundamental ideals of Chinese civilization.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Confucianism as a state ideology

Confucianism, originally an East Asian philosophy based upon the teachings of CONFUCIUS, has strongly influenced governmental structures and policies worldwide, particularly in China, Korea, Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Confucius, a famous Chinese philosopher who lived from 551 to 479 B.C.E., frequently expressed his thoughts in short sayings, such as those collected and preserved by his students and followers in the *Analects of Confucius*.

Confucius did much more than teach philosophy and hoped to spread his thoughts and ideas to receive the patronage of one of the many lords competing for supremacy in China, and he even hoped to persuade Chinese leaders to follow his system of thought and values. Unfortunately, Confucius failed to have his ideas accepted by key rulers of Chinese society during his lifetime, but his concepts eventually developed into a state ideology.

The development of Confucianism as a state ideology may be attributed to his followers or, to be more exact, the followers of his original followers. During a period of history in ancient China known as the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, or Thought, prominent Confucian scholars such as MENCIUS and XUNZI elaborated upon Confucian principles and spread the philosophy and its social and political influences throughout China.

Although briefly forbidden during the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), the sixth emperor of the HAN DYNASTY embraced Confucianism. He adopted the principles of Confucian thought as the basis for his government, laws, and ethics. In order to promote it he started a university to teach the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS to new generations. Confucianism remained the most influential and mainstream school of thought in the China until the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) stamped it out.

Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) undertook further elaboration of Confucianism as a state ideology, and he was indentified as one of the first Neo-Confucians. Neo-Confucianism, which was more appealing not only to China but also to Korea and Japan, incorporated DAOISM (TAOISM) and Buddhist ideas to create a more all-encompassing philosophy and ideology. The two most fundamental principles of Confucian governmental thought are virtue and merit. In order to govern one must first be able to successfully govern himself. As a result, the king or leader of a government must act as a "calm center" around which society is able to develop and prosper under his direction.

Confucian thought stresses learning as an integral component of not only better governing oneself but also improving one's chances for success within society. When later dynasties began to implement Confucian governmental principles, they established civil services exams for government positions, based upon the study of the Confucian Classics. In addition, they also incorporated traditional values of ritual, filial piety, loyalty, community, and humaneness. Confucianism still influences many Asian nations.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Confucius

(551–479 B.C.E.) *Chinese philosopher*

Confucius is the Latinized form for Kong Fuzi (K'ung-fu-tzu) which means Master Kong in Chinese. He came from a minor noble family from the state of Lu in modern Shandong (Shantung) Province, which had been founded by the DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU).

His father died when he was young, and his mother brought him up under humble circumstances. Confucius founded a school of philosophy called Confucianism, which stressed ethics in personal and political life and which contended for acceptance during the era called the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY in China that lasted between approximately 600 and 300 B.C.E. By 100 B.C.E. Confucianism had become China's state ideology, and Confucius was acknowledged as the Supreme Sage and Ultimate Teacher. Few people have had a greater impact on more people for two millennia.

Although many legends have grown around Confucius in later centuries, it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct a fairly accurate biography of him. Confucius had an education fitting for a gentleman. His hobbies were music and archery, but he had to make a living. He sought government service, but with a mission, which was to reform morals and bring peace. China was in an unstable state. The ZHOU DYNASTY was in decline, and the feudal lords who were contending for supremacy paid little attention to moral leadership. Thus, he had little luck finding acceptance for his ideas and turned to teaching as an instrument for reform. He was China's first professional teacher, charging tuition, but only accepting students of integrity. Whereas traditional schools for nobles turned out educated men who did their lords' bidding, Confucius expected his students to play a dynamic role in reforming the government and serving the people. He taught more than 3,000 students, among them 72 were counted disciples. Most of his students went on to teach and further his legacy, spreading his ideals and debating followers of other philosophies.

Confucius wrote a book titled the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* (*Qunqiu*), which was a chronicle of his state of Lu. The book's title gave its name to the era it covered. Its importance was his choice of words to describe people and events, called the "rectification of names," that conveyed censure or praise. According to the famous Confucian MENCIUS: "Confucius wrote the Spring and Autumn and rebellious sons and disloyal ministers were overwhelmed with consternation." This book, together with the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), or *Book of Change*; *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History*; *Shi Jing* (*Shih Ching*), or *Book of Poetry*; and *Li Jing* (*Li Ching*), or *Book of Rites*, constitute the Five Classics of the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS and are the most revered texts of the Chinese culture. Confucius and his disciples are credited with compiling and editing the other Four Books of the canon and also writing appendices to them. One of these, *Lunyu* (*Lun-yu*), or the *Analects*, which means "selected sayings," was a

collection of his sayings and conversations with his students that they gathered together sometime soon after his death. The *Analects* gives his views on things and events and paints him as a very human man focused on doing well by this world and not concerned about the divine and the next world.

Confucius saw himself not as a reformer or innovator but as a conservator and transmitter of traditional virtues. His goal was to return China to the golden ages of antiquity, to the era of the legendary sage-kings YAO, SHUN, AND YU, and more recently to the era of the wise founders of the Zhou dynasty, Kings WEN AND WU, and the Duke of Zhou. However, Confucius was a revolutionary in that to him the superior man who should lead achieved this status not by birth but by education and self-cultivation. When Confucianism was adopted as China's official ideology, this radical criterion for assessing human worth would lead to the stress of education and the implementation of an examination system for recruitment of government officials that would make China a meritocracy.

Because humans are social beings living in society, Confucius inculcated the following ideals of conduct. One was *li*, which indicated rites, ritual, or proper good conduct under all circumstances. Another was *ren* (*jen*), which demanded love and benevolence toward all beings. They should be practiced together to achieve full meaning. Since the family is the basic unit of society, Confucius also taught the virtue of *xiao* (*hsiao*), or filial piety, which is the honor and respect that children owe their parents. Confucius expounded that there are five key relationships in life, as follows: between parents and children, husband and wife, elder and younger siblings, king and subjects, and friends and neighbors. Three of the five are within the family, because family is the microcosm of society, and it is in the family that the young learn their first lessons.

The first in each of the first four relationships enjoys higher status, but that comes with greater responsibility. For example the parents must not just feed and clothe their children but inculcate moral values and set examples for the children, who should love, honor, and obey their parents. If each person in any relationship behaves correctly according to his/her position, then the rectification of names has been achieved. Beyond the family, a king who deserves the name should lead his people by good moral example and provide for their welfare; and the people should honor and serve him as they serve their parents. The only potentially equal relationship is between friends and neighbors, who should deal with one another

honorably and humanely, but here again, the younger ones should honor their elders.

Self-cultivation and personal virtue are the hallmarks of the superior man, who had the duty to serve society. Confucius did not challenge the monarchical system of government but put a heavy responsibility of those in positions of power to lead well. He said: "To govern is to set things right...If a ruler himself is upright, all will go well without orders. But if he himself is not upright, even though he gives orders they will not be obeyed...Lead the people by laws and regulate them by penalties, and the people will try to keep out of jail, but will have no sense of shame. Lead the people by virtue and restrain them by the rules of decorum, and the people will have a sense of shame and moreover will become good."

He was no prophet, sought no divine sanction for his teachings, and believed in a natural and moral order for humans. To Confucius heaven was a guiding providence and human fulfillment could only be achieved through acting in accordance with the will of heaven. How can one understand heaven's will? Confucius's answer was to study history and literature because in them one finds the collective wisdom of humanity from antiquity. He attributed the ills of his day to the neglect of the study of history and music and the observance of ritual. This is why he treasured ancient texts and why posterity attributes to Confucius and his disciples their collection into the canons. Although a man of personal piety and reverence, he did not concern himself much with otherworldly concerns. When a disciple asked him about worship of spirits, Confucius answered thus: "We don't know yet how to serve men, how can we know about serving the spirits." On death he said: "We don't know yet about life, how can we know about death?" adding, "Devote yourself to the proper demands of the people, respect the ghosts and spirits but keep them at a distance—this may be called wisdom."

Confucius's disciples continued his work of teaching, debates with other schools on philosophical principles, and of public service when possible. Among his great early disciples was Mencius, whose teachings were collected into a work that bears his name and who became honored as the Second Sage. Another was XUNZI (HSUN TZU), who also gives his name to a work. However, Xunzi is called a heterodox teacher who deviated from the true spirit of Confucianism because he argued that human nature was originally evil rather than good, as Confucius and Mencius asserted.

When China finally achieved unification in 221 B.C.E. under the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, it was under a hard-

headed and amoral philosophy called LEGALISM. Legalism and Confucianism were anathema to each other. The Legalist rulers of the Qin banned Confucian and other philosophical teachings and tried to burn all their books, allowing only Legalist and practical works to be studied. Many Confucian scholars were killed during the brief Qin dynasty. The demise of the Qin in 206 B.C.E. resulted in the lifting of the ban on philosophical debates. Within a hundred years the HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) established CONFUCIANISM as a STATE IDEOLOGY, and Confucius was honored as the First Sage.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Constantine the Great

(c. 285–337 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

The reign of Constantine the Great marked the transition from the ancient Roman Empire to medieval Europe and a decisive step in the establishment of the Christian Church as the official religion for the Greek and Latin civilizations. His view of church-state relations affected the way that European governments were constituted for centuries, and his influence had direct repercussions on the administration of such countries as Russia, ruled by czars, even until the 20th century.

Constantine was the son of Constantius and HELENA. His father was appointed in 293 C.E. as one of four co-emperors in the TETRARCHY set up by DIOCLETIAN. Diocletian chose to keep Constantius's son under surveillance as his tribune. When Diocletian retired in 305, Constantine was allowed to join his father on campaign in Scotland. His father died in Britain, and his troops proclaimed Constantine as their new Caesar.

Between 305 and 312 Constantine marshaled propaganda, troops, and resources toward taking sole power in the Western Roman Empire. He won a string of battles against the Franks and others and then marched into the Italian Peninsula with an eye on defeating his Roman rival. The key to his success was a risky battle fought outside Rome in 312. Constan-

tine claims to have seen a celestial vision there that revealed his fortune and steeled his courage. At first he said that it was the appearance of his protector god Apollo who promised him 30 years of success, with the Roman numeral XXX appearing in the sky. As Constantine grew older, he decided that this visitation was of a Christian nature and that he saw a single cross with the words *in hoc signo vince* ("in this sign conquer"). The later Christian version of the story finishes with Constantine's army marching to victory, the cross emblazoned on their shields. The place of the vision was the Milvian Bridge, now associated with the turning point of his life, his career, and the destiny of the Christian religion. Constantine thought the hand of the divine was on him, and eventually he identified the god as Christian. As a result, he began to be proactive in his support of the heretofore-persecuted faith. He restored properties to churches in the West and especially showed favor to the clergy. He met his Eastern Roman Empire counterpart and forged an agreement called the EDICT OF MILAN in 313 C.E., in which the Christian faith was officially permitted.

Though Constantine is portrayed as the matchless defender of the Christian faith by popularized histories, this interpretation must be taken with a grain of salt. For example, in his decrees he avoided citing specific religions or religious terms, thus he said "Supreme Sovereign" or "Highest God." He did not require that his subjects do "superstitious" (i.e., Christian) practices to show their allegiance to the empire. He kept a specialist in NEOPLATONISM as a personal adviser. He did not officially persecute the Greco-Roman cults, apart from a few police actions. He warned Christians against taking law into their own hands in their zeal to shut down pagan shrines. He dedicated his capital city with both pagan and Christian rites and imported into the city many works of art from pagan temples. He continued the pagan Roman tradition that the emperor was the divinely appointed mediator between the divine and the empire, thus he intervened infrequently in church disputes. In fact, he did not formally enter the church through baptism until on his deathbed, reflecting his own anxieties about the impossibilities of living a life of holiness while serving as emperor.

EAST-WEST DISCORD

The concord with the eastern emperor did not last. In the East there was widespread mistrust of Constantine and continued harassment of Christians. War broke out, and Constantine again showed his military prowess. By 324 he became sole emperor of the whole

Roman Empire. At once Constantine began to make arrangements to set up his capital in a safer part of the empire, in Byzantium (in modern-day Turkey) on the European side of the Bosphorus. It was called New Rome, lower in rank than Italian Rome, but destined by Constantine to be upgraded over time. When he made the city his home and named it after himself, CONSTANTINOPLE, it was the sign that the safety and prestige once the possession of the Latin world had permanently migrated eastward. The light of the Roman civilization moved east, and the West began its descent into darker times.

Constantine restored many of Diocletian's reforms and renounced others. For example, he not only recognized the need for regionalized government; he set up armies to fight in the various European and Asian theaters of war. Germans and Franks entered into the higher ranks of imperial military service. These concepts paved the way for medieval society, with local lords who controlled smaller territories and personal armies. Yet, he did not accept Diocletian's idea of the

college of emperors, or Tetrarchy, and replaced it with a dynastic emperorship.

He separated the military from the civil in terms of services and duties. He set up a new currency and standardized its units, a system that lasted for 700 years. He held serfs and peasants to their social positions so that food production and imperial projects such as army campaigns, road maintenance, and city building could continue with ample supplies of food and labor. At the same time he made a conscious effort to bring Christian values into public policies so that the downtrodden would be helped and especially the clergy could be promoted to a higher public status.

The results for the Christian Church were that bishops were welcomed into his courts, Christianity spread even more rapidly, and churches were reconstructed and given proprietary rights. He took an active interest in such church-building projects as St. Peter's in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. At the same time, since Constantine saw himself as the mediator between God and his empire, he often took on the role of referee in church controversies, a role for which he was not educated. He summoned the COUNCIL OF NICAIA (325) and proposed the formula to be accepted to bring unity to all the Christians in his realm. Effectively speaking, Christianity achieved a prestige in the empire that future emperors such as JULIAN THE APOSTATE could not reverse.

BENEFACTOR OF THE CHURCH

The last few years of Constantine's life were spent in the East, either in his capital or on campaign, although he occasionally traveled to Rome or the Rhine to secure his domain there. His military activities were confined to controlling the "barbarian" tribes along the frontier and not fighting Rome's nemesis, the SASSANID EMPIRE. Later emperors were not so fortunate. Though a civil war broke out after his death, his influence was enough to give imperial prerogatives to his descendants for the next century.

Later Christians lionized such a benefactor of the church. It did not hurt that Constantine was buried next to the Church of the Apostles and de facto numbered among them as the "13th apostle." His friend, EUSEBIUS, revered by later generations of Christians as the historian of the early church, also added luster to the image of Constantine through his biography of the man. Other intervening and contemporary sources and evaluations of Constantine were less enthusiastic. Around the ninth or 10th century, however, the reputation of Constantine soared to new heights as stories



An obelisk memorial erected to honor Constantine in the city of Constantinople, known today as Istanbul, in Turkey.

and legends abounded concerning his sanctity and supernatural acts. About 25 “lives” of Constantine have been recovered, both from the East and the West, which sing his praises beyond what was celebrated by earlier generations. As a saint in the Eastern Christian Church, his feast day is May 21.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; GREEK CHURCH; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; LATIN CHURCH; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Constantinople

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT's city lasted as the center of civilization and religion for more than 1,000 years. Of the cities of the world, only King DAVID's city, Jerusalem, compares with its prestige and longevity. The ancient name was Byzantium. The foundation of the city dates back to the seven century B.C.E., and was known as a place of contention during the PELOPONNESIAN WARS. Even 150 years before Constantine, the Romans had reduced the city to rubble for its insubordination and then restored it because of its strategic location. But it was Constantine who chose the city, lavishly made it his own, and destined it to be New Rome, capital of the empire.

CONSTANTINE'S CITY

Constantine at first planned to build his city near the famous city of TROY, but he thought better of it, perhaps because of his Christian sympathies, not wanting to adulterate his new priorities with Homeric religion. Byzantium had many natural advantages: It was surrounded on three sides by water, had excellent harbors, was close to the industrial centers of Asia Minor, and was accessible to the agricultural breadbaskets of Egypt and southern Russia.

Important east-west imperial roads intersected here, including the famous Via Egnatia. The ancient city also was known for its wall, so the wall rebuilt by Constantine could fortify its landed side. Thus, the place was eminently more strategic and defensible

than the old Rome of Italy, which was not built on the sea and did not have the same natural barriers to protect it.

Constantine began his project in 324 C.E., and by 330 the new city was ready. The fortification was large enough that the boundaries encompassed empty and undeveloped areas. None of these walls survives today, but their outlines can be imagined from written records. Growth at first was modest, and the population was small. Constantine was determined to turn the city into Rome's eastern twin. He doled out the same subsistence subsidies, endowed it with the similar civic titles and offices, and constructed the same infrastructures and monuments. A portion of the grain supposed to go to Italian Rome now went to New Rome, and eventually tens of thousands of its people depended on the free rations of food. Constantine put into place the aristocratic ranks and nomenclature, just like ancient Rome. On the higher ground he erected the acropolis, the center of community life, the site of his Great Palace and the Capitolium; nearby was the largest gathering place, the Hippodrome, where public games were held. Later all three of these locations would become the locations of wild and bloody imperial intrigues.

Colonnaded roads and markets marked out urban districts. Gates opened up to the important trade roads. New Rome even had seven hills around which the city was planned, as in Italian Rome. The city was not overtly a Christian center by Constantine's own design. The old pagan temples already in Byzantium were left undisturbed during his reign. In fact, the dedication rites for the inauguration of the city included pagan prayers and artistic donations from pagan temples. He built no more than a few churches; the famous Church of the Holy Apostles, next to his burial spot, was not his project, but his son's (Constantius II). Nor was the city officially the capital of the empire until the time of his son, when Constantius inaugurated the senate and set up a hierarchy of imperial offices. Now old Rome began to be superseded by New Rome, and there was no turning back. In fact within 50 years or so, the Germanic tribes would overrun the old Italian capital, and to its bitter disappointment, Constantinople would not save its predecessor.

GROWTH AND CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

The city continued to grow prodigiously over the next 200 years. By the end of the fourth century there were some 14 churches, 52 colonnaded roads, 153 bath complexes, and many ground and underground cisterns. The need for water storage pointed to the only

thing lacking. Here the Theodosian emperors (or perhaps Valens) rectified the situation in typical Roman fashion. They engineered a remarkable system that connected water sources in the hinterland as far as 60–70 miles away with vast water reservoirs inside the city. Imperial sculptors even elaborately decorated the underground cisterns. Constantine's walls were too restrictive for the burgeoning population, so the walls were expanded and the area of the city doubled. Some 400 defensive towers were constructed along the whole wall and the shoreline. The three-arched Golden Gate, still standing, goes back to these days, as do many of the walls presently standing. Here the Council of Constantinople was held in 381 to affirm the creedal statements of the COUNCIL OF NICAIA (325).

By the end of the fifth century the religious dimension of the empire registered itself more strongly. Urban monasticism developed in the city, along with an abundance of Christian artwork. In addition, Oriental and Egyptian influences started infiltrating its urban culture. Constantinople was no longer only an aspirant to the old Rome, but a new and transformed capital city in its own right. The height of the ancient city was reached under JUSTINIAN I and Theodora in the sixth century. It was the most important political, commercial, and cultural center in all of Europe. Lavish religious and imperial building occurred in this period. The monument that best defined Constantinople's glory was the HAGIA SOPHIA, a basilica that still dominates modern Istanbul's skyline. Not only was the domed structure a daring and innovative symbol of Christianity's official stature, but also it was a statement about Constantinople's own grandeur. The city probably had between 500,000 and 1 million residents. An eclectic mixture of architecture and cultures was found in the sixth-century city, imported from the far-flung corners of the globe. Even the Christianity of the emperors was more diverse than Hagia Sophia would lead the observer to believe, as the city offered sanctuary to various non-Orthodox Christians.

MUSLIM INVASION

A plague devastated the city in 542, and half the population died. The optimism that had marked the city as it grew economically and militarily for the previous 200 years was also soon to be challenged severely by the BYZANTINE-SASSANID WARS, the unsuccessful sieges of the city by the Persians (616) and the Avars (626), and especially the rise of the Muslims in the latter part of the seventh century. The invasion of the Arabs in 717 and the loss of imperial territory to them brought the

city to the brink of disaster. Nonetheless, the Theodosian walls faithfully kept out foreigners for some 1,000 years. Ironically, there was only one exception: In 1204 the city opened up its gates to the Western crusader "allies" who turned on the city and pillaged it. The treachery caused such outrage among the Byzantines that surrender to the Muslims was countenanced as a better fate. In 1453 the demoralized city gave up to the Ottoman Muslims with hardly a skirmish.

See also DIOCLETIAN; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT; THEODOSIUS I.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Coptic Christian Church

The Coptic period covers most of the first six centuries of the Common Era. *Copt* derives from the Greek word *Aegyptus*, in turn derived from *Hikaptah*, or Memphis, the original Egyptian capital. Coptic Christianity is the form that arose in Egypt in the first century C.E. By tradition Coptic Christianity began when St. Mark, the African-born gospel writer, went to ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, sometime between 48 and 61 C.E. Previously, Egyptian Christians were mostly Alexandrian Jews, and some Greeks became Christian. Between his arrival and his martyrdom in 68 C.E., Mark founded the church and converted many native Egyptians. The religion grew rapidly in its first half-century, and by the second century it spread into the rural areas. Scriptures were translated into Coptic, the local language.

The rapid conversion of Egyptians to Christianity led to Roman persecution of those who denied the emperor's divinity. An edict of 202 prohibited conversion to Christianity. An edict of 250 required all citizens to carry a certificate at all times, issued by local authorities, affirming that the bearer had sacrificed to the gods. Failure to comply resulted in punishments, including beheading, being tossed to the lions, or being burned alive. The government closed the Catechetical School of Alexandria, forcing members to meet secretly elsewhere. The state limited the number of bishops

to three. The era of persecution culminated under DIOCLETIAN (284–305). His election as emperor began the Coptic Anno Martyrum, year of the martyrs.

Despite the persecution, the church flourished. The third century saw the formation of the church hierarchy, from the patriarch in Alexandria to the lowest priest and the monks residing in the eastern and western deserts. The Catechetical School succeeded Alexandria's library and museum, which were world renowned even before Christianity. Located in the School of Alexandria, the library held millions of papyrus scrolls, all the knowledge of the ancient world. Ptolemy Soter established the library in 323 B.C.E. The school was the site where 70 Jewish scholars created the Septuagint when they translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek in 270 B.C.E. These same scholars set the order of books in the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. Beginning as a scientific and literary institution, the library evolved into a university for philosophy and theology.

The Catechetical School of Alexandria was the earliest major Christian theological school. The Catechetical School housed and taught the scholars who provided the philosophical underpinnings of Christianity. The school's first dean, Pantaenus (d. 190 C.E.), headed a school whose faculty included Athenagoras, Clement, Didymus, and ORIGEN. Pantaenus was replaced by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, noted for his work in converting educated Greeks to Christianity. Origen (c. 215) was a philosopher and biblical scholar who wrote more than 6,000 commentaries on Old and New Testament books as well as homilies that are the oldest known Christian preaching. He is known as the father of theology. Following Origen was Dionysius (the Great) of Alexandria, who became patriarch of the church (246–264). Didymus the Blind lost sight at age four but mastered grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, music, poetry, mathematics, and memorized the testaments. His pupils included Gregory Nazianzus, JEROME, Palladius, and Rufinus the historian. Didymus devised a system of engraved writing, 1,500 years before the creation of Braille. These scholars made the Catechetical School a center of Christian learning and a magnet for scholars from around the world. The Catechetical School was the birthplace of the question-and-answer method of commentary.

While enduring Diocletian's persecutions, the Coptic Church had to deal with the Arian heresy, which denied the divinity of Jesus because man had a beginning and God is eternal. Although Arius was excommunicated, he continued to preach and converted two

Libyan bishops and the Nicomedian EUSEBIUS. ARIANISM spread through Egypt, LIBYA, Palestine, and Asia Minor before finally reaching the attention of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Followers of Arius and Constantine fought in Alexandria and Nicomedia, leading the emperor to call the approximately 1,800 bishops to Nicaea to settle the dispute.

The COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325), the first ecclesiastical council sanctioned by the emperor, included only six Western bishops because the heresy had not reached Europe. It involved more than 300 bishops from the East, representing all Christian traditions. At Nicaea, Arius chanted his beliefs, supported by dance bands and singers. ATHANASIUS, representing the Coptic patriarch, presented a logical argument in opposition. The attendees debated before calling for a creed, which Athanasius wrote and the Council of Constantinople (381) adopted unanimously. The Copts and other ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES deny that they are Monophysites because Monophysitism is heresy. Copts believe that Christ is both human and divine, united indivisibly by the Word and perfect in all respects.

There were two patriarchs at that time, the Eastern Orthodox pope and patriarch of Alexandria and the Coptic pope and patriarch of Alexandria. Egyptian Coptic religion gave rise to the Christian monastic movement. Monastics believe in unceasing prayer, intense meditation, self-discipline through fasting, vigils, celibacy, poverty, and the renunciation of the flesh and the world. It began as early as the second half of the third century, spreading throughout the Christian world. Monasticism flourished even after the EDICT OF MILAN (313) ended the Roman persecution of Christians.

Coptic monasticism has three levels. First, Antonian monasticism entails a life of seclusion, austerity, and asceticism. St. Anthony exemplifies this approach. When an anchorite attains a higher level of holiness, he attracts many disciples in the second stage, and security becomes a concern. Settlements arose in the eastern and western deserts, and communal living became the norm for monks who spent the week alone in their cells or caves and joined together on Saturday and Sunday for prayers, teaching, and service. Cenobitism, or Pachomian *koinonia*, was the third stage of monasticism. Founded by Pachomius, a former soldier, this form included strict military discipline, regulating every hour of every day and imposing punishment for default.

At the end of the fourth century Egypt's deserts housed between 100,000 and 200,000 monks. The total Egyptian population was about 7.5 million. Cenobite

monasticism attracted Greeks, Romans, Nubians, Libyans, Ethiopians, CAPPADOCIANS, and others. Each monastery had a section for each nationality and provided a fellow citizen to guide the monks. Prominent Christians who went to the deserts included JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE; the Italian Jerome and Rufinus; Cappadocian father BASIL THE GREAT, who organized the monastic movement in Asia Minor; the French saint John Cassian, and BENEDICT who followed the Pachomian model in the sixth century, but made it stricter.

Coptic Christianity was devoted to missionary work from the time of St. Mark. In exile, in the armies of Rome, as travelers, Copts spoke and lived their faith, drawing converts as well as persecution. Coptic missionaries were in the British Isles long before the arrival of Augustine of Canterbury in 597. Some credit the Copts with bringing Christianity to the Irish (Irish Christianity was a great civilizing agent in the Middle Ages).

Coptic missionaries preached in Africa, ARABIA, Persia, India, and Europe. NUBIA became Christian in 559. Coptic Christians Frumentius and Aedesius converted Ethiopia. Alexandria by the fourth century was the largest Christian city in the world. Monasticism attracted the pious but also attracted misfits and scoundrels, as well as young peasants, illiterate and easily formed into monastic mobs that could be used against heretics and political rivals in the church. Monks also served in the city's hospitals.

Those who came to study at Alexandria returned to their lands full of Coptic knowledge and the urge to spread it by writing, establishing monasteries and schools, and otherwise proselytizing. According to the Melkite patriarchs, who served as both civil and religious rulers of the Eastern Roman Empire, Egyptian Copts were heretics because they rejected the agreement of Chalcedon.

Despite massacre, torture, and persecution by both religious and civil authorities, the Copts outlasted the state church persecution. Finally, in 642 Arabs conquered Egypt. Under Arab rule, the capital of Egypt relocated to Cairo, and Alexandria, including the library and museum, was burned.

Coptic Christians continued to practice their religion but under the tight restrictions of Islamic law (sharia). Periodic persecution, particularly during the 10th and 11th centuries, and the European Crusades accelerated a gradual process of conversions to Islam, and by the end of the 12th century Egypt was predominantly Muslim. Muslim restrictions on the Copts eased in the

19th century, and in the 20th century Coptic religion was strong, with 40 million adherents worldwide.

See also EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

cuneiform

Cuneiform is a writing system in which signs are carved on soft clay tablets using a reed stylus. Cuneiform writing was used throughout the ancient world for more than three millennia until around 75 C.E. Continuous lines etched into the clay formed the earliest signs. Because drawing was a relatively slow process, signs were later created with individual *cuneus*, or wedge-shaped strokes, impressed into the clay.

The wedge shapes became so characteristic of the script that, even though unnecessary, they were included when inscriptions were later engraved in stone or metal. The earliest cuneiform texts were excavated at the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk and dated just before 3000 B.C.E. Denise Schmandt-Besserat proposed a sequence in which small clay tokens found throughout the Near East are the precursors to cuneiform writing.

From the eighth millennium B.C.E., clay tokens of various shapes were used to represent quantities of items in order to keep track of agricultural products. To prevent unauthorized tampering, tokens were sealed and enclosed in hollow clay envelopes. Because the tokens would be hidden, they were first impressed onto their envelopes for easy identification. Soon it was recognized that the impressions themselves could convey the same information, without the cumbersome use of tokens. It is plausible that the etched sign was a natural progression from the impressed image.

Most of the early cuneiform signs originated as pictograms, which attempt to replicate the appearance of objects they represent. For example, the sign for a bull resembles a bull's head. Sometimes these pictograms were used symbolically to express the natural association of ideas. The sign picturing a star was also used to denote heaven or god, since the celestial realm was considered an abode of the gods. At the earliest stage numbers were not depicted in the abstract (for example, five) but were inextricably linked to the item being counted (for example, five grain rations). This way of conceptualizing numbers derived from the token system, in which each token simultaneously indicated quantity and identity of the object represented. Later development, however, led to abstract, context-independent numerical signs.

A basic cuneiform sign could be qualified by etching hatched lines over the part to be accentuated, a procedure known as gunification. In this manner, by etching the appropriate place on the sign for head, a new sign for mouth could be signified. Furthermore, combining two or more existing signs may create new signs. The sign for woman closely juxtaposed with the sign for foreign land yielded the sign for slave woman. Thus, the sign for bread within the sign for mouth resulted in a new sign meaning to eat. Logographic writing of the signs can obscure the language used in a cuneiform text. This means that each sign represents a word and, thus, gives no indication of how that word is to be pronounced. For example, the sign for king could be read in Sumerian as *lugal* or in Akkadian as *sharrum*. Indeed, the earliest use of cuneiform was merely mnemonic and not as a visual means to represent spoken language. In some archaic texts the signs even seem to be written in a random order, showing no attempt to reflect the linear sequence of spoken language. Nonetheless, the language of the Uruk tablets is shown to be Sumerian because of rebus writing, whereby a sign is used to represent different words or grammatical forms with the same pronunciation. For example, the sign for arrow (pronounced as “ti”) also has the meaning life. This would make sense only in Sumerian, where the word *life* is pronounced as “ti.”

The total number of cuneiform signs is limited by polyphony, the case that a single sign may be read in different ways. Thus, the sign picturing a human foot could be read in Sumerian as *gin* (to walk), *gub* (to stand), or *tum* (to bring). Such ambiguity in meaning is sometimes clarified by the use of a determinative sign, which indicates the semantic category that the word belongs to. For example, the same sign could

mean “day,” “Sun,” or even “sun god.” By attaching the god determinative before this sign, the meaning becomes unequivocal. Conversely, cuneiform has cases of homophony, whereby different signs share the same pronunciation.

The use of logograms (word signs) for verbs suited the Sumerian language, which varied by adding affixes to an unchanged verbal root. By contrast, Akkadian inflected its verbs in such a way that could not be expressed by using the same cuneiform sign. Accordingly, with the spread of Akkadian in Mesopotamia, there was pressure to apply the rebus principle to cuneiform signs so that they indicated syllables instead of whole words. For example, the Akkadian verb “he gave” (pronounced as “iddin”) could be expressed by a sequence of these three syllable signs: id+di+in. This procedure preserved in writing the vowels of Akkadian, in contrast to the use of purely consonantal alphabetic scripts for several other Semitic languages. In the third millennium B.C.E. cuneiform was also used for the Semitic language at EBLA in northern Syria, as well as the Elamite language in western Iran.

With Akkadian's ascendancy as the lingua franca, the use of cuneiform spread as far as Egypt. Hittite, Hurrian, and Urartian documents have all been found in cuneiform script. When early pictograms are oriented to a position natural to the objects they depict, the signs appear in columns from top to bottom, and the columns are read from right to left. However, at some point in time, cuneiform signs experienced a 90-degree rotation in the counterclockwise direction (i.e., signs were now read in each row from left to right, and the rows read from top to bottom). The flexibility, with which tablets would be rotated during cuneiform writing, may have helped ancient scribes become familiar with reading signs in different orientations.

See also: AKKAD; ARAMEANS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ELAM; FERTILE CRESCENT; HITTITES; HURRIANS; MARI; SUMER; UGARIT.

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Cyclades

The Cyclades, because of their central location to trade in the eastern Mediterranean, have a rich and long history. They are a part of the vast number of islands that constitute the Greek archipelago in the Aegean Sea. The name was originally used to indicate islands that formed a rough circle around the sacred island of Delos.

The Cyclades are comprised of around 220 islands, with the major ones being Amorgos, Anafi, Ándros, Antiparos, Delos, Ios, Kéa, Kimolos, Kynthos, Mílos, Mykonos, Náxos, Páros, Pholegandros, Serifos, Sifnos, Sikinos, Síros, Tínos, and Santorini (Thíra). While ancient maritime trade made the region important strategically and geographically, a reliable agricultural base made life on the Cyclades archipelago possible. The Cyclades may have been one of the earliest sites of the worship of the Mother Goddess cult, which became widespread throughout the eastern and western Mediterranean.

All Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures including ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and later on, Greece, would feature prominent goddesses. When the Minoan culture flourished in the islands from about 3000 to 1450 B.C.E., frescoes on the walls of the palace, excavated by the British archaeologist Arthur Evans, featured a bare-breasted goddess with snakes. Snakes figured in many of the Mother Goddess cults in antiquity and had its parallel in the story of Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden in the Old Testament. Settlement of the Cyclades was sporadic. The Phoenicians were most likely the first settlers, while around 1000 B.C.E. the island was inhabited by the Ionians. In the case of Síros, ancient ruins, statuettes, and skeletons indicate the island had been settled by the Bronze Age.

The very dispersion of the islands made seafaring a necessary part of survival, as islanders learned that they could gain by trading with—or raiding—other islands in the archipelago. It is in these early boats that one can find the beginnings of the oared galleys that would be a feature of Mediterranean warfare until the 18th century at least, when the Knights of Malta used huge galleys in their wars against the Barbary pirates. Cycladic ships were the prototypes with which ancient Greece would plant its colonies, beginning around the sixth century B.C.E., and with which Rome would become the mistress of the Mediterranean.

The Cycladic culture peaked during the Minoan period, which was brought to life by the work of Arthur Evans with his reconstruction of the royal palace

at Knossos. The story of European civilization begins on the island of Crete with a civilization that probably thought of itself as Asian (in fact, Crete is closer to Asia than it is to Europe). Thus, the Cyclades and Cretan Minoan civilization provided the first known fusion of Western and Asiatic culture. With the rise of ALEXANDER THE GREAT around 320 B.C.E., this would become the great Hellenistic civilization, which Alexander's armies would carry to the very frontiers of India.

See also MINOANS; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Cyril of Alexandria

(c. 375–444 C.E.) *theologian*

Cyril of Alexandria is one of the most renowned (and sometimes infamous) figures of the early Christian Church. Born in the late 370s C.E., he received both a first-rate classical and Christian education and was groomed by his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, for a career in the church. At the death of Theophilus in 412, Cyril (about 34 years old) was elected to succeed Theophilus as archbishop of ALEXANDRIA. The early years of his reign were marked by controversy and intrigue, as Cyril was directly or indirectly implicated in conflicts with schismatic Christians, the Jewish community, the imperial officers of the city, and most notoriously with the mob lynching of the pagan philosopher Hypatia.

One of Cyril's great achievements in the first 15 years of his reign was the vast output of biblical commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments. Cyril was not only the strong and often aggressive leader of the Christian community; he was also a profound scholar and biblical commentator, and his production of biblical commentary is one of the greatest in the ancient church.

Cyril is best known, however, for his extended series of conflicts with NESTORIUS, which began in 428. Until his death in 444, Cyril was occupied largely with the repercussions of his collisions with Nestorius. This conflict is the first installment of what are known as the fifth-century Christological controver-

sies. At the heart of the conflict was the issue of how to speak about Christ as both human and divine and how to understand and describe the role of the Virgin Mary. The focal point of the debate was whether or not the term *Theotokos*, meaning “God-bearer,” could rightly be applied to the Virgin Mary. But beneath this question lay the broader issue of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

Nestorius was concerned to distinguish clearly what is divine in Christ from what is human (and so rejected the term *Theotokos*), while Cyril was intent on securing the position that Christ is “one Son,” the eternal Word of God become man. At the heart of the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius was not merely a political rivalry but a nest of theological issues and a conviction by each that the other party was denying something essential to the Christian account of salvation.

The conflict reached its climax in the summer of 431 through a complex set of events at the Council of Ephesus. The final outcome was the deposition of Nestorius and the approval of the council that upheld Mary as *Theotokos*.

Actual reconciliation between Cyril and those who supported Nestorius only occurred two years later in 433 with Cyril’s signing of the Formula of Reunion. It was a tenuous agreement that was ruptured soon after Cyril’s death and led to a new outbreak of controversy that eventually resulted in the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Cyril’s legacy as a man and as an archbishop is hotly debated. Some cast him as the evil villain of the controversy, others, as the resolute hero. Whatever view one takes, he is unquestionably the key theologian for defining the doctrine of Christ, and both the GREEK CHURCH and LATIN CHURCH revere him for his accomplishments. Pope Leo XIII proclaimed him a Doctor of the Western Church on July 28, 1882. His feast day is celebrated in the Western Church on June 27, and in the Eastern Church on January 18.

See also EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF.

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DANIEL A. KEATING

Cyrus II

(c. 600–530 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Cyrus II, also called Cyrus the Great, was the founder of the Persian Empire (539–331 B.C.E.). Born in about 600 B.C.E. Cyrus II was son of Cambyses I, grandson of Cyrus I, and great-grandson of Achaemenes, from whom the rulers of the Persian Empire take the name Achaemenids, or Achaemenians. At the time of Cyrus’s accession in 559 B.C.E., Persia was only a small tribal state in a world ruled by the then-dominant powers of Media, Lydia, Chaldea, and Egypt. Of these the Medes were, like the Persians, of Iranian blood and language lineage and had entered the high Iranian plateau some 1,000 or more years earlier.

In the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. the Persian tribes were vassals of the Medes, and Cyrus was the son from the marriage of his Persian father with the daughter of the Median king, Astyages. When Cyrus ascended the throne, his grandfather Astyages was still king of Media. In 550 B.C.E. Astyages, concerned that his grandson was plotting with his enemy Nabonidus of Babylon, summoned Cyrus to his capital, Ecbatana, for an explanation. Cyrus refused to come, and this led to war between Media and Persia that ended with victory for the Persians and Cyrus’s becoming king of both the Medes and the Persians.

With Media conquered, Cyrus began a 10-year campaign that would create the greatest empire the world had known. He first tackled Croesus, the fabulously wealthy king of Lydia, and in 547 B.C.E. defeated him at the Battle of Ptyerum. With Lydia conquered, he quickly defeated the GREEK CITY-STATES of Ionia, and the whole of Asia Minor came under his rule. He now turned his view east and conquered Parthia and Aria in eastern Iran, the SOGDIANS and BACTRIA in Turkistan and Afghanistan, and even the western edges of India. The Persian Empire stretched 3,000 miles from east to west but did not yet include the culturally and materially rich areas of Babylonia and Egypt. Egypt was left for his son to conquer, but Babylon was ready for a new ruler, and already those who wanted to see Persian rule in Babylon were growing in numbers.

In part this was due to dissatisfaction with the kings who presided at the time, Nabonidus, who had been absent from Babylon for 10 years, and his regent son Belshazzar, referred to in the book of Daniel in the Bible. Equally important was the enlightened way in which Cyrus treated the states he conquered. Unlike the conquering Babylonian kings, and before them the Assyrian kings, Cyrus went out of his way



The tomb of Cyrus II is located in Pasargadae, present-day Iran. Cyrus is known as the founder of the Persian Empire.

to win the goodwill of his new subjects rather than to frighten them into obedience. He presented himself as a liberator, treating prisoners with mercy, leaving local customs intact, and encouraging established religions. Cyrus attacked Babylonia in the autumn of 539 B.C.E. Belshazzar deployed his troops along the Tigris but was numerically overwhelmed even before Gubaru, the governor of the Babylonian province of Gutium, defected to the Persians. After a campaign that lasted less than a month, Cyrus entered Babylon on October 12 without battle. From that day onward he treated the inhabitants with utmost respect, ensuring that society quickly went back to normal life and that the gods that had been taken into the city for safekeeping during the conquest were returned to their shrines in the cities of Babylonia.

Cyrus recorded his conquests and the way he treated the people of defeated cities in CUNEIFORM script on clay or stone cylinders. These could be rolled over wet clay to create imprints, which when dried were sent out

as letters or decrees. One such cylinder, today kept in the British Museum in London, gives us a glimpse into Cyrus's empire; it reads: "I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims of the earth, son of Cambyzes, great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anšan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anšan, of a family which always exercised kingship, whose rule Bêl and Nabû (the gods) love, whom they want as king to please their hearts."

Later, on the same cylinder, Cyrus proclaims the freedom he is offering to captives. Some of those captives are the Jews who had been taken captive by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. and earlier in 597 B.C.E. by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. In the biblical book of Ezra we read that in Cyrus's first year of rule in Babylon he proclaimed to the Jews that they were to "go and build a house for God in Jerusalem," and to facilitate this he returned to them the gold and silver that Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the Jerusalem temple.

After his successful conquest Cyrus remained in Babylon about a year and then moved back to the high plateau city of Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media. However, we have almost no record of Cyrus's actions between then and his death. In 530 B.C.E. Cyrus left his son Cambyzes as regent in Babylon and personally set off to deal with a problem on his far northeastern border. The campaign started well, but Cyrus was lured deep into the enemy territory and was there fatally wounded. His body was recovered by CAMBYSES II, and placed in a tomb at the Persian capital, Pasargadae, 50 miles north of Shiraz in modern-day Iran, where it can still be seen today.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; SUMER.

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ANDREW PETTMAN



Damascus and Aleppo

Damascus and Aleppo were two cities situated at the center of the **SILK ROAD**, a key intercontinental trade route that linked the **ROMAN EMPIRE** to China. Caravans traveling on the Silk Road traded in silk, perfumes, and spices in the Far East.

The city of Aleppo, for example, lay at the crossroads of two trade routes, one from India and the other from Damascus. They were important trading centers of caravan traffic and powerful centers of urban culture. Both regions are situated near the Mediterranean coast (about 62 miles from the sea). The two towns contain agricultural land and nomad territory. Both Damascus and Aleppo suffered earthquakes, epidemics, and internal strife throughout history but were able to regain their prominence successfully after every adversity.

Damascus (Dimashq as-Sham in Arabic) is one of the oldest cities in the world that is still inhabited. The ancient city of Damascus lies within city walls. Excavations reveal that the earliest inhabitants lived there sometime between 10,000 and 8000 B.C.E. The city of Aleppo, on the other hand, was inhabited from 1800 B.C.E., according to archaeological records. After 800 B.C.E. the Assyrians, the Persians, and then the Greeks, in 333 B.C.E., ruled Aleppo.

Damascus only achieved prominence in 1100 B.C.E. after the coming of the Semitic peoples known as the **ARAMAEANS**. The Aramaeans built up the infrastructure in the city in the form of canals and tunnels linked to

the Barada River. The water distribution system was then improved upon by later rulers of the city, the Romans who conquered Syria in 64 B.C.E., and members of the Omayyad dynasty.

Because of their similarities, Damascus and Aleppo were rivals, and comparisons were often made of them. Even though Aleppo was more successful in economic terms, it seems that Damascus thrived even more as a center of **ISLAM**. Islamic intellectuals often congregated in Damascus, and Islamic art flourished in the city. Conditions in Damascus were very well suited for the flourishing of the intellectual and artistic milieu, as it had been the center of large empires of those who ruled over it. Damascus was after all the base for the Muslims against the crusaders in the seventh century C.E. During that time it was the center of administration of the caliph.

Damascus became the military and political base of Muslim fighters against the crusaders. Nuraddin first acquired Damascus and Aleppo in 1154, followed by Saladin after his death. In 1260 Mongols attacked the cities, which fell to the hands of the Mamluks in 1317. Damascus continued to enjoy political prominence under the Mamluks as the capital of the Mamluk Empire until 1516, though this period witnessed another Mongol invasion of Damascus in 1400.

Damascus occupies an important position in Sunni tradition as one of the holiest Muslim cities along with Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, because landmarks events in Islamic history occurred there. It is



The city of Damascus lies within a fortification of walls and is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world.

the birthplace of Abraham and is also where MOSES was buried.

See also SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Daoism (Taoism)

The period roughly between 600 and 300 B.C.E. in China is called the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, the term *hundred* meaning “many.” It was an age of political and social change and turmoil as the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY was breaking down, which led thinking men to develop philosophies to explain, accommodate to, or change the state of affairs. Two out of these philosophies, Daoism and Confucianism, would endure as dominant and complementary ways of life for the Chinese for more than two millennia.

While all schools of philosophy were seeking the way, or *dao*, one among them would appropriate the word for its teachings. While Confucians sought to re-

turn society to the golden age of antiquity through moral reform and study, others sought escape to a simple life, living as recluses and being content with nonaction; their philosophy is called Daoism. It is difficult to find reliable information about early Daoism. However, scholars accept two books as the earliest works on Daoism: the *Laozi* (Lao Tzu) or the *Daodejing* (Tao-te Ching), which translates as the “Canon of the Way and Virtue,” and the *Zhuangzi* (Chuang Tzu).

The *Laozi*’s purported author was a man called LAOZI (Lao Tzu), which means the Old Master; he supposedly was a senior contemporary of CONFUCIUS and had worked as archivist at the royal court. There is no proof that Laozi existed, and the short, cryptic book of about 5,000 words attributed to him seems to be a composite work that is no older than the fourth century B.C.E. It teaches that the mystic Dao is the source of all being, which must be intuitively understood by leading a passively yielding life. It is a terse and enigmatic work susceptible to many interpretations. Its political philosophy teaches the sage ruler not to interfere in the lives of the people, give up warfare and luxuries, and passively guide the people to lives of innocence and harmony with the Dao. Modern laissez-faire ideals find similarities with Daoism.

Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu), which means Master Zhuang, lived around 369–286 B.C.E. Very little is known about him, and the book that bears his name is witty, full of paradoxes and imagery. The message of the book is a plea for the freedom of the individual and his liberation from egotism so that he can come to understand the underlying unity of the Dao and thus achieve happiness that is beyond death.

Even though Daoists taught nonaction and passivity, they were nevertheless human enough to preach their view in competition with other philosophical views. One can hardly imagine a country governed by the laissez-faire Daoist philosophy. Nevertheless, when Confucianism became China’s official philosophy after c. 100 B.C.E., Daoism continued to hold its attraction because of its imaginativeness and perhaps as an antidote to the serious-minded ideals taught by Confucius. Daoist philosophy has been a leavening agent in Chinese life, a consolation for those who suffered failures and a relief to the many duties that circumscribed life. In this way Confucian and Daoist philosophies supplemented and complemented each other.

Neo-Daoism is a movement that began in the Eastern HAN DYNASTY (25–220 C.E.). One part of this movement undertook to harmonize Daoist teachings with Confucian social and moral ideals that made it possible for a Confucian official to be both a conscientious pub-

lic servant and at the same to maintain a degree of detachment from the world. The Daoist notion that rulers should rule passively and follow the advice of ministers appealed to Confucian officials. It became widely accepted practice during the Han dynasty that ministers should initiate policy and that emperors should not act before seeking the advice of his ministers.

When China fell to disunity for four centuries after the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 C.E., northern China came under the rule of non-Chinese nomads who had little understanding or use for Confucian doctrines. In this prevailing atmosphere two new movements took root. One was the popularization of Buddhism, introduced to China during the Han dynasty, at the beginning of the Common Era.

Buddhism did not gain widespread popularity under the Han, but its doctrines became widely appealing during the era of division. Similarly the intellectual energies that were absorbed by Confucian studies during the Han dynasties found outlet in the writing of commentaries on the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* during the era of division when Confucianism fell largely out of favor. The study developed into a many-sided movement that investigated metaphysics, aesthetics, and religion. In the process these Daoist scholars also reinterpreted their philosophy in terms of the social and moral philosophy of Confucianism.

Some Neo-Daoists reacted to the disorder of the post-Han period by becoming hedonists and rejecting all social obligations and restraints. Their most famous example was a group during the third century C.E. that called themselves the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, who explained their flouting of all social conventions as the only way of preserving their moral integrity. One of these seven famously had a servant follow him with a jug of wine and a shovel wherever he went so that he could have a drink whenever he felt thirsty and so that a hole could be dug to bury him wherever he dropped dead. They have been called romantic for their antics and their revolt against a decadent society. Other romantic Daoists who lived as recluses in mountain retreats have used nature's inspiration to create landscape paintings that became the most respected genre of Chinese art and to write nature-inspired poetry.

Religious Daoism is also called popular Daoism. It is also called the School of Huang-Lao, after Huangdi (Huang-ti) the YELLOW EMPEROR (the legendary founder of the Chinese nation) and Laozi. Whereas the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* taught some adherents to live simply and in tranquillity, and others to reject the trammels of conventional behavior, another movement led by followers of the occult was also under way. The result was

the coalescing of many ancient folk superstitions and cults. Their goals were a long life, terrestrial immortality, and ultimately celestial immortality, reached through divination and magic, breathing and other yoga-like exercises, and living a moral life. Daoist sorcerers and shamans used the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* as texts, searching for occult meaning in vague and suggestive phrases. They also consulted the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), or *Book of Changes*, an ancient text that began as a diviner's handbook and had acquired obscure commentaries for their guidance.

Alchemy involved the search of substances and concoction of drugs that could improve health and prolong life, and also the turning of base materials into gold. Daoist experiments resulted in advances in chemistry, mineralogy, and pharmaceuticals and resulted in the invention of the compass, gunpowder, and porcelain. However, the questionable motives of the experiments made them less than reputable academically.

There were many subgroups among religious Daoists. One cult was called the Way of Five Bushels of Rice because its founder, a man called Zhang Ling (Chang Ling), who lived in the second century C.E., demanded five bushels of rice from his followers. They called him Heavenly Teacher, and he passed his title to his descendants to modern times. The merit system taught adherents to think good thoughts and perform good deeds in order to prolong life and attain immortality and explained illness, death, and misfortune as punishments for one's own sins and those of one's forebears; heaven or hell were everyone's ultimate destination.

Popular Daoism learned from Buddhism in building temples, rituals, festivals, and instituting orders of monks and nuns. It has a large pantheon consisting of deities, historical heroes, immortals, spirits, and sacred spots. It enjoyed imperial patronage beginning in the Han dynasty, as rulers sought long life, immortality, and communion with the spirits. Tang (T'ang) dynasty rulers also patronized religious Daoists, even as many were devout Buddhists, because the imperial house was surnamed Li and Daoists had long since given Laozi a surname, also Li, thus giving the ruling house an illustrious ancestor. The same elements that made religious Daoism favored by rulers also made it popular with the people of China.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Darius I

(c. 550–486 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Darius I, or Darius the Great, consolidated the Persian Empire founded by CYRUS II. We know more about Darius than any other of the kings of the Persian Empire since we have two major literary sources on his life. The first is an inscription at Behistun in modern-day Iran that Darius had carved into a mountain rock face high up above one of the key trade routes from Mesopotamia to the Iranian high plateau. It describes how in the early years of Darius's reign he reestablished the empire after the rebellions following the death of Cambyses II. The second source is the *Histories* of HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.), a Greek who wrote describing the expansion of the Persian Empire from Cyrus to XERXES I.

Darius was born about 550 B.C.E., son of Hystaspes, who was later the satrap of Parthia. Our first reference to Darius is as an officer in Cambyses II's Egyptian army of occupation. On Cambyses' death early in 522 B.C.E. Darius went straight to Media to press his claim to the throne through a common great-great-grandfather with Cambyses, Achaemenes. In the fall of 522 B.C.E. Darius, with six coconspirators, killed the usurper claimant Gaumata, and to consolidate his claim soon thereafter married two of Cyrus's daughters, and one of his granddaughters, in addition to taking three other wives.

However, Darius's claim was not easily accepted, and there was unrest throughout the empire. In the Behistun inscription Darius speaks of rebellions in more than half of the satrapies of the empire, including in the greatest city of the day—Babylon. Unlike Cyrus who was welcomed almost as the savior of Babylon, Darius was looked on differently and only subdued Babylon after a siege and punishment by execution of 3,000 of the surviving leading citizens. Even then a second rebellion took place in Babylon some years later. It took until December 521 B.C.E. for all of the rebellions in other parts of the empire to be stamped out, and another few years before the empire was totally at peace.

Although Darius was successful militarily, his greatest achievement was the creation of an effective adminis-

tration for the empire. According to Herodotus, as soon as peace was established Darius set up 20 satrapies, or administrative districts. In each of the satrapies he established tax systems and recruitment requirements for his armies. He also built systems of royal roads and set up along them places where a change of horses, food, and lodging could be found for those moving about the empire. With such a far-flung empire the satraps in charge of each satrapy had to operate with a significant degree of independence from the central government. However, that independence had the potential to threaten the emperor's control, and Darius set up a system of inspectors known as the "king's eyes" whose job it was to check on the effectiveness and loyalty of the satraps. The improved road system and the construction of massive military granaries allowed for a large army and for the army to move about the empire with relative ease. In addition, Darius built a canal, completed in 498 B.C.E., connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, and thereby the Persian Gulf, which allowed trade by ship to go on across the width of the empire.

The building of roads also benefited trade and building projects in that materials could be more easily brought from distant parts of the empire to the place of construction. Palace cities were built in Susa and at PERSEPOLIS, the new Persian capital, and the construction of both probably benefited from the increased access to materials from other parts of the empire. Even today the ruins of Persepolis suggest something of its former glory as the ceremonial capital of the empire. Each spring the most important of the rites, the New Year Ceremony, was enacted in Persepolis, and annual tribute was received from ambassadors representing every part of the empire.

Darius followed Cyrus's example with a religious policy tolerant of a wide variety of gods. By way of example, in September 518 B.C.E. Darius visited Egypt, and Egyptian inscriptions record how he gave precious gifts to the key temples and paid homage to many of the most important gods. Similarly, we have evidence of his offering sacrifices to Babylonian and Elamite gods and to the Greek god Apollo, who, as a god of wisdom, was taken as the Greek counterpart of the Persian high god Ahuramazda. His religious policy is also illustrated by the case of the Jews who had been promised funds by Cyrus to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Opposition by the Samaritans had prevented this, and the Bible records how the Jews petitioned Darius to look through the palace archives to find Cyrus's original decree and thereby to prove the legitimacy of their project. Darius found the decree and gave his permission for the

reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple, which began in 515 B.C.E.

In 499 B.C.E. the Greek cities in Asia Minor rebelled, and it took five years for the Persians to regain control of the region. In 490 B.C.E. Darius sent out another expedition, this time against the European part of the Greek-speaking world. The Persians captured a number of Greek islands and then landed at Marathon, some miles from Athens. The famous BATTLE OF MARATHON, though paraded by the Greeks as their victory, was not a full one since from that time on the Persians controlled the Aegean Sea and set this as their westernmost boundary. In November 486 B.C.E. Darius died at the age of 64. Starting with a loose collection of provinces, he had created a strong and well-organized empire to hand on to his successor Xerxes, the eldest son of his first wife.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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ANDREW PETTMAN

David

(c. 1000 B.C.E.) *king of Israel*

The life of David, king of Israel, is full of paradoxes. He was called in the earliest historical traditions of the Bible, “the sweet psalmist of Israel” and the one chosen “after [God’s] own heart,” yet he is famously summed up elsewhere as the adulterer and murderer “in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.” He was at pains to proclaim his loyalty to the previous and first king of Israel, SAUL, and yet he was the ringleader of an insurrectionist group that undermined the government of that same king. He was the boyish, sensitive son of a rural farmer, and he was the warrior who felled the champion of Israel’s nemesis and went on to slaughter “his ten thousands.” It is in the juxtaposition of these images of David that later Jewish and Christian religious traditions find so much contradiction.

In historical terms David anchors the Bible in time and space. The theory is that the empire of David really did outshine the other ancient empires of its days, and this historical fact can be demonstrated. Before the narrative of David, the Bible shows the power of stories

and myths to persuade and inspire people of later generations, but with David (and his son SOLOMON) comes external evidence to support biblical reputations and stories. On the other hand, the evidence for the empire of David as described in the Bible is meager. It causes some modern scholars to hold that the idea of a united kingdom of ISRAEL AND JUDAH, founded by David and expanded by Solomon, is exaggerated or idealized. In fact, there is no mention of David in extant contemporary writings, yet there are inscriptions that mention his name within 200 years of his purported life.

According to the accounts found in various books of the Bible, David was anointed as king by one of the prophets and JUDGES, Samuel, who had rejected King Saul. David was the youngest in his family, a mere shepherd, but David was later chosen as a minstrel for the court of King Saul. David’s humble beginning and inauspicious debut before Saul were even more incongruous with his next role as warrior and national savior. He wandered out to a battlefield and was provoked into a duel by the threats of the Philistine champion and giant Goliath. Once David slew the adversary, Saul’s army prevailed.

Back in the court, Saul grew ever more jealous of David. David’s charisma grew by the day, and by his exploits he persuaded even Saul’s son and daughter to protect his life. Saul’s jealousy reached the point of conspiracy against his otherwise faithful subject, so David fled into the wilderness for the life of an outlaw. David was on the run constantly. His pursuers cornered him at least three times, but each time he miraculously escaped. He showed magnanimity when he rejected easy opportunities to slay King Saul. Eventually he accepted his lot as an outlaw and recruited a band of other fugitives who took up banditry with him in the Judean hills. In fact, the Bible portrays him as a kind of Robin Hood who protects his own kinfolk and their livestock, while he harasses those foreign armies who trespass Israel’s lands.

The next move took him to the land of Israel’s enemies, the Philistines. Here he took up with a local king who provided him safe haven for his looting and marauding in the area. In return, David committed his band of outlaws to help the Philistines. When his services brought him to fight against his own king and countrymen, the other local Philistine kings refused to accept him. Thus, he was spared the dilemma of killing his own people or killing his foreign hosts. The result of the battle was that Saul took his own life when his army lost.

David became king of Judah, his home area, but it was several more years of fighting until he can become

king of the northern kingdom of Israel. His first base was Hebron, a symbolic place where the PATRIARCHS' tombs are located. The war between Saul's followers and David went on for another two to three years. With the death of Saul's son and general, the northern region finally succumbed. In a brilliantly wise move David vacated his capital and conquered a city in a neighboring region, renaming this new location Jerusalem, or City of David (not the city favored by Judah or Israel).

From Jerusalem the expansion of the kingdom began. By the end of David's life the empire extended from ancient Egypt to the Euphrates (present-day Iraq). He won systematic victories over every army that opposed him. If this description is accurate, it means that for the first time in history, Israel was truly a world power with which to be reckoned. At the same time David showed his religious zeal when he brought the ARK OF THE COVENANT into his capital. A temple was not built until the reign of his son Solomon. However, the Ark tied David to MOSES and the covenant elaborated on MOUNT SINAI and as the most primitive symbol of worship connected David to the cult (temple, sacrifice, and priest).

In these otherwise halcyon years the cataclysmic lapse of David's judgment occurred when he committed adultery with Bathsheba and then tried to cover it up by arranging for the death of her husband, Uriah. As the kingdom expanded, David's house collapsed. Within a few years the corruption of David's house caused the unraveling of the kingdom: His daughter Tamar was raped, his son Absalom rebelled and was killed in battle, the northern part of his kingdom (Israel) attempted to secede under Sheba, and finally his two sons Adonijah and Solomon schemed and manipulated David for control of his kingdom.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PSALMS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Delphic oracle

The Delphic oracle provided wisdom and advice to many ancient Greeks, and it continues to stir modern imagination regarding its verity and nature. According to archaeological evidence, the first temple of the site ap-

peared in the eighth century B.C.E. However, some have argued that its history is even longer and that it may have existed in a different location at an earlier date. Its origins are shrouded in myth, as the sources regarding the Delphic oracle are scarce and are largely of a literary variety. The earliest written account with respect to the Delphic oracle's emergence says that Apollo had come to Delphi—an area originally known as Pytho that had belonged to the earth goddess Gaia—and upon his arrival he killed the great python-dragon. Having destroyed the site's guardian, Apollo established the location as a sanctuary, which was later to bear his temple. Inside the walls of the sacred house resided a human priestess, or Pythia, through whom Apollo spoke.

The Greeks believed that the temple's location was the center of the universe. Set beneath the "shining rocks" of Mount Parnassus it was consulted by many individuals who ranged in importance. Initially, it was strictly statesmen of great power and other political representatives who visited the oracle; however, later in the oracle's history wise philosophers as well as common citizens sought knowledge and advice at Apollo's sanctuary. The remains of the final temple of this once greatly prestigious and respected oracle can still be visited; however, Apollo's voice at Delphi grew silent during the fourth century B.C.E.

The role of religion and divination in the life and politics of the ancient Greeks is a complex and elaborate one. It was hardly separable from daily existence, and it is difficult to understand the politics of the time without acknowledging early Greek religiosity. In fact, the very notion of citizenship was often defined by way of religion and cult. Moreover, some scholars have argued that the Delphic oracle, and other sources of divination, played an influential part during the period of GREEK COLONIZATION. Colonies were typically established by an individual founder (*oikistes*), who would consult an oracle for endorsement for the excursion, the location, and the justification of his leadership.

By extension the Greek oracles helped with the emergence and maintenance of the various GREEK CITY-STATES (*poleis*). The oracular tradition of consultation was particularly important during times of political instability, as the words of the Pythia were used as a tool to eliminate social disorder.

Although the oracle's responses did not substitute for decision making, they served as a means by which consensus or justification for a particular opinion or resolution was established. Because it was located outside the walls of the specific city-states that consulted it, the oracle was deemed nonpartisan and could therefore



In a reproduction of a 19th-century painting, a priestess from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi performs ceremonies to consult the oracle. The Delphic oracle gave advice from the temple beneath the rocks of Mount Parnassus in Greece.

be trusted. However, some sources discuss bribery and gift giving either as a means to influence the Pythia's prophecies or as an attempt to discover what advice was given to an enemy.

A sort of informal type of diplomacy took place at Apollo's sanctuary. The oracle only granted divination sessions once a month and for only nine months out of the year. As a result numerous state representatives would have gathered at the site simultaneously. Some of the earliest regions to have sought its advice were Corinth, Chalkis, and Sparta. By the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.E. Athens was also consulting Apollo at Delphi. However, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. other popular oracles arose at Dodona, Didyma, and Ammon, giving rise to greater choice for divine consultation.

The rivalry between the various oracles was also representative of the hierarchy of gods and their respective popularity. Delphi, and by extension Apollo, remained a favorite of many Greeks for quite some time. Only with the emergence of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who initiated

the imperial age and the collapse of the Greek poleis, did the oracle of Delphi begin to fall out of favor. The concurrent decline of the oracle and the city-states further provides evidence for their important reciprocal relationship.

There is still debate surrounding what exactly took place during a consultation at Delphi and in what manner the response of Apollo was delivered by the Pythia. Fantastical accounts claim that the Pythia mounted a tripod and after inhaling fumes that rose from a chasm in the earth, she was sent into a frenzy or trance and uttered unintelligible words.

The attendant priests translated the utterances and delivered a clarified version to the inquirer. However, a more rational portrayal in contrasting scholarship describes the Pythia filled with the divine breath (*pneuma*) or wisdom of the god, whereupon she replied with great clarity to questions asked both orally and in written form. One account of a former priest instead describes the Pythia as being peaceful and composed after the sessions.

A number of the recorded responses received at Delphi have been preserved, and modern scholars have divided them up into categories ranging from the historical to the fictional. Due to problems in translation and the vagary regarding the context within which many messages were delivered, some of the recorded prophecies are less plausible and even incoherent. Given the nature of such pronouncements on behalf of a god, the authenticity of any of the claims cannot be completely verified. For the most part the responses followed a set of stages. The Pythia would begin by declaring that the message should be taken seriously, reminding those present that the source was Apollo himself. Next, she would acknowledge the seeker on behalf of the god and express a degree of interest and concern. This would be followed by the Pythia's answer. She would invariably conclude with a message that was intentionally challenging insofar as it demanded some further interpretation and thought.

Although some have alleged that the responses were entirely arbitrary and ambiguous, others have understood the complexity differently. The argument follows that the power of personal judgment and intuition were very important and necessary virtues in order to insightfully comprehend the Pythia's prophecies. In fact, the often-quoted injunction "Know Thyself" was inscribed in the lintel over the temple's entrance. Without a certain amount of personal knowledge, it would be difficult for an individual to interpret correctly advice or wisdom.

The ancient Greeks took the wisdom of Apollo and his priestesses seriously for many years and continued to return despite the fact that the responses were not delivered in a cut-and-dry fashion. Although we are left with little more than hypotheses as to how exactly many of the prophecies were interpreted and what impact they might have truly had, there is little doubt that the mystery surrounding Delphi has remained enchanting for the modern mind as individuals today likewise strive for wisdom and truth.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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TREVOR SHELLEY

Demosthenes

(384–322 B.C.E.) *Greek orator*

Demosthenes was the most famous orator of ancient Athens and a principal voice in the attempt to maintain democracy in the face of the threat of the tyrannical PHILIP OF MACEDON and his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT. He is remembered largely because of the many speeches he left behind. Many details of the life and times of Demosthenes are recorded in Plutarch's biography.

Demosthenes was the son of a sword maker of some substance, but after his father died, he passed into the care of a series of guardians who cheated him of most of his inheritance. His desire to sue one of his guardians inspired Demosthenes to take his first steps toward becoming a public speaker. As a young man, he suffered from a frail physique and a weak, stammering voice. To overcome these problems he supposedly sucked pebbles in his mouth while using his voice to compete with the noise of the sea. Demosthenes was highly renowned for his speechmaking, and his services were in great demand. He struggled to build his reputation and achieved it in part as a speechwriter for those filing lawsuits and spoke in public to plead their case. By the age of 30 he had begun to make speeches to the full Athenian assembly (Ekklesia), most notably in connection with the need for Athens to build its naval defenses against a possible resumption of invasion attempts by the Persians. Demosthenes argued the importance of independence and the use of defensive alliances to deter attacks.

Demosthenes made his reputation with speeches that have become known as the *Philippics*, the orations against Philip of Macedon and the threat the Macedonians represented to Athenian democracy. These were made in the bear-pit atmosphere of the Ekklesia, which was notorious for the rough nature of debate and audience participation. His success led to him becoming one of the most important men in Athens. His position was consistently in favor of independence, and he was frequently in conflict with interests that would have accepted infringement of civil liberties for the sake of economic development. When Philip's army started to threaten Athens in earnest, the debate became ever more vociferous. Conflict was avoided primarily because Philip judged the time not yet ripe.

Peaceful relations became increasingly strained as the well-organized and -led Macedonian forces took over ever-greater parts of Greek territory. Ultimately, a pretext arose for Philip to bring the Greeks to battle at Chaeronea, and he delivered a crushing defeat on them. Plutarch claims Demosthenes dropped his arms

and ran away from the battle. Even so, Demosthenes was elected to give the funeral orations and continued to speak in the Ekklesia against Macedonia. When pro-Macedonian support waxed after the accession of Alexander, Aeschines took the opportunity to bring a case that he anticipated would destroy Demosthenes' reputation.

However, in denying charges of corruption, cowardice, and wrong headedness in a speech known as "On the Crown," Demosthenes routed his opponent, who was subsequently forced to accept exile. This vindication of both his personal integrity and his policies lasted only a few more years. In 324 B.C.E. Demosthenes was convicted of accepting a bribe and was fined and imprisoned. He subsequently escaped and was even invited back to Athens two years later. However, faced with the opposition of Aeschines, Demosthenes took poison and died. Demosthenes is best remembered for his oratory and some aspects of his political beliefs.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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JOHN WALSH

Desert Fathers and Mothers

The designation "Desert Fathers and Mothers" refers to sources of ascetic literature from late antiquity that are associated with MONASTICISM principally in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. Monasticism, which sought physical removal from the inhabited world, quickly identified with the uninhabited desert as a refuge from temptation and as a hostile environment in which to train the body and the mind toward the single goal of serving God.

The literature that captured the central ideas of those who had renounced and withdrawn from the world consists of practical advice for monks, primarily solitaries, including those who might not have access to an experienced teacher. The essential example of this literature consists of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, or *The Sayings*

of the Desert Fathers. This collection circulated in the East and West in three different editions and was translated into a number of languages before the Middle Ages. One edition is attributed to Poemen of Egypt, as are several of the sayings in the collection. It is possible that sayings attributed to Poemen by his disciples were the kernel around which the rest of the collection grew. Other Desert Fathers include Anthony, Pachomius, Ammun, and Bishoi, all of Egypt, and Hilarion and Abba Isaiah of Palestine. Sarah and Syncletica are two of the names of several Desert Mothers whose sayings have been preserved. In the version of the *Sayings* that is arranged alphabetically by the name of the father or mother, there are some 134 names. Those fathers and mothers who can be dated are all from the third and fourth centuries C.E., and reflect preclassical Christian monasticism.

The literature consists of short and direct statements on different topics. Topics include vigilance, self-control, humility, fasting, and prayer. The role of the spiritual father (*abba*) or mother (*amma*) was essential to the perspective of the Desert Fathers and Mothers. The *abba* or *amma* was not a discussion partner or counsel but a source of wisdom, whose advice the novice was to put into practice. Rather than theological speculation, the *abba's* or *amma's* advice is the epitome of simplicity and common sense. This advice was always specific to the individual and, hence, was based on the *abba's* or *amma's* knowledge of his or her novice.

Each monk or nun must experience his or her own path of spiritual progress. The Desert Fathers and Mothers as the source of this wisdom were thus held not as strict models to be imitated but rather pioneers from whose mistakes and discoveries later generations could profit. This literature was intended to complement the rule of a monastery and church legislation designed to ensure a stable institution, regulating the life of the monastic community so that each of its members could proceed on their individual Christ-centered spiritual path.

The practical approach to questions taken by these authorities was reflected in every aspect of the monk's or nun's work, the goal of which was to find God. The Desert Fathers and Mothers are presented as champions of asceticism. Asceticism entailed fasting and the control of the passions as well as the struggle with demons both within and without, but the end of this work was to become humble, quiet, and vigilant in order to serve God and neighbor, to listen for and to the Word of God, and to trust in God alone.

See also BENEDICT; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR., AND CORNELIA HORN

Deuteronomy

The last book of the Pentateuch is the book of Deuteronomy. Its importance lies in the fact that it is often thought to present the theology that typifies and organizes the next group of biblical books, from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings. This latter group of books in effect represents biblical history as seen from the perspective of the editor of Deuteronomy and is called Deuteronomistic History (DH). Martin Noth first made the claim concerning this particular biblical perspective, but now it is the consensus of most scholars of Israelite history and religion.

Deuteronomy comes from the Greek term meaning the “second law.” The law in this book then is a reformulation of the TORAH law given to MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI, but it is not really the classic formulation of legal code. Rather, it is expressed as if it were a sermon or homily, not action-oriented but attitude-oriented. Throughout the book of Deuteronomy are speeches and exhortations that stir up the reader to stay faithful to the Jewish law given to Moses, especially the law of monotheistic worship. The book consists of three speeches, plus some appended materials at the end, all purporting to be the last will and words of Moses given before entrance to the promised land of Canaan. Some speculate that the first four chapters display an introduction to the whole DH, while the next few chapters provide an introduction to the book of Deuteronomy. The book, perhaps in its primitive form, was apparently lost for a while, but it was recovered by King JOSIAH of Judah in 621 B.C.E., who tried to bring about the sort of revival envisioned by the later writer(s) of the DH.

According to scholars, the DH starts with the material of Deuteronomy and crafts the subsequent narrative, speeches, annals, and records so that the reader never loses sight of the same lesson. They notice a repetition of language, style, and theme throughout the subsequent books of the Jewish scriptures until 2 Kings, and they believe that there is a deliberate purpose and editorial design that qualify all the books to be called the Deuteronomistic History. Basically the DH tends to take a pessimistic view of Israel’s history: Israel’s behavior is frequently unfaithful to its divine

covenant as expressed in the laws of the Torah, especially in the area of idolatry.

If this hypothesis is accurate, DH probably qualifies as an early effort to produce a canon of the Bible. Throughout the book of Deuteronomy is the caution not to add to or take away from the written words, a natural injunction if the book is thought of as canonical. Scholars differ as the date of Deuteronomy and DH, but most tend to read it as an edited collection written after NEBUCHADNEZZAR II’s expulsion of the people of Israel in 587 B.C.E. David Noel Freedman sees Jeremiah’s scribe, BARUCH, as the one responsible, but others simply find a perspective that represents the north (of the ISRAEL AND JUDAH divide) and the PROPHETS found there. This canon would stand in contrast to two other strands of the Bible discerned by scholars, namely, the Priestly books (largely the Torah) and the Chronicler books (the later histories of the Bible and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah). Because the DH is a rather late compilation, it would frequently represent in veiled ways the Babylonian captivity. In fact, there are passages in other books, not in the DH, which reflect the attitudes of the DH.

See also JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Dharma Sutras

The Dharma Sutras are manuals on correct behavior inspired by the VEDAS and which exist in a number of different formats and styles. Many of the numerous verses within the Dharma Sutras consider such topics as appropriate dietary behavior, the duties and rights of kings and rulers, and suitable forms of behavior for people of different ranks in various circumstances. Some sutras were developed and codified into *shastras*, which are more established frameworks of rules that were used to create Hindu laws.

The principal Dharma Sutra is considered to be the *Manu-smṛti* (*The Laws of Manu*), which was created around 200 C.E. (although probably begun earlier) and consists of 12 chapters with a total of 2,694 verses. The contents range from practical prescriptions for funerary and dietary practices to legal systems and religious

strictures. This sutra acted as the law that governed the societies of much of India for a number of centuries. This led to the four-caste conception of society and the social structure that underlay the whole of Hindu society. The fundamental structure of society, therefore, has integrated within it the notions of hell, heaven, and the proper behavior of the individual as a member within a designated caste.

Another sutra of great influence and prestige was written by Yajnavalkya and has just over 1,000 verses arranged in areas relating to the law, expiation, and methods of good conduct. This makes the canon rather lengthy in nature, and it contains disparate elements that would seem irrational from the Western point of view. However, the Hindu conception of the universe is able to reconcile these elements, so far as they are fully aware of them, into a coherent whole.

The Dharma Sutras are combined with the Sruta Sutras (dealing with sacrificial rituals) and the Grhya Sutras (dealing with domestic rituals) to make up the *Kalpa Sutra*, which is a manual of religious practice written in a short and aphoristic style that facilitates committing the material to memory. Each school of the Vedas had its own *Kalpa Sutra*, and each *Kalpa Sutra* is one of the six *vedangas*, the canon of religious and philosophical literature, descended from the Vedas. They are created by humans and hence have the name *smṛti*, or “tradition.”

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY; VEDIC AGE.

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JOHN WALSH

Diadochi

Diadochi is the Greek word for “successors” and refers to the successors of the empire of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. At first there was initial agreement to the unity of the empire, but this soon turned into wars between rival

rulers. These included Macedon, Egypt under Ptolemy as Africa, and the Near East under Seleucus as Asia.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander the Great died on June 11, 323 B.C.E., in Babylon. His leading generals met in discussion. Alexander had a half brother, Arridaeus, but he was illegitimate and an epileptic and thought unfit to rule. Perdiccas, general of the cavalry, stated that Alexander’s wife, Roxane, was pregnant. If a boy was born, then he would become king. Alexander had named Perdiccas successor as regent, until the child was of age. The other generals opposed this idea. Nearchus, commander of the navy, pointed out that Alexander had a three-year-old son, Heracles, with his former concubine Barsine. The other generals opposed this because Nearchus was married to Barsine’s daughter and related to the young possible king. Ptolemy wanted a joint leadership and deemed that the empire needed firm government and jointly the generals could assure this. Some thought that a collective leadership could lead to a division of the empire. Meleager, the commander of the pikemen, opposed the idea. He wanted Arridaeus as king to unite the empire. The final decision was to appoint Perdiccas as regent for Arridaeus, who would become Philip III, and if Roxane gave birth to a boy, he would take precedence and become King Alexander IV.

Alexander’s father, PHILIP OF MACEDON, had led his armies south and conquered all of Greece. Alexander was king of Macedon and Greece and had left a general there to rule. The Greeks saw that Alexander and his generals had taken on the customs of their hated enemies, the Persians. The people of Athens and other Greek cities staged revolts as soon as they heard that Alexander had died. Antipater led forces south and battled in what would become the Lamian War. Craterus arrived with reinforcements. Craterus led the Macedonians to victory against the Greeks at the Battle of Crannon on September 5, 322 B.C.E. As the Macedonians captured Athens, DEMOSTHENES, the leader of the revolt, died by taking poison.

FIRST DIADOCH WAR

Perdiccas ruled as regent, and there was peace for a time. His first war was with Ariarathes, who ruled in Cappadocia in the central part of modern-day Turkey. The First Diadoch War broke out in 322 B.C.E., when Craterus and Antipater in Macedonia refused to follow the orders of Perdiccas. Knowing that war would come, the Macedonians allied with Ptolemy of Egypt. Perdiccas invaded Egypt and tried to cross the Nile, but many

of his men were swept away. When Perdiccas called together his commanders Peithon, Antigenes, and Seleucus for a new war strategy, they instead killed him and ended the civil war. They offered to make Ptolemy the regent of the empire, but he was content with Egypt and declined. Ptolemy suggested that Peithon be regent, which annoyed Antipater of Macedon. Negotiations were held and succession was finally decided: Antipater became regent; Roxane's son, who had just been born, was named Alexander IV. They would live in Macedonia, where Antipater would rule the empire. His ally Lysimachus would rule Thrace, and Ptolemy would remain satrap of Egypt. Of Perdiccas's commanders, Seleucus would become satrap of Babylonia, and Peithon would rule Media. Antigonus, in charge of the army of Perdiccas, was in control of Asia Minor.

SECOND DIADOCH WAR

War was again initiated when Antipater died in 319 B.C.E. He had appointed a general called Polyperchon to succeed him as regent. At this, his son, Cassander, organized a rebellion against Polyperchon. With war breaking out Ptolemy had his eye on Syria, which had historically belonged to Egypt. There was an alliance between Cassander, Ptolemy, and Antigonus of Asia Minor, who had designs against the new ruler Polyperchon. Ptolemy then attacked Syria. Polyperchon, desperate for allies, offered the Greek cities the possibility of autonomy, but this did not gain him many troops. Cassander invaded Macedonia but was defeated. During this fighting the mother of Alexander, Olympias, was executed in 316 B.C.E.

Polyperchon had the support of Eumenes, an important Macedonian general. Polyperchon attempted to ally with Seleucus of Babylon. Seleucus refused, and the satraps of the eastern provinces decided not to be involved. Antigonus, in June 316 B.C.E., moved into Persia and engaged the forces of Eumenes at the Battle of Paraitacene, which was indecisive. Another battle near Gabae, where the fighting was also indecisive, led to the murder of Eumenes at the end of the fighting. This left Antigonus in control of all of the Asian part of the former empire. To cement his hold over the empire, he invited Peithon of Media and then had him executed. Seleucus, seeing that he would no longer have control over Babylon, fled to Egypt.

THIRD DIADOCH WAR

Antigonus Monophthalmus was now powerful and had control of Asia. Worried about an invasion of Egypt, Ptolemy started plotting with Lysimachus of Thrace

and Cassander of Macedonia. Together they demanded that Antigonus hand over the royal treasury he had seized and hand back many of his lands. He refused, and in 314 B.C.E. war broke out. Antigonus attacked Syria and tried to capture Phoenicia. He lay siege to the city of Tyre for 15 months. Meanwhile, Seleucus took Cyprus. On the diplomatic front Antigonus demanded that Cassander explain how Olympias had died and what had happened to Alexander IV and his mother, in whose name Cassander held rule. Antigonus made an alliance with Polyperchon, who held southern Greece.

Ptolemy sent his navy to attack Cilicia, the south coast of what is now Turkey, in the summer of 312 B.C.E. With his forces in Syria, Ptolemy worried that Egypt might be attacked and retreated. Seleucus, who was a commander in the Ptolemaic army, marched to Babylon and was recognized as satrap in mid-311 B.C.E.; the previous satrap, Peithon, was killed at Gaza.

Antigonus realized that he could not defeat Ptolemy and his allies. A truce was agreed to in December 311 B.C.E. Cassander held Macedonia until Alexander IV came of age six years later; Lysimachus kept Thrace and the Chersonese (modern-day Gallipoli); Ptolemy had Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus; Antigonus held Asia Minor; and Seleucus gained everything east of the river Euphrates to India. The following year (310 B.C.E.), Cassander murdered both the young Alexander IV and his mother, Roxane.

Peace lasted until 308 B.C.E. when Demetrius, a son of Antigonus, attacked Cyprus at the Battle of Salamis. He then attacked Greece, where he captured Athens and many other cities and then marched on Ptolemy. Antigonus sent Nicanor against Babylon, but Seleucus defeated him. Seleucus used this opportunity to capture Ecbatana, the capital of Nicanor. Antigonus then sent Demetrius against Seleucus, and he besieged Babylon. Eventually, the forces of Antigonus and Seleucus met on the battlefield. Seleucus ordered a predawn attack and forced Antigonus to retreat to Syria. Seleucus sent troops ahead, but with little threat from the West he attacked BACTRIA and northern India. When Antigonus attacked Syria and headed to Egypt, his column was attacked by the troops sent by Seleucus.

FOURTH DIADOCH WAR

In 307 B.C.E. the Fourth Diadoch War broke out. Antigonus was facing a powerful Seleucus to his east and Ptolemy to the south. Egypt was secure with the protection of a large navy. Ptolemy attacked Greece, motivated largely by a desire to ensure that Athens and other cities did not support Antigonus.

Demetrius in a diversion attacked Cyprus and continued with his siege of Salamis. This pulled Ptolemy out of Greece, and his navy headed to Cyprus. Ptolemy lost many of his men and ships. Menelaus surrendered Cyprus in 306 B.C.E., once again giving Antigonus control of the city. Antigonus proclaimed himself successor to Alexander the Great. Antigonus did not view Seleucus as a threat, so instead marched against Ptolemy. His army ran out of supplies and was forced to withdraw. Demetrius had attacked the island of Rhodes, held by Ptolemy. Ptolemy was able to supply Rhodes from the sea, and so Demetrius withdrew. Cassander, then attacked Athens. In 301 B.C.E. Cassander, aided by Lysimachus, invaded Asia Minor, fighting the army of Antigonus and Demetrius, with Cassander capturing Sardis and Ephesus. Hearing that Antigonus was leading an army, Cassander withdrew to Ipsus, near Phrygia, and asked Ptolemy and Seleucus for support. Ptolemy heard a rumor that Cassander had been defeated and withdrew to Egypt. Seleucus realized that this might be the opportunity to destroy Antigonus. Earlier he had concluded a peace agreement with King CHANDRAGUPTA II, in the Indus Valley, and had been given a large number of war elephants. Seleucus marched to support Cassander.

Hearing of his approach, Antigonus sent an army to Babylon hoping to divert Seleucus. Seleucus marched his men to Ipsus and joined Lysimachus. There, in 301 B.C.E., a large battle ensued. Seleucus, with his elephants, launched a massive attack that won the battle. Antigonus was killed on the battlefield, but Demetrius escaped. This left Seleucus and Lysimachus in control of the whole of Asia Minor. Seleucus and Lysimachus agreed that Cassander would be king of Macedonia, but he died the following year. Demetrius had escaped to Greece, attacking Macedonia and, seven years later, killed a son of Cassander. A new ruler had emerged, Pyrrhus of Epirus, an ally of Ptolemy. He attacked Macedonia and the forces of Demetrius. Demetrius repelled the attack and was nominated as king of Macedonia but had to give up Cilicia and Cyprus. Ptolemy urged on Pyrrhus, who attacked Macedonia in 286 B.C.E. and drove Demetrius from the kingdom, aided by an internal revolt. Demetrius fled from Europe in 286 B.C.E. With his men he attacked Sardis again. Lysimachus and Seleucus attacked him, and Demetrius surrendered and was taken prisoner by Seleucus. He later died in prison.

This left Lysimachus and Pyrrhus fighting for possession of Europe, while Ptolemy and Seleucus owned rest of the former empire. Ptolemy abdicated to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. An older son, Ptolemy Keraunos, sought help from Seleucus to try to take over

Egypt. Ptolemy died in January 282 B.C.E. In 281 B.C.E. Ptolemy Keraunos, decided that it would be easier to take Macedonia rather than to attack Egypt. He and Seleucus attacked Lysimachus, killing him at the Battle of Corus in February 281 B.C.E. Ptolemy Keraunos then returned to Asia, and prior to leaving for Macedonia again in 280 B.C.E., he murdered Seleucus.

By the end of the Diadochi wars, Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, ruled Greece; Ptolemy II Philadelphus was king of Egypt; and Antiochus I, son of Seleucus, ruled much of western Asia. Ptolemy Keraunos held the lands of Lysander in Thrace. The Diadochi wars came to an end with the death of Seleucus, but wars between the kingdoms continued.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PTOLEMIES.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Diocletian

(c. 245–c. 316 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

The emperor Diocletian was born Diocles on the coast of the Roman province of Dalmatia, which lies on the western shore of the Balkans. Born in the early years of the “Military Anarchy,” Diocles witnessed the collapse of the empire into a series of civil wars, leaving Rome splintered in the face of a continuous front of enemies. The emperors were continually on the defensive. By the time of Valerian’s rise in 253 C.E., Germanic tribes overran the Rhine and Danube frontiers. The SASSANID EMPIRE of Persia would take advantage of this situation by overrunning the Romans in Syria and retaking Antioch. Valerian moved against the Persians and was able to retake Antioch, but in a terrible Roman defeat, Valerian’s army was surrounded at EDESSA in 259. The emperor was led into Persian captivity.

Such political instability allowed a man like Diocles the opportunity to rise above the station of his birth. At a time when military powers were struggling for control of the fragile ROMAN EMPIRE, the status of a soldier was enhanced. After 260, Gallienus had stripped senators of

their right to command legions and the sons of senators of their rank of deputy tribune. These positions were given to career soldiers, thus opening opportunities for advancement in the rank and file. Diocles was either a freed slave or the son of a freed slave, and his education was extremely limited. Diocles joined the imperial army before 270 and in less than two decades rose far.

In the 270s mention was made of Diocles being commander of a sizable military unit on the lower Danube, roughly modern-day Bulgaria. Descriptions vary, but they agree that Diocles lacked natural heroic bravado. Rather, he set himself to military tasks with cautious and cool precision, showing himself to be a better leader than soldier. In 282 the legions of the upper Danube declared the Praetorian prefect Carus emperor, and before the emperor Probus could respond, his own soldiery killed Probus. Diocles' role in the coup is unclear, but under Carus's short reign he rose to the highest levels of military leadership. Carus elevated Diocles to command of the *protectores domestici*, the elite force that accompanied the emperor into battle. This gave Diocles intimate access to Carus, and he was made a consul in 283. Following Carus's sudden death, his son, Numerian, was named emperor, and Numerian's father-in-law and the prefect, Aper, began gathering military power. In 284 Numerian died, and Aper, who had charge over him, was arrested by soldiers on suspicion of plotting against the emperor. The collected army leadership halted near Nicomedia, and in a ceremony the representatives of the military units elected Diocles emperor. Diocles' first act was the execution of Aper for Numerian's murder. He then took the name Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus.

Diocletian still needed to subdue Numerian's brother, Carinus, who controlled the western provinces of Rome. Constantius, the governor of Dalmatia, supported Diocletian, and Carinus was weakened by the revolt of one of his military leaders, Sabinus Julianus. When the battle between Carinus and Diocletian took place near Belgrade in 285, Diocletian was nearly defeated when his armies' lines were broken. But Carinus's forces did not take advantage of their battle gains and soon discovered that Carinus was dead. Tired of battle, the soldiers of Carinus's armies swore allegiance to Diocletian, who became sole ruler—Augustus of Rome.

In order to overcome simultaneous military emergencies continuing to befall the Roman Empire, Diocletian adopted the younger general Maximian as heir and elevated him to the status of Caesar, a powerful and historic position inferior to the status of the Augustus. While Maximian was ambitious and able, he was

a soldier of little political imagination, making him the least likely of Diocletian's supporters to attempt to seize power. Maximian, now legal son of Diocletian and a Caesar with armies, was charged with restoring Roman authority in GAUL and the West.

A revolt in Britain soon necessitated a more drastic measure. When Carausius, a general in Britain and Gaul, was declared Augustus by his armies and challenged the mere Caesar, Maximian, Diocletian boldly elevated his adopted son Maximian to the status of Augustus. Diocletian and Maximian, both soldiers commanding armies, held real power in their dual rule. Under their leadership the question of dividing the empire into opposed states never arose, and this reform in government would play a central role in Rome's recovery. The two emperors could now face their enemies simultaneously in the north and east and take advantage of the fact that the fronts were composed of small, independent armies.

Diocletian sought to establish his capital in Nicomedia. After the first five years of the dual rule, Diocletian set about to further cement the government and made reforms that would consolidate advances made to secure Rome after its long decline. Diocletian first moved to establish the TETRARCHY in order to secure succession to the throne and maintain orderly dual rule. In the Tetrarchy each Augustus would adopt into his family a Caesar as junior partner. After a decade the two Augusti would retire in favor of the Caesars, who would in turn each adopt a Caesar.

Beyond the military and governance reforms of the establishment of the Tetrarchy, Diocletian reformed the military structure, establishing frontier forces that provided defense, with a mobile reserve force maintained more centrally. When hot spots flared, the reserves could reinforce the frontier armies. The power of military leadership was divided in an attempt to reduce their threat to imperial authority. Diocletian's rebuilding projects and investments in infrastructure can be seen as part of a larger plan for economic reform. Availability of goods, such as food and materials, was improved when they could more easily be transported across the empire. However, rampant inflation was hard to control, and Diocletian engaged in an attempt at price fixing. His Edict on Maximum Prices, while ultimately failing to control prices and inflation, was a serious attempt at controlling runaway inflation, with some offenses punishable by death.

Perhaps under the influence of Galerius, who was known to be opposed to Christianity, Diocletian's rule continued Rome's persecutions of the Christian religion. Begun in 303, this wave of persecution would cease only in 312. A series of edicts commanded that

churches and scriptures be destroyed and that church leaders be imprisoned.

Many of Diocletian's reforms, such as the Tetrarchy, did not long survive his retirement in 305. Upon his retirement, he became the first living emperor to leave office of his own accord. The Tetrarchy did manage to halt Rome's slide into anarchy, and the rule of the Tetrarchs renewed Roman frontier defenses.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DIADOCHI; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JAMES A. GRADY

Dravidians

This term has traditionally been applied to groups from the Indian subcontinent that speak Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Brahui, and Tulu. Most of these linguistic groups live in the southern portion of the subcontinent. The word *Dravidian* comes from the SANSKRIT term *dravida*, which means “southern.” During the 19th century linguistic scholars began to realize that the Dravidian languages differed significantly from many of those spoken in the north. Early anthropologists and sociologists began to suggest that the darker-skinned inhabitants of the subcontinent were the ones who predominantly spoke the Dravidian languages and that they in fact may have been the original inhabitants of India. Modern geneticists suggest that the color of skin may have had more to do with adapting to sunnier conditions in the southern part of India than actual racial differences. Theories concerning the darker-skinned Dravidians also played to issues of political, regional, CASTE, and religious strife in 19th-century India.

Notions of possible historical Dravidian displacement in the Indus River valley due to an invasion or migration began to be entertained by Western scholars who joined in interdisciplinary studies of the origins

of the Hindu religion. Archaeological evidence from the 1920s concerning the ascension and demise of the ancient polytheistic INDUS CIVILIZATION (3500–1700 B.C.E.) gave rise to the theory of an invasion of the Indus region by lighter-skinned northern peoples, who began to be known as Aryans. In fact, there were a number of religion scholars like Bloch and Witzel who felt that Indus River valley inhabitants composed the oldest parts of the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the most ancient form of Hindu religious literature, dating in written form to around 800 B.C.E. and possibly stemming from oral formulas and prayers dating as far back as 2000 B.C.E. Even the ancient *Puranas* point to the Dravidians as being descended from the earliest Vedic peoples. (Elements of the Puranic oral traditions may date as early as 1500 B.C.E. but did not reach their final written form until around 500 C.E.). The *Matsya Puranas* also indicate that the first man, Manu, was a king from the southern part of India.

Numerous attempts continued through the 20th century to connect the Dravidians to the Indus civilization. Scholars insisted that Hinduism emerged from a blending of Aryan and Dravidian culture. Many modern studies of the ancient Indus Valley civilization presumed that the inhabitants who occupied a wide range of ancient city-states all along the Indus (including the very large urban centers at Harappa and MOHENJO-DARO) were all Dravidian. It is believed that more than 500 highly civilized centers, all inhabited before 900 B.C.E., were part of the network of Indus and Ghaggar Rivers. Their economy was supported by agriculture from the crops that grew from the rich deposits of soil along the Indus and its tributaries. However, most inhabitants of cities were artisans, merchants, or craftspersons. Many of the towns exhibit signs of urban planning with straight streets, sanitation systems, municipal governments, and even multi-level housing. Cities like Harappa even had dockyards, warehouses, granaries, and public baths.

Meteorologists, archaeologists, and geologists claim that the collapse of the early Indus civilization was due to climactic and environmental issues, tectonic events, and most likely drought. One group then possibly resettled the Indus area, or several other groups migrated into the area. Given these hypotheses it is easy to see why the linguistic differences first noticed by scholars in the mid-19th century could be explained by a northern invasion from settlers beyond the Khyber Pass and the eventual domination of the area by a lighter-skinned ruling class. However, there is a whole group of contemporary scholars who now think the Aryans may not have been Middle Eastern or European but were part of a group proximate to the

Indian subcontinent all along. Some geneticists interpret the earliest settlement of India as connecting Middle Eastern peoples such as the Elamites with the Dravidians, to placing the Dravidian group as the last among ancient migrants into India behind other earlier Indo-European settlers and more ancient Australoid peoples.

See also ELAM.

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TIM DAVIS

Druids and Picts

The Picts and the Druids were among the pre-Roman civilizations in the British Isles. There is little concrete information about either group, particularly prior to Roman contact. The Druids were the priests of many ancient Celtic societies, which included those in northwest Europe as well as the British Isles. The Druids were preservers and enforcers of tradition among these tribes, passing on an oral literature that did not survive the arrival of Rome and the decline of the Celtic languages and cultures. They were probably the most learned class among their people and may have passed on to the laity a good deal of practical knowledge in addition to the religious teachings of their polytheistic faith.

Our written sources about the Druids are exclusively Roman. Gaius Julius Caesar's Gallic Wars ascribed to the Druids among the Gauls the authority to make judgments in disputes both civil and criminal and the use of exile as punishment. Other writers wrote of Druids telling fortunes, receiving instruction in secret, and overseeing sacrifices, including human sacrifices. They were almost certainly the keepers and designers of the calendar the Celtic tribes followed. Though they have long been associated with Stonehenge in the popular imagination, Stonehenge predates the Druids considerably, and they could not have had anything to do with its construction. It is primarily the result of historical fads in the 18th and 19th centuries that so many misconceptions about the Druids are lodged

in popular thought, many of them the product of poor scholarship or outright fabrication. It is from that period that many "modern druidic movements" stem, some of them claiming an unbroken connection to the Druids of the Iron Age.

Little, too, is known about the Picts, who inhabited Pictland (northern Scotland) from antiquity until the Middle Ages. A loosely affiliated, ethnically similar group of tribes, they confederated into a number of kingdoms (sometimes ruled over by a high king to whom others owed fealty) sometime after the arrival of Romans in the British Isles. Presumably, the Pictish religion, and perhaps its language, greatly resembled that of other Celtic groups before this time and converted in the fifth and sixth centuries. Once Christianity was entrenched, the cult of saints was especially prominent in Pictland, with patron saints associated not just with towns and kings as in much of Christendom but with noble families. Kingship generally passed from brother to brother before passing on to a son, favoring experienced leaders over a direct line of succession.

The Picts are famous for their use of war paint and tattoos, and their name derives from the Latin word *pingere*, for "paint." This may have been a myth, and it is unlikely they used woad (which takes poorly to skin) to dye themselves blue, as was once thought. The myth may have grown because of the fierceness of the pirates and raiders among the early Picts; such warriors tend to accumulate hearsay around them.

See also CELTS.

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BILL KTE'PI

Duke of Zhou (Chou)

(Regent 1116–1109 B.C.E.) *Chinese ruler, mythological figure*

In Chinese tradition King Wen (the Accomplished), King Wu (the Martial), and the Duke of Zhou are revered as the wise founding fathers of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 B.C.E.) and their era is considered a the golden age. King Wen prepared the way; King Wu overthrew the SHANG DYNASTY but died shortly after, leaving his young son King Cheng (Ch'eng) un-

der the care of his uncle, the Duke of Zhou, as regent. Soon after this event three other brothers of King Wu, who had been sent to govern the former Shang territories in the east, and the Shang prince who had been set up as nominal ruler of the Shang people, joined in rebellion. After two years of warfare the Duke of Zhou and his brother the Duke of Shao defeated the rebels. The Shang prince was killed, the Shang capital, Yin, was leveled, and another Shang prince was set up to rule another fief called Song (Sung) further east. The rebel Zhou princes were either killed or exiled. Thus ended the first crisis of the new dynasty.

The Duke of Zhou then pressed further east and brought all peoples to the coast under Zhou rule. The Zhou territory was larger than that of modern France. To consolidate the conquests the duke sent loyal relatives to establish strongholds in strategic locations and set up a second capital at LUOYANG (LOYANG), strategically located at the junction of the Luo (Lo) and Yellow Rivers. During the early Zhou era numerous walled cities were built, governed by relatives and supporters of the new dynasty, who gradually established control over the population.

Their territories were called *guo* (*kuo*). The king ruled directly over the largest territory in the center of the political order, called Zhungguo (Chung-kuo) or the “central state,” which came to mean “China” and known to the West as the Middle Kingdom.

The new rulers were given titles of rank, translated as duke (reserved for sons and brothers of the king), marquis, count, viscount, and baron. Together the nobles were referred to as “the various marquises.” Most of the nobles were related to the royal house either by blood or by marriage; they looked to the king as head of their vast extended family and the Zhou clan as their common ancestors. Many common features between these Zhou institutions and European medieval feudal institutions have led historians to call the early Zhou polity feudal.

The Duke of Zhou is also credited with creating the well-field system that equitably distributed farmland to cultivators; eight families grouped together farmed plots for themselves and together farmed the ninth one for their lord. The Duke of Zhou explained to the Shang people that the change of dynasties was the will of heaven, which punished the last Shang king for his wickedness and rewarded the house of Zhou for its virtue. He also lectured his nephew that the concept of “Mandate of Heaven” was a double-edged sword and could be cut when the personal and political conduct of the new rulers did not measure up to heaven’s expectations. After a seven-year regency, and having accomplished his mis-

sion, he returned power to his nephew and retired to his own fief called Lu in eastern Shandong (Shantung).

See also WEN AND WU.

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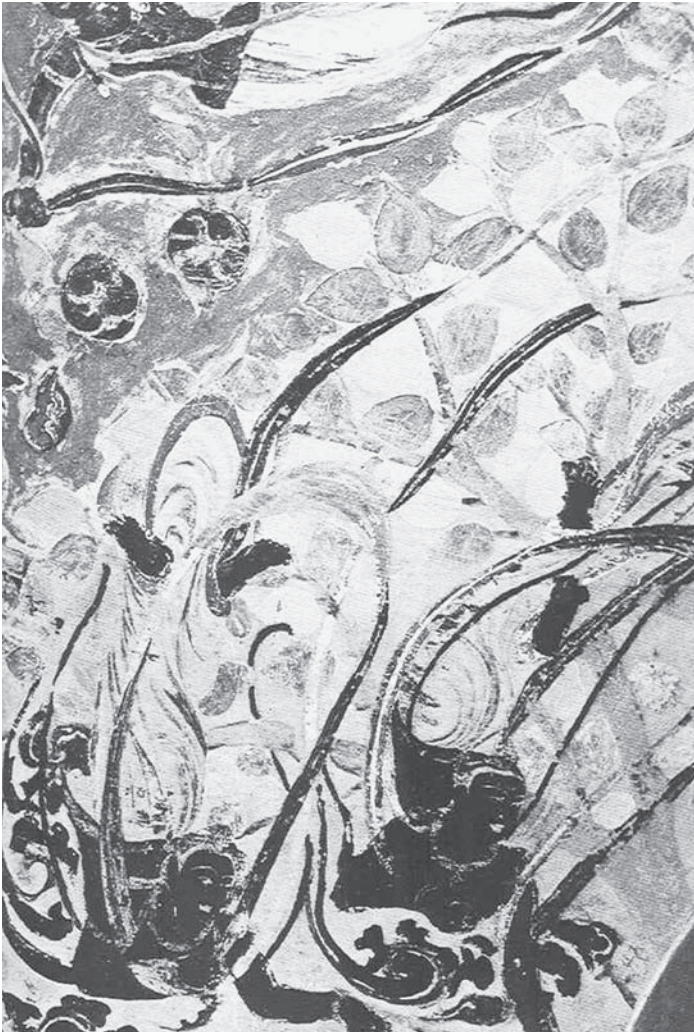
JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Dunhuang (Tun-huang)

Dunhuang is located in present-day Gansu (Kansu) Province in northwestern China. It was strategically important to China and came under Chinese control under Emperor Wu around 120 B.C.E. during the HAN DYNASTY. He stationed a garrison there to prevent two nomadic peoples, the XIONGNU (Hsiung-nu) and the Qiang (Chiang), from joining forces against the Chinese. The Han dynasty’s military successes resulted in the Pax Sinica, in which China dominated the eastern part of the Eurasian continent at the same time that the Roman Empire dominated the western end (PAX ROMANA). Trade prospered between China with Central Asia, India, Persia, and the Roman Empire via the famous SILK ROAD.

The Silk Road’s eastern starting point was China’s capital, CHANG’AN (Ch’ang-an), and led across the Gansu Corridor to Dunhuang, the gateway city, after which it divided into a northern and southern branch across mountains and deserts until the two branches joined at Merv, then to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Dunhuang’s position at the intersection between Chinese, Indian, and Central Asian cultures made it important in China’s political and cultural history. Dunhuang’s richly furnished Han-era tombs prove its prosperity. The census of 1–2 C.E. shows that there were 11,200 registered households in the commandery with almost 40,000 persons.

Merchants passed through Dunhuang with their wares, as did Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims en route to and from India and diplomats and armies from the courts of empires across Eurasia. Near to Dunhuang lies a mile-long strip of land intersected by a stream whose water made agriculture possible. Lying to the west of the stream is Mount Mingsha, where for a thousand years men carved cave temples called the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (also called the Magao Caves).



Detail of one of the paintings in the Dunhuang caves that show the assimilation of styles from several cultures.

Introduced from India, cave art in China is synonymous with religious art, especially Buddhist art. From Dunhuang the practice of excavating Buddhist cave temples spread to Datong (Ta-tung) in Shanxi (Shansi) Province and Luoyang in Henan (Honan) Province, the sites of the Yungang (Yun-kang) and Longmen (Lung-men) caves. But the Dunhuang caves stand out as the largest in size and of the longest in duration, spanning from around the beginning of the Common Era to the Yuan dynasty in the 13th century C.E. They were built by generations of pious people and decorated with paintings and sculpture. The grottos were adorned with murals over plaster and painted clay sculptures. Thousands of grottos were excavated, of which 492 remain; they show the evolution of Buddhist art style and the assimilation of styles from several cultures. Western explorers discovered the caves and a treasure trove of hidden ancient manuscripts at Dunhuang at the end of the 19th century.

Many of the manuscripts and art treasures of Dunhuang were moved to Western museums; others were preserved in China. Dunhuang studies have added to knowledge of Buddhism and Chinese history and culture.

See also CAVE PAINTINGS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR



Ebla

The ancient city of Ebla is identified with modern Tell Mardikh in north Syria, 34 miles south of Aleppo. It created a sensation when archaeologists uncovered the largest single find of third-millennium CUNEIFORM tablets there. The University of Rome has excavated the site since 1964, under the leadership of Paolo Matthiae.

Ebla is poorly attested in the Early Bronze I–II Periods (c. 3200–2700 B.C.E.), with an absence of Uruk pottery. This suggests that Ebla did not emerge directly due to the development of Sumerian colonies along Syrian trade routes, by which means the “Uruk culture” was disseminated. By 2400 B.C.E. Ebla had grown into an urban center of more than 135 acres. A palace constructed on the acropolis (designated as “Royal Palace G” by archaeologists) testifies to the increasing importance of centralized administration. Ebla’s urbanization may possibly be interpreted in terms of the sociopolitical climate prevalent in Syria at that time. With the Mesopotamian city-states extending their influence through long-distance trade, those in Syria felt the pressure to organize and assert their political independence.

Upon excavation Royal Palace G revealed a large archive of cuneiform texts, dated to 2400–2350 B.C.E. The texts span the reigns of Kings Igrish-Halam, Irkab-Damu, and Ishar-Damu, as well as the tenure of important court officials such as Ibrium, Ibbi-Zikir, and Dubukhu-Adda. The archive contained a grand total of about 1,750 whole tablets and 4,900 tablet

fragments. A severe fire, which destroyed the palace, had fortuitously baked and hardened the tablets, thus helping to preserve them.

Scholars generally agree that these cuneiform texts were intended to be read in the local language, Eblaite. However, the texts tend to be written with numerous Sumerian logograms (word signs). This means that Eblaite pronunciation and grammar are often not reflected in the writing. Some have considered Eblaite to be northwest Semitic, possibly an antecedent for the later Canaanite dialects. Others have noted its affinities to east Semitic languages, such as Old Akkadian. It is conceivable that Eblaite represents a time before the northwest and east branches of the Semitic family were clearly distinguished. Alternatively, Eblaite may represent the dialect of a geographical region that was influenced by much interaction with both East and West.

Among the tablets are lexical texts that list the Sumerian logograms followed by their Eblaite translations. These represent the earliest attested bilingual dictionaries. Other lexical texts list words according to various categories, such as human vocations, names of fishes, and names of birds. The sequence and arrangement of these lists are identical with those in southern Mesopotamia, signifying Ebla’s indebtedness to the Sumerian scribal tradition. Several texts mention, “Young scribes came up from MARI,” and may suggest a means by which Mesopotamian scribal practices passed into the Syrian regions. The Ebla scribes, nonetheless, preferred their own method of number notation and system of measures, instead of adopting Mesopotamian forms.

The vast majority of tablets consist of administrative and economic records, which elucidate much of Ebla's society. The highest authority at Ebla was designated by the Sumerian title *EN*, which is translated in Eblaite as *malikum* (king). The Sumerian title *LUGAL* was used in Ebla for governors, who were subordinate to the king. This contrasts with the usage in Mesopotamia, where *LUGAL* typically denotes an individual of higher rank than an *EN*. Royal inscriptions, which laud the king's power and legitimize his reign, have not yet been found at Ebla. Also, Ebla does not follow the usual Mesopotamian practice of naming years according to significant acts of the king. Such reticence has encouraged the view that Ebla's king did not rule as an absolute monarch but as one reliant on leading tribal elders for aspects of state administration. The cult of dead kings is attested at Ebla, with ritual texts describing various sacrifices offered to previous rulers of the dynasty.

Ebla was divided into eight administrative districts. The districts on the acropolis were named *saza*, while those in the countryside were named *ebla*. It was the palace, rather than the temple, that chiefly directed the city's economics. The palace was responsible for the ownership of land, the sustenance of Ebla's workforce, and even the record of animals used in religious sacrifices. In Ebla, however, the system of labor management was not as highly developed as that of Mesopotamia. Agriculture and industry often remained under the management of local communities, which in turn reported to supervisors from the palace. The most important deity at Ebla was Kura, who functioned as the patron god of the royal household. The pantheon at Ebla included a core of Semitic deities that persisted into later times and appear in Canaanite religion. Native names were used for deities, and Sumerian gods were worshipped only when there was no Semitic equivalent. This selective appropriation of Sumerian deities suggests that the people of Ebla were well familiar with divine roles and cultic practices in Sumerian religion.

Ebla was strategically located at the junction of major trade routes and engaged in the commerce of products such as wool, flax, olive oil, barley, and wine. Its treasury of gold and silver was immense for its time. International contact extended as far as Egypt, and Ebla's access to Anatolia supplied it with prized bronze tin. Various cities between the Euphrates and Balikh Rivers, though far away from Ebla itself, actually came under Ebla's control. Ebla was interested in northern Mesopotamian trade routes, which would allow it to bypass Mari on the way to southern Mesopotamia. Perennial conflicts ensued between Ebla and Mari.

Both SARGON and Naram-Sin boasted that they conquered Ebla, and the fire that destroyed Royal Palace G most likely dates to either of their reigns. Ur III records, however, imply that Ebla was rebuilt, and that its citizens had name types that show continuity with those of pre-Sargonic Ebla. The archaeology of the Old Syrian Period (c. 1800–1600 B.C.E.) indicates that Ebla experienced resurgence during this time. However, around 1600 B.C.E. the Hittite king Murshili I destroyed Ebla and effectively ended its political power.

See also AKKAD; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; FERTILE CRESCENT; HITTITES; SUMER; UR.

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JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

Ecbatana

See PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA.

Edessa

Both Edessa and its successor, Nisibis, were in northern Mesopotamia, in an area known for its military and its religious importance. Edessa has been called the Athens of Syriac learning; but after its educational institutions were shut down in 489 C.E., Nisibis, a city less controlled by Byzantine authorities, became the heir to the learning traditions of SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

Edessa was founded in 303 B.C.E. Legends tell of its king Abgar who was so taken by JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH that he sent him a letter. Jesus responded by sending the famed apostle Addai to convert Edessa and the rest of Mesopotamia to Christianity. Other ancient traditions indicate that Edessa was at center stage in early church development: The body of Thomas the Apostle is buried here; the Syriac translation of the Bible (the Peshitta), the synthesis of the Gospels (Tatian's Diatessaron), Acts of Thomas, Odes of Solomon, Gospel of Truth, Acts of Thomas, and Psalms of Thomas all were written in Edessa. Nearby Dura-Europos was the site of the first-known Christian building dedicated to worship. The area was also known as a potpourri of

religious diversity, perhaps accounting for its powerful creative productivity. Besides Judaic, Mithraic, Greek, and Syrian influences, currents of Gnosticism and MONASTICISM vied for popular attention.

As time went on Edessa succumbed to imperial pressures toward Orthodox Christianity. In the fourth century C.E. Edessan Christianity tended toward zealous monasticism. Along with this movement come the intellectual bards of Syriac literature: EPHREM the Syrian (fourth century), Jacob of Sarug (fifth century), and Philoxenus of Mabbug. From 363 until 489 Edessa was the major intellectual center for Syriac Christians.

The ancestors of ALEXANDER THE GREAT established Nisibis. Because of its strategic position the city often changed hands, as armies and king perennially coveted control of its resources. In the first five centuries of the first millennium C.E. Roman Caesars and Persian shapurs lay many sieges and battles upon its population. The modern city offers an ancient two-nave church, where Ephrem's hallowed teacher, Jacob of Nisibis, is entombed. Jacob's academy itself is located in the no-man's land between the barbed-wire boundaries separating modern Turkey and Syria, just south of the modern city of Nisibis. When Persians surrounded the city in 363, the Syriac Christians were expelled and resettled in Edessa.

Less than 120 years later disaffected Syriac Christians fled from Byzantine persecution (instigated by the GREEK CHURCH) in Edessa to find refuge in Nisibis under Persian protection. Greek authorities had officially shut down the theological school at Edessa, and the axis of dissent, led by followers of NESTORIUS, shifted back into Nisibis. Ties with the Byzantine Christian world foundered—and still suffer today. Nisibis eclipsed Edessa as a center for the Syriac Church. The School of Nisibis would dominate Syriac Christianity in Persia for the next two centuries. One of Edessa's refugees, Narsai, led the school for 40 years, and such stability allowed his successor to gather more than 1,000 students. These graduates then became the leaders for the Assyrian Church and other churches outside of the Byzantine Christian pale. Eventually Ctesiphon displaced Nisibis as the Syriac intellectual center, but not until the eighth century.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WAR; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; ROMAN EMPIRE; SASSANID EMPIRE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Egeria

(4th century C.E.) *pilgrim and writer*

In the middle of the fourth century C.E., a Christian woman took a journey lasting four years to the Middle East. She wrote a journal of her travels, and the manuscript lay dormant until the late 1800s. Other Latin writers made mention of her, so her accounts circulated among religious pilgrims before they were lost for centuries. Her name was Egeria (also known as Eutheria, Aetheria, and Silvia), and she was writing for other religious women who lived in Europe, perhaps on the Atlantic coast of Spain or France.

Most likely she was a nun commissioned by her community to put her curious and adventurous mind to work for the benefit of the spiritual life of her sisters. She went on PILGRIMAGE to the most important sites of the Christian and Jewish world of her day. Her account is one of the most valuable documents scholars have of the fourth-century world of travel, piety, early MONASTICISM, women's roles, and even the development of late Latin.

Her book has two parts. The first part is a travelogue and is simply her report of her pilgrimage. She tells her sisters of her visits to such hallowed and historical places as Jerusalem, EDESSA, sites in Mesopotamia, MOUNT SINAI, Jericho, the Jordan River, Antioch, and CONSTANTINOPLE, and of meeting people (usually monks and mystics) staffing the places. She follows the itinerary of the people who made the places famous and prays there. Often her comments about the rustics at the sacred sites show a bit of dry humor.

Her tourist program has many other objectives, such as following the path of MOSES through the desert to Mt. Sinai, her plan to visit the home of Abraham's family (Carrhae or biblical Harran, southeast of Edessa), and her hope to go to Thomas the Apostle's tomb in Edessa. The travelogue is incomplete, for like any good pilgrim she concocted ever more schemes to visit other places like Ephesus to pray at the tomb of the John the "Beloved" Apostle. This part of her travels is missing from the manuscript.

The second part is more a journalistic report on the church of Jerusalem's liturgical practices over the three years she lodged there. Her record of the practices surrounding daily life and prayer of the church is the first one that scholars have on the topic. She also reports on how the church's celebrations correspond to its unique location in the Holy Land. The liturgies she describes are hardly stationary ceremonies in one church location, but they involve processions from place to place

according to the occasion. In addition, her descriptions are useful for historians of church architecture.

Her account allows modern readers to see things like the need for military escorts in various places of the Holy Land, the unfailing hospitality of the monasteries along the way, the road network, and the system of inns maintained by the empire. She speaks of the monks, the nuns, and the religious laity in the Holy Land and their patterns of fasting and the instruction of the candidates for entrance into the church. Finally, she epitomizes the heart of the pilgrim and shows pluck and pithiness as she describes each stage of her spiritual journey.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE. CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); KING'S HIGHWAY AND WAY OF THE SEA.

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Egypt, culture and religion

The civilization of ancient Egypt lasted about 30 centuries—from the 30th century B.C.E. to 30 B.C.E., when it became part of the Roman Empire. Egypt was significant for its size and longevity, retaining a strong continuity of culture despite several periods of turmoil. Egypt developed along the valley surrounding the Nile River in northeast Africa, extending into the desert and across the Red Sea. Ancient Egyptians traced their origins to the land of Punt, an eastern African nation that was probably south of NUBIA, but their reasons for this are unclear.

As early as the 10th millennium B.C.E., a culture of hunter-gatherers using stone tools existed in the Nile Valley, and there is evidence over the next few thousand years of cattle herding, large building construction, and grain cultivation. The desert was once a fertile plain watered by seasonal rains, but may have been changed by climate shifts or overgrazing.

At some point the civilizations of Lower Egypt (in the north, where the Nile Delta meets the Mediterranean Sea) and Upper Egypt (upstream in the south, where the Nile gives way to the desert) formed; the Egyptians called them Ta Shemau and Ta Mehu, respectively, and their inhabitants were probably ethnically the same and culturally interrelated. By 3000 B.C.E.

Lower and Upper Egypt were unified by the first PHARAOH, whom the third-century B.C.E. historian Manetho called Menes. Lower and Upper Egypt were never assimilated into one another—their geographical differences ensured that they would retain cultural differences, as the peoples of each led different lives—but rather, during the Dynastic Period that followed, were ruled as a unit. Each had its own patron goddess—Wadjet and Nekhbet—whose symbols were eventually included in the pharaoh's crown and the fivefold titular form of his name. The first Pharaoh also established a capital at Memphis, where it remained until 1300 B.C.E. The advent of HIEROGLYPHICS and trade relations with Nubia and Syria coincide with the Early Dynastic Period.

HISTORY

The history of ancient Egypt is traditionally divided into dynasties, each of which consists of rulers from more or less the same family. Often, a dynasty is defined by certain prevailing trends as a result of the dynastic family's interests—many of the significant pyramid builders in ancient Egypt were from the Fourth Dynasty, for instance. In the early dynasties, we have little solid information about the pharaohs, and even our list of their names is incomplete.

The dynasties are organized into broad periods of history: the Early Dynastic Period (the First and Second Dynasties), the Old Kingdom (Third through Sixth), the First Intermediate Period (Seventh through Tenth), the MIDDLE KINGDOM (Eleventh through Fourteenth), the Second Intermediate Period (Fifteenth through Seventeenth), the New Kingdom (Eighteenth through Twentieth), the Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-first through Twenty-fifth), and the rather loosely characterized Late Period (Twenty-sixth through Thirty-first). Ancient Egypt essentially ends with the Thirty-first Dynasty: For the next 900 years Egypt was ruled first by ALEXANDER THE GREAT, then the "Ptolemaic dynasty," founded by Alexander's general Ptolemy, and finally by Rome directly.

RELIGION

Ancient Egyptian religion can be described through syncretism, the afterlife, and the soul. *Syncretism* refers to the merging of religious ideas or figures, usually when disparate cultures interact. In the case of ancient Egypt, it refers to the combination and overlapping of local deities.

Many sun gods (Ra, Amun, Horus, the Aten) were first worshipped separately and then later in various combinations. This process was a key part of Egyptian polytheism and likely helped preserve the nation's cultural continuity across its vast life.

Mortal life was thought to prepare Egyptians for the afterlife. The Egyptians believed that the physical body would persist in the afterlife and serve the deceased, despite being entombed and embalmed. Amulets, talismans, and sometimes even mummified animals were provided for the deceased's use. As described in the *BOOK OF THE DEAD* (a term referring to the corpus of Egyptian funerary texts), in later stages of Egyptian religious history the deceased was judged by the god Anubis. The god weighed the heart, which was thought to hold all the functions of the mind and therefore a record of the individual's life and behavior, against a single feather. Those judged favorably were ushered on to the afterlife; those who were not had their hearts eaten by the crocodile-lion-hippopotamus demon Ammit and remained in Anubis's land forever.

The different parts of the soul—or different souls—included the *ba*, which developed from early predynastic beliefs in personal gods common to the ancient Near East, and which was the manifestation of a god, a full physical entity that provided the breath of the nostrils, the personality of the individual, and existed before the birth of the body; the *ka*, the life power which comes into existence at birth and precedes the individual into the afterlife to guide their fortunes; the *akh*, a kind of ghost that took many different forms in Egyptian religion over the dynastic era; the *khaibut*, the shadow; the *ren*, or name; and the *sekhu*, or physical body.

LANGUAGE AND MATH

Egyptian writing dates as far back as the 30th–50th centuries B.C.E. Early Egyptian—divided into the Old, Middle, and Late forms—was written using hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. Although hieroglyphs developed from pictographs—stylized pictures used for signs and labels—they included symbols representing sounds (as our modern alphabet does), logographs representing whole words, and determinatives used to explain the meaning of other hieroglyphs.

Translation of ancient Egyptian writing was nearly impossible for modern Egyptologists until the discovery of the *ROSETTA STONE* by an army captain in Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, in 1799. When the French surrendered in 1801, the stone was claimed by the British forces and sent to the British Museum, where it remains today.

The stone was a linguist's dream come true, the sort of find that revolutionizes a field. Upon it was written a decree by Pharaoh Ptolemy V in 196 B.C.E., not only in hieroglyphics and Demotic but in Greek. Since ancient Greek was well known, this allowed Egyptologists to



Translation of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics was nearly impossible until the discovery of the Rosetta Stone.

compare the two line by line and decipher the meaning of many of the hieroglyphs. Much work and refinement has been done since, receiving a considerable boost from the archaeological finds of the 19th and 20th centuries. The hieratic numeral system used by the Egyptians had similar limitations to the Roman numeral system: It was poorly suited to anything but addition and subtraction. As attested in the Rhind and Moscow papyri, the Egyptians were capable of mathematics including fractions, geometry, multiplication, and division, all of which were much more tedious than in modern numeral systems but were required for trade and timekeeping. Like other ancient civilizations, the Egyptians lacked the concept of zero as a numeral, but some historians argue that they were aware of and consciously employed the golden ratio in geometry.

See also *NEW KINGDOM, EGYPT*; *OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT*; *PTOLEMIES*.

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Elam

The country of Elam encompassed the southwest of modern Iran. The Elamites designated themselves as *Haltamti*, from which the Akkadians derived *Elamtu*. Susa and Anshan were the two major centers of Elamite civilization. The proto-Elamite period (c. 3400–2700 B.C.E.) witnessed the emergence of writing at Susa. This proto-Elamite script differed sufficiently from Mesopotamian scripts to indicate a different language. Indeed, the Elamite language is unrelated to other known ancient languages.

From the Old Elamite Period (c. 2700–2100 B.C.E.) Mesopotamian texts begin to mention Elam. Because native texts remain sparse, Elamite chronology derives much from Mesopotamian records. Elam's encounter with the Agade kings illustrates a recurring trait in its history: Elam's lowlands are readily accessible from the west and periodically came under Mesopotamian control. By contrast, the Zagros highlands are more isolated by topography and experienced more autonomy. Accordingly, Susa and the Khuzistan plains (in southwest Iran) were the regions that fell most completely under Akkadian dominion.

After Agade's fall, the Elamite Puzur-Inshushinak claimed the title king of Awan (an Iranian region). His incursion into Mesopotamia was deterred by Ur-Nammu, and Susa fell under Ur III dynasty rule. The Shimashki dynasty (c. 2100–1900 B.C.E.) emerged in the highlands, a result of alliances formed against UR. The Elamites eventually regained control of the lowlands, even moving west to destroy Ur and capture its last king, Ibbi-Sin. The Elamite king Kindattu managed to occupy Ur but was soon expelled by Ishbi-Erra, founder of the first dynasty of Isin.

The Sukkalmah era (c. 1900–1600 B.C.E.) is best attested in the records, when Elam experienced unprecedented prosperity. A triumvirate from the same dynastic family ruled the country: The *sukkalmah* (grand regent), the *sukkal* (regent) of Elam and Shimashki in second place, and the *sukkal* of Susa in third place. The ascendancy of the city-state of Larsa over Isin was propitious for Elam, and the Elamites even established a dynasty at Larsa. Elam dominated the eastern edge of Mesopotamia, exerting its economic (especially tin trading) and diplomatic presence as far as northern Syria. Hammurabi's conquests, however, led Elam to decline in the following centuries.

The Middle Elamite Period (c. 1600–1100 B.C.E.) saw a resurgence of Elamite power, marked by the use of the title king of Anshan and Susa. From c. 1400–1200

B.C.E., relations between Elam and Kassite Babylonia were promoted by means of several royal intermarriages. However, with the rise of a new Elamite dynasty, Shutruk-Nahhunte put an end to Kassite hegemony by raiding southern Mesopotamia, bringing to Elam such important monuments as Naram-Sin's Victory Stela and Hammurabi's Law Code. His son, Kutir-Nahhunte, terminated the Kassite dynasty by deposing Enlil-nadin-ahi and brought home Marduk's cult statue from Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar I eventually reclaimed this statue when he sacked Elam around 1100 B.C.E.

During the Neo-Elamite Period (c. 1100–539 B.C.E.) the country faced pressures from two fronts: Medo-Persian encroachment on the highlands and Assyrian aggression toward the lowlands. The Elamites suffered Assyrian vengeance for being Babylonian allies against the growing Neo-Assyrian Empire. In 647 B.C.E., Ashurbanipal despoiled Susa. Moreover, in 539 B.C.E., CYRUS II conquered Babylonia and extended Achaemenid control over Elam. Until the HELLENIZATION of the region Elamite culture continued to assert itself through the use of the Elamite language in official documents, the worship of Elamite deities, and the importance of Anshan and Susa in the Persian Empire.

See also AKKAD; ASSYRIA; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSa, AND ECBATANA.

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Elamites

See MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

Eleusis

Eleusis was a city in Attica in Greece, located some 12 miles northwest of Athens. From early times Eleusis was associated with the Eleusinian mystery rites of Demeter, a Mother Goddess figure and maternal figure of power, and the development of a cult that existed since the early Greek culture of the CYCLADES islands. Festivals like the Eleusinian Mysteries were part of the annual celebration of birth and rebirth in the early Mediterranean.

The rites also included worship of the god of wine and pleasure, Bacchus (or Dionysus). While Athens took over the rites around 600 B.C.E., there is much evidence that the mystery rites had their origin in the dawn of Greek civilization and formed a part with the Mother Goddess cults found throughout both the western and eastern Mediterranean in ancient times. The festivals, as fertility rites, can only be fully understood when they are viewed as only the first act of a two-act annual drama. What was actually the first act was held in the spring at Agrae, the Lesser Mysteries. This corresponds with the traditional time of sowing the new crops and the joy of rebirth. The mystery celebration at Eleusis marked not only the harvest, but the hope that life would return again after the winter, as Persephone, Demeter's daughter, would return from the Underworld, or Hades.

It is possible that in the earliest times the mysteries also included human sacrifice, with the shedding of the blood of the sacrificial victim offered to bring fertility back to the land. Even into classic Grecian times after 600 B.C.E. the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries formed a major milestone in Greek religion. However, something—a taboo or a fear of retaliation from the gods or those who celebrated the mysteries—kept even the most rational minds of the day from relating what happened at the Eleusinian Mysteries, or even about the buildings used in their celebration.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; MYSTERY CULTS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Ephesus and Chalcedon, Councils of

The third and fourth ecumenical councils held at Ephesus in 431 C.E. and at Chalcedon in 451 C.E., respectively, discussed and formulated how Christians were to speak of the relationship of Christ's human and divine natures to one another.

Whereas the earlier ecumenical COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325) and Council of Constantinople (381) had defined doctrinal perspectives on belief in the Trinity as the conviction that there was one *ousia* (essence) of God in three hypostases (persons), now Christology was the main concern of the councils. At the request of Bishop NESTORIUS of the eastern capital CONSTANTINOPLE, Emperor Theodosius II called together all the major bishops of the Eastern and a few of the Western Roman Empire to meet at Pentecost 431 to resolve questions that had arisen concerning teachings advanced by Nestorius.

Nestorius, who had been trained in the theological tradition of the school of Antioch, resisted calling Mary *Theotokos* (Mother of God) and preferred to speak of her as *Christotokos* (mother of Jesus as the one united with the Logos). Taking advantage of travel delays among the supporters of Nestorius and hostile attitudes among delegates from Asia Minor who resented Nestorius's claims of authority over them, Cyril took the lead at the council with a group of Egyptian monks. Following irregular proceedings, Cyril had Nestorius condemned and deposed from his position.

When other Eastern bishops, who had arrived late, met separately under Bishop John of Antioch, who was their leader, they criticized Cyril's anathemas as fraught with Apollinarianism and ARIANISM and in turn condemned and deposed Cyril and Bishop Memnon of Ephesus. Joined by the Roman delegates, Cyril reconvened the council and condemned and deposed John of Antioch as well as 34 Eastern bishops.

Emperor Theodosius II approved the depositions of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon in early August and formally dissolved the council, yet in the confusion following the council Cyril succeeded in returning to his see of ALEXANDRIA as victor. Nestorius, however, withdrew from the capital city to a monastery near Antioch, from where he was expelled first to Petra and then to the Great Oasis in LIBYA until his death after 451.

Accusations against Nestorius had focused on the claim that he divided Christ and was affirming two Christs and two Sons, a man and God, by considering the union of man and God in Christ as merely an external union. One of the main opponents of this supposed Nestorian teaching, the influential monk Eutyches of Constantinople, promoted an extreme Monophysite (one [divine] nature) teaching that denied that Christ is *homoousios* (consubstantial) with humankind. Having been condemned at a local council under the leadership of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople, Eutyches

was rehabilitated by Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria at the so-called *latrocinium* (Robber Council) at Ephesus in 449, a meeting remembered both for its irregularities and violence that led to the death of Flavian of Constantinople. Summoned by Emperor Marcian, the Council of Chalcedon met on October 8, 451, to resolve disputes about Monophysitism. It rehabilitated Flavian of Constantinople and accepted as definitive the Christology formulated in Pope Leo I of Rome's Letter to Flavian, which stated that in Christ, who is a single *prosopon* (person) and a single hypostasis, the complete and entire divine and human natures coexist "without mixture, without transformation, without separation, and without division." Thus Christ is *homoousios* both to the Father with regard to his divinity and to us with regard to his humanity.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH.

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CORNELIA HORN AND ROBERT PHELIX

Ephrem

(306–373 C.E.) *theologian and composer*

Known as the Harp of the Spirit, Ephrem was perhaps the most creative voice of the SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH and one of the most influential theologians of early Christianity. He was born in 306 C.E., just south of the holy region of Syriac monks and spirituality in Mesopotamia. Formed into a mature Christian by the mentor and holy man Jacob, Ephrem became proficient enough to join his teacher in the same school of Nisibis.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE ignominiously lost his war with the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE, so the Romans were forced to withdraw from Nisibis in 363. The Christians associated with Ephrem also retreated to the eastern frontier city of EDESSA. There Ephrem served his people in two primary ways.

First, he threw himself into the distribution of food and alms among the refugees of the retreat. For all of his impact on the church the only office he held was deacon. He had no desire to be a priest, and he avoided the popular call to be a bishop by feigning madness. His personality aided him in his quest to steer clear of the hierarchy, for he had an irascible personality that only personal sanctity could control. Sec-

ond, he produced a corpus of hymns, homilies, poems, and commentaries that scholars marvel at today. His genius lay in combining his hymnology with a unique method of interpreting the Bible and spiritual mysteries. On one hand he accepts the plain sense of scripture (this is called the Antiochene method of interpreting the Bible); but on the other hand he relies on allegory and poetic license when logic and historical circumstances do not offer a relevant application (this is called the Alexandrian method).

His hybrid thinking represents the Syriac Church penchant for dealing with the forces of Gnosticism, and early Judaism. The central event of history and nature is the Christ event: the incarnation of the divine in the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Ephrem finds symbols of this mystery in history and nature, and even the Bible speaks in a typological way about this event. He has no hesitation about borrowing a vocabulary and hymnology that the Syriac church encountered in the Mesopotamian world of the heterodox currents and Jewish influences.

While his method was unique, his own doctrine was orthodox. His hymns and elevated speech show him to be steadfast in opposing ARIANISM, Marcionism, Manichaeism, and other CHRISTIAN DUALISMS. His images stand in support of such ideas as the Last Judgment, purgatory, original sin, free will and its reliance on grace, the primacy of Peter, the intercession of the saints, the real presence of Jesus in the bread of communion, the sacraments, and the Trinity. All these doctrines are in the crucible of theological development, so Ephrem's genius is valuable and ahead of his time. He had a special devotion to the mother of Jesus and foreshadowed the concept of her Immaculate Conception.

His compositions are in Syriac, and many were immediately translated into Greek. People so loved his metaphors and analogies that they used them in their own languages and liturgies; thus, some works exist only in their Latin or Armenian forms. A complete inventory of his compositions has yet to be accomplished. Ephrem died in the epidemic of 373, taking care of Edessa's refugees.

See also ALEXANDRIA; CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; MONASTICISM; ORIGEN.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Epicureanism

Epicureanism is named after the philosopher Epicurus, who founded a school of teaching in Athens that continued for seven centuries after his death. Epicurus (342–270 B.C.E.) was a citizen of Athens, raised on the island of Samos. His contribution was aimed at the practical application of philosophy and its role in enabling people to lead a pleasurable and virtuous life. His ideas are completely distinct from the slanderous attacks made on him by later thinkers, who have given to Epicureanism a pejorative sense of gluttony and unbridled hedonism.

Writings of Epicurus that have survived, notably letters to HERODOTUS and Menoecus, contain only the restatement of the works of others, with one principal exception. This was in the area of atomism. The basis of atomism is that the phenomena of the universe can be explained by the interactions of the smallest independently existing particles of matter (atoms) that follow observable physical laws in predictable ways. In other words, there is no fundamental need for the gods to exist for the universe also to exist. Consequently, humanity should be freed from the terror inflicted upon it by anxiety of what new diseases and disasters the gods might next release and in concern that those disasters are the fault of people suffering from them.

To this belief Epicurus added the innovation that some atoms will voluntarily bend from the paths that would otherwise cause them to descend from the skies to the earth. This voluntary movement, the cause for which was not properly explained, had the effect of preventing people from feeling that they were trapped in a mechanistic universe with no fundamental meaning or purpose.

Epicurus taught in a garden in Athens from approximately 306 B.C.E. until his death. Athens had also witnessed the brilliance of ARISTOTLE within the preceding 20 years and the astonishing conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in Asia Minor and Egypt. Greek culture was becoming one of the most dynamic forces of the world. Yet, a time of such change and innovation also led to a sense of impermanence and the fear of the unknown. According to Epicurus, the sensible approach of any adult was to seek the maximization of pleasure and peace, rather than appease or appeal to the supernatural. This is the philosophy of hedonism, which holds the seeking of pleasure to be the ultimate purpose of life.

This does not mean, however, that people should heedlessly chase after any immediate pleasurable sensation without consideration of the future or of any

other person. The sensible person should recognize that different forms of pleasure inevitably bring pain. For example, the thoughtless drinking of wine will lead to the pain of a hangover, while the lusts of a criminal nature will lead to the misery of prosecution. As a result, the properly hedonistic person is also a virtuous person who selects pleasures that do not cause pain to themselves or to others. However, owing to his atomistic beliefs, Epicurus would have acknowledged that virtue is intrinsically of no value. This made his position rather paradoxical. His belief in the gods, whom he conceived of as living blissful existences while completely ignoring humanity, is also illogical. If there is no necessity for the gods to exist, as well as no meaningful way to detect their presence, then why would Epicurus claim their existence? It is possible that, bearing in mind the practicality of his teaching, he simply wished to avoid the political danger of denying the existence of the gods.

The Epicurean school continued after the death of its founder and became particularly prominent in Rome. Two of the tutors of CICERO were Epicureans, and SENECA defended the beliefs of Epicurus against the attacks of the religious minded and particularly the Christians. The conversion of the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT to Christianity in 313 C.E. signaled the end of Epicureanism as part of the mainstream of intellectual discourse. One problem was that Epicureanism showed little ability to innovate or develop. Once it was accepted that Epicurus had identified the proper way to live, there was little to discuss, and people should just go about practicing what he taught.

As Lucretius wrote, he was “...the man in genius who o’er-topped / The human race, extinguishing all others, / As sun, in ether arisen, all the stars.” The inability to adapt effectively condemned Epicureanism to continual condemnation by religious believers who characterized it as little more than egotistic selfishness. Humanists who tried to support Epicureanism were condemned as libertines. The poem “De Rerum Natura” (“On the Nature of the Universe”) by the Roman philosopher and Stoic Lucretius explains Epicureanism in its fullest form.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; STOICISM.

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Era of Division (China)

The first part of the Era of Division that followed the HAN DYNASTY, between 220 and 280 C.E., is called the THREE KINGDOMS period. It ended in 280, when the Jin (Ch'in) dynasty, led by the Sima (Ssu-ma) family, reunified China. But the unity was fragile because the founding ruler divided his realm among his 25 sons on his death, giving each a principality under the nominal control of his principal heir. The princes and other noblemen soon fell upon one another in civil war, and one of them called on the XIONG-NU (HSIUNG-NU) northern nomads for help. The Xiongnu chief claimed descent from a Han princess, called himself Liu Yuan, and named the Shanxi (Shansi) region he controlled the Han but later changed its name to Zhao (Chao). Liu Yuan's forces sacked both ancient capitals, CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) and LUOYANG (LOYANG), burning the imperial library of the Han dynasty. The Jin court fled south in 316 and set up a new capital in Nanjing (Nanking), which had been capital of the Wu state during the Three Kingdoms period in China.

The year 316 marked the division of China into two halves that lasted until 589. It was called the era of the Northern and Southern dynasties. Chinese rule was superseded in northern China, which became the battleground of different nomadic groups, the Xiongnu, the Xianbei (Hsien-pei), both Turkic in ethnicity, and the TOBA (T'O-PA), who were ethnically Tungusic. In 387 the Xiongnu attempted to conquer the south, but the watery southern terrain was unsuited to their cavalry, and they were decisively repulsed at the Battle of Fei-shui (Fei Shui) in modern Anhui (Anhui) Province. As a result, the situation between the north and south was stalemated. In 386 a new nomadic group from the northeast defeated both the Xiongnu and Xianbei and established the Northern Wei dynasty in northern China that lasted until 557. The Tungusic rulers of the Northern Wei dynasty first established their capital city at Datong (Tatung) in modern Shanxi Province, a logical place for a nomadic dynasty because it was located near the GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

Fierce warriors (the Toba population was estimated to be no more than 200,000 people), with no written language and a primitive culture, the Toba soon embraced Buddhism, ordering the excavation of extensive cave temples outside Datong at a site called Yungang (Yunkang). They also embraced Chinese culture with enthusiasm. In 494 the Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang to be near the heartland of Chinese culture and ordered the excavation of another series of caves devoted to Buddhist worship nearby at a site called

Longmen (Lungmen). At the same time the government also forbade the Toba people to wear their traditional clothing or use their tribal titles, ordering them to adopt Chinese surnames and speak Chinese instead. Some Toba people revolted against sinicization, which split the dynasty into two short-lived rival kingdoms called the Eastern Wei and Western Wei, which were followed by the Northern Qi (Ch'i) and Northern Zhou (Chou). None of the dynasties that followed the Northern Wei ruled all of North China. The era of division ended in 581 C.E. when a Northern Zhou general, Yang Jian (Yang Chien), usurped the throne and went on to unify the north and south under his new dynasty, the Sui.

Meanwhile in southern China, from the Yangtze River valley south, five dynasties followed one another. They were the Jin (Chin), 317–419; Liu Song (Sung), 420–477; Qi (Ch'i), 479–501; Liang, 502–556; and Chen (Ch'en), 557–587. Nanjing was capital to all five. There was large-scale immigration of northerners to southern China during the Era of Division. The refugees who fled the nomads brought the refinements and advanced culture of the north to southern China and absorbed the aboriginal populations into mainstream Chinese culture. Thus, whereas southern China was a frontier region during the Han and a place of exile for officials and convicts, by the end of the sixth century C.E. it had become developed and economically advanced.

Culturally, the most remarkable change during the Era of Division was the phenomenal growth of BUDDHISM IN CHINA, an Indian religion that first entered China during the beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), brought by missionaries and traders along the SILK ROAD. While making inroads, Buddhism had remained an exotic religion of foreigners and some Chinese during the Han dynasty. CONFUCIANISM AS A STATE IDEOLOGY collapsed with the fall of the Han dynasty. The primitive religions of North China's nomads had little to offer confronted with the appealing theology of Buddhism and its stately rituals and ceremonies.

Thus, a nomadic ruler stated in 335: "We are born out of the marches and though We are unworthy, We have complied with our appointed destiny and govern the Chinese as their prince... Buddha being a barbarian god is the very one We should worship." The nomads' Chinese subjects also embraced Buddhism for consolation in times of trouble and for its attractive and universalistic teachings.

Adherence to Buddhism made the nomadic rulers less cruel to their Chinese subjects and built bridges between the rulers and ruled. Buddhism also became dom-

inant in southern China because its teachings assuaged the pain of exile for northern refugees and because of its theology, which answered questions that Confucianism and other Chinese schools of thought failed to address.

Similarly the chaos and collapse of Confucianism as state ideology during the Era of Division revived interest in DAOISM (TAOISM), allowing some disillusioned intellectuals to take refuge in an escapist philosophy. Seeking longevity and immortality, some learned Daoists delved to learn about the properties of elements and plants and produced a vast pharmacopoeia. Popular Daoism was enriched as a result of borrowing ceremonies and monastic institutions from Buddhism.

The Era of Division was politically a dismally chaotic period in Chinese history. However, intellectually it was not a dark age, principally due to the rapid growth of Buddhism, which contributed enormously to Chinese civilization. The nomads became rapidly sinicized, and intermarriages between northern urban upper-class Chinese and nomads leveled their differences.

See also FA XIAN; WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Essenes

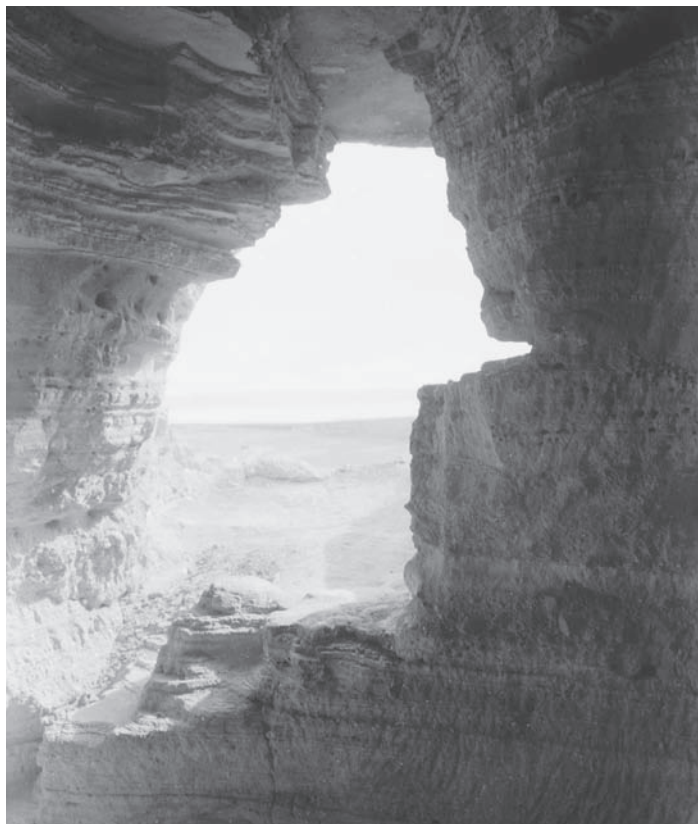
Several ancient informants discuss the Jewish sect known as the Essenes. The most famous three are JOSEPHUS, PHILO, and Pliny, whose writings date to sometime around the first century C.E. The etymology of the name *Essenes* remains uncertain. One theory proposed by the ancient Jewish philosopher Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) suggests that the name is related to the Greek word for holiness.

It is perhaps more likely that the name goes back to a Hebrew or Aramaic word that could be related to the word for “council,” or “doers (of the law),” or even “healers.” A renewed interest in this ancient Jewish sect coincided with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls near QUMRAN. The idea that the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran are to be identified with the Essenes has many strong supporters.

The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (b. 37 C.E.) has left us the most detailed information about this group. He mentions the Essenes several times throughout his writings and even claims to have been a member of this group during his youth. If indeed this was true, he could not have spent more than a few short months with them, according to the chronology given in his own autobiography. The lengthiest description of the Essenes appears in his multivolume work called *The Jewish War*, c. 73 C.E., where Josephus identifies them as one of three Jewish philosophical schools. What is notable about this description of the Essenes is this: Josephus’s comments concerning them are far more detailed and much lengthier than his comments about the other two sects, the PHARISEES and the SADDUCEES. Within this description Josephus gives an account of their procedure for admitting new members into the community and details many of their practices, including their shunning of marriage and their idiosyncratic practice of avoiding bowel movements on Shabbat.

A candidate for membership is initiated into this hierarchical sect with a full year of probation during which time he is expected to live according to the terms of the community but not among them. After this year the candidate is permitted to draw closer to the group but may not participate in the meetings of the community and is also barred from the “purer kind of holy water.” A proselyte was expected to swear a series of oaths that insist upon the strict observance of various communal laws and also secrecy to the group. Josephus also gives an account of the provisions for those who have been expelled from the community for serious crimes. In addition to this lengthy account in *The Jewish War*, Josephus refers to the Essenes twice in his multivolume work the *Jewish Antiquities*. All three of the ancient informants, Pliny, Philo, and Josephus, write that the Essenes were characterized by their shared wealth and their avoidance of married life, but Josephus does not say that celibacy is the condition for membership in the community.

Scholarly interest in the Essenes grew alongside the study of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Even though other theories for the identification of the wilderness community at Qumran existed, many scholars found the Essene identification to be the most convincing, and it enjoyed the widest popularity from the earliest days of scholarship on the scrolls. There are two major arguments advanced in favor of the Essene identification of the Qumran community. The first argument relies upon the Roman historian, Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.), who locates the Essene community near the Dead Sea. In his multivolume work *Natural History*, Pliny gives what has



The Dead Sea Scrolls were found in these caves near Qumran, which are believed to have been an Essene monastery.

now become a much-cited reference to the solitary group known as the Essenes in his description of the geography of the land of Judaea. While there is some question as to how to translate the Latin *infra hos*, as “below” (with respect to altitude) or “downstream from,” Pliny’s reference identifies an Essene community in a location very close to the region of the Qumran settlement and caves.

The second argument relies on the correlation of Josephus’s description of the Essenes and the Qumran community’s own account of their belief system. Many diverse categories of writings were discovered at Qumran, including copies of biblical texts and pseudepigraphic writings that would probably have been common to collections and libraries of different kinds of Jewish sects during that time.

In addition to these texts were scrolls that appeared unique to this community and likely composed by them. This latter category of writings expresses a distinctive theology and worldview and is categorized as sectarian or unique to the community at Qumran. A comparison of these sectarian writings with Josephus’s description of the philosophy of the Essenes and other ancient infor-

mants provides some interesting points of correlation in theology and worldview.

One point of correlation concerns the doctrine of predestination. Josephus writes that the Essenes understood “fate” to determine all things. In another place in *The Jewish War*, Josephus writes that this sect leaves everything in the hands of God. This idea that events have been predestined is found in several places among the sectarian writings, including column three of the sectarian scroll the Community Rule, which reads as follows: “All that is now and ever shall be originates with the God of knowledge. Before things come to be, He has ordered all their designs, so that when they do come to exist—at their appointed times as ordained by His glorious plan—they fulfill their destiny, a destiny impossible to change. He controls the laws governing all things, and He provides for all their pursuits.”

However, because of inconsistencies, some scholars are not persuaded by the Essene identification of the Qumran community. Those scholars who remain unconvinced that the Qumran community is Essene note other points of difference in the worldview and ideology of the two groups. These scholars hold out for the possibility that the Qumran group could be an otherwise unknown ancient Jewish sect or propose alternative identifications. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile the Qumran sectarian writings with these ancient descriptions of the Essenes by theorizing that there was a split in the Essene movement or a schism that might account for the variations. This is known as the Groningen hypothesis.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; JOHN THE BAPTIST; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM.

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ANGELA KIM HARKINS

Esther, book of

The book of Esther tells the story of the Persian queen Esther and her uncle Mordechai, who foil the plot of Haman, a wicked Persian courtier, to exterminate the Jews. Haman is hanged on the very scaffold where he intended to hang Mordechai, and Mordechai replaces him as an adviser of the Persian king. The book, written originally in biblical Hebrew, survives in various forms. The differences among these forms determine the many afterlives that the book has enjoyed. The date of the original form of the book is uncertain.

The Jewish book of Esther is best known from the liturgy. The scroll (Hebrew: *megillah*) of Esther is read on the feast of Purim, the origins of which are commemorated in the book. Esther is grouped in the Jewish Bible with other festival scrolls, the Five Megilloth. Purim is an early spring feast associated with revelry and even drinking. Its ultimate origins are Mesopotamian or perhaps Iranian. Esther tells the story of the Jewish form of the feast: Jews commemorate the success of Esther and Mordechai in halting Haman's wicked plans for Jewish genocide, an echo of the genocide planned in Exodus. Esther has also served as a talisman for the historically large community of Iranian Jews, who call themselves “Esther's children.”

The Protestant book of Esther is identical to the Jewish version except in being categorized as a historical book, put in sequence with Joshua, JUDGES, and others as describing the history of God's chosen people. Much Protestant exegesis and scholarship has focused on Esther as a historical text. To be sure, Jews through the ages have thought of Esther as a genuine historical figure but with much less urgency than most Christian students of scripture. Protestant interpreters were also influenced by the identification of the Persian king Ahasuerus as one of the historical rulers called ARTAXERXES.

The Catholic–Orthodox book of Esther is the result of another facet of the early Greek translation. The Hebrew text of Esther, and thus the Jewish and Protestant versions, do not mention the name of God at all,

although the story as it unfolds is clearly overshadowed by divine providence. The Greek translators remedied this supposed deficiency by inserting two long prayers (one spoken by Mordechai, the other by Esther), along with a variety of other elements. These passages, called the “Additions to Esther,” are canonical parts of scripture for Catholics and Orthodox; they are among the Apocrypha of Protestant BIBLE TRANSLATIONS. The only portions of Esther that contributed to Catholic and Orthodox liturgies are the two prayers. Traditional Catholic–Orthodox interpretation has also taken Esther as a historical book.

The literary character of the book has been emphasized by modern biblical scholarship: The book is a story explaining how Jews in a non-Jewish world can be successful and protect themselves. It has some historical basis in that Jews lived all over the Persian Empire, but there is no evidence for a king named Ahasuerus, no Jew ever rose to the status Mordechai attains of controlling the empire, and no Jew ever became the queen of Persia.

See also JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; MOSES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA AND THE APOCRYPHA.

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M. O'CONNOR

Ethiopia, ancient

Ethiopia is known to be one of the earliest places inhabited by humans. Bone fragments found in November 1994 near Aramis, in the lower Awash Valley by Yohannes Haile Selassie, an Ethiopian scientist trained in the United States, have been connected with the *Australopithecus afarensis*, an apelike creature that lived some 4 million years ago, who may be an ancestor of modern humans. Subsequently, other bones were found attesting to the very early hominid activity in the country. There are also stone hand tools and drawings from a much more recent period of prehistory in limestone caves near Dire Dawa, with the initial discoveries being made by H. Breuil and P. Wernert in 1923, further work in the late 1940s site by Frenchman H. Vallois, and then in the 1970s by Americans C. Howell and Y. Coppens. Work in the Awash Valley and also at Melka-Kunture, during the 1960s and early 1970s,

was conducted by Jean Chavaillon, N. Chavaillon, F. Hours, M. Piperno, and others. Another prominent anthropologist, Richard Leakey, has worked in the Omo river region of southwest Ethiopia and participated in much research in neighboring Kenya, where his father, Louis Leakey, was involved in many excavations.

It appears that some time between the eighth and sixth millennia B.C.E. people were beginning to domesticate animals, and archaeological evidence has shown that by 5000 B.C.E. communities were being formed in the Ethiopian highlands, and it seems probable that the languages started developing at this time. Linguists attribute an ancient tongue, based on the modern Afro-Asiatic (formerly Hamito-Semitic) languages, as developing later into the Cushitic and Semitic languages that are used today. By 2000 B.C.E. evidence of grain cultivation of cereals and the use of the plow, probably introduced from Sudan, and animal husbandry, have been found. It is believed people during this period would have spoken Geez, a Semitic language that became common in Tigray, which is believed to be the origin of the modern Amharic and also Tigranya. There were many early links between ancient Ethiopia and

Egypt starting with Piye, a ruler of the Fifth Dynasty in Egypt (2500 B.C.E.), and there were occasions when the two countries were recorded as having the same ruler, whose capital was at Napata, north of modern-day Sudan. Indeed, Pharaoh Sahure sent a voyage to the land of Punt during the Fifth Dynasty, and most scholars believe that this represents a part of modern-day Ethiopia, although some place Punt as being in modern-day Yemen or even as far south as Zanzibar, or even the Zambezi. This expedition sent by Sahure returned with 80,000 measures of myrrh; 6,000 weights of electrum, an alloy made from silver and gold; and 2,600 “costly logs,” probably ebony. The most famous expedition to Punt was that led by Queen Hatsehsut in about 1495 B.C.E., according to inscriptions detailing it that have been found on the temple of Deir el-Bahri in THEBES. The carvings show traders bringing back myrrh trees, as well as sacks of myrrh, incense, elephant tusks, gold, and also some exotic animals and exotic wood.

DA'AMAT

From about 800 B.C.E., several kingdoms started to emerge in Ethiopia. The first was the kingdom of



Ethiopia is one of the earliest places inhabited by humankind. Archaeological evidence shows that by 5000 B.C.E. communities were forming in the Ethiopian highlands and by 2000 B.C.E. cultivation of cereals, the use of the plow, and animal husbandry left traces.

Da'amat, which was established in the seventh century B.C.E. and dominated the lands of modern-day western Ethiopia, probably with its capital at Yeha. A substantial amount about Yeha is known, owing to the excavations of Frenchman Francis Anfray in 1963 and again in 1972–73, as well as work by Rodolfo Fattovich in 1971. Much of the early work of the former was concentrated in rock-cut tombs, with the latter working extensively on pottery fragments. From their work and the work of other archaeologists it was found that Yeha was an extensive trading community, well established in the sale of ivory, tortoiseshell, rhinoceros horn, gold, silver, and slaves to merchants from south ARABIA. It also seems to have had close links with the Sabaeen kingdom of modern-day Yemen, as all the surviving Da'amat inscriptions refer to the Sabaeen kings. The kingdom of Da'amat used iron tools and grew millet. It flourished for about 400 years but declined with the growing importance of other trade routes and possibly due to the kingdom not being able to sustain itself, having killed many of the animals in its region and possibly exhausted the mines.

Substantial archaeological work has been carried out on this period of Ethiopian history with one search by Jean Leclant in 1955–56, finding two sites at Haoulti-Melazo with a statue of a bull, incense altars, and some fragmentary descriptions.

AXUM

The next kingdom, which gradually took over from Da'amat, was the kingdom of Axum (Aksum), from which modern Ethiopia traces its origins. The large temple at Yeha dates to 500 B.C.E., and scholars question whether it was built by the kingdom of Da'amat or that of Axum.

Axum may have emerged from 1000 B.C.E., but it was not until 600 B.C.E. that it become important. Like Da'amat, it also relied heavily on trade with Arabia, forming a power base in Tigray, and controlling the trade routes from Sudan and also those going to the port of Adulis on the Gulf of Zula. The kingdom of Axum used Geez as its language, with a modified south Arabian alphabet as their script. Indeed, so much of Axum's architecture and sculpture are similar to earlier designs that have been found in South Arabia as to suggest to some historians that the kingdom might have been largely established by people from Arabia. This is reinforced by the fact that Axum also used similar deities to those in the Middle East.

During the eighth century B.C.E. it is thought that Judaism reached Ethiopia—the modern-day Falashas

are the descendents of the Ethiopian Jews. It seems likely that Jewish settlers from Egypt, Sudan, and Arabia settled in Ethiopia, but attempts to link them chronologically with a specific biblical event such as MOSES leading the Jews from Egypt or the Babylonian Captivity have not been successful. In this debate exists the legend of the queen of Sheba. She was known locally as Queen Makeda and is believed to have ruled over an area of modern-day southern Eritrea and was involved in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

There she met the Israelite king SOLOMON, and they may have had an affair that led to the birth of a son who became Menelik I, the ancestor of the Ethiopian royal house that ruled the country until 1974, although this rule was interrupted by the Zagwe dynasty. Certainly the dynasty tracing their ancestry from Menelik calls itself the Solomonic dynasty. One version of the legend includes Menelik I returning to Jerusalem where he takes the ARK OF THE COVENANT, which some believe is still in Ethiopia.

By the fifth century B.C.E. Axum had emerged as the major trading power in the Red Sea, with coins minted bearing the faces of the kings of Axum being widely distributed in the region. Mani (216–c. 274 C.E.), the Persian religious figure, listed the four great powers during his life as being Rome, Persia, China, and Axum. During the third century B.C.E. Ptolemy II and then Ptolemy III of Egypt both sent expeditions to open up trade with Africa and, it has been suggested, also to obtain a source of war elephants for the battles against their rival, the SELEUCID EMPIRE. The latter tended to gain a military advantage by using Indian elephants, with the PTOLEMIES using either Indian elephants or North African elephants, which are smaller than Indian elephants. Although the Ptolemies soon stopped sending missions to the Red Sea and beyond, trade relations continued.

The Roman writer Pliny, writing before 77 C.E., mentioned the port of Adulis, and the first-century C.E. Greek travel book *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes King Zoskales living in Adulis—then an important trading destination and the port for the kingdom of Axum—as being the source for ivory taken from the hinterland to the capital of Axum, eight days inland from Adulis. Zoskales in Adulis was described as “a covetous and grasping man but otherwise a nobleman and imbued with Greek education.”

The writer of *Periplus Maris Erythraei* also notes that there was a large number of Greco-Roman merchants living at Adulis, and it seems likely that it was through them that the ideas of Judaism and then Christianity started to flourish.

The arrival of Christianity in Ethiopia is ascribed to Frumentius, who was consecrated the first bishop of Ethiopia by ATHANASIUS of ALEXANDRIA in about 330 C.E. He came to Axum during the reign of the emperor EZANA (c. 303–c. 350), converting the king as is evident in the design of his coins, changed from an earlier design of a disc and a crescent.

This meant that the Monophysite Christianity of the eastern Mediterranean region was established firmly in Axum during the fourth century, and two centuries later monks were converting many people to Christianity in the hinterland to the south and the east of Axum. The Christianity in Axum became the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, heavily influenced by the Egyptian Coptic Church. The last stela at Axum, late in the fourth century, mentions King Ouszebas.

At its height Axum not only dominated the Red Sea in areas of commerce but even held land controlling the South Arabian kingdom of the Himyarites in modern-day Yemen, with King Ezana described on his coins not only as “king of Saba and Salhen, Himyar and Dhu-Raydan” but also “King of the Habshat”—all these places being in South Arabia. He had also, by this period, adopted the title *negusa nagast* (“king of kings”).

On the African continent their lands stretched north to the Roman province of Egypt and west to the Cushite kingdom of MEROË in modern-day Sudan. Indeed, it seems that the forces of Axum had captured Meroë in about 300 C.E. However, during the reign of Ezana it experienced a decline in fortune but regained its former strength over the next century. This is borne out by the few inscriptions that survive, which were either in Geez or in Greek.

AXUM'S DECLINE

When Christians were attacked in Yemen in the early sixth century, Emperor Caleb (r. c. 500–534) sent soldiers to prevent them from being persecuted by a Jewish prince, Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, who attacked the Axum garrison at Zafar and burned all the nearby Christian churches. This represented a time when Axum was probably at its height in terms of its power and diplomatic connections. *The Book of the Himyarites* revealed previously unpublished information about Caleb's attack on Yemen. King Caleb spent his last years in a monastery, but by this time Axum was in control of land on both sides of the Red Sea and was in regular communications with the Byzantine Empire at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Axum's power waned when the SASSANID EMPIRE invaded the region in 572. Although it is not thought that the Sassanids conquered the kingdom of Axum,

they probably did defeat its armies in battle and certainly cut off its trade routes not only to Arabia but also into Egypt, thus ensuring its gradual decline. The political influence of Axum had ended, and the city would have declined. Some 30–40 years later the whole of South Arabia and also Egypt were controlled by the Arabs, cutting off the connections between Axum and the Mediterranean.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Etruscans

The Etruscans left no historical or written records other than tomb inscriptions with brief family histories. Other than this burial genealogy, most writing about the Etruscans is from later sources, including the Romans. Only recently has archaeology begun to unravel the mystery of the Etruscans. During the Renaissance, in 1553 and 1556 two Etruscan bronzes were discovered, but excavation of Etruscan sites did not begin in earnest until the 18th century. After the Etruscan cities of Tarquinia, Cervetri, and Vulci were excavated in the 19th century, museums began collecting objects from the digs. More than 6,000 Etruscan sites have been examined.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first century B.C.E. thought the Etruscans were Pelasgians who settled in modern-day Tuscany and were absorbed by the native Tyrrhenians. Livy and Virgil in the first century C.E. thought the Etruscans came after the fall of TROY and the flight of Aeneas. HERODOTUS, in the fifth century C.E., claimed a Lydian origin, with the Tyrrhenians being named for the Lydian leader Tyrrhenos. Until recently scholars agreed with Herodotus and Dionysius that the Etruscans were migrants from Asia Minor between 900 and 800 B.C.E. Modern scholars believe that the Etruscans descended from the Villanovans, whose peak was in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. In the seventh century B.C.E. Etruscan villages supposedly took the place of Villanovan villages.

The Etruscans were neighbors to a small village of Latins in northern Latium. The Etruscan city-states were located in the marshy coastal areas of west-central Italy, that is, modern Tuscany. Permanent settlement dates from the end of the ninth century B.C.E., including Vetulonia and Tarquinii (now Tarquinia). Burial chambers of that era differ from those of earlier eras and contain amber, silver, gold, and gems from Egypt, Asia Minor, and other parts of the world. The Etruscans were sea people as well as miners of copper, tin, lead, silver, and iron. The Etruscan alphabet was based on the Greek but with a distinctively Etruscan grammar. The Etruscan language is similar to a sixth-century B.C.E. Greek dialect common to Lemnos but differs from other Mediterranean languages. Inscriptions are in the Greek alphabet but written from right to left. Precise definitions of some words are still not known.

By the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. the Etruscans had conquered Rome, much of Italy, and non-Italian areas such as Corsica. This success brought their political and cultural peak in the sixth century B.C.E. Etruscans were largely agrarian, as were the surrounding peoples, but they had a powerful military that allowed them to dominate their neighbors, using them as labor on their farms, and devote their own time to commerce and industry.

Greek influence was strong in Etruscan religion, with human-type gods and highly sophisticated rituals for divination, but Etruscan mythology also included some unique elements. Etruscan religion clearly separated the human and divine, and it established exact procedures for keeping the goodwill of the gods. Religion mattered greatly to the Etruscans. They built tombs resembling their houses and gave the deceased household objects for use in the afterlife. Rome inher-

ited Etruscan religion, including books of divination and the Lares, their household gods.

Scholars of the 19th and 20th century assessed Etruscan painting and sculpture as original and creative but not nearly as great as the art of the Greeks. The preference at that time was for the Greek mathematical ideal of beauty. Etruscan art is better able to capture feeling and the essence of the subject. Much of the remaining examples of Etruscan art are funerary, but there is evidence from existing frescoes and other works of art that Etruscans used color liberally. Etruscan art was a major stylistic influence on Renaissance artists who lived in the area of the old Etruria. Etruscan jewelry, pottery, and portable art was so prized during the Renaissance and after that collectors destroyed many Etruscan sites to attain it, making periodization of Etruscan styles difficult.

Etruscan cities were fortified and ruled by a king. An aristocracy ruled Etruscan society and controlled the government, military, economy, and religion. Cities such as Tarquinii and Veii dominated their regions and began colonizing adjacent areas. Independent city-states entangled themselves in economic and political alliances. Rule by kings gave way to rule by oligarchs. In some cases the kings or oligarchs allowed governance by council or by elected officials. The Etruscan city alliances provoked responses from Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians who regarded the Etruscans as a threat.

Etruscan technology, such as the engineering that allowed water to move via canals and irrigation channels, long predated the Roman aqueducts. The Etruscans built much of Rome, including the Cloaca Maxima, the walls around the town, and the Temple of Jupiter. Etruscans implemented an efficient administrative system for Rome. Legendary Etruscan kings of Rome may have used warrior status to gain their crowns. Among these were the Tarquins Lucius Priscus and Lucius Superbus. The last of Rome's seven kings was the Etruscan Tarquin the Proud (Tarquinius Superbus), replaced in 510 B.C.E. when Rome chose a republic.

In 504 B.C.E. the Etruscans were expelled from Latium, beginning the end of Etruscan power and the rise of Roman culture. The Etruscans kept north of the Tiber, and their influence on Rome diminished. Etruscan power was further weakened in the fifth century B.C.E. when the navy of SYRACUSE defeated the Etruscan coalition fleet off Cumae in 474 B.C.E. The Etruscan confederation allied with Athens in a futile attack on Syracuse in 413 B.C.E. Rome besieged Veii and, after 10 years, defeated the city in 396 B.C.E. In 386 B.C.E. the Etruscans lost their trading routes over the Alps after the Gauls conquered Rome and the Po valley.



Etruscan painting and sculpture were seen as less creative than ancient Greek art, but were highly prized during the Renaissance.

Rome's century-long conquest of Etruria was finished in 283 B.C.E., and in 282 B.C.E. Rome defeated the Etruscans a final time. The Etruscans accepted a peace treaty. Increasing control by Rome cost the Etruscans their cultural identity. Cities such as Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci ceded territory and paid tribute to Rome. Decline fueled dissension among the aristocracy, and the lower classes rose in protest. Cities such as Volsinii lost their social structure. Some Etruscan cities allied with Rome and came under Roman law. Rome helped the Etruscan cities to defeat their rebellions, even when the Etruscans had help from the Gauls, Samnites, Lucanians, and Umbrians.

In the first century B.C.E. Etruscans accepted the offer of Roman citizenship, but their new status was lowered when they supported the losing side in the Roman civil wars of 88–86 B.C.E. and 83 B.C.E. Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the winner, razed cities, seized land, and limited Etruscan civil rights. Subsequent Etruscan rebellions failed, and Romans colonized Etruria in the next century, furthering the Romanization of Etruria. Rome absorbed every Etruscan city, and Etruria was no more. The Etruscan culture and society dominated the Italian Peninsula in the eighth through fourth centuries B.C.E. They were a strong influence on Roman culture and society, how-

ever, they fell to Roman dominance in the fourth century B.C.E., and shortly after that their language and writings disappeared, only to be recovered in the 20th century.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Euripides

(c. 484–406 B.C.E.) *Greek playwright*

Euripides was one of the three great Athenian tragic dramatists, with AESCHYLUS and SOPHOCLES. He was reputed to have been the author of some 92 plays and received a considerable level of public and critical acclaim. He was on 20 occasions chosen to be one of the three annually chosen laureates of Athens. Nineteen of his plays have been preserved. The life and career of Euripides are not known in great detail, and it is likely that some sources, for example constant references to him in the plays of ARISTOPHANES, are scurrilous or at least satirical.

It does appear that he was born into a wealthy family and was talented in a number of fields other than drama. His parents were named Mnesarchus and Cleito. He married a woman named Melito and had three sons; one became a poet of some distinction. Euripides participated in just one known public activity, when he served on a diplomatic mission to Syracuse. A great deal of his later life was lived during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR with Sparta, and the travails associated with living in a city involved in a seemingly endless war may have contributed to his decision to accept an invitation from King Archelaus of Macedonia to live in that country in 408 B.C.E., and it is there that he died.

Euripides has been compared unfavorably to Aeschylus and Sophocles on account of his greater reliance on poetic oratory and rhetoric, rather than genuine dramatic intensity and because of his use of Socratic or Sophistic philosophy in his works. However, those same qualities have in some ways made him more popular than his contemporaries in the modern world because his themes and language appear more accessible and comprehensible. Even so he received less critical acclaim than his rivals, supposedly to his chagrin.

The best-known plays of Euripides include *The Bacchae*, *Medea*, *Electra*, and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. *Medea* was first produced in 431 B.C.E. and highlights the oppression of women, which is a central theme in the works of Euripides. In this play the hero Jason takes Medea as a wife, and they go to live in Corinth. After some years of happy marriage, which included the birth of two children, Jason announces his intention to abandon his wife and pursue the princess of Corinth. Deeply distressed, Medea ultimately resolves to murder the princess and her own children, thereby denying Jason the consolation of family in his later life. She is able to escape from his revenge by riding away in the chariot of the sun god, who is her grandfather. Despite this overturning of all accepted proprieties, Euripides succeeds in causing the audience to sympathize with the plight of the abandoned woman.

The play *Iphigenia at Aulis* demonstrates another theme of importance to Euripides, which is the struggle between the dictates of public duty with personal morality and decency. The play is set in the beginning of the Trojan War and depicts the Greek fleet, led by Agamemnon, becalmed at Aulis, which has been caused by the ill will of the goddess Artemis. Agamemnon determines that the only way to placate Artemis is to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia.

Unwilling though he is, Agamemnon feels he cannot escape his duty and his destiny, so he tricks his daughter into coming to join him. Once she has arrived, she learns the truth, and after some heart-rending scenes, she willingly volunteers for her sacrifice. However, it is clear that this initial act of violence will lead to a spiral of acts in the future, and many of these episodes are explored in other plays of Euripides.

The *Bacchae* is perhaps the one existing play of Euripides that attempts to reconcile the outbreak of violence with the possibility of returning society to harmony once more. The action centers on the god Dionysius and his attempt to introduce the brand of unbridled lust that he accepts as the appropriate form of worship into the city of Thebes. This is resisted by the king, Pentheus, and Dionysius takes violent revenge against the king and his people. However, those women who had been convinced to enter a state of divinely inspired violence are then depicted as having the opportunity to return to a rational, human state.

This play demonstrates some opportunity for redemption from violence and oppression on Earth. Euripides was one of the great exponents of the tragic art, which involved the classical elements of chorus, divine intervention, and savage scenes that can distance the work from

the modern sensibilities. However, the power of Euripides's language is, compared to all the Greek tragic dramatists, perhaps the best able to bridge that gulf.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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JOHN WALSH

Eusebius

(c. 260–339 C.E.) *historian and religious leader*

Born in Caesarea, Eusebius studied under the director of the theological school in that city, Pamphilus (a future martyr), whom he so admired that he adopted his name, calling himself Eusebius Pamphili. A devoted disciple of ORIGEN, Pamphilus expanded the library that Origen had established at Caesarea and passed on to Eusebius the great master's critical and scientific approach to texts. After Pamphilus's martyrdom, Eusebius fled to Tyre and then to Egypt, where he may have been imprisoned for the faith. When the persecution ended in 313 C.E., he returned to Caesarea and was made its bishop. As bishop of an important diocese—and one not far from ALEXANDRIA—Eusebius naturally became involved in the controversy of ARIANISM.

He was present at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA in 325 and signed the Orthodox statement produced by the council known as the Nicene Creed, but he signed more for peacekeeping reasons than for a genuine conviction of its theological precision. He was wary of the term *homoousios* (of one being), because he felt it smacked of Sabellianism (an earlier heresy that taught that the Trinity was three modes of being God, with no real distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). After Nicaea, Eusebius became a leader of the moderate (or semi-Arian) party, which sought compromise and harmony over precise theological expression; this was a position favored also by the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The oft-presented view that Eusebius enjoyed a close friendship with the emperor and was his trusted adviser has been criticized given their relatively few personal or literary exchanges. It is more true that Eusebius's uncritical admiration of the first Christian emperor—whom he believed God had sent to bring the

church into an era of peace—enthusiastically colored his theology of the church with a certain triumphalism.

In spite of his tainted theological associations with the Arians and his biased treatment of Constantine, Eusebius will always be honored as the “Father of Ecclesiastical (Church) History.” He is the first to attempt to compose a work chronicling the important people and events in the early church up to his own day, in c. 324. Entitled *Church History*, it is a rich collection of historical facts, documents, and excerpts from pagan and Christian authors, some of which are extant only in this work. Some of the principal themes traced throughout the work are the list of bishops in the most important cities, Orthodox Christian writers and their defense of the faith up against the HERESIES of their day, the times of persecutions along with authentic stories of the martyrs and confessors in each of the periods, the fate of the Jews, and the development of the canonical books of the New Testament. Although it contains a number of errors, the very “plethora of details” it gives and the eyewitness accounts of the persecutions and martyrdoms make it a work of inestimable value.

Eusebius is witness to an understanding of ecclesiology that is both rooted in tradition and energetically engaged in expressing the faith in terms called for by the shifting winds of time. Also, his candid approach to the canon of the New Testament allows the reader a splendid glimpse of early Christianity in the process of discerning an important issue. Besides his *Church History*, Eusebius’s writings include *Life of Constantine* (an unfinished work, which is more of an encomium than a historical biography), apologetical works (against pagans and Jews), biblical works (including commentaries, a harmony of the Gospels, and a geographical dictionary of the Bible), dogmatic works (such as *Defense of Origen*), sermons, and a few extant letters.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Ezana (Abreha)

(c. 320–350 C.E.) *Ethiopian king*

Abreha, also known as King Ezana, was a fourth-century C.E. king who converted to Christianity and

subsequently established this faith as the state religion in Axum (Aksum), part of modern-day Ethiopia. Scholars do not agree on the details of Ezana’s life, but several have documented information about his reign through trilingual inscriptions on stone tablets of the period. Most Ethiopians believe that Abreha, along with his twin brother Atsbeha, inherited the throne of Axum when their father died. Since the boys were too young to take over the reigns of government, their mother, Sawya (Sophia), served as queen regent from around 325 to 328 C.E. Upon ascending to the throne, Abreha took Ezana as his throne name, and Atsbeha opted for Sayzana.

Ezana and Sayzana were tutored by two Hellenic Syrians who had been rescued as young boys after other occupants of their ship had been either murdered or killed in a shipwreck. The king subsequently accepted responsibility for the brothers, who were classified as slaves. However, recognizing their unique abilities, he named Aedesius as the royal cupbearer and placed Frumentius in the position of royal treasurer and secretary. After the king’s death the Syrians continued to tutor the royal twins and served as advisers to the queen. Although the exact date is not known, it is believed that Ezana and Sayzana ascended the throne sometime between 320 and 325.

As monarch, Ezana claimed many titles and is credited with being the first to call himself the “king of kings.” He identified himself as the king of Axum, Saba, Salhen, Himyar, Raydan, Habashat, Tiamo, Kasu, and of the Beja tribes. The kingdom over which King Ezana ruled stretched out on both sides of the Red Sea and extended into what is modern-day Sudan and Somalia. Between 330 and 360 the outside world was made aware of his kingdom. At the time, outsiders referred to NUBIA and all of tropical Africa as Ethiopia. However, residents of Axum generally referred to themselves as Habashats. The term *Ethiopian*, which means “burned faces,” originated with Greek traders and was first used by Ezana in inscriptions that appeared on stone tablets between 333 and 340.

Ezana is considered to have been the ablest and most politically astute of the brothers, and some scholars doubt that he even had a twin. At any rate, Ezana reigned over Axum at a time when it was flourishing as a viable political, economic, and agricultural African state. His tenure was marked by territorial expansion and significant economic growth, and Ezana opened up a major trade route with Egypt.

Consequently, a large number of Greek traders immigrated to Ethiopia in order to take advantage of its

rich resources of gold, ivory, spices, and tortoiseshell. By some accounts it was these Greek merchants who first introduced Christianity to Ethiopia. However, some scholars believe that Frumentius and his brother were entirely responsible for converting the royal family to Christianity. Most sources agree that Frumentius, either by his own initiative or on orders from Ezana, traveled to ALEXANDRIA to ask Patriarch ATHANASIUS (c. 293–373) to send a bishop to start a church in Axum. Instead, the patriarch appointed Frumentius as the bishop. From the date of his return, somewhere around 305, Frumentius devoted his life to evangelizing. Within a few months tens of thousands of Ethiopians from all social classes had become Christians. Evidence shows that early in their tenure as monarchs of Axum, Ezana and Sayzana paid allegiance to pagan gods. Ezana often called himself the “Son of Mahrem,” which was equivalent to identifying himself with Ares, the Greek god of war. After the brothers’ conversion to Christianity, Axumite coins most often depicted the cross, or sometimes multiple crosses.

After his death on the battlefield at around 25 years of age, Ezana was buried in a rock-hewn church that still stands in present-day Ethiopia. Sayzana became the sole monarch, governing for the next 14 years. Upon Sayza-

na’s death, he was buried beside his brother. The church of Ethiopia subsequently canonized both Abreha and Atsbeha, and Ethiopians honor these saints each year on October 14. There is some evidence that the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Axum from Jerusalem in the 10th century where it was placed in the sanctuary of St. Maryam Tseyon. As a result of this belief, Axum is considered Ethiopia’s holiest city. Archaeologists are in the process of uncovering relics that have traced the history of the area back to the first century C.E.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT.

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ELIZABETH PURDY



Fa Xian (Fa-hsien)

(c. fifth century C.E.) *Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, author*

Fa Xian was a famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who traveled overland to India in 399 C.E. and returned via sea in 413. All Chinese men and women abandon their original names and choose ones with religious significance when they join monastic orders. *Fa Xian* means “Illustriousness of the Law.” His travels and journal provide important geographic information about the lands he visited, knowledge about conditions in India (which are lacking in Indian records), and vital Buddhist manuscripts that he translated into Chinese after he returned home.

Buddhism first arrived in China at the beginning of the Common Era from India and Central Asia by land along the SILK ROAD and by sea along the coast of Southeast Asia through Vietnam. Until Fa Xian’s epochal journey the traffic was one way, and the bringers of the Buddhist message were all non-Chinese (Indians, Persians, and Central Asians). Some early Chinese pilgrims who attempted the journey either never reached India or never returned. The success of his journey inaugurated a movement that took many Chinese monks to Buddhism’s holy land.

Up to his journey there had been no translation into Chinese of the entire *vinaya*, or “rules of the discipline,” of the Buddhist canon. Fa Xian’s goal was to obtain an entire version of the work to translate into Chinese. He traveled by land across the terrifying Gobi Desert, which he described in these words:

“In the desert were numerous evil spirits and scorching winds, causing death to anyone who would meet them. Above there were no birds, while on the ground there were no animals. One looked as far as one could in all directions for a path to cross, but there was none to choose. Only the dried bones of the dead served as indications.”

After arriving at the oasis town Khotan in present-day northwestern China he crossed high mountains to northwestern India. Then he visited all the holy places of Buddhism, studied Sanskrit, collected manuscripts (including several versions of the *vinaya* according to different Buddhist sects), crossed to CEYLON (Sri Lanka), where he studied for two years, then boarded a ship for China at Java.

After more than 200 days at sea he arrived in Shandong (Shantung) in northern China. He spent his remaining years translating the entire *vinaya* and other Buddhist works into Chinese and writing a book titled *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. Many devout Buddhist monks would follow his path in the succeeding centuries, learning about Buddhism in its native land and returning to China to spread their knowledge and spiritual faith.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; ERA OF DIVISION (CHINA); GUPTA EMPIRE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Fertile Crescent

The Fertile Crescent describes an area of land roughly occupied by modern Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. North of the Arabian Desert and west of the Zagros Mountains, this area is irrigated by several rivers, most notably the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq and Syria, and the Nile in Egypt. The two major river basins are connected by the Levant, a stretch of fertile land along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, to form a green crescent-like shape. Once among the most fertile agricultural lands on Earth, the crescent remains visible from space today.

Normally, the ebb and flow of plant and animal populations encouraged people to move around, following them. The Nile, however, experienced fairly predictable annual floods, and the Tigris and Euphrates regularly overflowed and irrigated the surrounding land, now called Mesopotamia.

Aided by the first domesticated animals, people found that they could settle in fixed communities, eating the harvested produce of one year's floods while waiting for the next year's crop to grow. They helped this process along with irrigation ditches, encouraging the production of wheat and barley, which they supplemented with figs and dates. Cows, meanwhile, demanded an increasing quantity of domesticated grass, in order to provide enough meat and milk for a rapidly growing human population.

THE FIRST CITIES

By around 7000 to 5000 B.C.E. the settled human population had grown large enough to support the first permanent settlements. In ancient Egypt the Nile was revered as part of the primeval sea, which gave way to a primeval hill, on which humankind built some of the first cities, such as Memphis (c. 3500 B.C.E.). Mesopotamian origin myths went one step further, treating Eridu (settled around 5400 B.C.E.) as the world's first city. In fact, the oldest continually-inhabited cities are not along the major river valleys at all, but in the Levant, where DAMASCUS, Syria, and Jericho, ISRAEL, boast histories of as much as 9,000 years.

Initially small, these cities grew in both population and number until the Fertile Crescent was dotted with hundreds or even thousands, containing a few million people between them. A diverse array of crops and other agricultural goods promoted communication and trade among these cities and thus the first economies, but population pressures, both within the cities and among neighboring nomads, led to an increased demand for territory and security and thus to the earliest forms of organized warfare. Both trends lent themselves to increasingly complex hierarchies and political organizations among the various city-states so that by the third millennium B.C.E. cities began to band together under a common leadership, creating the first empires.

EGYPT

Though Egypt probably emerged late as a civilization of city builders, it was among the first to emerge as a unified state. As early as the first documented PHARAOH, Narmer, Egypt emerged as a federated imperial state, with several communities working together toward common secular and spiritual goals. The most remarkable accomplishment of the earliest Egyptians was the great PYRAMIDS OF GIZA, constructed around 2500 B.C.E. under the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty. Ten centuries and 14 dynasties later, Egypt expanded into the Levant, using chariots and archers to reach as far as the city of MARI, on the western Euphrates.

Throughout its history up to about 1000 B.C.E. Egypt remained remarkably unified. Despite the occasional foreign invasion Egypt maintained a cultural unity rarely fragmented beyond more than two kingdoms, and these were usually based on the two largest cities, Memphis and THEBES. During brief periods of more general civil strife, smaller city-states emerged, including Saïs and Tanis, but these were often subsumed again into the larger kingdom once political control was reestablished.

Occasionally, however, even the capital of unified Egypt would change, for example when the pharaoh AKHENATEN and his wife Nefertiti established a new power base at Heliopolis, reflecting a change in Egyptian religion from reverence of the Nile to worship of the Sun.

MESOPOTAMIA AND THE LEVANT

In contrast to Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant experienced considerable fragmentation and change. Subject to continual invasions and balance-of-power struggles, these city-states tended to be more militarized and for more than a millennium much less ad-

ept than their Egyptian counterpart at building secure, stable empires. Over time, however, they mastered the art, and the Assyrians briefly unified the entire Fertile Crescent under a single sovereign entity, in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.

Initially, Mesopotamia was broken into tiny city-states, with each town and its surrounding land claiming all the prerogatives of a sovereign state. Collectively called SUMER, the city-states near the Tigris and Euphrates delta developed a distinctive culture, featuring literature such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Although GILGAMESH's town of Uruk clearly influenced others, neither it nor any of the other city-states of Sumer established a clear military or political dominance over the others.

The first major military power in Mesopotamia was not native to the region at all but an invader: the Gutians, who had domesticated the horse and invaded over the Zagros Mountains. Although repulsed by the Sumerians, militia in the individual towns—such as the 24-man garrison of Lagash—could not overcome the next invasion, from northern Arabia. SARGON OF AKKAD unified southern Mesopotamia c. 2350 B.C.E. not only by force with his 6,000-man army but also by adopting the local culture. This empire only lasted until 2100 B.C.E., however, before native Sumerian rule was restored by the third dynasty of UR. The first leader of this new empire, Ur-Nammu, organized neighboring city-states into administrative districts and imposed one of the world's first codes of laws across the whole federation. His son, Shulgi, conquered a few neighboring city-states and was revered as a god, though his empire was soon dwarfed.

The problem with Sumer-Akkad was that local food supplies were unable to cope with a growing population—still less so in periods of drought and when the cult of personality failed Shulgi's successors. All three factors came into play when the Amorites, another North Arabian tribe, came into the fertile valley of the Euphrates River around 2000 B.C.E. and established themselves at Babylon, blocking the major trade route. Slowly they absorbed almost all of the territory and culture of their more numerous subjects, but some Sumer-Akkadians may have moved altogether to a different collection of city-states on the northern Tigris, in the old kingdom of ASSYRIA.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Though it went through many evolutions, these migrations ultimately set the stage for the major Mesopotamian rivalry of the next 1,500 years, between Assyria and



The Fertile Crescent is an area of land irrigated by several rivers, most notably the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile (above).

Babylonia—both of them centers of trade, culture, and learning, which became increasingly militaristic and antagonistic over time. At first, early Babylon was the more impressive, with leaders such as Hammurabi writing their own codes of laws and increasingly advanced institutions of politics, culture, and religion. Assyria, meanwhile, grew rich as a trading empire but fell subject to invasion by the MITTANI, a mysterious people who may have introduced iron working to the region. When Assyria reemerged around 1350 B.C.E., it was no longer a trading empire but a state governed by a continual call to war. For some 700 years Assyria steadily expanded, dominating its neighbors and unifying large areas of the Fertile Crescent, until by 671 B.C.E. the entire region was subject to the rule of a single leader, Esarhaddon, governing from the city of NINEVEH on the middle Tigris.

Deeply religious and eminently pragmatic, many Assyrian leaders combined respect for their neighbors with a calculated ruthlessness. Although they allowed many conquered peoples to retain their political institutions, Assyrian bas-reliefs suggest that their leaders favored a policy of large-scale devastation and deportation for recalcitrant populations, and later dynasties built centers of culture at home from the spoils of rival neighbors. Despite suffering from one or two major expeditions, Assyrian hegemony worked relatively well for PHOENICIA, a collection of semifederated maritime trading states in the northern Levant that provided tribute from islands in the Mediterranean. The Israelite lands were less compliant, however, and required a judicious mix of deportations, depredations, and diplomacy

to remain a subject people. Babylon proved more recalcitrant by the early seventh century B.C.E., revolting three times in 15 years, before Great King Sennacherib completely destroyed it in 689 B.C.E. Though Esarhaddon ordered the city rebuilt and repopulated, Assyria never fully controlled its neighbor to the south, and late Babylon retrieved the upper hand at long last near the end of the seventh century B.C.E., establishing a smaller Mesopotamian empire that endured for about 70 years, before the Fertile Crescent was unified again under the rule of CYRUS II of Persia.

See also ARAMAEANS; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; HYKSOS; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

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MATT J. SCHUMANN

First Americans

There is considerable controversy and little consensus on the questions of when, where, and how human beings first arrived in and peopled the Americas. For much of the 20th century (c. 1920s–80s) the views of Aleš Hrdlicka (1869–1943) of the United States National Museum dominated the discipline of physical anthropology in the Americas. Hrdlicka and his followers maintained that all indigenous peoples of the Americas originated in north Asia from Mongoloid stock.

His theory dovetailed with the so-called Clovis-First hypothesis, a pre-1990s consensus among North American archaeologists and physical anthropologists that the ancestors of all peoples who inhabited the Americas prior to the European encounter in 1492 had migrated across a land bridge at the Bering Strait (called Beringia) and south through an ice-free corridor near the end of the most recent (or Wisconsin) glaciation, around 10,000 B.C.E. These early Paleo-Indians then dispersed across the Americas. Their immediate descendants, the Clovis culture, employed a characteristic lithic chipping technique (first discovered near Clovis, New Mexico, in the 1930s), which then became widespread across North America. In this Clovis-First hypothesis, the Clovis culture was followed by the Folsom culture and subsequent late Paleo-Indian cultures.

Numerous pre-Clovis sites excavated from the 1990s conclusively demonstrate human habitation of the Americas well before the Clovis horizon. New sub-disciplines (including paleobotany, paleoparasitology, paleoclimatology, paleoecology, and mitochondrial DNA [mtDNA] analysis) and new dating technologies (especially more refined radiocarbon dating procedures and optically stimulated luminescence [OSL]) have pushed back the date of human habitation in the Americas to at least 16,000 BP (before present). Paralleling the torturous history of paleoanthropology in Africa and Asia, however, credible schools of thought regarding the peopling of the Americas are varied, multiple, contradictory, and a matter of fierce debate.

In North America, and despite these disagreements, one consensus to emerge by the early 2000s was that the U.S. South and the Mid-Atlantic region south of the Wisconsin glaciation were major sites of human habitation in the pre-Clovis era. Numerous sites there predating the Clovis culture have been carefully excavated since the 1980s. These include the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in southwestern Pennsylvania, a project directed by James M. Adovasio of the Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute, which has yielded firm dates of 16,000 BP; Cactus Hill, Virginia, led (in separate projects) by Joseph McAvoy of the Nottaway River Survey and Michael Johnson of the Archaeological Society of Virginia, whose human artifacts were also dated to around 16,000 BP; Saltville, Virginia, dated to 14,000 BP; and the Topper site in South Carolina, dated to at least 16,000 BP.

Another important project from the 1990s has been the Gault site excavation in central Texas, supervised by Mike Collins under the auspices of the Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory, which has unearthed more than half a million Clovis artifacts and shed new light on this mysterious culture.

In South America sites antecedent to Clovis include the Monte Verde project in Chile, undertaken by U.S. archaeologist T. D. Dillehay in the 1980s and 1990s; the Taima Taima project in Venezuela, led by Canadian archaeologists Alan Bryan and Ruth Gruhn from the 1970s; and the Pedra Furada project in northeastern Brazil, directed by Brazilian anthropologist Niède Guidon of the Fundação Museu do Homem Americano (FUMDHAM) since the 1980s.

Dillehay's findings at Monte Verde demonstrate that humans inhabited the southernmost parts of South America at least 12,500 years ago and suggest dates as far back as 33,000 BP. The findings of Guidon and colleagues at Pedra Furada appear to push the date of hu-



Reflecting what First Americans might have looked like in the American Southwest, a group of 10 Hopi snake priests pose before a camera in 1907. Where, how, when, and why the first Native Americans settled the American continents is hotly debated today.

man habitation of the Americas back even further. Radiocarbon dating of hearth samples and other artifacts (using accelerator mass spectrometry [AMS] and a procedure called acid-base-wet oxidation followed by stepped combustion [ABOX-SC], developed in 1999) has yielded dates ranging from 35,000 to 55,000 B.C.E. for the Pedra Furada site. Some purported anthropogenic specimens have yielded ages greater than 56,000 BP, the outermost limit of radiocarbon dating. Guidon and her colleagues therefore hypothesize that humans inhabited Pedra Furada and adjacent sites some 60,000 years ago, and perhaps before. Few scholars accept these very early dates.

Other evidence suggests South Asian, African, and possibly European migrations to the Americas in the pre-Clovis era. Among the most controversial findings is the so-called Kennewick Man, plucked out of the Columbia River in Washington State and dated to around 9,300 BP, to which some attributed “Caucasoid-like,” or non-Native American Indian, anatomical features, sparking a huge debate and much litigation. Less disputed is the skeleton dubbed “Luzia” in Brazil, which dates to around 10,000 B.C.E. and is considered to exhibit either African or South Asian morphologi-

cal features. Other reputable studies provide evidence of close anatomical affinities between contemporary and pre-Columbian Amerindians in the Baja California Peninsula and South Asian/South Pacific populations. MtDNA analysis likewise elicits complex depictions of the genetic heritage of various pre-Columbian indigenous peoples of the Americas, suggesting not only North Asian but also South Asian, African, and European genetic links.

Other anomalies not explained by the Clovis-First hypothesis are the greater antiquity and relative abundance of pre-Columbian remains and artifacts in zones furthest from the Beringia land bridge and the more recent provenance and relative dearth of such remains in the zones nearest to it. Linguistic analyses, too, suggest that people arrived in the Americas in several distinct migrations, not all from North Asia, the earliest dating to at least 15,000 B.C.E. One plausible theory, that people arrived in waves of migrations over many millennia, beginning with watercraft migrations from Asia to the Pacific coasts of North and South America sometime between 30,000 and 20,000 BP, cannot be confirmed except through undersea archaeological digs

(which do not exist in this field) or chance discovery, since the then-littoral was inundated by rising seas at the beginning of the Holocene (10,000 BP).

The most significant obstacles to further advances in this field include academic infighting among the proponents of various schools of thought, and linguistic and cultural barriers between North and South American scholars. Some also view the 1990 U.S. Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) as a significant impediment to scientific research in North America, since it requires all pre-Columbian human remains and artifacts be repatriated to the closest culturally affiliated American Indian tribe recognized by the U.S. government, thereby precluding scientific testing, as occurred in the case of Kennewick Man. Others point to the long history of routine mistreatment of unearthened human remains by physical anthropologists and archaeologists and to the spiritual well-being of contemporary Indian communities as necessitating NAGPRA.

Among the most reputable English-language scholarly journals in this rapidly expanding and contentious field are *American Antiquity*, *Nature*, *Science*, *Athena Review*, and *North American Archaeologist*.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Flavian emperors

The death of the Roman emperor Nero in 68 C.E. was followed by a period in which different Roman armies backed different claimants for the imperial throne. The winner, Vespasian (r. 69–79 C.E.), founded the short-lived Flavian dynasty of himself and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus was born to provincial aristocrats and decided early in life on a senatorial career. His wife and the mother of his two sons, Flavia

Domitilla, died before he became emperor. He survived the dangerous administrations of Caligula, Claudius, and NERO, earning a reputation as both a competent administrator and an imperial sycophant. He served successfully as a military commander in Claudius's invasion of Britain. Vespasian's peak of responsibility came in 66, when Nero named him as commander of the armies sent to put down the JEWISH REVOLTS. He quickly crushed the rebellion in most of the country and besieged the rebel stronghold at Jerusalem. It was there that the news of Nero's suicide in 68 and the ensuing struggle for the imperial throne reached him. Vespasian continued the siege of Jerusalem until the summer of 69, when in collaboration with the governors of Syria and Egypt he declared the empire for himself.

Vespasian provided stable if tight-fisted government after the turmoil of Nero's reign and the disruptions of the civil wars. He left his eldest son Titus behind to continue the Jewish war, which ended with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Jewish Temple in the spring of 70. In Rome, Vespasian rebuilt the Capitol, destroyed by fire in 69, and built the Colosseum. Despite his building projects Vespasian retained enough control over the imperial taxes and treasury to leave a surplus for his successor. He refilled the depleted ranks of the Senate and granted civic rights to many communities outside Italy, particularly in Spain. Like several emperors who fought their way to the throne rather than inheriting it, Vespasian retained a sense of humor about the office. The imperial biographer Suetonius recounted his deathbed witticism on the practice of deifying dead emperors who had become famous: "Dear me, I think I am becoming a god." The prophecy proved correct as the Senate deified him at the instigation of his son and successor, Titus.

Before Vespasian's death, Titus had a reputation as his father's enforcer, tough and not overly scrupulous. As emperor, Vespasian loaded Titus with offices, including the important one of praetorian prefect, in an attempt to establish him as a clear successor. This strategy proved successful, and Titus peacefully ascended the throne after Vespasian's death.

As emperor, he was popular both in his own time and later. He appealed to the ordinary people of Rome by continuing Vespasian's building programs and providing lavish games and shows. The most prominent architectural work associated with his reign was the Arch of Titus, commemorating his victory over the Jews. He also sent money to aid communities damaged by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. Like his father, he left a surplus in the treasury.

Titus left no legitimate son and was succeeded by his younger brother, Domitian. Intelligent and hard working like his father and brother, Domitian was also harsh and tyrannical. He spent the reign of Vespasian in his brother's shadow, although he did enjoy the title of caesar. He succeeded with little difficulty after Titus's death. Some ancient sources charge him with poisoning Titus, but there is no direct evidence. Like Titus, he had his predecessor deified.

As emperor, Domitian was one of the greatest of all builders of Rome, building a great palace on the Palatine Hill and rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, as well as dozens of other structures. He was a cultural conservative who identified himself with Roman traditions and Roman religion. In 85 he awarded himself the unprecedented title of perpetual censor, traditionally the office associated with the guardianship of Roman morality. Like all the Flavians, he was a severe taxer and careful spender, who left a surplus in the treasury.

Domitian's biggest political problem was his bad relationship with the Senate, an institution for which he felt and displayed no great respect. This relationship deteriorated throughout his reign. The portrait of Domitian as a "bad emperor" is traceable to senatorial sources, particularly the historians Suetonius and Tacitus, although there was no attempt to portray him as a madman like Gaius or Nero. Domitian preferred to rule through a court group including relatives, freedmen, and a few senators, rather than dealing with the Senate as a whole; many senators were exiled or executed during his reign. His death came by an assassination plot, and the Senate, in contrast to his deified father and brother, condemned his memory. Marcus Cocceius Nerva, who made a point of breaking with the previous reign, succeeded Domitian.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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WILLIAM BURNS

food gatherers and producers, prehistory

The distinctions among food gatherers and producers are traditionally used to reveal differences in subsistence strategies among prehistoric societies with different types of culture and livelihoods. Each kind of food gathering and production (and its variants) has a social, economic, cultural, ritual, and ecological implication.

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT

Since Dicaearchus it was recognized that humankind had passed four stages of natural resource exploitation: primitive hunting, fishery, and gathering; nomadic cattle breeding; agriculture; and specialized agriculture. It was clearly expressed by Soviet researchers M. Levin and N. Cheboksarov in 1955 and is grounded on the assumption that the population inhabited a certain environment and attributed to a certain stage of social and economic development that should inevitably elaborate on, rather than form, a strictly definite, constant model of behavior. Major phylums are hunters, gatherers, and fishermen; simple farmers; and plow farmers. Each of them could be subdivided into chronological stages (phases) and territorial groups.

METHODS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

The most important information about food gathering and/or production of a prehistoric population is obtained during the interdisciplinary excavations of archaeological sites when methods and data of paleontology, zoo-archaeology, palinology and paleo-ethnobotany are engaged. Analysis of fossil micro- and macrofaunal assemblages allows scientists to define animal species structure, to reconstruct herd age and sex structure and seasonality, and to find morphological traces of domestication on their bones. Studies of macro- and microbotanical remains, analysis of spore and pollen species in samples taken from cultural layers, chemical analysis of plant residues in soil and on artifacts, plant impressions on pottery and soil, and other methods are used to define plants used by prehistoric populations. Analysis of spatial organization of prehistoric sites, such as the interpretation of excavated objects (pits, wells, and storage places), provides information about the presence and importance of different human activities (tool and food production, storage, distribution, processing, and consumption).

Food gathering (or foraging) is the earliest subsistence strategy inherent to humankind. The origin of regular food gathering in the forms of hunting; plants,

seeds, and mollusks gathering; and primitive fishing with utilization of specially designed tool kits traditionally is referred to with the origin of the first representatives of the genus *Homo* (*Homo habilis* species) more than 2 million years ago. Hunting is usually regarded as the basic subsistence strategy practiced in prehistoric times. Since the origin of contemporary humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) several types of hunting are distinguished:

- Group mobile hunting: oriented mainly on big-sized and mobile, gregarious game (mammoth, bison), dominated in Europe during the Late Paleolithic; surrounding, driving out, and shooting animals are the most widespread means of such hunting.
- Fixed group hunting: applied for catching regularly migrating herds (such as reindeer) at suitable places (mainly river crossings), which are repeatedly used.
- Silent hunting with the help of traps, nets, and hunting holes—controlled by the group sporadically.
- Individual hunting for small-sized nongregarious game with the help of distant weapons (bow and arrows), which enable aiming, its peak during the Mesolithic (Early Holocene) time marked with disappearance of the traditional Paleolithic hunting game of the European population.

The gathering of edible plants, roots, berries, mushrooms, and seeds (often called phytogathering) rarely becomes a subject of special study as far as it is regarded as an auxiliary component of the human diet obtained sporadically and often processed without special implement. Traditionally, phytogathering is regarded as important component of women's household activity that secured their status in the food exchange network and guaranteed the realization of their gender function.

The peculiar practice of mollusks and cereals gathering typical for Early Holocene (Mesolithic) societies of coastal regions and in densely populated regions with fertile soils usually functioned as an important source of basic nutrition of human groups faced with a shortage of traditional hunting game. Special objects and tools involved in this practice usually occur at relatively long-term sites. Fish catching, as hunting, was a secure source of protein food. The origin of soil cultivation, crop harvesting, and livestock raising is regarded as the main criteria of transition to the next stage of human society and culture development, generating from hunter-gatherer communities and directly preceding the formation of state and private property. V. G. Childe proposed one of the earliest explanations of food production origin in his idea of Neolithic revolution. According to him,

drought and supply shortage stimulated food production in the oasis. Most researchers tend to interpret the origin of agriculture as an inevitable response to the crisis of the traditional hunter-gatherer economy and necessity to secure a subsistence system in a new ecological situation. The earliest evidence of plant domestication is traced to the Natufian settlements of Palestine and Shanidar and Ali Kosh in Iran and Iraq and is dated about 9000–7000 B.C.E.

Food production activity in prehistoric times developed in connection with human needs in nutrition (food demand) correlated with features of their natural habitat (relief, climate, faunal and floral resources). Two basic forms of food production in prehistory are traced archaeologically: land cultivation and cattle breeding.

Land cultivation originates from simple seeds gathering at the end of the Mesolithic and as early as beginning of the Neolithic. The introduction of metal processing and utilization of early metal tools in the process of land cultivation brought an increase in productivity, which contributed to the general growth of sedentism in human societies at the beginning of the Bronze Age. It was accompanied with the origin of plow agriculture, the introduction of the two- and three-field rotation system, draft animals exploitation, and natural soil fertilizer application.

The first phase of cattle breeding is connected with the crisis of hunting activity traced to the second half of the Mesolithic. Captured during successful hunting, animals (mainly juveniles) were preserved and fed for a while as a specific form of “live meat stocks,” which could be consumed at hungry times. Horse domestication marks the origin of a principally new form of animal treatment—nomadic cattle breeding.

Shepherds used a wide spectrum of meat and dairy products, fresh milk excluded (traditionally its introduction is associated with sedentary agricultural food production). The analysis of Bronze Age pottery indicates that early nomads used to make sour milk products, cottage cheese, and creams suitable for durable storage.

See also RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY.

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Gallic Wars

See GAUL.

Galen

See HIPPOCRATES, GALEN, AND THE GREEK PHYSICIANS.

Gandhara

Gandhara survived multiple conquests through the ancient and medieval periods. It was located on the SILK ROAD in the area that is now eastern Afghanistan and the northwest portion of Pakistan. Gandhara was a thriving center of trade and culture between the sixth century B.C.E. and the 11th century C.E. In Buddhist and Hindu texts Gandhara is described as lying along the Uttarapatha (northern path) connecting a high road that followed the Ganges River and continued east through the Punjab and the Taxila Valley into BACTRIA. In the Indian epic *MAHABHARATA* the kings of Gandhara are mentioned as being allies of the Kuravas in their wars against the Pandavas. The Greek historian HERODOTUS referred to the region as Paktuike and lists it as one of 20 provinces of the Persian Empire.

During the Persian Empire, at the end of the reign of CYRUS II (558–530 B.C.E.) and under DARIUS I (521–486 B.C.E.), Gandhara was part of the seventh satrap. It was under the Achaemenid's control (roughly between 530 and 380 B.C.E.) that adminis-

tration of the government became organized, aligning itself within the Persian system. After 380 B.C.E. a series of small kingdoms arose in the region until the invasion by ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 327 B.C.E. Alexander's control of the area was short-lived. The MAURYAN EMPIRE was launched from Gandhara. The founder, CHANDRAGUPTA II (r. 322–298 B.C.E.) was a young man living in Taxila during the conquest by Alexander. After successfully launching an assault on the kingdom of Magadha, Chandragupta defeated the Selucid Greeks in 305 B.C.E. and went on to become ruler over much of India. For the next 150 years Gandhara was part of the Mauryan Empire. The great Mauryan ruler ASHOKA, who lived from 304 to 232 B.C.E., was in his early career the governor of Gandhara. Under Ashoka, Buddhism began to flourish in the region.

After the fall of the Mauryans, around 185 B.C.E., Demetrius, the king of Bactria, invaded Gandhara but did not occupy it for long. The reign of Gandhara's king Menander, who ruled from the cities of Taxila and Sagala until 140 B.C.E., marked a brief period of independence. Following that period the kingdom came under the influence of Sakas, and by the beginning of the Common Era, the Parthians. Under the Parthians cultural and artistic ideas of the Greeks were brought to the centers of education and commerce. The famous Gandhara school of art began to apply Greek conventions to Buddhist figures. Gandharan artists were the first to depict the Buddha in human form. Their emphasis was both on realism and the ideal beauty of

the human form. While exquisite pieces of art from 50 B.C.E. to 400 C.E. survived, probably the most recognizable is the Fasting Buddha, which depicts a meditating Buddha whose bones are literally exposed due to his starvation.

The golden age of Gandhara took place during the rule of the Kushans. Countless remains of Buddhist monasteries, large statues, and various Buddhist stupas survived from this era. The Kushan monarch KANISHKA (128–151 C.E.) ruled his kingdom from Peshawar in Gandhara. The empire stretched from southern India to the border of Han China. From Peshawar, Buddhist culture, religion, and art were spread to the Far East.

After 241 C.E. Gandhara became a vassal of the Sassanians. Until the fifth century it remained a center of culture, artistic activity, and commerce. This period was marked by the production of giant statues of the Buddha that were carved into mountainsides and other large statues that were placed in monasteries. By the middle of the fifth century the HUNS invaded Gandhara, and the culture slid into a period of decay. Buddhism fell into decline, while some practice of Hinduism resurfaced. The Sassanids drove out the Huns in the middle of the sixth century.

Even though the SASSANID EMPIRE came under the control of Islam after 644, the Arabs seemed to have little interest in Gandhara. Buddhism continued there under Turkish rule until the area's conquest by Hindu-shahi around 870. The Hindu-shahi capital was moved to Udabhandapura in Gand, and the kingdom once again prospered, at least through the early part of the Middle Ages. Around 1021 the region was taken over by Muslim leaders, and the kingdom of Gandhara was absorbed into the Islamic world. British archaeologists revived interest in the history of the region in the mid-19th century.

See also KUSHAN EMPIRE.

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TIM DAVIS

Ganjin

(688–763 C.E.) *Buddhist monk*

Ganjin traveled to Japan to spread the Buddhist faith. He was born in the Chinese county of Jiangyin in Guangling (Yangzhou, Jiangsu). His name in Chinese is Jianzhenis (Chien-chen); Ganjin is the Japanese version. He entered the Buddhist temple of Daming at the age of 14. He studied at CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) for six years, starting at the age of 20. He then returned to the Daming Temple where he eventually became the abbot of the temple. He also trained in medicine and opened a hospital, the Beitian Court, at the Daming Temple. In 732 C.E. the Japanese government sent an emissary to China, including two priests searching for a precept transmitter to come to Japan. In 742 they met with Ganjin and his followers. None of Ganjin's followers was willing to go, so he decided to go himself. The crossing from China to Japan across the East China Sea was dangerous, and it took six tries before Ganjin reached Japan in 753. During the fifth attempt, he lost his eyesight.

Ganjin was welcomed at the Japanese capital in 754. That summer, in front of the Great Buddha Hall at Todai-ji, a ceremony was held in which the retired emperor Shomu, the empress dowager Komyo, the reigning empress Koken, and 440 clergy received the precepts. An order was issued to build a precept hall and living quarters for Ganjin. Ganjin's arrival in Japan brought the transmission of the precept, in Japan, back toward a more orthodox way of doing it.

In 756 Ganjin was appointed to the bureau of clergy, which controlled the issuing of certificates for ordination. The Japanese viewed protecting the nation as part of the clergy's mission. The Japanese government expected the priests to work in support of the nation's prosperity. The fact that Ganjin, who was Chinese, was appointed to the bureau speaks volumes about his skill and the level of his understanding of the Buddhist religion. Ganjin resigned from the bureau in 758 and returned to training priests. Ganjin continued to teach up until his death on June 22, 763. He is considered one of the founding fathers of Sino-Japanese medicine.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Gaul

In Roman times the term *Gaul* was used to describe two places: Cisalpine Gaul, which was the northern part of Italy occupied by Celtic tribes, and Transalpine Gaul, the area covering modern-day France and some surrounding areas, also inhabited by CELTS. Although the Celtic tribes in both regions had much in common in terms of customs and religion, the histories of the two areas were very different. Both groups have their origins in the Bronze Age, and many of their weapons and ornaments are bronze. Some have seen them as descendants of the Scythians, but this is largely based on their early metalwork. During the period known as the “La Tène culture,” from as early as 500 B.C.E., they started using iron. In addition to the two parts of the Roman Empire formally known as Gaul, Celts of Gallic descent migrated to other parts of Europe, with settlements in the British Isles, western Spain and Portugal, and through central Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, and even parts of modern-day Bulgaria.

From the sixth century B.C.E. there is archaeological evidence of Etruscan settlements, and the Celts only started to arrive in the region in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. These Celts occupied Piedmont and Lombardy, and they lived side by side with the ETRUSCANS as can be seen by Celtic and Etruscan graves found in the same cemeteries. According to Livy, when the Gauls arrived in northern Italy, they established 12 towns along either side of the Apennines and then another 12 further south. They moved into the area north of Rome during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, who was king of Rome from 616 until 578 B.C.E., and one tribe called the Insubes made their headquarters in the region around Mediolanum (modern-day Milan). Subsequent tribes—the Cenomani, the Libui, the Salui, the Boii, the Lingones, and the Senones—then migrated into northern Italy. The last tribe settled in the Po Valley and rather than ejecting the Etruscans by force, they assimilated with them, gradually taking over the region and eroding the Etruscan cultural identity.

THE GAULS ATTACK ROME

In 386 B.C.E. the Gauls were strong enough to attack the city of Rome. They sacked the city, but in a famous

story, Romans held out in the citadel, making entreaties to people in the nearby town of Veii, 12 miles away, to help. There was a secret route in and out of the citadel, and Livy surmised that it was a messenger who had been observed or followed that showed the Gauls the secret way into the citadel.

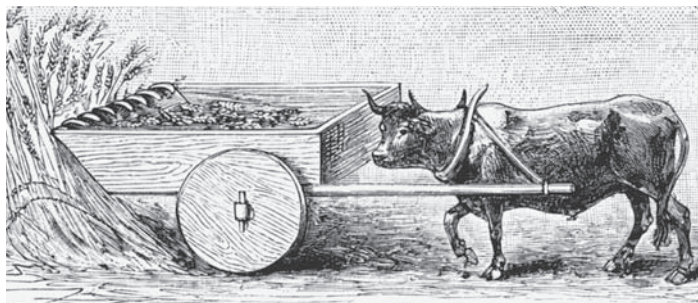
One night the Gauls silently scaled the hillside to the citadel, but the geese that had been kept in honor of the goddess Juno squawked when they noticed the Gauls, and this alerted the Romans, who managed to drive off the Gauls.

Although the Gauls attacked the Romans again during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., the Romans managed to ally with nearby towns and defeat them in the great battle of Telamon in 225 B.C.E. In order to ensure that the Gauls were no longer a threat to Rome, the Romans then launched a massive war against the Gauls. After three years of bitter campaigning the Romans captured Mediolanum in 222 B.C.E. Their efforts against the Gauls came to a halt when the Carthaginian general HANNIBAL chose to attack Rome in 219 B.C.E. Crossing the Alps into Italy in 218 B.C.E., he won support from many of the Gauls in northern Italy, and these helped replenish his forces and supply his army. Although Hannibal’s armies defeated the Romans in four battles, they never succeeded in capturing Rome, and in 203 B.C.E. Hannibal was recalled to North Africa, where the Romans defeated him.

After the Social War of 91–89 B.C.E., the Romans decided to create the colony of Cisalpine Gaul, with its southern border at the Rubicon River. All Roman settlers who lived there remained as Roman citizens, but the others were given “Latin rights,” and many resented this lower status that they retained until 49 B.C.E. when JULIUS CAESAR made them Roman citizens. Two years after Caesar was killed, his successor Octavian (later the emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR), formally integrated the whole of Cisalpine Gaul into Italy. Augustus later divided it into four administrative districts. By this time Celtic influences had largely disappeared from this area, and most people spoke Latin. The geographer Strabo described it was one of the richest agricultural regions of the Roman Empire, and its people remained loyal to Rome, helping form Italy in the 19th century.

TRANSALPINE GAUL

The Romans had a similar experience with Transalpine Gaul, although their conquering of it took place much later than that of Cisalpine Gaul. Transalpine Gaul covers much of the area of modern-day France and also Belgium and parts of Germany. The English Channel to



Reconstruction of a reaping machine used in Gaul in ancient Roman times, from a description by Pliny.

the north, the Alps to the southeast, and the Pyrenees to the southwest defined its borders. Prior to the Roman occupation, the area was a loose confederation of Celtic tribes. There were Greek colonies along the southern coast of Gaul, the most important port being Massalia (modern-day Marseilles), which had been founded by the Phoenicians in about 600 B.C.E., as well as Avennio (modern-day Avignon) and Antipolis.

The Romans called the Gauls the “Long-Haired Gauls,” ridiculing them for wearing trousers, tied at the ankle, and shoes. Some used body paint in battle, and in winter the Gauls wore heavy fur clothing and thick woolen cloaks. Some elements of their clothing seem to have been made out of checked cloth, which some have seen as the precursor to the tartans worn in Scotland and Ireland.

In battle the Gauls used swords, large battle-axes and spears, protecting themselves with breastplates, helmets, and large shields. In early battles they used two-horse chariots and had some horsemen, which is why towns in Gaul were usually protected by a series of ditches to prevent a rapid chariot attack. For the most part their battle strength relied on numbers rather than strategy, which can explain their relatively easy defeat by the Romans.

Most Gauls were based in village communities, although a large number of townships in central Gaul also flourished. Houses were built out of wood, with a thatched roof. Many houses were built into the ground to aid insulation during the winter.

Although it was a civilization largely based on the use of bronze, the Gauls did have some small mines to locate copper. The diet was largely bread, meat, and vegetables. Transport was largely on foot or on horseback, with wealthier Gauls using chariots, especially in warfare. The Gauls worshipped using DRUIDS, but the Romans were eager to end this practice.

THE GALLIC WARS

In 58 B.C.E. Julius Caesar embarked on the Gallic Wars with the initial aim of conquering some of central Gaul. After his term as consul of Rome, Caesar was made governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, the latter at that time only covering the area along the Mediterranean coast. Caesar discovered that there was a large tribe of Helvetians moving from modern-day Switzerland into Provincia, and Caesar hurriedly built and enlarged forts along the border of the region, forcing the Helvetians to move west.

On the move were 386,000 Helvetians, including 100,000 warriors, and Caesar decided to engage them in battle when they were at their weakest. In June 58 B.C.E., at the Battle of Arar (or Saône), the Romans surprised 34,000 Helvetian warriors and apparently killed as many as 30,000 of them. Those who escaped and the main body headed west for the Loire. In July, at the Battle of Bibracte (Mount Beuvray), 70,000 Helvetian warriors attacked the Romans. Caesar had under his command about 30,000 legionnaires, about 20,000 Gallic auxiliaries, and 4,000 Gallic cavalry. The superior Roman discipline drove the Helvetians back to their camp where 130,000 Helvetian men, women, and children were slaughtered. Those who survived submitted and returned east.

The Gallic Wars had begun with an attempt to avert a Helvetian attack, and while Caesar was preoccupied with them, a German tribe under their chief, Ariovistus, used the power vacuum to attack some Gallic tribes in modern-day Alsace. The Gauls there asked for help from the Romans, and Caesar’s armies, triumphant from their victory at Bibracte, managed to attack Ariovistus on September 10. The forces of Ariovistus were driven back, and with most of central Gaul under Roman control, Caesar withdrew his soldiers for the winter.

At this point the Belgae, a tribe in northeastern Gaul, decided to rally together numerous other tribes to attack the Romans in the following year and raised 300,000 warriors. Caesar managed to outmaneuver his opponents, and at the Battle of Axona (Aisne) in March or April 57 B.C.E., the Roman forces destroyed the Belgae army of 75,000–100,000. In July another tribe, the Nervii, gathered together 75,000 men and attacked Caesar. In the Battle of Sabis (Sambre), Caesar only narrowly managed to achieve a victory, with 60,000 Nervii killed. For the winter of 57–56 B.C.E. Caesar withdrew his forces and returned to Gaul in order to keep up with developments in Rome.

In 56 B.C.E. Caesar led his troops into modern-day Brittany, where he fought the Veneti, who had seized some ambassadors he had sent over the winter. This

campaign was different because for the first time Caesar put together a number of ships that supported his force on the land. His land progress was slow, but finally, in a battle in modern-day Quiberon Bay, the Roman galleys defeated the Gallic ships, preventing the Veneti from supplying their forts. In the fall of 56 B.C.E. Caesar marched his armies north to attack the Morini and the Menapii in modern-day Belgium. By the end of this year all of Gaul was under Roman control and had become a single political entity.

As Britain and the Celts there had helped the Gauls resist the Romans, Caesar was eager to punish them and attacked Britain. In July of the following year he again went to Britain where he defeated a large Celtic force near modern-day London. While Caesar was on his second foray to Britain, news reached Caesar that the Gauls had surrounded a fort where Quintus Cicero was valiantly holding out. Caesar, by now with 10 legions at his disposal, marched to support Cicero and quickly overcame the Gauls.

During the winter of 54–53 B.C.E. Caesar planned to subdue the Gauls who did not want Roman rule. At the same time the Arverni chief, VERGINGETORIX, had rallied another force to attack the Romans. Unlike previous opponents, Vercingetorix spent the winter training his forces. When Caesar attacked, rather than immediately engage him in battle, Vercingetorix started a policy of “scorched earth,” retreating and destroying any food or supplies that could be useful to the Romans. This drew the Romans into central Gaul where they captured Avaricum and then attacked the Gallic fortress of Gergovia. Despite many attempts, and a costly assault, the Romans were not able to capture Gergovia, and Caesar withdrew. After defeating some Gauls at the Battle of Lutetia (near modern-day Paris), he moved his armies south.

The Gauls under Vercingetorix decided to attack and harass Caesar’s forces of 55,000 soldiers, 40,000 of whom were legionnaires. Caesar built a series of walls around the city to prevent the defenders from launching a sortie. Vercingetorix had managed to get allies to raise a massive army of 240,000, who attacked the Romans from the outside, while the Gauls inside emerged to attack the Romans. Caesar’s defenses prevented those outside from doing much damage, and inside, as supplies ran low, the Gauls were forced to eject all their women and children, who died of exposure and starvation. Finally, Vercingetorix surrendered and submitted. He was taken to Rome, where he was later executed. In 51 B.C.E. Caesar ran a series of small campaigns against small pockets of resistance, and by the end of it Gaul was firmly in Roman hands.

The Gallic Wars had a dramatic effect on the nearly 10 million people of Gaul. The massive number of people killed in the battles, as well as those who died of exposure and starvation, resulted in vast tracts of Gaul being heavily depopulated and ready for many settlers to move there, not just from Italy but also from other parts of the empire. Transalpine Gaul became a Roman political unit until the fifth century C.E., and under Augustus it consisted of four provinces: Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica.

GAUL UNDER ROMAN RULE

During the many centuries of Roman rule the rich agricultural land attracted many Roman citizens and settlers from all over the empire. The Romans built a large series of roads, with the old Gallic city of Lugdunum (modern-day Lyon) at the center of a series of important trade routes. Among the many settlers who came to live in Gaul were a number of men from the Holy Land. Herod Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, mentioned briefly in the Bible when Mary, Joseph, and the baby Jesus return from Egypt, was accused by the Romans of mismanaging the Jewish territory in Syria where he was the procurator. It was recorded that he was exiled to Gaul. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, the tetrach of Galilee and Perea, who was responsible for the execution of JOHN THE BAPTIST, was also later exiled to Gaul.

During Roman rule Gaul prospered and became a major center for EARLY CHRISTIANITY, with a number of Christian saints being drawn from the region. However in the third century C.E. neglect of border defenses on the Rhine River meant more frequent invasions from Germans. Gaul was placed under the direct rule of Roman emperors, starting with Postumus, and more villages and towns were fortified, and city walls strengthened. Gradually, however, the attacks by the Germans, the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths increased. The latter, in particular, took over much of southern Gaul, and in 410 the Visigoths even managed to sack Rome. However the Franks drove them out of the region.

The period of Roman rule in Gaul was the subject of Julius Caesar’s *The Gallic Wars*, which was the earliest military history written by a main participant. Since Roman times Gaul has been the setting of large numbers of novels in French and English, including Sabine Baring-Gould’s *Perpetua* (1897), about the persecution of the Christians at Nîmes. There is also the diminutive French cartoon character Asterix, and his large friend Obelix, creations of the French writer René Goscinny (1926–77) and cartoonist Albert Underzo. The Gauls wear winged helmets and live in a village in Gaul that

has, somehow, managed to hold out against the Romans. These books have been translated into 15 languages, including Latin, and remain the most popular accounts of life in Gaul.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Gautama Buddha

(c. 563–483 B.C.E.) *religious leader*

Gautama Buddha is the historical personage referred to when people speak of Lord Buddha or simply the Buddha. However, according to Buddhist thought, there is in fact an infinite stream of Buddhas who manifest according to the different phases of reality from the distant past of the universe to the far future. Gautama Buddha is the Buddha who is manifested in the phase of the universe in which we live. Buddhahood represents the state of having achieved enlightenment, and this enables the Buddha to demonstrate to others how to achieve nirvana, which is the state of enlightenment and the means of escaping from the otherwise eternal wheel of suffering caused by desire and represented by endless reincarnations.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA'S EARLY LIFE

The great majority of Asian Buddhists accept the reality of Gautama Buddha and see little value in establishing more accurate details. Buddha's teachings were passed from monk to apprentice orally for some centuries, so it is possible for some errors to have entered into the canon. The only source of contention about historical details has been the dispute over the dates of Gautama Buddha's life, which are generally taken to be c. 563–483 B.C.E., but are believed to be c. 448–368 B.C.E. in Japan.

He was born into a high social position as a member of the Kshatriya, or warrior class, and his parents were royalty. His mother, Mahamaya, while carrying Guatama is said to have dreamt that the child would turn out to be either a universal ruler or a Buddha, depending on whether he remained at home or wandered abroad. Mahamaya visited her parents in the last month of her

pregnancy and, while passing through Lumbini Park, gave birth. A guru of the king attended the child and then proclaimed the Buddhahood as the child's destiny.

On the child's naming day, five days after birth, 108 Brahmins attended to predict the future and also to worship the baby, as his father and guru had already done. He was then named Siddhartha, meaning "One Who Has Achieved His Goal." Two days after that Mahamaya died, and Gautama was raised by his father Sudhodana's second wife, known as Mahapajapati Gotami. The family lived in Gautama, and the name was taken by Buddha as a personal designation, even though it was never his own name.

As a child, Gautama Buddha was pampered by his father and lived a life of luxury, in part because his father was reluctant to permit the boy to take up his destiny by wandering the world and preferred him to remain close by and become a universal, temporal ruler. Gautama was greatly interested in spiritual issues and at the age of seven was found in a *jhani* trance. This incident formed the basis of one of Buddha's early sermons. Even though Gautama married the princess Yasodhara at the age of 16, his interest toward the spiritual and the ascetic never waned, although his marriage is believed to have been successful.

BUDDHA'S GREAT RENUNCIATION

This peaceful life continued until the age of 29 when, traveling the countryside in the company of his charioteer, he encountered a sick man, a decrepit and aged man, and finally a corpse. In a fourth encounter, he observed a yellow-robed man going about his business with an air of serenity. This coincided with the birth of Gautama's son, whom he named Rahula (fettters), and he became determined to discover the secret by which the yellow-robed man was able to travel about the world apparently happily in the face of such misery. This epiphanic event is referred to as the Four Great Signs. Buddha left his wife and son to travel the world to try to attain detachment from the suffering of the world. This act is known as the Great Renunciation, which refers to Buddha's rejection of all his family, his previous worldly possessions, and ties.

Gautama wandered south into India and received teaching from a number of scholars. One of these was Alara Kalama, under whose tutelage Gautama achieved the mystical state known as the sphere of nothing, which he later recorded in one of his *suttas*. This achievement was a significant one in spiritual terms, but the Buddha wanted to extend his learning until he was able to reach the ultimate state of nirvana, total enlightenment. Conse-

quently, he left his teacher and wandered further. During the next years Buddha found a peaceful environment at Uruvela and settled there to search for the truth. Five ascetics joined him, wishing to learn from him.

Gautama sought enlightenment through the extreme application of asceticism. He spoke of this time, later, as one in which extreme fasting made his bones protrude through his skin, while also facing the travails of other forms of self-mortification. Asceticism had long been an important strand of Indian religious thought. However, it can be divisive in society because the number of people who are able to participate is necessarily limited, while others, especially women, are obliged to continue domestic duties to make sure that society as a whole can continue to function.

When Buddha ultimately rejected asceticism, he effectively ensured that Buddhism could inspire all members of society. Buddha's retreat from extreme asceticism disappointed at least some of his early followers. However, the path of moderation in all things became a central part of Buddhist teachings. Buddha rejected the course that had left him so weak that on one occasion he fainted and was believed to be dead. Afterward he ate according to a healthy regimen and also took care of his bodily health.

BUDDHA AND THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

Gautama entered a more productive search for enlightenment and eventually reached his goal. One morning he sat under a *bodhi* tree and resolved not to leave his position until he reached nirvana. It is recorded that this search involved a lengthy and difficult battle with the evil spirit Mara and his many minions. The Jatakas are the scriptures that describe Buddha's previous lives prior to the incarnation in which he finally reached nirvana. They record the many virtuous works that Gautama Buddha completed, which meant that he accumulated many virtues that were transferred to him in his battle with Mara. They included the great virtues, or *paramitas*, which include patience, diligence, meditation, and transcendent wisdom. Buddha subsequently taught these to his followers.

Armed with the *paramitas*, Gautama Buddha was able to resist the evil one, and by demonstrating close understanding of Mara's armies and weapons he was able to defeat them. This enabled him to concentrate on the Four Noble Truths, which are that existence is suffering, which is caused by the nature of desire for impermanent things of the universe, that the suffering can be defeated nevertheless, and that it is the noble eightfold path which provides the means by which that victory can be achieved.

The path requires right thinking, doing, speaking, and understanding. People should at all times be mindful of the existence of other people and things of the world and avoid committing any offense against the path toward nirvana, while also not hindering others from their own paths. These realizations enabled Gautama Buddha to achieve enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree when he was 35 years old.

DISCIPLES AND THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

Having reached nirvana, Buddha spent several more weeks under the *bodhi* tree contemplating additional aspects of the universe and of philosophy. He was persuaded to undertake a life of teaching and instruction, in part as a result of the intervention of the divine Sahampati. Buddha was initially reluctant to leave his position, but he acquiesced and then sought to convert others, including those ascetics who had previously rejected his teachings.

The five ascetics embraced Buddha's teachings and became disciples of his: They were the first monks, and their conversion marks the beginnings of the *sangha*, the monkhood that supports Buddhism and has come to be part of the triple gems that underlie a Buddhist society. Buddhism is now followed in most countries of eastern Asia, particularly in Japan, Korea, China, Thailand, and mainland Southeast Asia, and also in countries that have been Islamized. In the modern age Buddhism has spread to Western countries as well.

The early disciples also had the opportunity to achieve enlightenment. Buddha joined them by traveling and seeking out those who would listen to his message. As was customary for those who had become enlightened, he accepted charity and food from people. When he returned to his hometown, his father was unhappy with the path that his son had chosen but relented his initial resistance, and peace was made. Many members of the palace were converted, and several of his family members were ordained into the *sangha*. Buddha was invited to the capital of the Kosala kingdom, where its ruler built a monastery for him. Buddha also attracted enemies. Among the many different religious beliefs of northern India, some were unhappy with the success of the Buddha's teachings and sought to challenge his authenticity. However, the success of conversions greatly outweighed those of any religious opposition.

By the age of 80 Buddha had presided over the creation of an efficient *sangha* and could contemplate a growing number of followers. He undertook his last journey accompanied by a small number of followers. Wherever he went, the Buddha lived simply, accepting the charity of people and speaking to them about

the path to enlightenment. In the village of Beluva he became seriously ill. He recovered from the immediate illness, although was still in a frail condition. Knowing that his end was near, Gautama Buddha announced that he planned to die after three months and set about arranging his last affairs and his final messages for his disciples. When all this had been achieved, he died.

See also **BUDDHISM IN CHINA**; **BUDDHIST COUNCILS**; **KANISHKA**.

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JOHN WALSH

Georgia, ancient

Ancient Georgia (in Kartvelian called Sakartvelo, “the land of the Kartlians,” and in Greek and Latin, Iberia) refers to the mountainous region in the South Caucasus that includes the heartland of the Kartvelians as well as of the related Svan, Laz, and Mingrelians. Along with Albania to the east and Cholchis in the west, Iberia was the center of Christian political and ecclesiastical influence in the region until the Arab conquest in the seventh century C.E. The Arabic name for the region, *Kurj*, is the source of the English *Georgia*. The ancient Kartvelian capital, Mtskheta, became the seat of the Georgian patriarch after King Vakhtang Gorgasali (c. 446–510 C.E.) united Iberia/Sakartvelo with Cholchis and Albania. The church of Georgia remained nominally dependent on the more ancient church of Antioch until the Crusades cut off contact between Antioch and Georgia in the 12th century. This separation then allowed the Georgian Orthodox Church to develop on its own. It chooses its own patriarch, who since the sixth century has resided in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia since the Arab conquest. There are two traditions concerning the conversion of Georgia. The virgin missionary Nino arrived perhaps from Asia Minor and according to some sources converted King Mirian, establishing the second oldest Christian kingdom after ARMENIA. A second tradition relates that the apostle Andrew established the first diocese of Georgia. This second tradition is attested later than that of Nino and becomes significant in Georgian sources only around the time that the church of

Georgia established itself as an independent church in the 12th century.

In the Christological controversies of the fifth century the church of Georgia, like the ancient church of Armenia, rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and remained faithful to a strict interpretation of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA’s Christological formula of “one incarnate nature of the Logos.” The Georgian and Armenian bishops condemned the Council of Chalcedon at the Council of Dvin in 553. In the early seventh century, under pressure to form a military and political alliance with the Byzantines, the Georgian church, led by Patriarch Kyrion II, embraced the Chalcedonian definition, and the Armenian church excommunicated the Georgians at the Council of Dvin in 606.

Kartveli, the language of Georgian classical literature, was first committed to writing in the first half of the fifth century. The Georgian versions of the Christian Bible are important witnesses for the search for the earliest biblical texts. Georgian MONASTICISM exerted considerable influence on Christian monasticism, with monasteries established in Palestine by the fifth century and on Mt. Athos later on in the 10th century. Peter the Iberian, a Georgian prince and later the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Maiuma, Gaza, and relatives of his are among the earliest and best-documented founders and promoters of Georgian monastic and pilgrim activity in Jerusalem and the nearby desert regions. One of Peter’s establishments was a hostel near David’s Tower in Jerusalem to care for pilgrims to the holy sites. The Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem was an important center of Georgian monasticism in the Holy Land. In Georgia monasticism is closely associated with the “Thirteen Saints,” 13 Syrian monks who, according to tradition, were responsible for introducing cenobitic (communal) monasticism into the Georgian homeland.

See also **CHRISTIANITY, EARLY**; **EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF**; **GREEK CHURCH**; **LATIN CHURCH**; **ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES**; **SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH**; **TURABDIN**.

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ROBERT PHENIX

Gilgamesh

(third millennium B.C.E.) king and mythical hero

Gilgamesh (meaning “the old man is now a young man”) is perhaps the greatest hero in ancient Near Eastern literature. The story of this hero is based on a legendary king of the same name who ruled the Mesopotamian city of Uruk sometime between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. The name of Gilgamesh appears on the famous Sumerian King List, which dates to the late third millennium B.C.E. Later kings viewed Gilgamesh with great respect; some considered him as their personal god. As of yet, no inscriptions have been found that can be attributed to him.

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is the heroic tale of this legendary king. It is a compilation of various preexisting stories, some of which circulated as early as the UR III dynasty in SUMER (c. 2100–2000 B.C.E.). There are two versions of this epic, the first of which is the Old Babylonian version. This version dates to the second millennium B.C.E. and lacks the prologue and the famous flood story. The second is the standard version, which was discovered in NINEVEH at the royal library of the seventh-century B.C.E. king Ashurbanipal of ASSYRIA. Tradition states that a master scribe and incantation priest by the name of Sin-leqe-uninni was the author. This version has been found in a variety of areas ranging from Palestine and Syria to modern-day Turkey, in addition to Mesopotamia. There is also evidence that it was included in school writing exercises.

Cylinder seals and statues depict a powerful hero grappling with wild animals, which scholars refer to as the “Gilgamesh figure,” though there is no written evidence to connect Gilgamesh with the hero as depicted. Some examples of this picture occur at times before the historical Gilgamesh ruled the city of Uruk. It is possible that this figure was connected with Gilgamesh at some point in Mesopotamian history. It is also possible that this heroic figure was connected with other Sumerian deities in extreme antiquity.

As the epic opens, Gilgamesh is described as a tyrant. He forces the male citizens to complete his building projects while taking the young women for himself to satisfy his sexual desires. So oppressive is the reign of Gilgamesh that the people of the city cry out to the gods to give them relief. In response the gods create Enkidu, a being who is part man, part animal to challenge Gilgamesh. After engaging in battle and finding themselves to be near equals, the two become fast friends and adventuring heroes. On their first adventure together they slay a giant named Humbaba (Huwawa), who is the guardian of a great cedar forest. After returning to

Uruk, Gilgamesh is approached by the goddess Ishtar, who wants the hero to become her lover. He refuses her advances, which infuriates the goddess. She asks An, the father of the gods, to send the monstrous Bull of Heaven to destroy the heroes. After the monster kills hundreds of young men from the city, Enkidu seizes it by the tail, while Gilgamesh plunges a sword into its neck, killing it.

After the Bull of Heaven is dead, Enkidu has a dream in which the council of the gods meets to decide which of the heroes should die for the killing of Humbaba and the Bull of Heaven. They eventually decide on Enkidu, who dies after suffering an illness that lasts for seven days. Grief stricken, Gilgamesh reflects on his own mortality and decides to search for the secret of eternal life. Gilgamesh hears that a man named Utnapishtim was granted eternal life by the gods. Utnapishtim had survived a great flood that destroyed humanity, after which he was granted eternal life by the gods. After Gilgamesh finds this man, Utnapishtim tells him that he cannot have eternal life in the same way. Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh of a certain plant that has the ability to make the old young again, and Gilgamesh leaves to find this plant. After discovering it, Gilgamesh decides to bathe in a pool after his long journey. While he is bathing, a snake comes along and devours the plant, which is an etiological myth explaining why snakes shed their skins.

The hero returns home to his city of Uruk sadder but wiser. He realizes that the only way a person can achieve immortality is by accomplishing great works that will outlive him in future generations. He looks around his city and sees the mighty walls he has built and is satisfied. If fame is a measure of immortality, then one might argue that Gilgamesh actually achieved it. This outlook is similar to the heroic outlook found in the HOMERIC EPICS and in the GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON. There is a 12th tablet, though it contains stories that do not quite fit with the rest of the epic. In this tablet Enkidu is still alive. Gilgamesh accidentally drops two items down a hole, which leads to the underworld. Enkidu goes to fetch the items but discovers that he cannot return to the land of the living. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is famous for its inclusion of the flood story, which resembles the one in Genesis of the Jewish scriptures. The Old Babylonian version, however, did not contain the flood, suggesting that it was not originally associated with Gilgamesh. The flood story existed in several forms in Mesopotamia including an Akkadian work entitled *The Atrahasis Epic*.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; FERTILE CRESCENT; SCRIBES.

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Gnosticism

See CHRISTIAN DUALISM.

Gracchi

(second century B.C.E.) *Roman politicians*

The brothers Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (163–133 B.C.E.) and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (154–121 B.C.E.) were Roman politicians who tried to wrest power from the oligarchy that dominated the Roman Republic. Both were to introduce reforms aimed at giving more power to the "common man," and political enemies killed them both. The Gracchi brothers came from one of the noble families of Rome. Their great-grandfather Tiberius Gracchus had been consul in 238 B.C.E.; a great-uncle, also called Tiberius Gracchus, was consul in 215 and 213 B.C.E.; and their father, also called Tiberius Gracchus, was consul in 177 and 163 B.C.E. In addition, their mother, Cornelia, was the daughter of Publius Scipio "Africanus," the general who defeated the Carthaginian general HANNIBAL at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E., ensuring Roman domination of the Mediterranean Sea.

In a story told by Plutarch, the father of the two Gracchi brothers, an elderly man with a young wife, found two snakes on his bed. Seeking advice from priests, he was told that if he killed the male snake, he would die, whereas if he killed the female snake, his wife would die. He was not allowed to kill them both or to let them both go free. Deeply attached to his wife, the elderly politician killed the male one and died soon afterward, leaving his widow to bring up the 12 children. Only three of them survived adolescence—the two brothers Tiberius and Gaius, and a sister, Sempronia.

Tiberius, the older of the two surviving brothers, was described by his biographer Plutarch as "gentle and composed," and he spoke in a "decorous tone." With his background and upbringing it was only natural that he would enter the political scene. In order to hold office in the Roman Republic it was obligatory for a man to have served in the army or navy for 10

years. Tiberius Gracchus entered the military early and served at CARTHAGE under his cousin Scipio Aemilianus (who was also the husband of his sister, Sempronia). He was then a quaestor in Spain in 137 B.C.E. under Gaius Hostilius Mancinus. Soon after this Tiberius Gracchus entered Roman politics.

Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133 B.C.E., had a political platform by which he would reallocate government land and also enforce an old law that restricted the holding of arable land to a maximum of 500 *iugera* (about 335 acres) per person. There would then be a commission that would confiscate land from people who had holdings in excess of the law and hand it over in small parcels of land to army veterans and other loyal subjects. This would increase the agricultural base of the economy, reduce the "drift" of people moving to the cities, and help alleviate any possible food shortages. Furthermore, it would massively increase the number of Roman citizens in the countryside dominated by slaves (making a slave revolt a very real concern), and the rural population could also provide sons for Rome's armies—city dwellers being more reluctant to enlist.

As this would involve breaking up large estates that had sprung up on government land, the idea was hated by many of the senators whose families owned these estates. The idea raised by Gracchus was not entirely new, but he was the first member of the elite to try to push it through and make it law. Some have seen this action as a cynical one to entice large numbers of people to vote for him and repopulate with his supporters areas where some of the small tribes lived. Others have viewed it as an economic necessity to provide a food supply for a burgeoning city. Many writers have hailed it as a process of land reform and referred to Tiberius Gracchus and his brother as protocommunists.

It was abundantly clear that the Senate would not support any new law that would reduce their landownership, wealth, and power, and opponents of Tiberius Gracchus rallied their forces. However, Tiberius offered as a compromise that each child could hold an additional 250 *iugera*. The senators flatly refused to consider this. As a result, Tiberius Gracchus decided not to put the matter to the Senate for debate but to put the bill for the new law to a people's assembly. This was not illegal but broke some traditions going back several centuries by which the Senate could deliberate in the same way as U.S. congressional committees work.

The move to take the bill to the People's Assembly was vetoed by Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes. Tiberius Gracchus then resubmitted it, and Octavius again vetoed it. This second veto was unprecedented and went

against the legal customs of the period, and to get it to the People's Assembly, Tiberius Gracchus had Octavius removed from office, which was also unprecedented. The bill became law, and redistribution began with the brother of Tiberius, Gaius, and also his father-in-law elected to the commission that oversaw the redistribution.

At that point a quite separate scandal emerged. King Attalus III of Pergamum in modern-day Turkey died. He had probably been staying with the Gracchus family, and in his will the king left his estate to Rome. Tiberius Gracchus proposed acceptance of this, the Senate having the traditional right to foreign policy matters. Tiberius planned to distribute the property to Roman citizens, especially his supporters and the new landowners. Plans were made to bring charges against Tiberius Gracchus, and to escape conviction he decided to seek reelection as tribune. Immediately his enemies claimed that he was trying to become a dictator. With accusations of tyranny leveled against Tiberius Gracchus, many of his political allies deserted him.

Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, a former consul and at that time the *ponitfex maximus*, and a few other senators, gathered together a large mob of supporters with the mission of "saving the Republic." Serapio was a third cousin of Tiberius Gracchus but was also married to his mother's sister, making him an uncle. Family ties, however, counted for nothing as the mob turned on Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol. Tiberius Gracchus was beaten to death and his body flung into the Tiber River. Many of his supporters were also clubbed to death on the spot or died of their wounds. Publius Popillius Laenas became consul in 132 B.C.E.

The death of Tiberius Gracchus is highlighted as the first time in the Roman Republic that a political dispute had led to the murder of one of the major politicians of the period. Tiberius Gracchus had certainly been very popular with many people, including much of the elite, but the fear of him becoming a tyrant led to the revolt.

The younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus, had emerged on the political scene as a member of the land commission established in 133 B.C.E. He served as a quaestor in Sardinia. Gaius Gracchus set about rehabilitating the memory of his brother, punishing those who worked against him and introducing security measures to ensure he did not suffer the same fate. That done, he set about starting land redistribution again. Furthermore, he tried to establish colonies overseas, including one in Carthage, which would serve as loyal bases of Roman citizens in times of emergency. Gaius Gracchus was anxious to ensure that corn continued to be sold in Rome at subsidized prices, ensuring better public services

in Rome, and regulating army service. He was also eager to reduce the administrative decision-making ability of the Senate.

He proposed making all Latins and people from Latin states allied to Rome Roman citizens. This would, on the one hand, allow them the protection of Roman magistrates but would also make far more people eligible for land in the redistribution. His opponents were divided, and one, Gaius Fannius, whom Gaius Gracchus had supported as consul, rejected the ideas. Marcus Livius Drusus, on the other hand, suggested an even more radical policy involving the land in all colonies, almost in an attempt to "outbid" Gaius Gracchus. The bill to introduce these reforms was rejected, and Gaius Gracchus was not reelected. In 121 B.C.E. he and his key supporter Fulvius Flaccus decided to stage an armed insurrection, but the Senate issued a declaration of emergency powers. Flaccus was murdered, but Gaius Gracchus was able to escape with a trusted servant. As the two were cornered, Gaius Gracchus had his servant kill him, before his servant committed suicide. About 1,000 men who had supported him were arrested and executed, with their estates confiscated.

The deaths of Tiberius Gracchus and Gaius Gracchus were said to mark the start of the Roman revolution, during which the power of the Roman Republic's elite was challenged and finally ended.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Great Wall of China

Beginning in 324 B.C.E. three northern Chinese states with nomadic neighbors—Qin (Ch'in), Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen)—began to build defensive walls. After Qin unified China in 221 B.C.E. the first emperor ordered his most able general, MENG TIAN (MENG T' IEN), to connect these existing walls and extend them to form

a unified system of defense. The result is the Great Wall of China.

For 10 years beginning in 221 B.C.E. Meng Tian commanded a force of 300,000 men (soldiers, convicts, and corvée laborers), who simultaneously campaigned against the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) and other nomads and built the wall. There is no detailed information about the project. The great historian SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH' IEN) wrote this account in *The Historical Records*: "He [Meng Tian]...built a Great Wall, constructing its defiles and passes in accordance with the configurations of the terrain. It started at Lin-t'ao and extended to Liao-tung, reaching a distance of more than a myriad *li*. After crossing the [Yellow] River, it wound northward, touching the Yang mountains."

Controversy remains over the length of the Qin wall. Sima Qian used the word *wan*, which translates as "ten thousand" or "myriad" in English; *myriad* was often used to designate a large but not precise number. Regardless of its precise length, the logistics for its building was daunting, far more so than building a pyramid, because the wall advances and so the supply line is always changing. Moreover, it extends over mountains and semideserts

where the local population was sparse and the weather inclement. A vast army of support personnel was also involved, and death among the workers must have been high. Legends that the bodies of the dead were used as wall fillers have proved untrue from excavations; however, they reflect the resentment the relentless demand for labor for the project created. Unlike the Ming wall built almost 2,000 years later of rocks and large fired bricks, the Qin wall was made of tamped earth from local materials. The completed wall stretched from Gansu (Kansu) in the west to north of Pyongyang in present-day North Korea. The building of the wall and earlier Qin defeat of the Xiongnu also had the unintended result of solidifying and unifying the various Xiongnu tribes under their leader MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) in 209 B.C.E.

The fall of Qin in 206 B.C.E. resulted in neglect in China's northern defenses and Xiongnu incursions, which the first Han emperor Gaozu (LIU BANG) was unable to check. After defeat by Maotun in a major battle in 200 B.C.E., Han and Xiongnu made peace under the Heqin (Ho-chin) Treaty, which made the Great Wall their boundary. Appeasement of the Xiongnu ended in 133 B.C.E. with major Han campaigns that ultimately broke



The logistics behind building the Great Wall were daunting, as it extends over mountains and semideserts where the local population was sparse and the weather inclement. A vast number of support personnel was involved, and death among the workers must have been high.

up the Xiongnu confederacy and led to Han expansion to the northwest. The Great Wall was extended across the Gansu Corridor to Yumenguan (Yu-men Kuan), with forts and frontier posts along the way. Military colonists guarded these posts, growing food, supplying provisions for government missions, and safeguarding horse stud farms for the cavalry. Many of the ruined Han forts and outposts remain to show the cost of the Pax Sinica that the Han created and that the Great Wall safeguarded.

See also QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY; HAN DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Greek Church

As cultural and political differences emerged between the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, Christians also found themselves drifting away from a simple unity based on its primitive origins. When CONSTANTINE THE GREAT established a new capital on the European side of present-day Turkey in 325 C.E., it began a paradigm shift for citizens of the empire: The Roman Empire was no longer centered in Italy but in CONSTANTINOPLE. This realization began to dawn upon the Christians who were increasingly running the empire. Thus began a sense of the Greek Church, for Constantinople spoke Greek and reflected a different approach to running the empire than the Latin and imperial administration of Rome.

Nonetheless, it is better to locate the East-West split in Christianity in the latter half of the first millennium C.E. than the first half. The early church was primarily unaware of regionalization for the first five centuries. In fact, the Council of Chalcedon (451) organized the hundreds of bishoprics of the empire not by a Greek Church v. a LATIN CHURCH but simply by its recognition of historical prestige and dependency. There were five spheres of influence among early Christians and so five patriarchates: Rome, Constantinople, ALEXANDRIA, Antioch, and Jerusalem—and precisely in this order were they prioritized. Rome was always given pride of place among them, perhaps because it was the des-

tinuation for PAUL, the city of martyrdom for Peter, and the home of the caesars. Ironically enough, it was the church of Rome that always provided a defense of the “orthodox” position for Christians of the East in the early centuries of the faith.

There were always disputes among the bishops, but in the first half of the millennium Latin-speaking Rome and Greek-speaking Constantinople were not the disputants. The patriarch of Rome, called the pope because of his “papa” stature, had jurisdiction not only over the Latin-speaking Western Roman Empire but over parts of the Greek-speaking East, even over Greece itself. The Eastern Roman Empire had a collage of languages among its Christian citizens, including Coptic in Alexandria and Syriac in Antioch and Jerusalem. The emperors tried to impose unity among them all, but the ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES of the Middle East were considered inferior partners in the empire. This second-rate status eventually influenced them to form their own churches.

By the time of JUSTINIAN I, the word *orthodox* was used to describe correct (*orthos*) belief (*doxos*) in official church teaching on the doctrines of the Trinitarian nature of God and the divine nature of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in the face of heretical positions. It was not used to differentiate the Greek (Orthodox) Church from the Latin (Catholic) Church. This nuance of the Greek Church arose around the eighth or ninth century. An early challenge to unity between Rome and Constantinople occurred when John the Faster proclaimed himself as the “ecumenical patriarch” of Constantinople (582–595). This title may have been a challenge to the pope’s authority.

More significant for the prestige of both patriarchates were external factors like the Muslim invasions of Byzantine lands in the 600s C.E., and the consolidation of the Frankish tribes as the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (or Empire of the West) under Charlemagne.

The Greek Church always gave a special role to the emperor to mediate disputes and to summon councils for the sake of unity, an idea that modern historians call Caesaropapacy. The Latin Church, on the other hand, allowed its patriarch the pope to be more independent from secular authorities and to resolve disputes by himself. Other small and divergent practices were goads in the process: Greeks allowed married men to become priests; the Latins increasingly sought celibates as priests; Greeks took communion with leavened bread, the Latins with unleavened bread; Greeks celebrated the same religious feasts as the Latins, but according to a different calendar. Oftentimes the two churches worked out agreements of toleration for their differences, but two issues hastened the day of divorce.

First, the Byzantine emperor Leo banned the use of certain religious images, a policy called iconoclasm. While large numbers of Greek Church members opposed this decree, the pope summarily rejected it and was punished with the forfeiture of his lands in the Greek-speaking world to the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. Even when the Greek Church resoundingly repudiated iconoclasm in the Second Council of Nicaea (787 C.E.), the pope did not receive his lands back.

Second, the resolution of the iconoclastic controversy so invigorated the Greek Church that it began to expand its presence in the Slavic world. It sent out the great missionaries CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and Methodius to spread the faith in Bulgaria and Moravia. They greatly innovated religious customs of the church so that the Slavs could more easily accept Christianity. For example, they allowed the use of native languages in their religious services and writings instead of requiring traditional Greek, and they even concocted an alphabet that served this end. The pope refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch over these new mission fields. A compromise was worked out, but significant damage was done to the relationship between the two leaders.

With the tension already present for two centuries, it did not take much to cause the two churches to divide in an official and structural way in 1054. The issue in fact was quite minor: the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist by the Catholics mentioned above, tolerated for centuries, now was exacerbated into a gaping chasm. The patriarch and the pope mutually excommunicated each other. When Constantinople acted, its dependent mission lands sided with her; thus, the West found itself cut off from the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian churches, along with "Orthodox" Christians from Egypt and Syria. Now the Greek Church really became a separate institution, the Orthodox Church.

At first, most in the East and the West thought that the split would be temporary, just like other quarrels in the previous 300 years. The irreparability of the rupture, however, became apparent when crusaders invaded and sacked Constantinople in 1204 (called "the Rape of Constantinople"). The invaders stole cultural treasures, replaced Orthodox with Catholic bishops, and elevated a Latin bishop as the patriarch of Constantinople. Only Serbia and Bulgaria recognized this change in hierarchy, while the rest of the Orthodox world submitted to the Greek ecumenical patriarch in exile.

The bad blood spoiled any hope for reconciliation, though later efforts at the Council of Lyon (1274) and Council of Florence (1438–45) were made. As the Greek civilization weakened before the Muslim invaders, Or-

thodox and Catholic overtures were made to soften the mutual excommunications. But always the rank-and-file members objected and agreements collapsed. The prevailing bitterness was so poisonous that the Orthodox members preferred to live under the Muslims than submit to the Catholics.

Under the Ottoman Muslims the sultan imposed the ecumenical patriarch as the spokesperson for all the Orthodox Christians in their empire. Through the compartmentalization of the Christians, the Ottomans could keep control of the church and enforce their bureaucratic standards. The Greek Church was too independent to embrace such uniformity. As nationalism took hold in the Balkans and elsewhere, self-governing national Orthodox churches spun off, until finally the Ottomans were themselves expelled in the 20th century and the resentments of national Orthodox churches toward Constantinople were exposed.

Prophetic leadership for the Greek Church tended to come from its monastic base, especially from Mt. Athos. Top-down leadership rarely worked for the ecumenical patriarch in the same way as it did for the pope. Central directives were issued primarily through synods and councils. The monks brought a form of mysticism into the Greek Church that pervaded many of its devotions, theologies, and art forms. Monasteries had few institutionalized controls but functioned under spiritual masters known as abbots. In contrast, the Latin Church was influenced by the intellectual development of western Europe. It had to give logical explanations and rational tests for many of its doctrines, and monasteries were not given the central role in the spiritual guidance of the church. Neither pope nor bishop nor monastery was spared the pastoral reforms that wrenched the whole Latin Church in later centuries.

See also CONSTANTINOPLE; EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Greek city-states

The ancient Greeks revered the city-state, or *POLIS*, as something special, precious, and particularly their own.

The city-state distinguished their culture and provided a vehicle for their social and economic interactions. The great philosopher ARISTOTLE regarded it as the only suitable living arrangement. Moreover, the Greeks believed that the polis distinguished Hellenics from other peoples whom they thought barbarian. The polis was more than a city-state; it was also a place of gathering, conversation, political evolution, civic pride, and artistic achievement.

The roots of the polis lie in the aftermath of the Greek Dark Ages (1100–800 B.C.E.), which set in after the destruction of Mycenaean civilization. This time was referred to as the Homeric age, since it is thought that the events recounted in the *Iliad* took place then. By the end of the Dark Ages, migrations, particularly by a people referred to as the Dorians had changed the demographic landscape of Greece from the population of a large empire to lesser numbers of individuals living in smaller political units thanks to the creation of the polis. The Dorians came not as a mass migration but in small groups. Thus Greece became the home of the polis with many of them developing, large and small, throughout the country. In addition, the nature of the Greek countryside, rocky and divided by mountains, encouraged settlement in smaller numbers.

The polis usually included a fortress called the acropolis, on an elevation, and an agora, or market. The population lived in the houses and farms surrounding this area and could vary greatly in size. Some were large like Athens, Sparta, THEBES, and Corinth, while others were extremely small. All seemed to have a strong sense of identity and patriotism; each might have their own god or goddess. Some, like Sparta, became land powers, while others, like Athens, depended on their navy. In addition, it was common for city-states to establish colonies in such places as Italy, France, and even Russia. Political arrangements differed among the poleis and in many cases the form of government would change over time. At the outset many of them had kings and some continued in this manner.

Many city-states evolved from a monarchy, aristocracy, or oligarchy (the rule of the few) to a plutocracy (the rule of the wealthy), a tyranny (the rule of one), or a democracy (the rule of the people). In many poleis a sense of participation arose, but women, slaves, and resident aliens were excluded from the political process. The polis was also an artistic center. Two poleis stand out as examples of the various ways in which the city-state might develop. Sparta was the warrior society in which all institutions were dedicated to that end, and Athens was the open society, whose hallmark was the

freedom and individualism of its citizens. Sparta was the major power in the Peloponnese. It reduced the native population to state slavery (*helots*) and after a dangerous rebellion created a fortress state under the guidance of Lycurgus. Spartan male citizens were trained for war, taken away from their mothers and taught by the state. Given physical exercise and martial training, they were also taught to spy on the *helots* and report those who might be suspect. Though life in Sparta seemed harsh, their discipline and courage won the plaudits of many other Greeks.

Athens, on the other hand, set in Attica, with a fine harbor nearby, traveled in a different path. Having begun as a monarchy and transformed itself, largely thanks to its lawgiver SOLON, the Athenians had evolved into a democratic polis, in which all free Athenian male citizens could participate. Popular assembly ran both the government and the judicial system, and Athens became a thriving and creative polis. Its major leader in the fifth century B.C.E., PERICLES, spoke of Athens as the school of Hellas, emphasizing its intellectual and cultural dominance over the rest of Greece.

In many respects the fate of the Greek polis was closely connected to the relationship between these two rival cities. War against the Persians from 490 to 479 B.C.E. had been preceded by some bad feelings, but the actions of Athens and Sparta led the outnumbered Greeks to victory. In 490 B.C.E. the Athenians defeated the Persians at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, while the brave Spartans held the pass at Thermopylae in 480 B.C.E. long enough to slow down the Persians. Finally in at the Battle of Salamis, the Athenians destroyed the Persian fleet. However, the amity between the two poleis did not last.

Following the Persian wars the Athenians established a defensive alliance known as the Delian League with the ostensible purpose of protecting its members from future attacks. Athens controlled the treasury of the league on the island of Delos and began to use the money for its own purposes. In addition, member states were not allowed to opt out. Sparta responded by setting up its own alliance of poleis, known as the Peloponnesian League. The two defensive leagues fell into a disastrous conflict known as the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, beginning in 431 B.C.E. and ending in 404 B.C.E. Fought intermittently, the war caused great loss of life and destruction as Athens used naval strength against Sparta's military dominance. The ultimate result was the total defeat of Athens, described by Thucydides. It ended with a brutal Spartan-controlled tyranny in Athens, and that city's moral decline is seen in the trial and

execution of SOCRATES in 399 B.C.E. The fourth century B.C.E. began with Spartan supremacy, but this shifted to other cities such as Thebes and a recovered Athens. By 340 B.C.E., however, power shifted to Macedonia under PHILIP OF MACEDON and then, upon his death, to his son, ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; HOMERIC EPICS; MYCENAE; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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MARC SCHWARZ

Greek colonization

Starting in the eighth century B.C.E. the GREEK CITY-STATES planted colonies throughout the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Black Seas for the purpose of trade, acquisition of resources, and relief from population growth, famine, and drought. In the 700s B.C.E. the Greeks established colonies in Sicily, southern Italy, Egypt, and the Middle East. The colonies in Egypt and the Middle East extended trade routes to the major civilizations in those areas. In 700–600 B.C.E. Greece continued to found colonies in Sicily and Italy but also expanded into Thrace, the Hellespont, and Bosphorus along the Black Sea, and North Africa. During the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks moved farther into the western Mediterranean.

One of the primary causes for Greek colonization was food. As the population of a POLIS (city) grew, the polis experienced trouble growing enough food for the population because of a lack of land. The lack of food led to a willingness of the people to leave the city in search of land. In times of famine or drought people were also willing to leave the polis. The polis would also found colonies in areas where the colonist could trade for items that the polis needed. The mother polis would provide items such as pots, oil, tools, or weapons that the locals wanted, while the locals would provide wood, metals, and food in exchange. Colonists were also, at times, exiles from their polis. The majority of the colonists were males.

Initially, a Greek colony was made up of people from a single polis. Their loyalty and ties to the polis they came from were not necessarily very strong. Instead, the colonists had a stronger loyalty to the man who had led them to the site of the new colony. The leader was called

the *oikist*. The *oikist* was responsible for bringing fire from the original polis's hearth to the colony to show its connection to the founding polis. Upon founding of the colony, the *oikist* would be the leader of the city until his death. Before an expedition could set out for the chosen site, the *oikist* would visit the oracle at Delphi to see if the god Apollo approved of the new colony or not.

There were several criteria used to determine what would be a good site for the colony. The site needed to have fertile land that the colonist could use to grow food. The colony also needed a good anchorage and needed to be defensible. The area chosen for the colony might be uninhabited.

However, if there was a local population, the colony might choose to cohabitate with the local population or conquer them by force. Once the colonists arrived at the site, they would make a sacrifice to the gods and say prayers over the site. A plan would then be created for distribution of land to the colonists and to determine the layout of the city. The plan also made provisions for future growth on the new polis. The new colony normally carried over the traditions, religion, and laws of its founding polis, and the two cities normally favored each other in trading.

The earliest colony has been dated at approximately 775 B.C.E. and was founded on the island of Pithecusae, which is about six miles off the Bay of Naples. It was founded to facilitate trade with the ETRUSCANS. In the 730s B.C.E. the Greeks started colonizing Sicily, including founding the city of SYRACUSE (by Corinth) in 734 B.C.E. At this time the Greeks were also busy colonizing the coast of southern Italy. This area, Sicily, and southern Italy would come to be called Magna Graecia (Big Greece). Among the colonies in this area was the only one founded by Sparta, Taras (later known as Tarentum) in 706 B.C.E.

Toward the end of the 700s and into the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks colonized the northern coast of the Aegean Sea in Thrace. This area offered timber, gold, silver, grain, and slaves for trade back to the Greek polis. During the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks colonized the Hellespont and Bosphorus area, including the colony of Byzantium (later to be known as CONSTANTINOPLE and Istanbul), which was founded c. 667 B.C.E. From here the Greeks began colonizing the Black Sea from the mid-seventh to the sixth century B.C.E. The Greek colonies tended to be on the west and north coasts of the Black Sea. These coasts provided a sheltered port for the colonies because of the rivers that emptied into the Black Sea. Among the colonies founded here was Odessus (modern-day Odessa in the Ukraine).

In Africa the Greek colony of Cyrene was founded in c. 630 B.C.E. The colony exported ox hides, grain, woolens, and the plant silphium. The Greeks founded colonies in the western Mediterranean, the first of which was Massalia (modern-day Marseille in southern France) in 600 B.C.E. Tin was a major export, as were iron, spices, slaves, and wheat. This was followed by several other poleis in southern France and eastern Spain during the 500s B.C.E. The Greeks built a trading post, named Al Mina, in Syria that they used to acquire copper and iron. They also established a trading post in Egypt, and Naucratis, during the seventh century B.C.E. The commodity they were most interested in was cereal, but they were also interested in papyrus, linen, and ivory. The Persians captured Naucratis in 525 B.C.E.

See also DELPHIC ORACLE; GREEK CHURCH; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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Greek drama

The Greeks invented drama from their wild religious ceremonies involving drinking, dancing, and revelry. This can be seen in the words that we use to describe drama today; for instance, *theater* originally meant “a spectacle or sight to behold,” which is related to the Ancient Greek word *thauma*, “a miracle.” This spectacle created by the Greeks involved and enveloped the entire population of a Greek town in secret rites honoring a god, usually Dionysus, whose followers carried phallic symbols, imbibed wine, and were transported to states of ecstasy. In Athens the theater building was considered a temple, and the god was believed to be present for the performances.

The Greeks used the word *orgy* to describe these rites, in accordance with the original sense of the word as described by the *Merriam Webster Dictionary*: “secret ceremonial rites held in honor of an ancient Greek or Roman

deity and usually characterized by ecstatic singing and dancing.” Nearly all of the parodies, melodies, and mysteries seen or heard in modern times are connected to ancient Greece, where those terms were invented. A parody was a song, or ode, about something (*para*, “about”). A mystery was a secret religious ceremony. A melody was the tune sung by the chorus. Modern television shows, movies, plays, and many popular songs emerged out of these intense Greek religious rites. This is true whether the movie is a comedy, a tragedy, or a satire.

ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION

The popular view is that Greek tragedy evolved out of jovial folk hymns to Dionysus, called dithyrambs, and that the other forms of drama evolved from this. Dithyrambs were composed as early as the seventh century B.C.E., and spread from Athens to many other GREEK CITY-STATES. A chorus of up to 50 people sang the dithyrambs, and competitions enlivened religious festivals. Dionysus is also known as Bacchus, the god who roamed the world followed by throngs of crazed women (called Bacchantes or Maenads, from whom we get the term *mania*). The god and his followers were often found drunk on grape wine, which was held sacred to Dionysus.

Originally, festivals honoring Dionysus took the form of choreographed dances performed by a chorus about an altar on an *orchestra*, or “dancing ground.” This evolved into performances designed to produce such a powerful rush of emotions that the entire audience achieved an intense communal emotional rush known as *catharsis*, which cleansed and revitalized the people. *Catharsis* became one of the hallmarks of performances of tragedy, a word that literally means “goat ode,” the goat being the symbol of Dionysus. In contrast, William Ridgeway claims that tragedy arose out of the worship of and communion with the dead. Since this communion was presided over by Dionysus as well, and since *tragedy* refers to a symbol of Dionysus, the worship of Dionysus was most likely integral to the inception and performance of tragedy.

The 12- to 50-member chorus, singing, dancing, and critiquing throughout the play, was a major distinguishing facet of Greek tragedy. The chorus was held by some to represent the will and opinions of the society, as if the populace itself were onstage with the chorus, commenting upon and making sense of the action. Many famous Greek dramatists were successful playwrights and actors and were responsible for major innovations in the form of tragedy. Thespian of Icaria in 534 B.C.E. separated the leader of the chorus from the rest of the group, to become Athens’s first actor,



The ruins of an ancient Greek amphitheater with a commanding mountain view. Greek drama greatly influenced theaters all over Europe throughout Roman times and during the Middle Ages.

reading the parts of several characters and wearing a different mask for each. Thus, we now call actors *thespians*, after the man who, for the first time, made a play that consisted of more than simply a chorus.

AESCHYLUS, a highly honored Greek playwright, added a second actor and stage decorations to his play, while giving costumes to the already masked actors and chorus. His tragedies, such as *Prometheus Bound*, *Agamemnon*, and *Seven against Thebes*, portray humans who are punished by cosmic forces for their misdeeds and failings. SOPHOCLES, another famous Greek author, added a third actor and in a groundbreaking move gave the actors more emphasis than the chorus. He also added three members to the chorus, bringing the total to 15.

Comedies and satires evolved from tragedy. The oldest known comedies were breaks between tragedies or between parts of a single tragedy, in which exaggerated

characters lampooned the tragedy in a spoof that closely followed the format, costumes, and masks of the tragedy. Soon entire comic plays arose. These are referred to as Old Comedy, referring to comedies performed in the period beginning with PERICLES' establishment of democracy c. 450 B.C.E. Old Comedy followed the strict format of tragedy and included the chorus.

Satire was a third type of Greek drama that bridged the gap between comedy and tragedy. *Satire*, a word coming from the satyrs sacred to Dionysus, is a term for a play that was performed to make fun of tragedy and lighten the impact of the tragedies the audience had just seen. The satyrs were odd and amusing creatures who made possible a unique sort of parody of the typical tragedy. The hairy, half-human satyrs had the hoofed, short legs of a goat, together with the goat's short horns, and the tail and ears of a horse. The chorus of satyrs was

always known to be jovial, bawdy, rustic, and roguish in their humor. Clearly, the illustrious citizens characterized in tragedies should be above such company—which is why it was so amusing to place them in the midst of a carousing chorus of satyrs. In attempting to fit in with such a crowd, the famous characters had to suffer a certain loss of dignity, and thus, the satire made fun of the tragedy and perhaps also of itself.

Notable authors such as ARISTOPHANES ridiculed and satirized all aspects of the Greek society, particularly the famous, noble, and most upstanding citizens of their day, or even of revered, legendary figures. His *Clouds* lampooned the philosopher SOCRATES as a quarrelsome Sophist, and his *Wasps* attacked the Athenian courts and their proceedings. In satires the main characters were exaggerated buffoons, who spoke and performed every manner of nonsense. No aspect of society was sacred in these comedies, and often even the very gods were lampooned. No limits were placed on the extent to which the author could go to ridicule his subject.

EXPERIENCING THE DRAMA

Greeks devoted two to four major religious holidays a year entirely to seeing plays—much as with modern three-day music festivals. Contests were held to determine the best tetralogy, or set of four plays. Each tetralogy consisted of three tragedies followed by a satire. Each such quartet was performed on a single day, and many would never be repeated during the playwright's lifetime. The festivals, called by such names as the Lesser Dionysia and the Greater Dionysia, were believed necessary to keep the cosmos in proper order, to enable the crops to grow, and the people to survive. Since the outlying villages held their own Dionysia on different days, it was possible to attend several such festivals during one season. These ceremonies were so important that their proper conduct was a major responsibility of the state, which selected the actors and the choruses—and charged wealthy citizens special taxes to defray the costs.

All of Athens attended plays; those who could not afford to attend were provided with ticket money by the state. Dwarfing any modern theater, the Dionysian Theater held the whole town—estimates range from 14,000 to upward of 20,000 people. As these people were all Athenians, they were likely more homogenous in their outlook than a modern crowd. Thus, the playwright could address plays very directly to his audience, making fun of individual Athenians, suggesting a course of action on current issues, referencing an inside joke, or even jokingly accusing someone in the audience of misconduct. The people watched plays from morning to

evening, still maintaining an appetite for the subsequent days' performances. With a single-minded audience in such rapt attention, leading tragic poets had an enormous opportunity to make an impact upon the people and upon the political process in towns such as Athens. They were thought of as teachers of the populace and bore an incredible responsibility for shaping the character of a powerful nation-state.

As these festivals were established at the urging of an oracle, all legal proceedings and business were put on hold. To disturb the proceedings, to strike the performers, or even to remove a person who had taken the wrong seat would be a crime that might well be punished with death. The theater was treated like a temple. The high priest of Dionysus was seated in the center of the front row. An altar of Dionysus stood in the orchestral dancing ground, and the audience was seated on stone benches on the hillside. Across the dancing ground was the *skene*, a building where the actors could change their costumes. Between the *skene* and the orchestra was the *proskenenion*, which would later be called a stage. The chorus would parade in military formation up the *para-doi*, the entrance ramps leading to the *proskenenion*.

Greek drama greatly influenced drama all over Europe throughout Roman times and during the Middle Ages. Many modern movies bear the influences of ancient Greek authors. Modern songs have choruses. Even if some of the religious implications have been dropped, the Greek influence remains.

See also ELEUSIS; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; MYSTERY CULTS; NEW COMEDY.

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JOSEPH R. GERBER

Greek mythology and pantheon

Greek mythology developed out of the regional traditions and local cults that developed among ethnically

similar but culturally distinct groups. Traditions and deities waxed and waned in popularity across the history of ancient Greece.

Unlike many of their ancient contemporaries, the gods of the Greek pantheon were essentially human: shape-shifters capable of taking the forms of animals and natural phenomena, but otherwise human in appearance and attitude, as opposed to the animal-headed deities of the Near East.

Mythology is a Greek word coined to refer to the systematic ordering of myths performed by classical writers such as HESIOD. Local traditions continued to be followed in the forms both of ritual and of stories told. In the classical literary works the stories were unified and made largely consistent. But few Greeks would have known of any inconsistencies: If they believed his grandmother Gaia raised Zeus, they probably had not heard the versions of the myth that had him raised by a goat or the nymph Cynosura.

Perhaps because of those regional traditions, while different gods were associated with different aspects of life, the lines between them were sometimes fuzzy. Hyperion and Apollo were both gods of the Sun, while Helios was the personification of the Sun and Eos was the goddess of the dawn, functions that overlap and may indicate the coexistence of multiple preclassical sun god traditions.

Further, there were gods associated only with a particular site: a nymph with a particular cave, a minor god with a particular river, and gods such as Adonis who were worshipped only at specific times. Theogonies (of which Hesiod's is the most famous of the surviving texts) described the origins of the gods and were used in religious rituals and credited with supernatural powers. Singing a passage from a theogony could calm the sea, invoke the protection of the gods, or appease one's supernatural enemies.

In Hesiod's theogony the world begins with Chaos, and the first gods embodied basic concepts of early Earth: Uranus was the sky; Gaia, the earth; Pontos, the sea; and Aither, the light. Uranus and Gaia conceived 18 children: the 12 Titans—300-handed, 50-headed giants—and three Cyclopes.

When Uranus imprisoned some of her children, Gaia implored the Titans to kill him. Only Cronus agreed, castrating and killing his father. He grew paranoid and proceeded to eat his own children as they were born, to prevent them from doing to him as he had done to Uranus. With Gaia's help Cronus's wife Rhea hid Zeus from him, and the young god and future patriarch of the pantheon slayed his father, freeing his siblings from

the Titan's stomach. The gods of primary importance to the Greek pantheon were the 12 Olympians, children and grandchildren of the Titans. The exact makeup of these 12 has varied, with various stories picking two from among Hebe, Helios, Hestia, Demeter, Dionysus, Hades, and Persephone. Constant, though, were the other 10 that follow:

Zeus. The ruler of Mount Olympus and god of thunder and the sky. Zeus is the father of many figures from myth, famous for disguising himself to seduce some object of lust. Apollo, Ares, Artemis, and Hermes are his children, as are the heroes Perseus and Heracles. With Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, he conceived the Muses.

Hera. Zeus's sister and wife. The goddess of marriage was often upset with Zeus for his philandering. In one story she gives birth to Hephaestus by herself to spite her husband for his many children with others. Hera may have evolved from an early pre-Hellenic goddess.

Aphrodite. The goddess of love and beauty, born from the sea foam when Zeus threw his father's castrated member into the ocean. Often portrayed as vain, the love over which she presides is more properly lust. She is unfaithful to her husband Hephaestus.

Apollo. The god of music, poetry, and the Sun, Apollo was associated with numerous oracular sites, important to Greek culture and religious practice. He had both male and female lovers and sometimes pursued them as vigorously as his father had. Usually his wrath was reserved not for those who spurned him but those who stood between him and love: When Clytia, the sister of Leucothea whom he loved, betrayed them to her father, Apollo turned her into a sunflower, forced to follow the path of the Sun every day.

Ares. The god of war, one of the gods associated with foreigners. Homer describes him as a native of Thrace.

Artemis. The goddess of hunting, twin sister of Apollo. Though she was a goddess of chastity, she was also a goddess of fertility; though a virgin, she was the goddess of childbirth. She was also often associated with young people, teenagers, and preteens.

Athena. The daughter of Zeus and goddess of wisdom, crafts, war, and cunning. She was the patron goddess of Athens, born from Zeus's skull when he swallowed her pregnant mother.

Hephaestus. The god of the forge, Aphrodite's long-suffering husband and the most dim-witted of the gods.

Hermes. Maybe the best example of the multiple functions of some of the gods: Hermes was the god of

travel, commerce, speed, literature, athletes, thieves, liars, and standards of measure.

Poseidon. God of the sea, a sibling of Zeus. Well known for his wrath, he was also the god and cause of earthquakes.

The Olympians came to power after their war with the Titans and dwelled atop Mount Olympus, a real mountain, one of the highest in Europe at more than 9,000 feet.

Many narratives centered on heroes like Aeneas and Perseus, and on their unusual births, often beginning with a god falling in love with a mortal (and sometimes disguising themselves in order to seduce the mortal). Other stories tell the mythical origins of cultural artifacts, such as the theft of fire by Prometheus and Hermes' creation of the lyre. Above all other historical events, many myth stories revolved around the Trojan War. While the war was most likely fought, it is doubtful it took on such a scale as myth has ascribed to it, and as the myths grew, the story of the war moved further and further from reality. What was probably a simple battle of conquest became in Greek myth an epic struggle that begins with Eris's golden apple and proceeds to the judgment of Paris, his abduction of HELEN OF TROY, the deaths of Hector and Agamemnon, the fall of TROY, and the hero stories that became the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *AENEID*.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were Homer's main works, though Homer, a blind poet, may not have actually existed. The poems recount the end of the Trojan War and Odysseus's lengthy journey home in its aftermath. The Homeric hymns were also attributed to Homer in antiquity and use the same dactylic hexameter. They vary in length, another possible indication of multiple authorship, but each hymn focuses on one of the gods, singing his praises and telling his story.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HOMERIC EPICS.

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BILL KTE'PI

Greek oratory and rhetoric

Oratory and rhetoric were key components of Greek culture. The Hellenistic world was primarily an oral

culture—as was most of the world prior to the invention of the printing press—with public lectures and performances being the primary literary form of the time. The orator (*rhetor*) was a celebrated figure in the society, and rhetoric (*rhetorike*), the art of the spoken word, was a strongly valued element of the classical education, with the most highly educated receiving particularly strong rhetorical training. Before the fifth century B.C.E. rhetoric was not directly taught as a subject in itself; rather, students memorized important texts, usually poetry and especially the HOMERIC EPICS, which they would then perform at festivals. Stock phrases, proverbs, and maxims were memorized and employed when needed to make a speech more persuasive. Compositional and rhetorical skill was thus obtained by imitation of the features of classic texts rather than through direct instruction. This changed by the latter half of the fifth century B.C.E.—the dawn of SOPHISM.

The study of rhetoric as a subject can be attributed in part to the necessity created by the fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian judicial system, which required the prosecuting party and the defendant to give formal speeches arguing their cases. Well-organized and -executed speeches were more persuasive, a fact that led to the proliferation of handbooks of judicial rhetoric to give assistance to those preparing such speeches. Eventually, the system allowed a litigant to hire a speechwriter (famous speechwriters of this era include Lysias, DEMOSTHENES, and Antiphon) to write a speech that the litigant would then memorize and deliver before the court. The structure of Athenian democratic government, which was easily influenced by smooth-talking political leaders, also helped lead to the study of rhetoric, since it could be employed as a tool with which the citizens (and thus Athens itself) could be swayed.

It was at this time that the Sophists of the fifth century B.C.E. (such as Gorgias and Protagoras, who were immortalized by Plato's dialogues) came onto the scene, offering to teach argument and rhetoric to those willing to pay—often a great deal—for their services. The Sophists were a group of thinkers from all over the Greek world who, through their mastery of the spoken word, were regarded as masters of argument and debate. They emphasized that two contradictory arguments can be made about any given issue and that, at any given time, the weaker argument could be made the stronger, meaning that knowledge could never be absolute and debate should always remain open.

Sophists acquired a reputation for being able to effectively and persuasively argue both sides of any given issue—as Protagoras's *Antilogies* (Opposing statements)

and the late fifth-century B.C.E. *Dissoi Logoi* (Double arguments) show. Above all, Sophists were interested in eristic, the art of refutation and verbal conflict. Rhetorical contests were staged on occasion, such as on a feast day, with the audience enthralled by the skills of the best sophistic orators. Plato and ARISTOTLE took an antagonistic stance toward the Sophists, regarding them as deceivers more interested in verbal sleight of hand and debate than in truth or reason, a view that has more or less remained to this day.

The contributions of the Sophists to the art of oratory made an indelible mark on Hellenistic culture, as rhetoric as a skill in itself came to be emphasized and taught as a part of a standard education. After a child had learned to read and write (at seven or eight years old), he or she progressed to study with a *grammaticus* (grammarian). The handbook of Dionysius, *Thrax*, written in the early first century B.C.E. and used as a textbook for the next 15 centuries, outlines this training in literature, which focused on grammar and basic literary criticism. At around 12 to 14 years old, the student would then begin the study of rhetoric taught by a rhetorician.

Rhetorical instruction was made up of three fixed elements. The first two elements included the study of rhetorical theory and the study of models from prior literature (such as Homeric speeches, the dialogues of Plato, or the speeches of Demosthenes). After completion of the first two elements, the student progressed to declamation exercises in which, after listening to speeches by the rhetorician, the student would receive an assigned topic on which he would write, memorize, and perform a speech based on a fixed pattern for that type of speech and subject matter.

SPEECH CATEGORIES

Types of speeches were commonly divided into three categories. The deliberative speech was concerned with a decision to be made about the future, usually in political context, such as whether a given law should be passed or whether a war should be waged. The judicial speech was a speech that argued concerning the truth about past events and was typically used in the courtroom. The epideictic speech was typically for show or entertainment and dealt with topics such as beauty, credit and blame, or praise. As democratic city-states were replaced by imperial rule, its overall importance faded somewhat, as did the importance of judicial oratory. On the other hand, epideictic speech became the most common exhibition of trained oratory, often being used to celebrate military victories or feast days. Deliberative oratory continued to have some function in

ambassadorial relations, military decisions, and management of local governments.

Rhetorical art was usually divided into five skills also called canons: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Invention involved the process of finding something to say; this skill was trained by learning conventional categories, *topoi* (common-places), which dealt with the main rhetorical possibilities for nearly any theme.

For example, for an *encomium* (speech of praise), a person's noble birth, parentage, noble deeds, education, friends, and courage (among other things) would be included among the possible *topoi*. This greatly aided the speechwriting process by giving concrete starting points for brainstorming.

Each speech was organized based on four elements. The *prooemium* (introduction), sometimes called the *proem*, is not only to introduce the issue at hand but also to stir the feelings of the audience or (in the case of a judicial speech) to dispel prejudice. The *diegesis* (narrative or statement of facts) tells the speaker's side of the story; the subjects involved should be characterized positively or negatively, depending on the goal of the speech. The *pistis* (proofs) section provides evidence for the case—by statement of fact, logical, ethical, or emotional appeals—in order to sway the audience. This section also included refutations of the opposing side's anticipated arguments; later orators (such as CICERO or Quintilian) sometimes considered this refutation a separate section (the *refutatio*) of the speech directly following the *pistis*. The final element of a speech is the *epilogos* (epilogue), in which the speaker reinforces his prior statements, attempts to reinforce a positive attitude in the audience toward himself and his argument, and closes with a forceful conclusion.

After a slow decline in importance as Greek democracy gave way to the Roman Empire, classical Greek rhetoric experienced a revival of sorts in the SECOND SOPHISTIC period of the mid-first through the mid-second centuries C.E. This in turn had a great impact on Christian literature and oratory, as can be seen in Luke-Acts or figures such as AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO or JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. As a result, the impact of Greek rhetoric continues today, with modern public speaking and literature heavily based on the principles of oratory produced in the Hellenistic Period.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA.

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JASON A. STAPLES

Gregory the Great

(c. 540–604 C.E.) *pope and saint*

Gregory was born of a noble family that had already given the church two popes. A strong Christian upbringing and an excellent education in law prepared him for a future in both the civil and ecclesiastical realms. He was only 30 when his natural administrative abilities landed him the appointment of prefect of the city of Rome, a position bearing responsibility for the finances, food, and defense of the city. This was at a time when the invasion of the Lombards in other parts of Italy was causing a stream of refugees to descend on Rome. Gregory had only occupied this position for a short time when his father died, enabling Gregory to refocus the direction of his life and to respond to the grace of conversion, which he said he had long postponed.

He left public office and turned his family estate on the Caelian Hill into a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew. He also founded six monasteries on lands owned by his family in Sicily in order to provide for refugee monks who had to abandon their monasteries due to the invasions of the Lombards. As a monk at St. Andrew's, he applied himself to prayer, meditation on the sacred scriptures, and the study of the Latin Fathers. His initial enthusiasm for the ascetical life led to excessive fasting, producing stomach ailments that plagued Gregory the rest of his life.

Gregory was ordained a deacon by Pelagius II and sent to CONSTANTINOPLE as the pope's representative at the Byzantine court (579–586 C.E.). In Constantinople, Gregory continued to live an ascetic life in the company of monks he had brought with him from St. Andrew's. He also came into contact with the tradition of the East-

ern Fathers and with Eastern MONASTICISM and made important political and ecclesiastical contacts. At the suggestion of his monks, he began to give them a series of conferences of the book of JOB, which would become his longest work, the celebrated *Moralia*. Returning to Rome, Gregory continued to advise the pope, now as one of the famed seven deacons of the city. During a plague that devastated the city, Gregory threw himself into aiding the stricken populace, organizing penitential processions and raising the spirits of the city.

When Pelagius II succumbed to the plague, both the clergy and the people acclaimed Gregory pope. As the first monk to accede to the chair of Peter, Gregory's early letters as bishop of Rome testify to his struggle to reconcile an active life with his deepest desires for a life of contemplation. In reconciling these two vocations in his own life, he would insist on the need for every Christian, religious or lay, to practice the *vita mixta*, to balance the spiritual life with both works of charity and time for God alone. He would also draw on monks to help him in active ministries, either as bishops or as missionaries, as when he sent Augustine (future bishop of Canterbury) and 40 monks from St. Andrew's to Britain in 597 to bring the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. Pope Gregory's continual endeavors to help his people were complicated by the emperor's dilatory dealings with the barbarians.

In 594 an exasperated Gregory took matters into his own hands, which—while evoking the displeasure of the emperor—resulted in saving the city from the destruction threatened by Agiluft, the Lombard king. In the wake of the civil government's failure to take responsibility, the people would henceforth regard Gregory as their true leader and protector.

Gregory's writings include letters, homilies, commentaries on scripture, and works specifically directed to the clergy or to the laity. His works continue to be of great value for their teachings on morality, asceticism, and mysticism. Like AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, whose writings he knew well, he continually combines lofty doctrine with personal experience. A theme that permeates all his works is the desire for God, who alone can fulfill a person's interior emptiness. The desire results in interior peace, a peace coming from God, which means that the very desire for him is already a part of his peace.

A work designed for the common people is the *Dialogues*, a series of discussions with a certain Peter the deacon. They were written during a period of natural catastrophes and barbarian invasions and are meant to show that holiness—through examples of sixth-century saints—is possible even in their own chaotic times. The

second book of the *Dialogues* is totally given over to the life of BENEDICT and is the only ancient source for the life of this saint. For the clergy Gregory wrote his *Pastoral Care*, a work on the care of souls (the “art of arts” as he calls it) and is a guide for priests and bishops.

It places emphasis on the need for a pastor to be a man of virtue and discernment who teaches by word and example. Gregory always considered the cleric to be a man of service, as is evident in the title he used for himself: *servus servorum Dei* or “Servant of the servants of God,” which every bishop of Rome has since adopted. It is difficult to know what contribution, if any, the saint made to what are now called the Gregorian Sacrament (missal used at Mass) and Gregorian chant (church music in Latin), but the attributions are worthy tributes to Gregory’s endeavor to enhance the liturgy of his day. The Western church observance of his feast day is September 3.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; OSTROGOTHS AND LOMBARDS.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE

Guangwu (Kuang-wu)

(5 B.C.E.–57 C.E.) ruler, political and military leader

Guangwu, or Guangwudi (Kuang-wu ti), restored the HAN DYNASTY for 200 more years after defeating the usurper WANG MANG. He was born in 5 B.C.E. A member of the Liu clan that had ruled China since 202 B.C.E. under the Han dynasty, his given name was Xiu (Hsiu).

His branch of the Liu family had escaped the persecution of Wang Mang (r. 9–23 C.E.), but in the aftermath of the RED EYEBROW REBELLION, and as Wang Mang’s power was collapsing, Guangwu had risen in revolt also and was proclaimed emperor in 25 C.E. Civil war continued until 36 C.E., before all rebels and other claimants to the throne were defeated.

Because CHANG’AN (Ch’ang-an) lay in ruins from the civil war, Guangwu established his capital in LUOYANG (LOYANG) to the east, which had been the capital of the Eastern ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (771–256 B.C.E.). It was also near to his home and power base. Thus, the reinstated Han dynasty became known as the Eastern Han

or Later Han (25–220 C.E.), as distinct from the former, Western Han that ruled from Chang’an (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.). Luoyang was a planned city of half a million residents with a huge city wall pierced by 12 gates, surrounded by a moat, and connected by canal to the east.

Guangwu devoted his reign to consolidation and reconstruction. He appointed his sons and supporters to key positions, took a land census, reduced taxes, and stabilized prices by buying surplus grain during years of abundant harvest for relief in years of want. As a result, the economy recovered.

A supporter of Confucian ideology, he built schools and enlarged the state university at Luoyang until it had 30,000 students under his successors. He also strengthened the examination system to recruit qualified officials. However, he sought to protect himself from powerful officials by relying on an inner secretariat whose staff was mainly drawn from the families of his consorts. The legacy of this practice, as during the Western Han dynasty, was power struggles and intrigues between members of different consort families during later reigns.

In foreign policy he reasserted Chinese power to its traditional borders, to Seoul in Korea in the northeast and to northern Vietnam in the south. His reign saw the beginning of emigration of Chinese from the northwestern borderlands southward to the Yangtze (Yangzi) River valley. He strengthened lines of defensive walls in the north to protect against the XIONGNU (Hsiung-nu). By a stroke of good fortune, dissension among the Xiongnu led the southern faction among them to surrender to China in 50 C.E.; they were allowed to settle in the Ordos region and in present-day northern Shanxi (Shansi) and part of Gansu (Kansu) Provinces.

Due perhaps to war weariness Guangwu made a mistake in not taking advantage of the northern Xiongnu’s weakness by launching an expedition to dislodge them from their stronghold. It was during his grandson’s reign that northern Xiongnu power was broken, and they were sent in flight westward, making China supreme in the eastern regions.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Gupta Empire

Northern India was reunified in 320 C.E. under the Gupta dynasty. For more than 200 years under the Guptas, India achieved great heights in culture and the arts. While Buddhism still prospered, popular Hinduism was emerging in a trend that persisted to modern times. Great temples were built, cave temples were excavated, and Sanskrit literature flourished.

Indian merchants and religious teachers traveled widely throughout Southeast Asia, where India's civilizing influence became deeply felt. Our documentary knowledge of the Gupta era comes from inscriptions on some columns and monuments, coins minted by various monarchs, and the writing of a Chinese monk, FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN).

India was politically fragmented and suffered from invasions after the fall of the MAURYAN EMPIRE in 184 B.C.E., and few historical documents survived. However, despite the disruptions, culture flourished. Greeks, Scythians, and Bactrians established states in the borderlands of the Indian subcontinent, as did the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a people who fled the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) on China's frontier to present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, where they established the KUSHAN EMPIRE. The Kushan Empire lay on the SILK ROAD that linked ancient cultures and assimilated Indian, Persian, and Greco-Roman artistic styles and produced great Buddhist works of art that influenced religious art in China and Japan.

In 320 C.E. a prince named Chandragupta (not related to the founder of the Mauryan dynasty) founded a new dynasty. He secured power in the Ganges Valley with a combination of war and a marriage alliance with a princess of an important clan and crowned himself King of Kings at PATALIPUTRA (now Patna, also capital of the Mauryan dynasty). His son and successor Samudragupta (r. 335–376 C.E.) warred to secure obedience of most regions of northern India and southward to the Deccan Plateau. His son was CHANDRAGUPTA II (r. 376–415 C.E.), whose reign was the high-water mark of the Gupta dynasty. His son, Kumaragupta I (r. 416–454 C.E.), was the last great ruler of the dynasty and had to deal with the first of another series of barbarian invaders, called the Huna in India, a Central Asian people known as the White HUNS in the Byzantine Empire. They were among a great wave of Turko-Mongols who were invading Asia and Europe at the time. The first wave of Huna crossed the Hindu Kush to raid the plains of India, weakening Gupta power and shrinking its control over the provinces. Another wave of Huna invaders starting around 500 C.E. dealt the deathblow

to the Gupta Empire, which had entirely vanished by 550 C.E.

India prospered under the Guptas. Agriculture thrived, producing a large number of staple and cash crops. Many artisans, organized into guilds, practiced their crafts in the cities. The state derived revenue primarily from taxing farm products; it also taxed trade and owned all salt and mineral operations and some industrial enterprises. Commerce was mainly conducted in government-minted coins. The names of rulers on Gupta coins are useful in establishing the dates of their reigns.

With a flourishing economy, the Gupta monarchs lavished their support on Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religions. Religious art and architecture thrived, and the Hindu temple emerged as India's classic architectural form. Some temples were dedicated to a particular deity: Vishnu, Shiva, and the mother goddess being the most popular. The Gupta era was also the apogee of CAVE PAINTINGS and architecture. The cave temples dedicated to Hinduism and Buddhism at Ajanta and Ellora survive with sculptures and frescoes of religious and lay figures that reflect fashions of the Gupta court. Gupta bronze and stone sculptures are the finest of India and became models for artists throughout much of Southeast Asia, especially in Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java.

The Guptas were however less successful than the Mauryans in two important respects. Territorially, the Gupta Empire did not control southern India, nor did it control the crucial northwestern region, from which all early invaders entered India. Nor did it succeed in establishing a centralized system of government, as had the Mauryans. They had to be content with a feudal-type relationship with the regional rulers of their empire, except for the central Magadha region, which they ruled directly. Nevertheless, the early Gupta dynasty is important politically because it united much of India, which had been divided for more than five centuries since the fall of the Mauryan Empire. It is important culturally because it became India's classical age and established the standard in culture and the arts that later eras looked to for inspiration and emulation.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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gymnasium and athletics

The gymnasium and athletics were integral aspects of ancient Greek culture and society. The gymnasium provided a physical space where men gathered to exercise, participate in sports, and engage in intellectual discourse. The gymnasium and the closely associated palaestra also provided a place where athletes trained for competition in wrestling, boxing, pancratium, and track and field. Besides these athletic events, ancient Greeks also played several ball games, some at a competitive level, but not in the OLYMPIC GAMES. The best athletes in ancient Greece, who represented the city-states in the Olympic Games and other athletic events associated with major religious celebrations, were professionals supported by wealthy citizens. Praised and criticized by philosophers, athletics and athletes provided inspiration for artists, dramatists, poets, and sculptors. As Greece declined and Rome rose to dominate the Mediterranean, athletics evolved to meet the cultural and social needs of the Roman world until Christian rulers suppressed it the late fourth century C.E.

The word *gymnasium* means “exercise for which one strips”; Greek men exercised and competed in the nude. The earliest gymnasiums, founded in the late sixth century B.C.E., were partly shaded sandy areas where men disrobed, rubbed themselves in olive oil, sprinkled sand on the oil, and exercised. After exercising, they removed the sandy oil from their bodies with a curved brass trowel, known as a *strigil*, and then bathed in a clear water stream. At their height gymnasiums had evolved into elaborate buildings with clubrooms, lounges, altars, and storage rooms for lotions, olive oil, and athletic powders. Bathtubs and showers replaced the streams for washing after exercise and competition.

Attached to some gymnasiums was a palaestra, a smaller facility for specialized athletic instruction and training. Most palaestras, however, were separated from the gymnasium and were open only to professional athletes. A sanded field surrounded by a colonnaded court, the palaestra was used for instruction and practice in wrestling, in which most healthy men participated regularly and with great enthusiasm. The gymnasium and the palaestra assumed a central focus in the everyday lives of Greek males. Many men visited the gymnasiums to watch others train and compete, play board games, discuss the issues of the day, and listen to an orator. As informal educational facilities, they were important meeting places for the mixing of generations, debate, and the exchange of ideas. Gymnasiums each had their own character and tone; whereas one might have been a haven for left-wing

politics, another might have purported more conservative views. Others provided a refuge for male prostitutes, who profited from the subtle but tacit homosexuality that pervaded much of male Greek society. The largest gymnasiums, the Academia, the Lyceum, and the Cynosarges, were located in Athens. The Academia, the name of which endures to mean a place of higher learning, was the choice of Plato and his followers. On the other hand, ARISTOTLE preferred the Lyceum, which has survived, linguistically at least, in the French *lycée*.

Greeks participated in a variety of athletic events, including running, throwing, jumping, wrestling, and boxing; all of which were contested in the Olympic Games, one of four athletic competitions associated with periodic religious celebrations. Foremost among the running events was the *stade*, a race of approximately 656 feet (200 m), or the length of the stadium. Runners also contested the double *stade*, in which they sprinted to a pole at the end of the course, made a tight turn, and raced back to the starting line. Distance runners competed in a race of approximately 15,748 feet (4,800 m.), or 12 *stades*.

DISCUS, JAVELIN, WRESTLING, AND BOXING

Throwing events included discus and the javelin. The discus began as a round flat stone before evolving into a bronze plate. The javelin measured six feet and had a small leather loop attached at the center of the shaft in which the athlete inserted two fingers. The athlete wound the loop around the javelin to create spin upon throwing it, maximizing its distance. The standing broad jump was performed with hand weights that the athlete swung back and forth to enhance the distance of the leap.

The discus throw, javelin throw, standing broad jump, *stade*, and wrestling combined to form the pentathlon, an Olympic event, in which the most versatile athletes competed. Aristotle described the athletes who participated in the pentathlon as “the most beautiful because they are fit for exercises for speed and for those of strength.”

Wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium, a combination of wrestling and boxing, were violent, brutal contests of strength and will. Only the largest, heavily muscled, and toughest men throughout Greece competed in these sports, which were bound by few rules, no time limits, no ring, and no weight limit. Wrestling, a truly freestyle contest, permitted all types of holds, mostly to the upper body, and tripping to bring the opponent to his knees. Although prohibited from biting each other and gouging each other eyes, wrestlers fought until one brought the other to his knees three times.

Wrestling, compared to boxing, was a mild event. Boxers bound their hands and wrists with heavy strips of leather, leaving only their fingers free. They combined blows to the head or neck with closed fists with open hand slapping to divert attention, cut the face, or close the eyes of the opposition. The bout lasted until one of the contenders was too exhausted to continue, knocked out, or raised his right hand to signal defeat.

BALL GAMES

Although not included in the Olympic Games, ball games were popular forms of exercise and play among the Greeks. Homer observed that women, children, and old men played ball games. In Sparta, the city-state known for its taste for war, the terms for “ball player” and “youth” were synonymous. In some palaestras, a room known as the *sphairisteria* was set aside for a ball game similar to modern handball. Although the rules of this game are unknown, records indicate that it was competitive. Moreover, the Greeks played a form of field hockey, in which two opposing teams hit a small ball with curved sticks. One writer observed that the teams “strived to be the first to drive the ball to the opposite end of the ground from that allotted to them.” Another ball game, *episkyros*, involved two opposing sides throwing a ball back and forth “until one side drives the other back over the goal line.”

PROFESSIONAL ATHLETICS

Greece’s best athletes, those who competed in the Olympic Games and similar athletic competitions, were professionals. Although they did not receive material rewards for their Olympic performances, wealthy patrons financed their favorite athlete’s training, travel, and livelihood. While the dominance of wealthy aristocrats in Greek sport gave the impression of amateurism, the emergence of lower and working-class athletes in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. supported by wealthy citizens exposed the professionalism inherent in Greek sport. The emergence of athletic guilds in the second century B.C.E. legitimized professionalism, as the organizations provided athletes with a mechanism for collective bargaining to achieve an equitable competitive environment. Through collective bargaining, athletes gained a voice in scheduling games, making travel arrangements, obtaining personal amenities, and securing old-age pensions in the form of working as trainers and managers.

Greek intellectuals praised athletics and exercise for preparing the body for the physical demands of life and forging the bond between the mind and body. Socrates said that the “body must bear its part in whatever men

do; and in all the services required from the body, it is of the utmost importance to have it in the best possible condition.” For Plato, a student of SOCRATES, himself once a wrestler, who competed in the Isthmian Games, the ideal was the body and the mind “duly harmonized” through athletics. In *The Republic*, Plato engaged Socrates in a dialogue, arguing that gymnastic exercise was the “twin sister” of the arts for “the improvement of the soul.” Philosophers like EURIPIDES criticized the athlete’s unyielding pursuit of glory through athletics and sport at the cost of maintaining lifelong health. “In their prime they made a brilliant spectacle as they go about and are the pride of the state; but when bitter old age comes upon them,” observed Euripides, “they become like old coats that have lost their resilience.”

The athlete provided Greek artists and sculptors a subject in whom they could express their regard for physical beauty, strength, and symmetry. While Myron’s fifth-century B.C.E. statue of the discus thrower, *Disco-bolus*, captured the physical ideal expressed by Plato, other sculptors and artists demonstrated the realism of athletics and sport. For example, Apollonius’s first-century B.C.E. bronze statue *The Boxer* not only displays the combatant’s beautifully proportioned muscular body but also the scarred face, gnarled hands, and broken nose common to the sport. Depictions of trim and finely proportioned runners painted on vases and cups were often juxtaposed against gaunt charioteers, grossly disproportioned wrestlers, and pitifully plump gymnasts.

Similarly, dramatists and poets found inspiration in athletics. In *Electra*, Sophocles portrays Agamemnon’s son, Orestes, as a bold yet reckless charioteer competing in the Pythian Games at Delphi, who dies after being thrown from his chariot after losing control of it through a tight curve. In the following lines, the poet Pindar of Thebes celebrated the athlete’s pursuit of victory:

For if any man delights in expense and toil
And sets in action high gifts shaped by the gods,
And with him his destiny
Plants the glory which he desires,
Already he casts his anchor on the furthest edge
of bliss,
And the gods honor him.

At the height of Greek culture and society gymnasiums and athletics had spread throughout the entire Mediterranean region. Even as Greece declined in influence through the second century B.C.E., foreign cities and towns continued to build stadiums, hippodromes, gymnasiums,

and palaestras. Often gymnasium culture conflicted with local values, as in the case of Jerusalem, where Orthodox Jews were offended by the nudity practiced at a gymnasium built there in 174 B.C.E. Of all the Mediterranean cultures influenced by Greece, the ETRUSCANS on the Italian Peninsula were the most enthusiastic about Greek sports. Etruscans threw the discus and javelin, wrestled, boxed, ran footraces, and raced chariots, but in the context of preparing men for war. While the Etruscans graced their vases and urns with depictions of track and field athletes, they did not find their particular performances entertaining nor inspiring, and for that, they turned to gladiatorial contests and animal fights.

Although Greek sport persisted until the middle of the fifth century C.E., its influence and importance in Mediterranean culture and society had greatly diminished under Roman and Christian rule. By the middle of the second century B.C.E. Rome had conquered Greece as well as the entire eastern Mediterranean. Although the Romans continued the Greek athletic festivals, mainly as a way to unify the eastern and western portions of their empire, they found Greek sports too individualistic, too competitive, and too focused on the partici-

pant rather than the spectator. Like the Etruscans, the Romans preferred spectacles, such as circuses, animal fights, and gladiatorial combats, for their amusement. To describe these latter activities, the Romans used the Latin word, *ludi*, which meant a game in the sense of amusement or entertainment, as opposed to the Greek word, *agon*, which meant contest.

Although CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, the first Christian emperor of Rome, abolished the pagan religious celebrations associated with the Olympic Games and other such athletic events, Greek athletes persisted until final destruction of Olympia by two devastating earthquakes in 522 and 551 C.E.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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ADAM R. HORNBuckle



Hadrian

(76–138 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Hadrian ruled Rome from 117 to 138 C.E. as one of the “five good emperors.” He traveled frequently, secured and improved the administration of the empire, and was one of the ablest men of his time. His most well-known achievement outside Rome is Hadrian’s Wall, covering 73 miles of Rome’s northern frontier in Britain.

Hadrian was born January 24, 76 C.E., to a well-connected family. The future emperor TRAJAN was his father’s cousin and became 10-year-old Hadrian’s guardian when his father died. Hadrian rose quickly through the military ranks and held major offices. At age 24 he married a grandniece of Trajan, Sabina. Theirs was a childless and perhaps loveless match. Hadrian was legate and acting governor of Syria when Trajan died in 117.

His adoption by Trajan was announced, and the army accepted him as the new emperor under the name Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus. His reign began with the execution of four of Trajan’s high-ranking associates, which did not endear him to the Senate of Rome. Unlike previous emperors, Hadrian sought to secure his borders, not expand them, and to stabilize the empire. He is mainly remembered for his building projects, his administrative improvements, his concern for his armies, and his travels. Trusted representatives in Rome, and possibly a secret police force, allowed him to be absent from the capital for years.

Much information about Hadrian comes from a suspect source, the *Historia Augusta*, which is full of intentionally misleading information about the Roman emperors. However, he was undeniably a unique, eclectic, and often brilliant man. It is known that he spent half his reign traveling, mostly in the East, from inscriptions, commemorative coins, and contemporary accounts. Some of Hadrian’s poetry and bits of his autobiography survive.

Hadrian traveled through GAUL and Germany in 121 and commanded an oaken palisade to be built to secure the German frontier. In Britain the next year Hadrian observed the northern frontier separating Roman legions from the troublesome Pictish tribes. Hadrian ordered the wall and fortifications to be built. He then left to suppress revolts in Mauretania and Parthia and never returned to Britain or the western part of his empire. The wall was built with signal towers of about 20 sq. feet erected first, paced out regularly between castles placed every Roman mile, and then the wall was filled in between them. The original construction included a turf wall in parts, and the width of the stone wall varied from 7.5 to 9.5 feet.

The defense network of Hadrian’s Wall eventually comprised 158 towers, 80 mile-castles, and 16 forts that could house up to 800 men each. The stone wall measured up to 16 feet high—not including the breastworks. Wherever physically possible, a ditch ran along the north side of the wall, 9 feet deep and 30 feet wide. On the south side a *vallum* (rampart) made up of a ditch, with mounds of the



Hadrian's Wall spans 73 miles on the Roman northern border in Britain and was built to separate Romans from barbarians.

excavated material on either side, blocked access from the south and may have marked the military zone.

Other building projects completed by the emperor Hadrian included the Pantheon in Rome, started by Agrippa, and the temple to Olympian Zeus in Athens, begun six centuries earlier. Hadrian also designed his own villa and gardens in Tivoli; he founded cities and built harbors, aqueducts, temples, baths, GYMNASIUMS, and markets throughout the empire. Hadrian's attempts to build a temple to Zeus on the ruins of the Temple in Jerusalem and his outlawing of circumcision sparked a violent rebellion in Judaea in 132, led by Bar Kokhba.

Hadrian selected Antoninus Pius as his successor and persuaded Antoninus to adopt two further heirs, who did in fact corule Rome after Antoninus's death: Lucius Verus and MARCUS AURELIUS. Hadrian died on July 10, 138. By 155 the Roman frontier had fallen back to Hadrian's Wall and remained there until the late fourth or early fifth century, when the Roman army left Britain.

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Hagia Sophia

The cathedral church of CONSTANTINOPLE, built on the ruins of an earlier church, dates back to the fourth century C.E. *hagia sophia* in Greek means “holy wisdom,” referring to the holy wisdom of God, a theological concept much discussed in religious traditions. The original church was destroyed by fire in 532 during a massive riot against the government of Emperor JUSTINIAN I (527–565 C.E.). Justinian restored order and commanded the construction of Christendom's then greatest church. The plan was designed by architects Anthemios of Tralles and Isidore of Miletos and took, according to one source, two teams of 5,000 workers five years to complete. The magnificence of the church was apparent upon its consecration in 537, when Justinian reportedly declared, “O SOLOMON [the legendary builder of the Temple in Jerusalem], I have outdone thee!”

The church is approximately 250 feet long, 230 feet wide, and sits beneath a dome 100 feet in diameter that reaches nearly 185 feet from the ground. The dome rests on four arches (themselves supported by four massive piers). Beneath the dome are openings that let light in, creating an appearance that the dome rests on air, held up by heaven itself. The dome's design was extremely bold and suffered as a result, collapsing in 558. The dome was repaired but was susceptible to damage by earthquakes in subsequent centuries.

Hagia Sophia radiated Orthodox Byzantine power and wealth. Its interior mesmerized onlookers with the sparkle of a ceiling covered in gold, a sanctuary adorned by 40,000 pounds of silver, glowing mosaics, and decorative marble, all of which proclaimed the glory of Byzantium. For building this church, the memory of Emperor Justinian in the Byzantine mind was outdone only by that of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, who built Constantinople. A mosaic in the Hagia Sophia's narthex depicts each emperor offering his monument to the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child. Constantinople and Hagia Sophia came to epitomize Byzantium for the next millennium of Byzantine history.

As the church of the Orthodox Patriarch, Hagia Sophia served as the liturgical center of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. It also played a central role in the empire's political life as the location where the patriarch crowned each new emperor. It also played an essential part in imperial processions and the expression of Byzantine power to foreign ambassadors. The sight of the Hagia Sophia impressed visitors from Western Christendom, the Slavic lands, the Muslim world, and the various tribes of the north. When, in the 10th cen-

tury, for example, Russian visitors sent by Vladimir of Kiev visited Constantinople, the emperor sent them to behold the worship in the cathedral (expecting them to be impressed). In fact, they were so mesmerized by the experience, they declared that were uncertain whether they were in heaven or on earth. Vladimir and the Russians soon converted to Orthodox Christianity. The cathedral remained the great monument of Orthodox Byzantium until 1453, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople under Sultan Mehmet II. The sultan converted it into a mosque, adding minarets. When the Ottoman Empire ended in the early 20th century, Turkish ruler Kemal Atatürk converted the building into its present role, a museum.

See also GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PILGRIMAGE; WISDOM LITERATURE.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Hammurabi

See BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD.

Han dynasty

LIU BANG (LIU PANG), a commoner, founded the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), restoring unity, continuing the good reforms made by the QIN (Ch'in) DYNASTY, abolishing cruel Qin laws, and laying solid foundations that would sustain it for 400 years. The dynasty is divided into two segments: the Western Han (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.), with its capital city at CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), and Eastern Han (25–220 C.E.), with its capital city at LUOYANG (LOYANG), interrupted by the reign of WANG MANG, who usurped the throne and attempted to establish a new dynasty between 9 and 23 C.E. Han achievements set the standard for subsequent dynasties and are so admired to the present that about 95 percent of Chinese call themselves Han people.

LIU BANG

The sudden death of the hated first emperor of the Qin in 209 B.C.E. inspired many revolts throughout China. Two men emerged—one was an aristocrat and brilliant

general named XIANG YU (HSIANG YU), who won every battle but lost the contest because of his arrogance and cruelty; the other was Liu Bang, whose generosity and humanity won him the throne. Liu is remembered by his posthumous title, Gaodi (Kao-ti), which means “high emperor,” or Gaozu (Kao-tsu), which means “high progenitor.” Gaozu (r. 202–195 B.C.E.) had two huge immediate tasks. One was to deal with the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), fierce nomads to the north, whose raids threatened Han security and who gave shelter to defectors from the new and unstable dynasty. Defeated by the Xiongnu's superior cavalry in 201 B.C.E. Gaozu made peace with them in the Heqin (Ho-ch'in) treaty, appeasing the Xiongnu by regularly giving them food, silk, and silver and periodically a princess as bride for the Xiongnu chief. The treaty was renewed for more than six decades.

Gaozu's second problem was domestic. The people were exhausted by war and ruined by high Qin taxes. He cut the land tax to one-fifteenth of the crop (later reduced to one-thirtieth) and instituted frugal spending policies that led to recovery and prosperity. He modified the organization of the empire that he had inherited from Qin by retaining the commanderies and counties in about half of the territory, while creating princedoms and feudal realms in the remaining half to reward his allies and in recognition of the power of some former feudal houses. The laissez-faire policy of Gaozu and his successors (they included his wife EMPRESS LU, who ruled as regent between 195 and her death in 180 B.C.E.) lasted for 60 years.

EMPEROR WU

HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), the Martial Emperor, came to the throne in 141 B.C.E. at age 16 and ruled until 87 B.C.E. Bold and assertive, he was unwilling to appease the Xiongnu any longer, and his people agreed. Historians characterize his reign as epitomizing the Yang (male) model of aggressiveness, opposed to the Yin (female), or quiescent, model of his predecessors. Domestically Emperor Wu worked to reduce the lands and emasculate the powers of the princes and lords, effectively reducing them to impotence. He also confronted the power of the rich merchants who had amassed huge landed estates at the expense of independent farmers, avoided paying taxes, and charged usurious interests on loans. He enacted laws that taxed the merchants heavily, forbade them to own land, and nationalized the salt, liquor, and iron industries. He also established an “ever-normal granary” whereby the state regulated the supply and price of grain, ending merchant speculation in basic commodities. Wudi's domestic reforms were partly

to strengthen his hand in confronting the Xiongnu. He sent an envoy, ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH' IEN), to seek allies in the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), also victims of the Xiongnu. After amazing adventures Zhang found the Yuezhi settled in modern Afghanistan.

Even though they refused the offered alliance, Zhang's journey opened Wudi's eyes to the possibilities of trade with Central Asia and beyond. Wudi's war against the Xiongnu began in 133 B.C.E. and continued on and off through the Han dynasty, until defeat forced some of the fragmented Xiongnu people to submit and others to flee westward. Chinese armies would campaign and subdue lands that are modern Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang (Sinkiang), while establishing protectorates among the oasis states throughout Central Asia. The GREAT WALL OF CHINA was extended. At the same time Wudi's armies subdued and annexed northern Korea and the Nanyue (Nan-yueh) state that stretched from modern Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwanghsi) Provinces in southern China to northern Vietnam. Chinese power established the Pax Sinica across the eastern part of the Eurasian continent at the same time that the Roman Empire enforced the PAX ROMANA in western Asia and much of Europe. International trade flourished as a result, with camel caravans carrying luxury goods along routes called the SILK ROAD by modern-day historians and ships that linked China to Southeast Asia, India, and Roman Middle East. In addition to trade the Silk Road was important in introducing Buddhism from India to China.

CONFUCIANISM AND DAOISM

Gaozu banned LEGALISM as the governing principle of his empire but professed no political ideology. Confucian scholars flocked to serve him, and he employed them to teach his sons and draw up state ceremonies and rituals that dignified the government. Confucians also dominated education. It was Wudi who confirmed Confucianism as the official ideology of the dynasty and banned people who professed other philosophies from state service. Under the influence of a great Confucian scholar, Dong Chungshu (Tung Chung-shu; c. 179–104 B.C.E.), whose interpretation of Confucianism became state orthodoxy, he founded a state university whose curriculum was based on Confucianism and instituted examinations for aspiring officials that were based on the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

By the mid-second century C.E. the university had more than 30,000 students. Confucianism would remain China's state ideology until the 20th century and, because of China's political and cultural dominance, would be

the guiding political philosophy of Korea, Vietnam, and Japan also. Han rulers and people were eclectic in their beliefs and practices, which included philosophical DAOISM (TAOISM) and religious or popular Daoism, which combined local religious cults and ancestor worship. Around the beginning of the Common Era, Buddhism entered northern China via the Silk Road and southern China by the sea route. It was initially an exotic foreign religion practiced by non-Chinese. Buddhism and popular Daoism borrowed vocabulary, religious rituals, and practices from each other.

LITERATURE

In literature the Han dynasty was distinguished for great works of history. Two families produced towering historians who have been admired and emulated for the next 2,000 years. The first was the Sima (Ssu-ma) family that produced a father-son team Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an) and his more famous son SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH' IEN), who held the title of grand astrologer in the court of Wudi. Together they wrote the monumental history of the Chinese world up to their time titled *Shiji* (*Shih-chi*), or *Records of the Historian*. This 130-chapter tome is admired for its organization and style and became the model for later dynastic histories. The second family was surnamed Ban (Pan) and consisted of father BAN BIAO (PAN PIAO), who began writing the classic titled *Hanshu* (*Han-shu*), or *Book of Han*, completed by his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku) and daughter Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao). His other son, Ban Chao (Pan Ch'ao), was a famous general and diplomat. These two historical works set the hallmark for historiography, which is one of the great contributions of Chinese civilization. The invention of paper during the Eastern Han would have important consequences in advancing intellectual activities.

LIFE IN HAN CHINA

Han China had a large population for ancient times. The census in 1 C.E. had a registered population of 56 million people. Most lived in northern China, and most were freehold farmers living in families of five to six persons. Marriages were monogamous, except for rich and powerful men, who could have concubines. All able-bodied men served for one year in the army at age 23, then in the reserve until 56. They were also liable for corvée labor service on public works for one month a year. All adults also paid a poll tax. The government took an active part in agricultural development, sponsoring major irrigation projects, settling people on newly opened farmlands, and promoting the use of iron agricultural tools and new crops. Men tilled

the land, while women raised silkworms and spun silk cloths. The government also sponsored state industries in producing salt, iron, and silk textiles and financed large trading caravans; it also encouraged private enterprise, some employing thousands of workers. Bronze coinage replaced barter in trade. While strong earlier rulers in both Western and Eastern Han eras promoted independent small farmers, their weak successors allowed usury and exploitation by the rich, leading to the growth of large estates and the eviction of small farmers. Social and economic inequities led to peasant rebellions that contributed to the fall of both the Western and Eastern Han.

Women did not receive formal education, take examinations, or enter government service; however, wives, mothers, and grandmothers of emperors often played powerful roles in governing. It began with EMPRESS LU, wife of Gaozu, who totally dominated her son and grandsons as regent and contemplated establishing her own dynasty. Even the powerful Wudi could not control his consorts and their families. Empress dowagers in the latter part of both Western and Eastern Han often placed minors on the throne so they could rule. The usurper WANG MANG was the last of many of the Wang family to grasp power through his female relative the empress Wang. To escape their mothers and wives some emperors promoted their favorite eunuchs to power. Eunuch abuse of power was another contributing factor to the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 C.E.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIANISM AS A STATE IDEOLOGY; GREAT WALL OF CHINA; GUANGWU (KUANG-WU); MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Hannibal

(247–183 B.C.E.) *Carthaginian general*

Between the years 264 and 146 B.C.E., the Romans and Carthaginians fought three wars known as the Punic

Wars that eventually led to the destruction of CARTHAGE. The First Punic War lasted from 264 until 241 B.C.E. and resulted in Carthage losing control of Sicily to the Romans. Hannibal Barca led the Carthaginian invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War, which ran from 219 to 202 B.C.E. At the Battle of Zama, in 202 B.C.E., Scipio (who gained the title Africanus because of his victory) defeated Hannibal. The Carthaginians sued for peace, which lasted until the Third Punic War from 149 to 146 B.C.E. The third war ended with the complete destruction of the city of Carthage and the enslavement of the population.

The First Punic War was fought for control of Sicily. At the start of the war the Carthaginians controlled most of Sicily. Carthage was interested in trade with other civilizations, and its power base was its fleet. Rome, on the other hand, did not have a fleet but had a very powerful army. Because of the difference in power bases, the two powers had coexisted easily with each other up until the time of the First Punic War. What brought about the war was a request by a group of men called the Mamertines, who had taken control of the town of Messana. They had been defeated by the Syracusans and then occupied by the Carthaginians, who did not want the Syracusans to occupy Messana. The Mamertines then requested Roman aid to get rid of the Carthaginians. The Romans decided to come to the aid of the Mamertines and in 264 B.C.E. moved troops to Sicily, which were able to gain control of Messana when the Carthaginian garrison withdrew from the town.

The Romans negotiated with the Syracusans and other towns in Sicily and convinced them to join the Romans in the war. Because of their fleet, the Carthaginians were able to keep control of many of the coastal cities. To finish the conquest of Sicily the Romans needed to build a fleet, and in 260 B.C.E. the Roman fleet took to the seas and began its campaign to drive the Carthaginians from the seas around Sicily. The Romans won several naval battles during the period from 260 to 256 B.C.E.

The Romans had decided to try a different strategy to invade Africa in an attempt to defeat the Carthaginians on their home territory and end the war. The Romans sailed from Messana toward Africa but were intercepted by the Carthaginian fleet. The Carthaginians were eventually overcome by Roman tactics and lost more than a third of their fleet, at which point they fled from the battle. The battle delayed the Roman invasion of Africa but only temporarily.

The invasion fleet reached Africa later that year and left the army to lay siege to Carthage. Calling for support to defend the city, Carthage received mercenaries



Ancient tombs near Carthage, Tunisia. The Third Punic War resulted in Carthaginian casualties of 90 percent of the population.

from the Greeks, including a Spartan general who in 256 B.C.E. led the Carthaginian army in an attack on the Roman army. The Roman army was routed, and the siege, lifted. The remains of the Roman army were evacuated later that year back to Rome. The focus of the war then returned to Sicily. From 254 until 243 B.C.E. the Romans and Carthaginians fought in Sicily with neither side being able to gain the upper hand in the fighting. Then in 243 B.C.E. the Romans, with a new fleet, were able to again defeat the Carthaginians at sea and stop the flow of supplies to Sicily. With the loss of supplies and support the Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar Barca (Hannibal's father), was forced to work out terms with the Romans.

Hannibal was born in 247 B.C.E. Hamilcar had been the commander of the Carthaginian troops in Sicily at the end of the war and spent the rest of his life trying to gain revenge on the Romans for the defeat. In 237 B.C.E. at a religious festival, Hamilcar had his son Hannibal take an oath to remember that the Romans were their sworn enemies. That same year Hannibal accompanied his father to Spain, where he stayed until his return to Carthage in 228 B.C.E., after his father's death, to finish his schooling. He returned to Spain in 224 B.C.E. to

command the cavalry forces for his brother-in-law until his brother-in-law died in 220 B.C.E. The army then voted Hannibal its new leader. Hannibal would prove to be an excellent strategist and tactician.

Hannibal's conquest of Spain eventually brought him into conflict with the Romans when he captured the town of Saguntum. In 218 B.C.E. Hannibal and his army left Spain and headed for Italy, where he would campaign for the next 15 years. Hannibal took his army, including war elephants, across the Alps and into Italy. His army was not large enough to capture and occupy the cities in Italy, so Hannibal tried to break up the Roman confederation, which would reduce Rome's power and allow Carthage to win the war. In 218 B.C.E. Hannibal defeated a Roman army near the Trebia River where it flowed into the Po River. With this victory most of Cisalpine GAUL sided with Hannibal. The following spring he moved south, and Hannibal was able to lure the Roman army into a trap, where his army killed 15,000 of the 21,000 Roman soldiers.

Hannibal continued to pillage and burn the Italian countryside but could not take the city of Rome, nor would the Romans give up. A victory at Cannae was Hannibal's high point. He continued to campaign in Italy over the next 11 years, but the Romans slowly gained the upper hand against the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians tried to expand the war, and an army was sent to Sardinia but due to bad weather was delayed and arrived after the Romans, who defeated them. Hannibal was also able to convince PHILIP OF MACEDON to attack the Romans in Illyria. The Romans gathered a number of allies in Greece, which allowed them to hold Philip in check. During 216 to 205 B.C.E. Hannibal found himself more and more tied to protecting the cities of the Roman provinces that had sided with him. In 204 B.C.E. the Romans took the war to Africa by sending an army under the command of Scipio Africanus, attempting to end the war.

With the Roman invasion of Africa, Hannibal was recalled from Italy to command the army that was protecting Carthage. The years of war had finally worn down the Carthaginian army, and it was routed from the battlefield by the Romans. Having lost the battle, the Carthaginians were in no shape to continue the war and made peace with the Romans. Hannibal helped to rebuild Carthage after the war, which irritated the Romans, who forced him into exile in 196 B.C.E. The Romans continued to pursue Hannibal, and in 183 B.C.E., he committed suicide.

The final war, the Third Punic War, was fought from 149 to 146 B.C.E. The Romans insisted that the

Carthaginians abandon their city, which they refused to do. When the siege was completed and the city was captured in 146 B.C.E., 90 percent of the population was dead. The remainder were sold into slavery, and the city of Carthage was destroyed.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SYRACUSE.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Han Wudi (Han Wu-ti)

(125–187 B.C.E.) *Chinese emperor*

Han Wudi reigned between 141 and 187 B.C.E., the longest in Chinese history until the 18th century. He undertook many domestic reforms that changed the course of Han history and for subsequent eras. His foreign policy and wars resulted in Chinese expansion to unprecedented heights and opened up international trade and contacts between China and the rest of the ancient Eurasian world. For these accomplishments he was called Wudi, *wu* meaning “martial” and *di* meaning “emperor.”

In 141 B.C.E. a young man of 16 years old ascended the Chinese throne upon the death of his father Emperor Jing (Ching). The event inaugurated an era of active government at home and expansion abroad. Until his reign the Han government had focused on light taxes and laissez-faire domestic policies to promote economic growth. Its foreign policy was based on appeasing the fierce nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) in the north through Heqing (Ho-ch’ing) treaties whereby the Han regularly gave the Xiongnu large quantities of silver, silk, and food in return for peace. Appeasement, however, did not end Xiongnu raids.

WARS AND EXPANSION

After 135 B.C.E. China would take the offensive. With a large population, ample resources, and a brimming

treasury Wudi initiated all-out war against the Xiongnu. It was preceded by dispatching an emissary named ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH’IEN) westward to find and form an alliance with the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a nomadic group that had been worsted by the Xiongnu earlier and had fled to find a new home. Zhang failed to recruit the Yuezhi when he finally found them settled in modern Afghanistan, but the report of his travels motivated the emperor to pursue expansion into Central Asia for allies and trade.

Emperor Wu never personally campaigned but was served by talented and ambitious generals, some of whom were related to his empresses or consorts. For example, Generals Wei Qing (Wei Ch’ing) and Huo Qubing (Huo Ch’u-ping) were related to two of his empresses, and Li Guangli (Li Kuang-li) was the brother of a favorite consort. All three earned fame in defeating the Xiongnu. In 127 B.C.E. Chinese forces retook lands south of the Yellow River; it was followed by several large expeditions resulting in the surrender of one Xiongnu king with a large number of his tribesmen.

Commanderies and dependent states were established in the conquered areas, Chinese colonists were settled on some of the land, and tribal people were brought under Chinese authority. Major campaigns against the Xiongnu came to a halt in 117 B.C.E. In 112 B.C.E. Han generals crushed another tribal group called the Qiang (Ch’iang), proto-Tibetans and allies of the Xiongnu in the northwest. In 111 B.C.E. Wudi presided over a victory parade north of the GREAT WALL OF CHINA in which 12 generals and 180,000 cavalry troops took part. He lavishly rewarded victorious officers and men and punished generals who failed.

The Great Wall was expanded to the Jade Gate in the northwest, and garrisons were stationed along strategic points to deal with sudden raids, to prevent Chinese deserters from joining the Xiongnu, and to protect trade along the newly opened up SILK ROAD. These measures ended the Xiongnu stranglehold on Chinese trade with lands to the west. Chinese power focused on maintaining friendly relations with tribes and oasis states across Central Asia that were hostile to the Xiongnu, enrolling them as vassal states. Rulers of vassal states sent tribute and their sons to China for education (and as hostages).

They received in return lavish gifts and trade privileges and occasionally a Han princess in marriage. Trade flourished between China, India, Central Asia, Persia, and Rome. But the Xiongnu menace did not end, and more large campaigns were launched during and after Wudi’s reign. One, for example, led by General Li Guangli reached as far as Ferghana in Central Asia in 104 B.C.E.

Wudi's generals also campaigned in the South, Southwest, and Korea. The major obstacles to expansion to the south were terrain and climate. Between 112 and 111 B.C.E. Han forces totaling 100,000 men subdued the Nanyue (Nan-yueh) along the southern coast to the Red River valley. Other armies subdued aboriginal peoples in Yunnan, Sichuan (Szechwan), and Hainan Island. The lands annexed as a result formed nine commanderies across modern Guangdong (Kuangtung), Guangxi (Kuanghsi), Yunnan, Sichuan, and Hainan Provinces, and northern Vietnam. In 109 B.C.E. a 50,000-man army marched to Korea, conquering the northern part of the peninsula, adding four more commanderies. The campaigns expanded the empire and made it more secure, but at a huge human and financial cost. The treasury was emptied, resulting in new taxes and state monopolies over iron, salt, and liquor to raise revenue. These measures led to widespread discontent.

DOMESTIC POLICY

Wudi's reign was also important for other achievements. He systematized the recruitment of civil servants based on examinations and established a state university to train candidates. Their curriculum was based on the philosophy of CONFUCIUS under standardized interpretation. He also created many commanderies under direct central government control and dramatically reduced the land under the feudal princes and lords and their power. He also established vassal states and dependencies in areas with tribal (non-Chinese populations) that became standard practice for subsequent Chinese government's dealings with frontier peoples. He adopted rituals and ceremonies of state that also became standard for subsequent dynasties. Wudi took an active role in measures to control floods along the Yellow River, supervised the settlement of people in conquered lands, and sponsored large caravans for trade with western lands.

DYNASTIC CRISES

Ironically, Wudi's inability to control his wives and consorts led to dynastic crises. His first wife, Empress Chen (Ch'en), had no son, and their daughter was found practicing witchcraft against her father, leading to Empress Chen's demotion. Several of his consorts were also later accused of practicing witchcraft that led to witch hunts, trials, and executions. In a superstitious age witchcraft was a feared crime.

His second wife, Empress Wei (her brothers were powerful generals) and her son, the crown prince, staged a coup against him in 91 B.C.E. that led to fighting between the Wei family and the Li family, rela-

tives of a powerful consort. It failed, and the empress and crown prince were forced to commit suicide. In 87 B.C.E., when gravely ill, he appointed an eight-year-old son by a consort named Lady Zhao (Chao) crown prince because she had no powerful relatives. She soon died, rumored murdered. The personality of Wudi remains an enigma. Despite some personal and policy failings, he is one of the most powerful monarchs in Chinese history.

See also HAN DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Helena

(c. 255–c. 330 C.E.) ruler, saint, emperor's mother

Helena was the mother of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. She was born of humble estate at Drepanum in Bithynia. According to Ambrose, the early church bishop, she was a simple innkeeper. She married Constantius Chlorus, a soldier, by whom she bore Constantine (c. 274 C.E.). Later, Constantius divorced Helena in order to enter into a more politically advantageous marriage. The son, however, did not forget his mother, and when Constantine became emperor in 306 C.E., he had her raised to a place of honor, which culminated in the title of Augusta (emperor's mother). Constantine also renamed the place of her birth Helenopolis in her honor.

According to the early church historian EUSEBIUS, Helena's conversion to Christianity was due to the influence of her son; but Theodoret's more credible account is that the mother nurtured in her son openness to the faith. Nonetheless, she bore religious stature and sanctity in her own right and had remarkable influence on her son. Constantine had his second wife, Fausta, and their son Crispus executed. His mother had acted not in support of her daughter-in-law but rather had been involved in bringing about her downfall.

Helena took to the Christian faith with zeal, as is testified by her piety, her generosity to the poor, and her devotion to the sacred places of PILGRIMAGE in Palestine, revered by early Christians as the Holy Land. In 326, Helena, well into her 70s, went on pilgrimage there. She stayed in Palestine for some time, exercising her right to the imperial treasury by having two major basilicas built in great splendor, one in Bethlehem (Church of the Nativity) and one on the Mount of Olives (Church of the Ascension). At the same time, her son was having the Church of the Holy Sepulcher built over the sites of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH's death and resurrection. Her collaboration with her son caused church architecture to create a Christian landscape throughout the empire, in the Holy Land, Rome, and CONSTANTINOPLE.

The discovery of the "True Cross" (thought to be that upon which Jesus died) is attested to by CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and EGERIA, but the tradition that sprang up at the end of the fourth century C.E. (mentioned by AMBROSE, Sulpicius Severus, and Rufinus) that Helena had discovered the True Cross and that it was identified by a miracle seems likely to be an embellishment, given Eusebius and Cyril's silence on this point. She supposedly had this precious relic deposited in Rome at the Church of Santa Croce, which she built especially for this purpose. Her renown, however, rests firmly on the facts that she was a woman of immense power and wealth who spent the latter part of her life in acts of Christian charity. Her close identification with her son, Constantine, set the model for the role of the Christian Augusta for subsequent centuries. Her feast is celebrated on August 18 in the LATIN CHURCH calendar and on May 21 (along with her son) in the GREEK CHURCH calendar.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

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GERTRUDE GILLETTE AND CORNELIA HORN

Helen of Troy

According to the *Iliad*, the abduction of Helen, wife of the king of Sparta, sparked the 10-year-long Trojan War. Helen is thought to have been born around 1225 B.C.E. According to Homer, who is credited as author of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Helen's father was the god Zeus, and her mother was Nemesis, a goddess who fled

Zeus by changing into a goose. Zeus became a swan so that he could mate with her.

The resultant egg, containing Helen, was found by a shepherd who brought it to the king and queen of Sparta, Tyndareus and Leda. Another legend names Leda as Helen's mother, seduced by Zeus in his swan guise. Leda laid two eggs, one with Helen and her brother Polydeuces, and a second containing Clytemnestra and Castor. Helen's brothers and protectors are collectively known as the Dioscuri. When Helen was kidnapped, the Dioscuri raised an army and retrieved her. They died before the Trojan War commenced.

Helen's sister Clytemnestra had married twice by the time Helen returned to Sparta; her second husband, Agamemnon, had murdered her first husband. Legends recount that between 29 and 99 suitors from all parts of Greece came to court Helen, including Odysseus, Ajax, Ajax the Greater, and Patroclus—all of whom would play roles in the Trojan War. Tyndareus, Helen's human father, made the men swear to defend the chosen bridegroom, then selected Menelaus, Agamemnon's brother, as Helen's husband. During the first nine years of their marriage Helen had at least one child and possibly as many as five. As Tyndareus's sons had died, Menelaus eventually became king of Sparta.

In a separate series of events, the goddess Aphrodite promised Paris, prince of TROY, that he should possess the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris arrived in Sparta, and—while Menelaus was attending his grandfather's funeral—Paris took Helen, her personal slaves, and a great deal of treasure and set sail for Troy.

Menelaus led an embassy to Troy demanding Helen's return. When that failed, he reminded the many suitors of their oath. Armies were raised, and the Trojan War began. Various authors described amours between Helen and Achilles, or Priam's other sons during the long war. Most agree that when Paris was killed, two of his brothers fought over Helen. Deiphobus won and married her.

After 10 years of war, Troy was burned and sacked. In some tales Helen helped the Greeks storm Troy by giving the signal to the army outside, but in the *Odyssey* Homer says that she taunted the men hiding in the Trojan horse by imitating their wives' voices. Menelaus killed Deiphobus and rushed at Helen, determined to kill her as well but once again fell under the spell of her beauty. Anxious to set sail and bring his newly recovered wife home, Menelaus neglected to make proper offerings to Athena.

The offended goddess caused Menelaus and Helen to be driven off course for eight years. Although Euripides says that Helen was carried away by Apollo to become

immortal, and other legends describe her suicide or murder, most authors return Helen to Sparta and a life of quiet prayer, weaving, and virtue.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HOMERIC EPICS.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Hellenistic art

The Hellenistic Period of Greek art lasted from the fourth century B.C.E. to approximately the time of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, a period of more than 300 years. Unlike earlier Greek art, which consisted predominantly of art of Greece itself, Hellenistic art was more diverse culturally and geographically. Because Hellenistic art arose after the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, it also included art from the Greek-influenced regions of Alexander's empire. Hellenic Greece consisted of the mainland and nearby Aegean Sea islands, Ionia (the western coast of Turkey), southern Italy, and Sicily (Magna Graecia) and, by the dawn of the Hellenistic Period, also Egypt, Syria, and other lands of the Near East. Greek culture had its origins in MYCENAE. Mycenae established a painted pottery that persisted into later Greek art. Mycenaean civilization could not withstand the disruptions of the Trojan War. After a period of civil war and invasion Mycenae collapsed around 1100 B.C.E. The Greek cities entered the Greek Dark Ages (1100–750 B.C.E.), characterized by population decline, impoverishment, and isolation.

PRECEDING PERIODS

Not all was bleak during the Greek Dark Ages. During this period Dorians spread through the peninsula, and Greeks settled Ionia. Around 800 B.C.E. the revival that would culminate in Hellenic art began. Athenian artisans created protogeometric pottery with abstract designs, being in its precision of detail a precursor of later Greek art. The Archaic Period followed and lasted

until around 480 B.C.E. Artists came increasingly under the influence of outside ideas and styles.

By the sixth century B.C.E. Greek art included vase painting that was unsurpassed artistically and technically. The human figure reappeared in Greek art after the Dark Ages and initially was highly abstract. Greeks invented life-sized, freestanding stone sculptures of humans. There was an Egyptian influence, but the Greeks wanted an accurate depiction; however, they conflated accuracy with perfection or ideal representation, making the statues larger than life. The mastery of the human form was matched by a mastery of the technique of imparting the impression of motion in a static object. These developments lasted from the Hellenic through the Hellenistic Periods. After the fifth-century B.C.E. Persian wars, Athens established an empire and spent the century in rivalry with Sparta. Midway through the fifth century B.C.E., the Classical Period began. Greece's classical age lasted 480–338 B.C.E. This is the period between the onset of conflict with Persia and the conquest of Greece by PHILIP OF MACEDON and his son, Alexander.

Greek artists had mastered representation of the human body in sculpture, with figures both at rest and in action reflecting calm and ordered beauty and achieving near godlike perfection. Greek painting of the age no longer exists, but ancient writers extolled it. Vase decorations hint at the mastery of form and line that characterized Greek sculpture. Greek art established the basic themes, forms, and attitudes of Western culture: mimesis (imitation of nature), the nude human figure (man is the measure of all things, or humanism), architectural structural elements, decorative motifs, and types of buildings. With the Persian conquest the classical age ended. In its stead arose the Hellenistic Period. Alexander extended his father's empire into Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and India from 334 to 323 B.C.E. His death in 323 B.C.E. is the traditional date used as the demarcation between Hellenic and Hellenistic art, the former the art of the Greeks, the latter the art of the Greek speakers of whatever ethnicity. Another differentiation is that Hellenic Greece was a time of city-states, while the Hellenistic era was a time of monarchies of larger size.

HELLENISTIC ART

Alexander's empire broke apart on his death, with several Hellenistic (Greek-like) kingdoms appearing. The great art centers of the mainland gave way to cities on islands such as Rhodes or in the eastern Mediterranean (ALEXANDRIA, Antioch, and Pergamum). Sculpture had tendencies toward classicism, rococo, and baroque—in other words, no clear direction or restriction. Art glo-

rified the gods and great athletes, but it also served to decorate the homes of the newly rich. Heroic portraits and massive groups were popular, but so were humble themes and portrayals of human beings in all walks and stages of life—even caricature became popular. From architecture came an awareness of space that added landscapes and interiors to sculpture and painting.

Whereas Hellenic art was restrained and attempted to show the perfect and the universal, Hellenistic art was preoccupied with the particular rather than the universal. Patrons and artists alike preferred individuality, novelty (including ethnicity and ugliness), and artistic inventiveness. Hellenistic art built on the classical concepts, but became more dramatic, with sweeping lines and strong contrasts of light, shadow, and emotion. Idealism gave way to naturalism, the culmination of the works of fourth-century B.C.E. sculptors Lysippos, Skopas, and Praxiteles, all of whom emphasized realistic expression of the human figure. Greatness and humility, characteristic of the Charioteer of Delphi, gave way to bold expression during tense moments, typified by the Boy Jockey.

Unlike Hellenic art, sculptures showed extreme emotion: pain, stress, anger, despair, or fear, but depiction of the outward subject was insufficient for many Hellenistic sculptors. Posture and physical characteristics were used to show thoughts, feelings, and attitudes. Hygeia, of which only the head remains, is a statue that reflects the Hellenistic style. Although done in conformance to classical standards and ideals, Hygeia has an expression of concern and understanding.

INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT FOR THE ARTS

Hellenistic art was an expression of the prosperity and new social structure that arose in the areas of Alexander's empire. Public support for the arts continued, but individual citizens also began patronizing artists. Rather than create monuments to gods or kings, they bought art that was secular and personal. An example of great art put into an environment is the Altar of Zeus from Pergamum (c. 180 B.C.E.), which Greek artists created for Eumenes II. Enclosed by a high podium decorated with a frieze of the battle between the gods and the Giants, it shows classical iconography as well as baroque exaggeration of movement and emotion and a background of swirling draperies. Samples of Hellenistic painting are mostly in the facades and interiors of chamber tombs and mosaics, as well as in Roman copies. Hellenistic art also plays with erotic themes through depictions of Aphrodite, Eros, the Satyrs, Dionysus, Pan, and hermaphrodites. Female nudes were highly popular, and many examples remain, including the well-known Aphrodite

of Melos (Venus de Milo). The proportions and curves of the Venus are still the standard for modern beauty.

Hellenistic art for home use included mosaics, garden statuary, painted stucco wall decorations, and marble furnishings. Hellenistic art influenced Rome and through the Romans the Italian Renaissance. Hellenistic architecture flourished with the spread of the empire, leading to a demand for new buildings. Rather than a building occupying any empty space, architects attempted to make the building aesthetically compatible with its surroundings. Hellenistic architects popularized the long-established stoa, a long rectangular building with a roof supported in the front by columns. Stoa served as offices, classrooms, law courts, shopping centers, and gathering places in bad weather, or for socializing. The first woman architect, Phile of Priene, who lived around 100 B.C.E., designed a reservoir among other works. Mosaics were made before the third century B.C.E. from small pieces of colored river pebbles. Early in the third century B.C.E. tesserae, squares of cut glass or stone, were used. The Alexander Mosaic from second-century B.C.E. POMPEII shows Alexander the Great battling Darius III, probably during the Battle of Issus.

The Hellenistic Period was a time of booming commerce and trade, generating a need for large amphorae,



The Altar of Zeus is an example of Hellenistic art, with the figures on its frieze showing exaggerated movement and emotion.

vessels for carrying wine, oil, and other liquids in volume. Other pottery products included molded terracotta oil lamps and figurines. The figurines, Tanagra figures, depict scenes of everyday Hellenistic life: women reading, dancing, or playing instruments or actors, cooks, bakers, barbers, and people playing games and gossiping. When Rome defeated the last of the Hellenistic kingdoms, Egypt, in 31 B.C.E. at the Battle of Actium, the Hellenistic Period ended. According to Pliny the Elder, with the onset of the Hellenistic Period, “*Cessavit deinde ars*” (“Then art disappeared”).

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK COLONIZATION; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENIZATION.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Hellenization

Hellenization was the spread of Greek culture and the assimilation into Greek culture of non-Greek peoples. It was a notable trait of ancient Greek civilization, an approach to other cultures that was not merely invasive or dominant but transformative. This set an example later followed by the Roman Empire, Christianity, and the British Empire, essentially establishing a framework within which much of Western history can be discussed. The products of culture spread by Hellenization included the Greek language and writing system, its myths and religion, and its technology and art—not mere ideas but practical and exploitable benefits.

The Hellenes, or Greeks, were so-called by classical writers because they were the descendants of Hellen, the son of Deucalion (son of Prometheus) and Pyrrha (daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora). They were assimilators from the start. When they came to inhabit the isles and mainland of what is now Greece, they displaced the indigenous Pelasgians, bringing with them some form of their writing, language, religion, and art. The Pelasgians were unrelated to the Hellenes in any significant sense: Some modern scholars even believe their language was pre-Indo-European, unintelligible to the Greeks on first

contact. The native culture was soon absorbed into that of the new arrival. Though HERODOTUS attests to some Pelasgian groups surviving with mutually intelligible language, most intermarried and became fully Greek, invisible, and largely forgotten.

The most important period of Hellenization by far was that which transpired under the reign of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Extending the reach of his rule to staggering extents after his father's unification of the GREEK CITY-STATES—to Egypt, India, Persia, and across the eastern Mediterranean—Alexander did not limit this rule to simple military conquest and tribute collection. He integrated his army, allowing non-Greek, non-Macedonian troops in the same units as natives and strongly encouraging intermarriage with foreign women to blur the barriers between the conquering and conquered peoples. He set up schools to teach children Greek language and culture and built gymnasiums, cultural centers associated with exercise (especially gymnastics and wrestling), medicine, and communal bathing, in the cities he conquered. The GYMNASIUM was at the center of social culture in ancient Greece, much like the public houses of medieval Europe.

Upon Alexander's death, though, the widespread nature of Greek civilization gave way to the so-called Hellenistic Period. Under Alexander, Greek cities had diminished in importance to Greek culture, sharing their influence over the social, economic, and intellectual world with new additions such as ALEXANDRIA and Rhodes. The world became more Greek, but Greece in turn became worldlier, and especially more Persian. It would not be so centralized again until the fall of the Roman Empire in the West left CONSTANTINOPLE as the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

In the meantime even Roman-controlled areas became more and more Hellenized. Greek was the language of trade and culture, the common tongue necessary for travelers. Palestine became strongly Hellenized, to the extent that Greek forms of names displaced the Semitic originals—with *Yeshua* becoming *Jesus*, for instance. More and more Jewish leaders feared that their people would lose their identity. Many Jewish practices and movements in antiquity were thus responses to Hellenization, whether they were revolutionary movements that sought to restore Jewish self-governance and an exclusivity of culture or syncretic sects that blended traditional Jewish religion with pagan elements.

Whatever JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH's contact with Greek culture, Christianity became extremely Hellenized in the wake of his death. The New Testament was written in Greek, and many early Christians were proselytes, Greek-speaking Gentiles who followed Jewish

cultic practices without converting. The sophistication of Pauline theology, the Johannine books (the Gospel and Revelation of John), and the writings of the early apostolic fathers up to and including AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO were deeply influenced by Greek philosophy and the Hellenized intellectual climate of the Roman Empire.

The concept of Logos so central to Johannine Christianity—the Gospel of John states in its first verse, “in the beginning was the logos, and the logos was with God, and the logos was God”—was not simply a Greek word which loses significance in translation (commonly translated as “word,” it also means logic, reason, principle, and thought), but a well-explored concept in Greek philosophy. Heraclitus had used it in reference to the order and rationality of the universe, and ARISTOTLE, in developing his system of logic. The STOICS, who may have influenced Jesus or his followers and certainly had much in common with them, formulated logos as the engine of creation, the underlying force that gave life to existence.

After the fall of Rome the Byzantine Empire identified itself strongly as a Hellenic Christian empire: ethnically Greek, religiously Christian, and the inheritors of both classical Greek culture and the Roman right of rule. Surrounded by Persian and, later, Muslim enemies, it underwent several periods of Hellenic revival, with “Greek” and “Christian” increasingly associated together—the final step in the long history of Hellenization.

See also GREEK CHURCH; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENISTIC ART.

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BILL KTE’PI

Herculaneum

See POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

heresies

Early Christian theology had the problem of reconciling the belief in only one God, taken over from Judaism, with the belief that both JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH

and his father are God. One solution to this problem was Monarchianism, which means that God consists of only one person, or hypostasis. Dynamic Monarchianism, also called Adoptionism, may be Jewish in origin, but its first known exponent was Theodotus, a leather-worker from Byzantium c. 200 C.E. He taught that until Jesus’ baptism, he was only a man on whom Christ, a *dynamis* (power) of God, then descended. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch until deposed by a council of bishops in 268 C.E., probably was also an Adoptionist.

Modalist Monarchianism, or modalism, means that Jesus, the (his) Father, and the Holy Spirit are different modes of the same person, or hypostasis. The first known modalist was Noetus, condemned by the elders of Smyrna or Rome c. 200 C.E. Noetus affirmed that Christ is the Father, who was born, suffered, and died, which Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220 C.E.) called patripassianism.

Sabellius, a Libyan, gained the trust of Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus I but was excommunicated by the latter in c. 217 C.E. Sabellius avoided patripassianism by proposing three modes of a divine monad, Father as creator, Son as redeemer, and Spirit as inspirer. It is uncertain whether Sabellius taught that each mode was replaced by the next so that Father, Son, and Spirit did not exist all at once, or taught an economic trinity as did Tertullian and others, that is that God existed first only as Father, but after the creation as both Father and Son, and as Father, Son, and Spirit after Pentecost.

Like Sabellius, Marcellus (c. 280–c. 375 C.E.), bishop of Ancyra, said that Christ did not preexist his birth, and his kingdom would end. Marcellus’s monad expanded to a dyad at creation, to a triad at Pentecost, but the triad would contract into the monad after judgment. ATHANASIUS, allied with Marcellus in defending the idea that Jesus is “one substance” with God, later repudiated Marcellus, probably because Marcellus denied Christ’s eternity and because Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, Marcellus’s pupil, was accused of adoptionism. Marcellus recanted, conceding the Son’s eternity, but never three divine hypostases. The Orthodox Church accepted Marcellus’s followers.

Adoptionists and modalists seem antithetical but were lumped together, as were Paul of Samosata and Sabellius. After all, Photinus was Marcellus’s pupil. Pope Callistus was said sometimes to favor Sabellius (modalist), sometimes Theodotus (dynamic), and said: “... after [the Father] had taken unto himself flesh, [he] raised it to the nature of Deity...” If, for Callistus, Jesus was not divine from birth, Callistus was adoptionistic. Modalists, who merged Father and Son, sometimes so sharply separated the divine Christ from the human Jesus that he seemed to be a “mere man,” as with Adoptionists.

Around 155 or 172 C.E., a mystic named Montanus claimed that the Spirit was speaking through him. He put himself into trances progressing to ecstatic states in which he spoke in tongues, interpreted by his followers. The Spirit's message was that the Last Judgment would very soon take place in Pepuza in Phrygia. Other revelations commanded fasts, no sex even for married couples, seeking of martyrdom, and the inability of the church to absolve serious sins. Tertullian was the greatest Montanist but was unaware of Montanist women clergy, the principle of which he condemns.

Montanism was called the "New Prophecy," but its goal was to restore the church's original purity and gifts of the Spirit. In earliest Christianity, phenomena such as speaking in tongues and prophecy conferred spiritual authority. However, by 155 C.E. bishops replaced the authority of charismatic individuals, claiming apostolic succession. Each bishop received his authority from his predecessor in a chain leading back to an apostle. Montanists claimed revelations independent of bishops. Ironically, Montanus founded a tightly organized church, which had its own scriptures to supplement the Bible, a patriarch at Pepuza, "associates" between patriarch and bishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, who all received salaries supported by collections.

One pope nearly approved Montanism, but the mainline Christians in Asia Minor responded with councils, excommunications, and even exorcisms. The Last Judgment did not arrive as predicted by Montanists. Tongues, prophecy, and asceticism also declined. Montanism thus repeated the experience of the mainline church, except that Montanism disappeared by the early Middle Ages. One result of Montanus's and others' claims to special revelations supplementing the Gospels and the letters of the apostles was that the church formed a list of authoritative writings that eventually became the New Testament.

Montanists were sometimes called Sabellians, perhaps because Montanus claimed that both Father and Spirit spoke through him. Father, Son, Spirit, and Montanus might seem to be one person, especially since Montanus is reported to have said, "I am the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Montanus taught that the Father revealed himself to the Jews, the Son to the first Christians, and the Spirit to Montanus. This schema could fit Sabellius's understanding of the Trinity as three temporary divine modes.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; ARIANISM; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); NICAIA, COUNCIL OF; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

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GRANT R. SHAFER

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon

Greek historians

Still in a state of formation as late as the eighth century B.C.E., the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, the HOMERIC EPICS, represented the foundational myths of early Greek civilization. They were histories of the Trojan War—informative, didactic, and entertaining. Some two centuries later another confrontation was rendered epic, this time in the hands of Herodotus: the Persian Wars (499–479 B.C.E.). Herodotus depicted them as a clash of civilizations, the protodemocratic city-states of Greece staving off the autocratic Achaemenids of Persia. Accent was placed on an insuperable divide between a hazily defined, but diametrically opposed East and West. To this struggle Herodotus added substantial doses of genealogy, ethnography, and geography. He may have been the Father of History, an epithet first bestowed on him by the Roman CICERO, but Herodotus was the son of epic poetry.

Little is known of Herodotus's life, save that which is revealed in his work. In the early fifth century B.C.E. he was born in Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum, Turkey). His journeys began prior to 454 B.C.E., when he was banished by Lygdamis, a local tyrant. Herodotus visited Babylon, Phoenicia, Egypt, southern Russia, and Athens, settling in the Athenian colony of Thurii in southern Italy in 443 B.C.E. Written sometime between 450 and 425 B.C.E., Herodotus's work is divided into nine books. This partitioning was a development of the third century B.C.E., carried out at the library of ALEXANDRIA. The first three books cover the reigns of CYRUS II (r. c. 559–529 B.C.E.) and CAMBYSES II (r. 529–521 B.C.E.), as well as the accession of DARIUS I (521–486 B.C.E.). The second triad treats the rule of Darius I. The third and final section explores the kingship of XERXES I (485–465 B.C.E.). The title of Herodotus's work was *Histories*. At its origin, *historía* also meant "inquiry" or "research." Since the 19th century, Herodotus has often been regarded as an amateur of history. His technique and methodology were trifling. Traditions, legends, and

personal interviews misled him. He does demonstrate a desire to track down the most trustworthy evidence; however, much still separated Herodotus from the practices of contemporary historiography.

The work of Herodotus and that of Thucydides contrasts starkly, even though they were contemporaries. Eons seem to separate the tone, character, and style of their respective works. Herodotus is flighty and imprecise. Thucydides is sharp and probing. Some have suggested that because Thucydides is devoid of metrical elements, this indicates that poetry and prose had finally parted ways. Thucydides' aristocratic background and wealth, derived from family mines in Thrace, may have caused this difference. He was also educated in the cultural lighthouse on the Aegean that was Athens at its height. The Sophists of late fifth-century Greek culture also influenced Thucydides. Only a few fragments of the Sophists' actual writings survive, but their impact was primordial and has been compared to the 18th-century Enlightenment. They provided instruction in rhetoric, grooming men for oratorical life in the radical democracy of Athens. They were less interested in the ethical implications of a given argument and more in the persuasiveness of its delivery. For Plato such a lack of moral compass was troublesome.

Thucydides was one of 10 Athenian generals elected in 424 B.C.E. When Sparta took Amphipolis, Thucydides bore the brunt of the failure. His remaining years were spent in exile, some of them in Thrace but others among the enemies of Athens, where he collected historical material. As an aristocrat, Thucydides idealized the Periclean model of democracy. Thucydides is often taken as a model of objectivity, bringing history into the orbit of science. From the twists and turns of the war between GREEK CITY-STATES Thucydides tried to extrapolate fundamental principles of human and political behavior.

Long held to be the lesser third of the great triumvirate of Greek historians, Xenophon was demoted further by the 1906 discovery of a papyrus fragment that covers the years 396–395 B.C.E. Some would attribute its authorship to Cratippus, but this is inconclusive. The anonymous Oxyrhynchus historian offers a corrective to Xenophon's work. Revered across the fourth century B.C.E., largely as a philosopher, his entire oeuvre survived. As an associate of SOCRATES, Xenophon's interpretation of Socratic thought was taken, incorrectly, to rest on par with that of Plato. Another factor contributing to Xenophon's renown was his prose. For generations it served as stylistic model for students to emulate.

Xenophon is dismissed as fathoming little of the events he chronicled. His *Hellenica* is that work whose interpre-

tive underbelly was exposed by the Oxyrhynchus historian. It is, as its title would suggest, a history of Greece. Xenophon chronicles the fall of Athens in 404 B.C.E., then the political instability of the three-way struggle between Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, down to the Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.E.). Glaring omissions and biases have been noted in his work: his failure to address the Second Athenian Confederacy of the 370s B.C.E. and his tendency to look too favorably upon Sparta, despite his own Athenian background. Xenophon's other works include a historical novel depicting the idealized education of Cyrus II, the founder of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty and assorted treatises on estate management, hunting, horsemanship, and the duties of a cavalry officer.

Sometimes taken as a historical work but also readily dismissed as the mere memoir of a military commander, Xenophon's *Anabasis* details events of 401–399 B.C.E. In a taut third-person narrative he recounts the failed exploits of Cyrus the Younger, the junior sibling of the Persian king ARTAXERXES II. There is speculation as to why the work was composed. Some suppose that it was intended as a corrective to another account of these same events, portraying Xenophon in an unflattering light. Others reach further, claiming that the intent was to demonstrate the extent of Persian weakness, letting an army of such a size escape. If the *Anabasis* was indeed such an invitation, three-quarters of a century would pass before ALEXANDER THE GREAT would accept it, bringing a close to the epoch which had begun with Greeks playing prey to the Persians, documented first by Herodotus.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PERSIAN INVASIONS; SOPHISM.

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R. O'BRIAN CARTER

Herods

(37 B.C.E.–92 C.E.) *Jewish kings*

The Herods were Jewish client kings of Rome who governed between 37 B.C.E. and 92 C.E. in the area that

included significant portions of modern Israel, southern Syria, southern Lebanon, and Jordan. Rome appointed client kings with limited military and taxation powers in the provinces in the Eastern Roman Empire. They were called either ethnarchs or tetrarchs; a tetrarch ranked below an ethnarch. The principal function of these client kings was to carry out the will of Rome.

The Senate declared Herod the Great king of the Jews in 40 B.C.E. He actually came to the throne in 37 B.C.E. after overcoming Antigonus, his opponent. Though called king, Herod was in reality an ethnarch. He is called Herod the Great because he was the first Herod from whom all the other Herods descended. He was also a great builder. The Second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem and the amphitheater in Caesarea were two of his most monumental projects. Remains of these magnificent structures can still be seen in Israel today. Notwithstanding, the Jews loathed Herod because of his Idumaeen origin and cruelty, especially toward the end of his life. A man given to suspicion and jealousy, he even killed his own beloved wife, Mariamne, and the two sons whom he had by her. According to the New Testament, he massacred innocent male children who were two years old and under in Bethlehem because he feared that a future king might have been born there (Matt. 2:16). Herod died in 4 B.C.E., and his territory was divided among his three sons: Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip.

After Herod's death, his son Archelaus became ethnarch over Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea. A cruel man like his father, Herod Archelaus had none of his father's graces. According to the Jewish historian JOSEPHUS in *Jewish War*, he began his rule by killing 3,000 men. Rome deposed him in 6 C.E. because of great unpopularity and placed his territory under Roman procurators. Originally, procurators were finance officers chosen from the equestrian (knight) rank in Rome, but in time they came to exercise military powers as well.

Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.) was tetrarch over Galilee and Perea (in modern Jordan) for 40 years. Pilate had Antipas try JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH because Jesus was from Galilee. Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris into a major metropolis and built a new city, Tiberias, named after Emperor Tiberius (14–37 C.E.), on the southwestern shores of Galilee. He married Herodias, his niece and the wife of Philip (Boethus), for which he was rebuked by JOHN THE BAPTIST. Herod Antipas had John beheaded for this offense. Antipas died as an exile in GAUL.

Herod Agrippa I (37–44 C.E.), a brother of Herodias, was a grandson of Herod the Great by Mariamne (whom Herod killed). Wilting under a mountain of debts, he came to hold the throne because of his

friendship with Rome. While studying in Rome, he befriended Gaius Caligula (37–41 C.E.). After becoming emperor, Caligula made him a king and gave him the former territories of his uncle Philip, another Herodian tetrarch, and of Lysanias, who was tetrarch of Abilene (near Damascus). Later, in 39 C.E. Caligula banished Antipas and gave his territory to Agrippa I. Then, after Caligula died, Emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.) gave him Judaea as well, which had been under Roman procurators. Agrippa I, a man rather liked by the Jews, ruled over a larger territory than any of the other Herods did. He killed James the son of Zebedee and put the apostle Peter in prison to please the Jews. He suddenly died in 44 C.E. of some horrible stomach disease. When Agrippa I died, Rome put Judaea back in the hands of procurators.

Herod Agrippa II (50–92 C.E.) was son of Agrippa I. Only 17 at the time of his father's death, Agrippa II was deemed too young to be king. In 50 C.E. Claudius gave him Chalcis in southern Lebanon, his uncle's territory. In 53 C.E. Claudius exchanged it with the former territories of Philip the tetrarch and Lysanias. The Romans sought the advice of Agrippa II in matters pertaining to Jews and gave him authority over the Temple and the appointment of high priests. Agrippa II is the Agrippa who heard the apostle PAUL. Agrippa II finished the renovation of the Jewish Temple in 63 C.E., only to see it burned down in 70 C.E. by Titus, who later became emperor (79–81 C.E.). Agrippa's sister Bernice was a consort of Titus. An amiable man, he was the last of later the Herods to rule.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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P. RICHARD CHOI

Hesiod

(c. 800 B.C.E.) *Greek poet*

Hesiod was a poet whose works are some of the oldest and most celebrated in Greek literature. If the Greeks

revered Homer as an inspired storyteller and collector of the heroic tales, then Hesiod must rank as his counterpart in narrating the background epic myths and filling in missing details.

Most now agree that Hesiod wrote after the circulation of the HOMERIC EPICS, many centuries after the elusive Homer lived, perhaps around 800 B.C.E. He was an immigrant to the Greek world, having moved from Asia Minor to Boeotia. His father had moved either to find refuge or farmland on the Greek mainland. Thus, it is not surprising that the lessons and lore of Hesiod often can be found in Akkadian, Hittite, Mesopotamian, and Hebrew literature, because these are the older cultures of his ancestral past.

Hesiod was a peasant, scraping out a living as a farmer, sweating under the hot summer sun and shivering in his hut when the winter rains fell. Though he and Homer vied for the following of the Greek-reading public, they could not have been less alike in their values and social milieu. Homer probably was a bard in the service of the rich and aristocratic, while Hesiod was something like a prophet in the cause of justice. Hesiod's life and excellence were not a reflection of Homer's battlefield and martial prowess, but of the cornfield and sweat equity.

Yet this humble and hard worker claims to have had a mystical experience one day while shepherding his flocks. The nine divine Muses (sometimes called the Graces) visit and inspire him to write his first work, *Theogony*, a poem about the origins and genealogies of the divinities of Greek mythology. They reveal the background of the Olympian gods: It turns out that the deities are sprung from dysfunctional and violent family roots, where one generation plots the downfall of the earlier one. Hesiod is not content merely to divulge divine names and ancestry; he also reveals an ethical and philosophical element in the poem that helps his audience learn the lessons of mythology for their own lives.

His next poem is also an ethical exercise, entitled *Work and Days*. Here he ties his material together into something like a sermon on how to live a good life. He narrates three myths: Prometheus and Pandora; the Five Cosmic Ages of Humanity; and the Hawk and Nightingale allegory. All three point out to the reader the advantages of honesty and hard work. He criticizes his brother Perses, who unjustly and corruptly is trying to steal land and wealth without working for it. Hesiod represents the rising class of peasants and townsfolk centuries after Homer's aristocratic vision loses touch with Greek reality.

Hesiod sets himself up as something like a biblical prophet. He finds his identity in the lower classes

and gives voice to their suffering. He makes no claim to royal birth, public office, or military victory, but he is not afraid to speak in the first person singular and is confident that his advice is divinely inspired. Modern readers might find his contempt for women, his surliness, and his self-righteousness less palatable.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHERS; PROPHETS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Hezekiah

(8th–7th century B.C.E.) *king and ruler*

Biblical scholars increasingly view Hezekiah as the most capable king in ISRAEL AND JUDAH back to the time of DAVID and SOLOMON. Only kings AHAB and JOSIAH can compare with him as far as running domestic and foreign affairs. He presided over a period of religious reform, Assyrian belligerence, and Samarian decline. ASSYRIA had reached its full imperial extent, and somehow Hezekiah was able to turn away from his father Ahaz's policies of accommodation in the areas of politics and religion. He grew up under the tutelage of the priests in the Jerusalem Temple. They exerted profound influence over Hezekiah's personal development and preparation for his career as king. His father was known as an accommodationist to foreign religious influences, so Hezekiah's formation was against the grain of his father's decisions.

His first phase of rule is marked by a decision to centralize worship in Jerusalem and renew religious observances of his people. He called his subjects back to the biblical covenant and then invited his coreligionists in Samaria to join him. This invitation came in the form of festal letters sent out by the hands of able and learned representatives of his kingdom, reinstituting social and religious structures. The Assyrians, who had recently taken over Samaria and decimated its leadership, may have viewed this as a provocation. At any rate it was a reversal of the religious policies of his father. One very bold act of Hezekiah's was to destroy the bronze serpent, an object of popular veneration, with a long history going back to the time of MOSES. Other acts were in concert: He destroyed shrines and altars that did not have to do with traditional beliefs.

His second phase of rule was political. Although he paid tribute to Assyria, he used it to buy time for himself so that he could refortify and reconsolidate Jerusalem and other Judean cities. Archaeologists estimate that Hezekiah's Jerusalem was fivefold the population of Solomon's, and some suggest that many came from Samaria as political refugees. Another major innovation was a way of supplying water to the acropolis of Jerusalem by way of the Siloam tunnel, recently discovered by modern excavators. New research has uncovered storage jars, imprinted with the king's name, indicating that Hezekiah had a system for supplying his people with food in times of trouble.

Assyria took punitive action and rampaged across the country but miraculously did not capture Jerusalem. Records from the annals of Assyria tell a different story, saying that their general Senacherib ran a brilliant campaign, destroying 46 walled cities and taking 200,000 captives, walling up Hezekiah "like a caged bird." In fact, the Bible says that the Assyrian general Senacherib beat a sudden retreat out of Jerusalem, though the night before he had harangued its citizens in their own language. The reason, according to the Bible, was a divine visitation of a plague against the besiegers.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

hieroglyphics

The system of writing known as hieroglyphics was used to write the ancient Egyptian language from before 3000 B.C.E. until the late fourth century C.E. Each symbol in this system is known as a hieroglyph. The term *hieroglyphic* (meaning "sacred writing") was coined by the ancient Greeks, who knew that the Egyptians sometimes called their writing "divine script."

The 500 or so hieroglyphic signs that were in common use can be grouped into three classes: logograms, phonograms, and determinatives. Logograms (also called ideograms) are single signs that represent a complete word. These signs, remnants of the pictographic origins of the system, are relatively few in number. Far more common are the second class of signs, called phonograms. A phonogram represents not a word but a sound or group of sounds. There are three types of phonograms:

those that indicate one, two, or three consonants. The signs indicating a single consonant may be called "alphabetic," but in fact the Egyptians rarely used only these simple alphabetic signs to write a word. It should be noted that the script indicates only consonants; the vowels would have to be supplied by the reader. The third class of hieroglyphs is known as determinatives. These signs, of which there are many, have no phonetic value, but rather appear after other hieroglyphic signs (phonograms) to indicate the semantic category of the word. Determinatives are often very helpful in distinguishing homonyms, which are prevalent due to the lack of vowels in the script. A hieroglyphic text can be written horizontally from left to right or from right to left or vertically from top to bottom.

The use of hieroglyphic script was generally confined to carved or painted inscriptions, most of which were monumental or religious in nature. Already in the Old Egyptian Period (mid-third millennium B.C.E.) the Egyptians used a simplified cursive hieroglyphic script, or, more often, an even more cursive script known as hieratic (from Greek, "priestly"), for texts written with ink. The signs of cursive scripts, especially hieratic, can look quite different from their hieroglyphic counterparts. By the Late Egyptian Period, beginning in roughly 1600 B.C.E., an even more abbreviated and cursive form of hieratic developed, known as demotic (from Greek, "popular"). With the coming of Christianity to Egypt, many Egyptians adopted the Greek alphabet to write their language. This adopted script is known as the Coptic alphabet, as is the Egyptian language itself when written in this script. What separates the Coptic alphabet from the Greek is the addition of eight signs, taken over from the demotic script, which were needed to represent sounds not found in Greek.

Almost immediately after the hieroglyphic system ceased to be used (the last known hieroglyphic inscription was made in 394 C.E.), the ability to read it was lost. After this happened it was commonly believed that these symbols did not represent an actual language but were instead a kind of mystical representation of ideas. It was not until after the discovery of the ROSETTA STONE in 1799—on which the same text was written in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Greek—that scholars were able to decipher the ancient script.

See also ALEXANDRIA; CUNEIFORM; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; KUSH; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; MEROË; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PHARAOH.

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AARON D. RUBIN

Hindu philosophy

Hinduism consists of a voluminous body of thought and philosophy arranged within a number of different schools and tendencies, developed over the course of centuries as scholars revisited or provided commentaries on existing literature. The particular configurations of thought and literature involved in Hindu thought are arranged in ways that are not always intuitively obvious to the Western mind. Instead, concepts of dietary propriety and forms of public duty are combined with epistemological and linguistic explorations. The Hindu view of the universe most commonly recognizes the presence of the divine within every aspect of the fabric of existence, and this is commingled with the sense of personal connection with individual deities. Consequently, it is impossible to separate right behavior from right forms of thinking.

Hindu philosophical concepts are liberally sprinkled through the verse epics such as the BHAGAVAD GITA and the MAHABHARATA, as well as the VEDAS, the Upanishads, and other texts, primarily written in the SANSKRIT language. Since Sanskrit was considered to be a sacred language and intimately connected with the nature of the universe, issues relating to the language are also considered to be relevant to philosophy.

General philosophical concerns included epistemic, moral, and metaphysical issues. Epistemic concerns are deeply related to the study of the Sanskrit language. It is also concerned with different ways of perceiving and making sense of the universe. Possible forms of interaction included inference, sensory perception, and forms of logical deduction. They also included higher forms of yogic perception of higher spiritual states that were related to the Buddhist concept of enlightenment. Many forms of meditation are involved in the attempt to understand the spiritual nature of the universe.

Moral issues largely centered on the concepts of dharma and karma. The latter relates to the interrelationship between cause and effect and dates from the times of the Upanishads. All acts committed by individuals are morally good or bad, and each will provide good or bad

karma, which will attach itself to the individual soul. For the soul to achieve its goal of understanding the nature of the universe it is necessary to accumulate good karma and eliminate bad karma. Philosophers varied as to the efficacy of meditation, good deeds, or actions to attain this understanding. Dharma refers to different methods by which duty should be performed, with respect to both temporal and spiritual obligations. Many of the injunctions on this form of moral behavior are contained in the DHARMA SUTRAS, which are the Vedic-influenced texts that outline various forms of behavior. Some of the many sutras were subsequently developed into *shastras*, which were used to frame Hindu laws and social regulations, including the CASTE system.

Metaphysical concerns featured the nature of the divine and how it may be approached. The atman, or the soul, was frequently taken as the unit of analysis. A central metaphysical concern was to understand the specific nature of the atman and how it was related to the wider universe. Some believed that the atman was an intrinsic part of the universe and represented a microscopic but inseparable part of the larger universe. A person who is able to perceive this reality through higher spiritual perception has the opportunity to be freed from the painful cycle of birth and rebirth. However, subsequent developments of thought placed more emphasis on the role of the gods and of divine grace in enabling the atman to ascend to the higher level of understanding.

Sankara (c. 788–820 C.E.) was a nondualist of the Advaita Vedanta school and was influential in developing the concept of the atman as being equated with Brahma, which is the universal soul that permeates the entire universe. Since Brahma is not just universal but eternal and eternally unchanging, the atman and the other physical manifestations of the universe are some form of shadow representation of the eternal, and it is possible for the individual, through the cultivation of the faculty of true sight, to attain a glimpse of reality in a process that is very similar to the nirvana of Buddhism.

See also VEDIC AGE.

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JOHN WALSH

Hippocrates, Galen, and the Greek physicians

Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.E.) has been called the father of Greek medicine. The young Hippocrates observed his physician father and his peers practicing the healing art. He traveled throughout Greece and possibly as far as LIBYA and Egypt. Ptolemy Soter (323–285 B.C.E.), an Egyptian PHARAOH, published a collection of treatises by Hippocrates and his followers for the library at ALEXANDRIA.

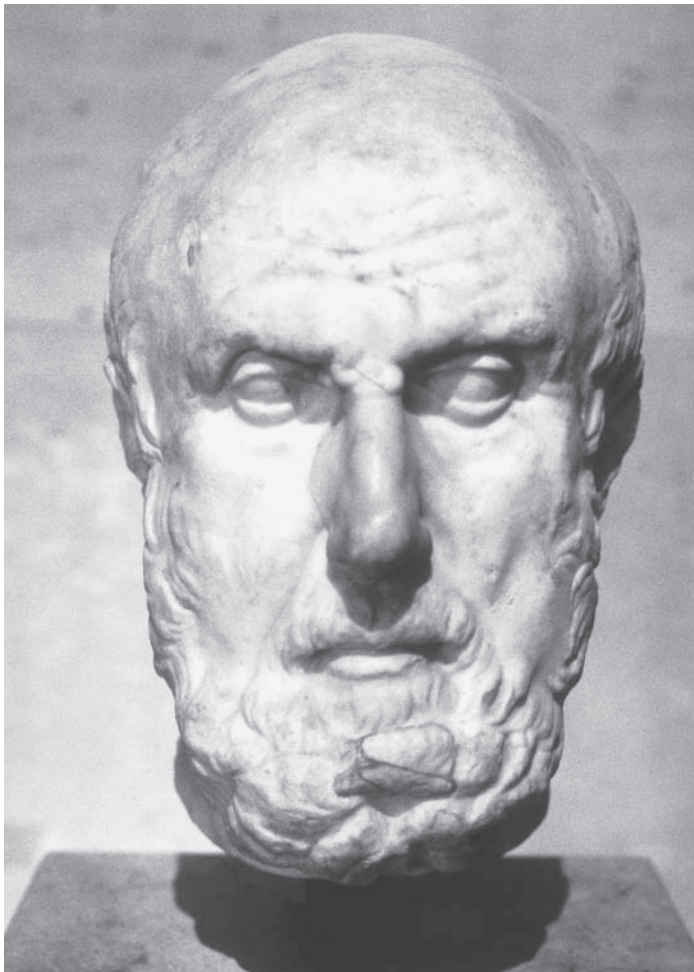
Hippocrates is best known for his dictum that if the physician could not take away suffering then he must at

least alleviate it. He used observation to document physical symptoms and behavior, in contrast to making offerings and appealing to supernatural forces. He took into account the interplay of three variables: the patient, the physician, and the disease. He stressed the importance of hygiene and believed that the doctor belonged at the side of the patient rather than in a temple far away. Although he did not use the term *immune system*, he recognized that there were individual differences that affected the severity of any affliction. *Of the Epidemics* offers one of his best writings, describing a mumps epidemic. The *Corpus Hippocraticum* gives an excellent overview of Greek medicine in the fifth century B.C.E.

The Hippocratic oath is a traditional part of a contemporary physician's rite of passage from student to doctor. The oath begins with a pledge to Apollo, Asclepius his son, and his daughters, Hygeia and Panacea. It stresses the mentoring relationships and the lifelong relationship of the physician to the person who taught him the healing arts. There is a promise not to help a patient commit suicide. There is also a statement about privacy and confidentiality.

Not all Greek physicians practiced by Hippocratic dictates, but all accepted the humoral theory as the basis for human physiology. In this theory air, water, earth, and fire were the four elements that made up the universe and the human body. Water was moist, air was dry, fire was hot, and earth was cold. The human body was a microcosm of this scheme, and its corresponding fluids, or humors, were in combinations of two. Blood was warm and wet; black bile, cold and dry; yellow bile, warm and dry; and phlegm, cold and wet. When the fluids were in balance, health abounded. When skewed, disease resulted. Ancient Greek physicians recognized that discharges from various organs resulted from trauma or sickness. The amount of training of Greek physicians varied because no medical schools, standards, or examinations existed. A doctor often apprenticed to a more experienced practitioner before practicing on his own. In addition to sole practitioners there were public physicians, medical officers elected in some cities. There were also clinics for the less affluent called *jatreia*.

ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.) contributed much to Greek medicine. He was interested in many areas of knowledge, but logic was one of his favorite mental exercises. He began to categorize living things into groups with similarities and wrote extensive compendiums on plants and animals. This was the basis for biology and anatomy. Unfortunately, he did not see the interior of a human body because dissection was not practiced. Although Aristotle contributed much to medicine, phi-



A bust of Hippocrates in the Louvre in Paris. The values of Hippocrates are still in force in the medical profession today.

losophy, poetry, literature, and early science, it was Claudius Galen—often referred to as simply Galen—whose writings influenced generations of physicians and whose influence continued well into the Renaissance.

Galen was born in Pergamon to an architect father, who had a dream in which Asclepius appeared and told him to have his son become a healer. By the age of 21 he had written a textbook on the uterus for midwives, a book on ophthalmology, and three books on lung disease. Unfortunately, he did not know very much about the uterus because he had only seen a pig's uterus and that was quite different from a human's. When he was 32, he went to Rome where he established a practice despite his criticisms of his peers there. He was fortunate to be called to the imperial palace to treat MARCUS AURELIUS, the emperor, whom he pleased. From that time forward, the most prominent members of society sought him.

After Galen accepted Christianity, the church endorsed him because Galen saw a purpose in every organ and every function, and that purpose was divinity. He taught that the body was an instrument of the soul. Religion and medicine were more closely related in early medicine, and there was often confusion over the place of the soul in the human body. One idea was that it was somewhere between the brain and the spinal cord in a structure called the *rete mirabile*. The other imaginary structure was the lux bone, a bone that could create an entirely new individual if found. Interestingly, this concept could describe stem cells. Galen also had ideas about the sexes. He believed that since humankind was the most perfect of all animals, within humankind, man was more perfect than woman. Since a woman's reproductive parts were formed when she was still being formed, they could not emerge from her body like a man's because she did not have enough heat to allow them to do so. Despite his errors, his contributions were many, the greatest being a 22-volume set of summarized medical knowledge including medicinal plants.

Galen's reputation lasted longer than any other Greek physician's. He codified all previous knowledge and was so valued for this gargantuan task that his stature as a great physician grew with each successive generation. It was not until 1564 that Vesalius, a Renaissance anatomist who performed autopsies and dissections on humans, challenged his writings. The Greek and, later, Roman physicians lost prestige as the Roman Empire collapsed, the Middle Ages began, and plagues and epidemics destroyed populations in record numbers, leaving people again dependent on superstition and mysticism. Muslim physicians led the way for the next 1,000 years.

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LANA THOMPSON

Hittites

The Hittites were INDO-EUROPEANS who entered Anatolia in approximately 2300 B.C.E. and in the following centuries managed to become one of the dominant powers of the ancient Near East. The word *Hittite* derives from their term for central Anatolia, *hatti*, which was derived from those who lived in the area before the Hittites, the Hattians. Most of the information regarding the Hittites comes from thousands of clay tablets discovered in the Hittite capital of Hattusha. Three distinct Indo-European languages have been deciphered in these texts: Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic. The texts were written in CUNEIFORM and HIEROGLYPHIC scripts, and many words were borrowed from the local population and from surrounding nations. Hittite history is usually divided into the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom. The Old Kingdom covered the period from 1750 to 1600 B.C.E., while the New Kingdom lasted c. 1420–1200 B.C.E. The intervening period (c. 1600–1420 B.C.E.) is sometimes referred to as the Middle Kingdom.

During the Old Kingdom the Hittites were able to achieve foreign expansion. First, during the reign of Hattushili I, the Hittite army campaigned to the west as far as Arzawa and to the southeast as far as northern Syria. Second, during the reign of Murshili I, the army made the long march through Syria and into Babylonia, where they were able to overpower Babylon and bring to an end the first dynasty of Babylon (c. 1595 B.C.E.). However, during the reigns of Murshili's successors, the kingdom seems to have lost control of lands to the east and southeast.

The founder and first ruler of the New Kingdom was Tudhaliya II (c. 1420–1370 B.C.E.). Although he was able to revive the kingdom, it was not until the reigns of Shuppiluliuma I (c. 1344 B.C.E.), and Hattushili III (c. 1239 B.C.E.) that the Hittites were able to achieve their

greatest foreign expansion. They were able to expand the kingdom throughout all of Syria, defeating MITTANI, and extending almost as far south as DAMASCUS. Battles with the Egyptians, most famously the Battle at Kadesh, led to a treaty between Hattushili III and RAMSES II in which a Hittite princess was given to Ramses in marriage.

Although the treaty with Egypt remained in force for the remainder of the Hittite New Kingdom, new threats arose that eventually led to the demise of the Hittites. ASSYRIA under Shalmaneser I became aggressive toward the Hittites. In addition, various smaller nations surrounding the Hittite homeland began to pressure the Hittites militarily and economically.

Unfortunately, it is still impossible to tell the exact nature of the downfall of the Hittite capital Hattusha. What is clear is that limited Hittite rule continued in other areas, particularly Carchemish. These local centers were ruled by Neo-Hittite dynasties governing individual city-states. These city-states were eventually absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

Hittite religion and cultic practices are becoming increasingly better known through archaeological excavations. Unfortunately, no mythological text in the old Hittite script has yet been discovered. However, one myth of west Semitic origin has been found in a Hittite translation. It tells the story of the virtuous young male Baal-Haddu refusing the advances of the married Asherah in a fashion reminiscent of the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife found in the book of Genesis. Cultic practices are illuminated in the various festival descriptions found in royal archives and in texts from provincial centers. Much is known about these festivals, special times when the statue of the deity was brought out from the temple and honored with sacrifices and offerings given amid music and dancing. New moon festivals were held to mark the beginning of each new month.

Knowledge of ancient Near Eastern temples, including the Solomonic Temple of the Old Testament, is greatly advanced through the excavations of various Hittite temples. At least five temples have been uncovered in the capital of Hattusha, and some estimate there to be as many as 20 present in the city. Every Hittite city had at least one temple staffed by both male and female personnel serving as cooks, musicians, artisans, farmers, and herders.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT.

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ERIC SMITH

Homeric epics

The epics of the Greek writer Homer—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—are the earliest and the best known of classics of Greek literature. Both are long epic poems, and several scholars have argued that different people probably wrote the two, with some academics arguing against even the existence of Homer. Certainly, all that is known about Homer is from tradition and evidence gleaned from the epics.

The cities of Argos, Athens, Chios, Colophon, Rhodes, Salamis, and Izmir (Smyrna) all claim that Homer was born in their city. Homer was probably a Greek from Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), as his writings used the Ionic and the Aeolic dialects of that region, so the claims of Chios and Izmir are the most plausible.

Many centuries later there was a clan at Chios known as the Homeridae who claimed to be descendants of Homer and, as wandering minstrels, kept alive some of the traditions associated with their famous ancestor. Homer was born the son of Maeon; he lived around 850 B.C.E. Many people thought the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had been written in the eighth century B.C.E., with a consensus that the *Iliad* is earlier than the *Odyssey*, the former possibly composed in 750 B.C.E., and the latter about 25 years later. This was the period when many Greeks were moving to Asia Minor, and there was an increasing interest in the traditions of contact with the region. Some have pointed to references in the sixth book of the *Odyssey* to refer clearly to the establishment of a Greek colony. The term *Homeric age* refers to the period about which Homer wrote, rather than the period in which he lived.

Countless writers have translated the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Roman writer Lucius Livius Andronicus, from Taranto in southern Italy, translated the *Odyssey* into Latin verse in the third century B.C.E. The most well-known translation is that of E. V. Rieu, in the Penguin Classics edition, first published in 1950. Although there have been many more translations, that by Richmond Lattimore in 1951 is regarded as the best. He set out to try to capture the atmosphere of the original text by rendering it into verse, line by line.

Many of the same translators tried their hand at the *Odyssey*. Rieu's edition, the first Penguin Classics book, was published in 1945; and Richmond Lattimore managed a translation of the *Odyssey* in 1965. However, the *Odyssey* also attracted two men who did not work on the *Iliad*. William Morris, the famous designer and poet, had a translation of the *Odyssey* published in 1887, and T. E. LAWRENCE (Lawrence of Arabia) also translated the *Odyssey* into English prose. This was published under the name "T. E. Shaw," Lawrence's adopted name, in 1932, three years before his death. The style of both epics was dactylic hexameter with each line ranging from 12 to 17 syllables in length. With many phrases being repeated, the style was put together in such a manner that bards could learn them easily. ARISTOTLE, a great admirer of the Homeric epics, wrote that Homer was "unequaled in diction and thought."

ILIAD

The *Iliad* is the longer of the two poems, about a third longer than the *Odyssey*. It consists of 15,693 lines of poetry in dactylic hexameters and is now divided into 24 books. The *Iliad*, taking its name from *Ilium*, another name for TROY, concerns the last year of the 10-year siege of Troy, with the central figure being Achilles, the son of Peleus, king of the Myrmidones in modern-day Thessaly. The story focused on Achilles as a warrior and a person, more than on the siege.

The first book of the *Iliad* covers the quarrel between Achilles, the greatest warrior of the Greek army, and Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae. The anger of Achilles, the leader of the Myrmidons, is directed against Agamemnon and Hector. Chryseis, the daughter of a priest of Apollo, is captured by the Greeks and becomes a prisoner of Achilles. She ends up in the hands of Agamemnon, and Chryseis's father visits the Greek camp to seek her release. When this does not come about, the god Apollo sends a plague into the Greek camp, and Agamemnon is forced to return her.

In the second book Odysseus has the task of motivating the Greeks, and it includes details on the Greek and the Trojan forces. Fighting begins again in the fourth book and continues in the fifth book. The sixth book introduces Hector, prince of Troy, and adversary of Achilles. In the seventh book he fights Ajax, and in the eighth book the gods, some of whom are helping the Greeks, and others supporting the Trojans, withdraw from the fighting. In the ninth book Agamemnon tries, and fails, to get Achilles to return to the fight, and the 10th book involves Diomedes and Odysseus on a mission to spy on the Trojan positions at night.

The 11th book shows the Trojans scoring a small victory when Paris manages to wound Diomedes, and Achilles decides to use his favorite, Patroclus, in the campaign. The 12th book marks the Trojans driving the Greeks back to their camp, with Poseidon coming to the aid of the Greeks in the 13th book, and Hera helping Poseidon in the 14th book. At this point Zeus, the king of the gods, stops Poseidon from interfering, and in the 16th book, Patroclus, worried about a possible Greek defeat, borrows the armor of Achilles and leads the Greeks against the Trojans. The Trojans retreat, but Hector manages to kill Patroclus. The 17th book has the two armies fighting over the body of Patroclus, and the next book covers the grief of Achilles as he hears about the death of Patroclus. In the 19th book Achilles decides to join the fighting again, if only to avenge the death of his friend, and in the 20th book Achilles goes into the thick of the fighting, encountering Hector in the 21st book. In the next book the death of Patroclus is avenged when Achilles kills Hector and then ties the body to his chariot and drags it back to the Greek camp. The penultimate book describes the funeral games for Patroclus, and the final book involves Achilles agreeing, in the end, to hand back Hector's body to his father, King Priam of Troy.

ODYSSEY

The *Odyssey* is more of a romance than a heroic tragedy. It concerns the attempts that Odysseus (or Ulysses, in Latin) makes to return to his home on the island of Ithaca and to his wife, Penelope, and son, Telemachus. Although the term *odyssey* describes, in English, a long journey, less than half the text is actually concerned with the travels of Odysseus. The *Odyssey* runs to 12,110 lines of dactylic hexameter. The first book begins with Odysseus already on his way home from Troy, anxious to get back to Ithaca and see his son. The second book describes the suitors who want to marry Penelope. They all maintain that her husband is dead and threaten Telemachus, who sets sail for Pylos. In the fourth book King Menelaus tells the boy that Odysseus was stranded in Egypt on his way back from Troy after the war.

In the ninth book Odysseus visits the land of the Lotus Eaters and, in perhaps the second-most famous incident in the book, ends up on the island controlled by the Cyclops, who have only one eye. Odysseus and his men hide in the cave of one of the Cyclops, but he eats two of the Greek sailors when they try to escape. Eventually Odysseus and the rest of the sailors blind the Cyclops and escape, hanging on the underside of

his sheep. In the 11th book Odysseus tries to make his peace with Poseidon, the god of the sea, who had supported the Trojans in the war.

The 12th book of the *Odyssey* covers the most famous incident, when Odysseus sails his ship past the land of the Sirens, women whose beautiful songs encourage sailors to sail too close to land so that their ships are dashed on the rocks. Odysseus has his men fill their ears with beeswax and has himself tied to the mast of the ship so that he alone can hear their singing but can do nothing about it. The next book has Odysseus trying to reach Ithaca, arriving there bedraggled and alone. In the remaining books Telemachus returns home, escaping an ambush laid by the suitors of Penelope. He manages to meet up with his father, and with the promised help of two gods, Zeus and Athena, they decide to attack the suitors at the end of the 16th book. By the 19th book Odysseus has met his wife but does not reveal his identity, although he is recognized by Eurycleia, a maid who had nursed the young Odysseus.

At the start of the 21st book Penelope offers to marry any man who can string the bow of Odysseus and fire it through 12 ax heads. The suitors try, one by one, and fail, and Odysseus, still in disguise, asks to try as well. Penelope says that if Odysseus, dressed as a poor man, does so, she will not marry him but will reward him. He eventually does try, and succeeds, and Telemachus arrives on the scene.

In the 22nd book Odysseus, Telemachus, and others chase out the suitors, killing some of them. Odysseus finally announces to his wife who he really is, tells of his adventures, and they are reunited. The final book relates what happens when King Agamemnon returns from the Trojan War. Instead of being welcomed by his wife Clytemnestra, she murders him.

CRITICAL DISCUSSION

Some scholars have pointed to similarities with the Sumerian *epic of GILGAMESH*. Elements of the *Odyssey* were possibly adapted to form some of the Arabian stories concerning the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor and *One Thousand and One Nights*. The epics have been used by scholars to understand much about the life of the Greeks of the period and about methods of fighting. Homer's epics have inspired many people. One of those was ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 B.C.E.) who traced his ancestry, through his mother, to Achilles. He read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* when he was young, although he favored the former. He must have remembered this when he arrived in Asia Minor and

made a sacrifice at the tomb of Protesilaus who was killed in the Trojan War and who was the first Greek warrior to set foot on Asian soil.

There have been a number of novels based on the stories in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Greek playwright EURIPIDES wrote *Cyclops* based on the travels of Odysseus. Geoffrey Chaucer set his poem *Troilus and Creside* at Homer's Troy, and William Shakespeare used it for his play *Troilus and Cressida*. George E. Baker's *Paris of Troy* and Richard Powell's *When the Gods Would Destroy* all feature most of the characters from the *Iliad*. Nikos Kazantzakis, in his *The Odyssey, A Modern Sequel*, continues the story of Odysseus after his return to Ithaca, and Odysseus (as Ulysses) has been important in the work of Dante and James Joyce.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Huangdi

See YELLOW EMPEROR (HUANG DI, OR HUANG TI).

Hundred Schools of Philosophy

The late Spring and Autumn (722–481 B.C.E.) era and the Warring States (481–222 B.C.E.) era in China were marked by political chaos and social and economic change. The ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY was impotent and relegated to the sidelines as powerful lords vied for total control. Warfare became increasingly frequent and violent. This was also the glorious age of Chinese philosophy; all China's classical philosophical systems were developed during this time. Thoughtful men, many of them administrators because of their education, were troubled by the chaos and sought answers. They produced a broad spectrum of ideas that ranged from the concrete to the most abstract and from the practical to the purely theoretical. The great variety of thought gave rise to the term

Hundred Schools of Philosophy, also called the Hundred Schools of Thought.

There is a striking parallel between this period in Chinese history and the golden age of classical Greek philosophy, which occurred at about the same time. The many states of China resembled the GREEK CITY-STATES, though on a larger scale. In each case the people from the disparate states recognized their common cultural heritage and longed for unity as they fought one another. Because political unity eluded both Chinese and Greeks, educated men debated with one another to find political solutions and moral answers. There were striking differences also. The Greeks had developed the concept of democracy, while no Chinese questioned the right of a monarch to govern all under heaven even as they sought to discover principles of moral authority that could unite their peoples under an ideal government.

In China the schools of philosophy can be classified into several broad categories. The most important one, whose name became inseparable with Chinese civilization, was Confucianism, a school of moral philosophy begun by CONFUCIUS. Its aim was to improve government and society by study of history and encourage men of superior morals to serve in government. Another was called DAOISM (TAOISM); it represented revolt from the strictures of a decadent society by emphasizing simplicity, detachment, and self-contentment. A school called Moism taught universal love, utilitarianism, and denounced offensive wars. The last among the major schools was LEGALISM. Not strictly a philosophy, it taught the ideal of an all-powerful sovereign state governed under strict and impartial laws. The Legalist goal was victory in war.

There were other groups that did not deal with moral principles. A man named Sunzi (Sun Tzu) was the reputed author of a book titled *Bingfa* (*Ping-fa*), or *The Art of War*, that is an analysis of total war in all its aspects. Other schools emphasized rhetoric and taught the art of persuasion, an important skill for diplomats in inter-state relations. Yet others taught logic and dialectics that had no practical application. The era of the Hundred Schools came to an end in 221 B.C.E. when a state named Qin (Ch'in), applying Legalism in its government, defeated all other states, unified China, and outlawed all philosophical debates.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; MENCIOUS; MOZI (MO TZU); QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY; SUNZI (SUN TZU).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Huns

The White Huns were steppe nomads who grew to power in Central Asia, China (where they were called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), and northern India during the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Different from the Huns organized under Attila, the White Huns were believed to have had white skin and elongated heads. Although it is unknown what the White Huns called themselves; they may have assumed the name Hua or Huer. Other names attributed to them include Hephthalites, Hephthal, Ephthalites, Yanda, Urar, Avars, and Huna.

The most well known writing about the White Huns is by Procopius, a contemporary of the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I. Procopius recorded the remarks and observations from an ambassador who was traveling with the Persians who were warring with the White Huns. He wrote that the White Huns "are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies." The Mongolian Huns' origins are unclear. For the White Huns to have white skin indicates the possibility of a different origin than the Huns of Attila. The White Huns may not have been related to the Hunnish tribes at all. The White Huns are often considered unrelated, physically and culturally, to the Huns. The Huns belonged to a group of Central Asian and Eastern Caucasian steppe nomad warriors who also have murky origins. Chinese records, along with linguistic research and archaeological finds, place the early Huns in present-day Mongolia. The Huns left very little written evidence but by the fourth century C.E. a large group of Huns near the Black Sea forced Germanic Goth tribes into the Roman Empire.

THE HUN EMPIRE AND ATTLA THE HUN

The organization of the Huns by the fifth century C.E. resulted in the creation of the Hun empire. Their appearance marks one of the first well-documented migrations on horseback. The last leader of the Hun empire, Attila the Hun, led with military success, due in part to weapons such as the Hun bow and financial gains that retained a large number of loyal Hunnish tribes and European peoples such as the Alans, Gepids, Slavs, and Gothic tribes.

Attila the Hun was born c. 406 C.E. As part of a peace treaty with Rome, the 12-year-old Attila was fostered as a child, and in exchange the Huns fostered the Roman Flavius Aetius. This hostage exchange was enforced in hopes that each child would bring back to his home nation an appreciation of the other's traditions and culture. Attila studied the foreign policies and internal workings of the Romans in order to favor the Huns. Secretly listening to meetings with foreign diplomats, Attila learned about court protocol and leadership tactics.

In 432 the Huns were united, and by 434 Attila's uncle Ruga left the empire to him and his brother Bleda. The Huns gathered and invaded the Persian Empire, but a defeat in Armenia caused a cessation of attacks for several years. By the mid-fifth century the Huns began attacking the border merchants of Persia. In addition, the two brothers threatened war with Rome, citing treaty failures and claiming the Romans had desecrated royal Hunnish graves on the Danube River. Crossing the river, the Huns invaded nearby Illyrian cities and forts. In 441 they invaded present-day Belgrade and Sirnium.

Within a few years the Huns invaded along the Danube River, using battering rams and siege towers. They successfully invaded cities along the Danube and then the Nišava River to sack the present-day Sofia (Bulgaria). The Huns moved toward CONSTANTINOPLE. Finding and then defeating the Roman armies outside the city, the Huns found they could not topple the city's thick walls but were in the process of gathering stronger battering rams. THEODOSIUS I admitted defeat instead of allowing the Huns to continue to batter the city's walls. After this victory the Huns retreated into the safety of their empire. According to classic literature, Attila killed his brother. The Hun empire was his alone. Attila, who would be called the "Scourge of God," was an aggressive and ambitious leader. Stories emerged claiming he owned the sword of Mars or that no one could look at him directly in the eyes without flinching. Attila and his Huns attacked eastern Europe, laying waste to cities along the way. He defeated city after city on his way though Austria and Germany.

Attila attacked GAUL before turning to Italy, crushing several Lombard cities on his way to RAVENNA, the Roman capital at the time. Attila did not attack Ravenna; some scholars believe that Attila stopped short of sacking the capital of the Roman Empire at the request of Pope LEO THE GREAT. Another theory is that Attila wanted to return back to his own lands before the onset of a harsh winter.

After Attila's death in 453 the Hun empire collapsed. In legend, Attila died from a nosebleed on the night of his marriage to a seventh wife. Typically not a

drinker, Attila supposedly passed out on his back and the nosebleed caused him to choke on his own blood. Upon his death, his sons acquired the throne, however, they were not as aggressive as Attila and fought among themselves in power struggles. By the late fifth century the Hun empire had completely disintegrated. Attila's legacy was his ability to organize the nomadic Huns and to collect wealth through attacks and extortion. In many cultures today Attila the Hun is viewed as a hero.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WHITE HUNS

Some scholars believe that the White Huns were of Turkish origin, while some place the White Huns' origin near the Hindu Kush region. What little is known of White Hunnish culture favors an Iranian origin. A common custom for Iranians was also common for the White Huns—the practice of polyandry, having several husbands to one wife.

In addition, a White Hunnish woman wore a hat bearing the same number of horns as she had husbands, all of whom were probably brothers. Even if a man had no biological brothers, he would adopt men to be his brothers so he could marry. All the brothers and the wife agreed on sexual privileges. The paternity of children was assigned according to the age of the husband. In this model the oldest husband claimed the first child and subsequent children were assigned to husbands of decreasing age. Polyandry has not been associated with any other Hun tribe. In fact, many Hun tribes practiced the reverse model, polygamy, in which one husband had many wives.

Scholars differ about the language spoken by the White Huns. Many believe that their language was similar to the language of Iranian peoples; others believe they spoke Mongolian tongues. The White Huns are thought to have worshipped fire and sun deities. Although this is not uncommon, worshipping both deities together is similar to Iranian and Persian peoples. Such beliefs may have later produced in what would be known as ZOROASTRIANISM in which women held important value in society, cleanliness and hard work were stressed, oppression of others is condemned, and the worship of fire and the Sun were key elements.

Some scholars believe the White Huns derive from a combination of the Tarim Basin peoples and the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH). The people of the Tarim Basin in present-day China flourished up until the second century C.E. The Tarim Basin people were not of Asian origin at all but may have been tribes that migrated through central Eurasia to the land that later became known as the southern portion of the SILK ROAD.

Nomads who lived in northwest China, the Yue-zhi were a fair-skinned people of Caucasian origin. It is thought they were part of a large migration of INDO-EUROPEAN peoples who then settled in northwestern China. The White Huns may have practiced a form of cranial manipulation that caused an elongated skull. Burials of White Huns contained elongated skulls. When a child's skull is still soft, it is possible to slowly shape the skull into this shape.

CONQUESTS OF THE WHITE HUNS

In the first half of the fifth century the regions of Kushan and GANDHARA were ruled by a local dynasty of unrelated Huns. The White Huns organized and overthrew the Kushan rulers, and the GUPTA EMPIRE was extinguished. The White Huns also attacked Buddhists and destroyed monasteries. As the century progressed, the White Huns sacked the Bactrian region. With each success the White Huns moved closer to Persia. In 484 the White Huns defeated the armies at Khorasan, in present-day Iran, and the Sassanid king was killed.

With these successes the empire of the White Huns grew to the point where they were the superpower of Central Asia. They had destroyed the Iranian SASSANID EMPIRE and founded their capital of Pendjikent. Successfully stabilizing the borders and strengthening their foothold in Asia, the White Huns sent 13 embassies to China in order to help establish their influence. The White Huns ruled northwestern India for 30 more years. During the sixth century the Persian king KHOSROW I made an alliance with the TURKS against the White Huns. The new allies attacked the White Huns, killing their king and leaving them a broken tribe, who all but disappeared by the second half of the sixth century. Survivors assimilated into neighboring regions.

Their loss of power left a vacuum for a new group, the Turks. The appearance of the Gurjara clan in India around the time of the White Hun invasions suggest that perhaps the White Huns were involved genetically and politically in establishing several ruling dynasties in northern India. Another theory maintains that the White Huns remained in India as a separate group.

See also LATE BARBARIANS.

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Hurrians

The Hurrians were a non-Semitic, INDO-EUROPEAN people who originated in Caucasia, or beyond, northeast of Mesopotamia. In the late third millennium B.C.E. they migrated from east of the Tigris River across northern Mesopotamia, eventually making their way to the Mediterranean coast in the late second millennium B.C.E. During the time of Naram-Sin, the Hurrians controlled minor states in the vicinity of AKKAD. Talpuš-atili of Nagar has the distinction of being the oldest known Hurrian ruler; he is attested on an Akkadian seal found at Tell Brak from the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Repeated campaigns were conducted against the Hurrians during the UR III period, which brought large numbers of Hurrians to SUMER from lands north, northeast, and east of the Tigris.

The religion of the Hurrians centered on the worship of the storm god Teššub. His sister and/or consort was Šawuška, the goddess of love and war. She was worshipped under numerous guises, most famously as Ishtar of NINEVEH. Other gods of note were Kumarbi, the Hurrian grain god, and Hapat, a Syrian goddess who eventually replaced Šawuška as Teššub's consort in western Hurrian traditions. Based on records from such sites as MARI, UGARIT, and Alalakh, the Hurrians are generally divided into two cultural and historical spheres. The older eastern sphere formed the Hurrian heartland and stretched from the region of Lake Van and Lake Urmia in the north to Kirkuk in the south. A second western sphere emerged later in southeastern Anatolia and north Syria.

These two cultural spheres were briefly united under the control of the MITANNI kingdom in the mid-second millennium, with its capital located at Waššukani, which may be modern Tel Fakhariya. The kingdom of Mittani reached its zenith under Saūstater, whose realm stretched from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean. Thus the Hurrian culture was a bridge of sorts between the cultures of Mesopotamia, the Assyrians and Babylonians, and those further west including Hatti and Aram.

The Hurrians finally filtered into Palestine by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Na'aman argues that the Middle Bronze Age ended when northerners (the Hurrians) advanced southward through the Beqa and Jordan Valleys. Conversely, Hess questions whether the northern

cultural presence found in the Late Bronze Age can be used to explain the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Regardless, Hurrian influence in the southern Levant is based on the conflicts that Thutmose III had with the kingdom of Mittani. The Hurrians are known in the Bible as the Horites (Gen 36:2–3); they may also be associated with the Hivites (Exod 23:23; Judges 3:3) and the Jebusites (Exod 23:23; Josh 15:63). While the theory of Hurrian origin for the HYKSOS dynasty in Egypt (17th century B.C.E.) has been refuted, it is possible that Hyksos infiltration in Egypt was a result of Hurrian expansion in Palestine.

See also FERTILE CRESCENT.

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Hyksos

The Hyksos were foreign rulers of Egypt who seized power and ruled Lower (northern) Egypt. Contradictory dates and king lists, as well as gaps in the records, render their history elusive, but the Hyksos were most likely Palestinian. The combined efforts of Egyptian kings Seqenenre, Kamose, and Ahmose and their mothers forced out the last Hyksos ruler, Apepi, around 1530 B.C.E.

The Second Intermediate Period is the label given to the years of Hyksos power. At the end of the Middle Period of Egyptian history the breakdown of centralized authority and fragmentation of administrative control led to the neglect of Egypt's borders. Areas may have fallen to the kingdom of KUSH or to NUBIA, and the eastern border also brought invaders. Immigrants called Aamu (usually translated as Asiatic) may have been entering for years, settling in the Nile Valley and assimilating into local villages. About 1650 B.C.E. a group of foreign chieftains with Semitic names took control of Egypt's Delta and ruled from Memphis. Possibly, they simply took over existing posts and pushed out the local administrators. Egyptians referred to these kings as *heka-kaswt* (or *hikkhase* or *hikau khausut*), meaning “rulers of foreign lands.” Greek historians shortened that phrase to Hyksos.

A major source of our knowledge of the Hyksos is the Jewish historian JOSEPHUS, who wrote in the first century C.E. Josephus quoted the Egyptian priest Manetho, whose book of Egyptian history—now lost—was composed around 270 B.C.E., 1,300 years after the Sec-

ond Intermediate Period. According to Josephus, the Hyksos came from the east and seized power without striking a blow, and then destroyed temples and cities and enslaved or killed the inhabitants. Their appointed king was Salitis; Bnon and then Apachman succeeded him. Josephus listed six Hyksos kings, and their reigns averaged 43 years each.

Sextus Julius Africanus, who wrote in the third century C.E., also quoted Manetho. He listed six Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty, whose reigns totaled 284 years, followed by 518 years given to the Sixteenth Dynasty, also Hyksos. The Seventeenth Dynasty combined Hyksos and Theban kings, who ruled a total of 151 years. Other king lists are equally confusing and the dates unreliable, but most scholars accept that during these dynasties, kings ruled simultaneously in different parts of Egypt.

The numbers are difficult to reconcile, but historians believe that the Hyksos rulers never tried to unseat the Egyptian kings in Upper Egypt. There, the Thirteenth Dynasty of Egyptian kings continued, probably paying taxes to the Hyksos. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties were Egyptian and centered in THEBES. Concurrently, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties of Hyksos kings ruled from either Memphis or Avaris in the northeast Nile Delta.

The Hyksos may have brought unique weapons with them and possibly introduced horses, chariots, the vertical loom, the lyre, and other innovations to Egypt, but overall they adopted Egyptian ways and culture. The greatest Hyksos king, Apepi, employed many scribes during his long reign; their work indicated just how Egyptian the Hyksos had become. Apepi waged war with the Theban king Seqenenre Taa of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Seqenenre was killed in battle; his mummy has been identified and is riddled with brutal blows. Seqenenre's nephew, Kamose, continued the fight, though he did not live long. Kamose's younger brother Ahmose is credited with finally removing the Hyksos and its last king Khamudi, and uniting Upper and Lower Egypt again. Stele praise the mother of Kamose and Ahmose, Ahhotpe, who guarded Egypt and expelled the rebels, and Seqenenre's mother Tetisheri is also given credit. The final conflict between Hyksos and Theban kings lasted for 30 years.

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imperial cult, Roman

From its foundation by AUGUSTUS CAESAR in 27 B.C.E., the Roman Empire saw a tendency to treat the emperor as a divine being. This phenomenon was neither completely government imposed nor entirely a spontaneous upwelling of devotion from the people of the empire. The divinization of the emperor was only partially reversed with the conversion of the empire to Christianity.

Augustus himself built on elements in the earlier rule of his uncle JULIUS CAESAR, who the Roman Senate declared a god posthumously with Augustus's influence. Like Julius, Augustus took the ancient title of *pontifex maximus*, chief priest of the Roman state, a title that subsequent emperors would also take as part of their office. This is consistent with Augustus's general practice of using titles either sanctioned by Roman tradition or relatively modest, such as *princeps*, or first citizen. Augustus's reign saw the foundation of temples of "Rome and Augustus" throughout the empire. More temples of Augustus survive than of any other emperor, including the only imperial temples found outside the boundaries of the empire. The cult paid to the living Augustus was more like that of heroes and benefactors than that of the actual gods and was particularly strong in the Greek East, where it built on Greek and Near Eastern traditions of ruler cults. However, after his death in 14 C.E. the Roman Senate enrolled *divus* Augustus, divine Augustus, among the gods of the Roman state (following the precedent of Julius). There is also evidence for cults of other members of his family.

Augustus's successor, Tiberius, encouraged his cult, sponsoring an official priesthood, although he himself declined divine honors when proffered. He and all subsequent emperors also took the names Caesar Augustus. The third emperor of the Julio-Claudian line, Gaius, or Caligula, contrasted with Tiberius in his lust for divine honors. A lust to be paid divine honors while still alive became a stereotypical quality of "bad" emperors in the writings of Roman historians.

Enrollment of a dead emperor among the gods of Rome was an official act of the Senate and as such was a political statement about the merits of the dead emperor. If a new emperor wanted to emphasize continuity, having the Senate declare his predecessor divine was an effective means. If a new emperor wanted to emphasize a sharp break with the past, leaving the dead emperor undeified helped send that message. After the death of the emperor Claudius—the conqueror of Britain—a magnificent temple, the largest on the island, was begun at Colchester dedicated to the divine emperor. It was later destroyed by British rebels, led by BOUDICCA.

The cult played a key role in Roman persecution of Christians, who were urged to perform a sacrifice to the emperor to avoid punishment. The most thorough persecution of the Christians, perpetrated by the emperor DIOCLETIAN, was part of an attempt to strengthen the imperial cult as a way of unifying the empire. Jews were usually exempt from this requirement on the condition that they prayed to their god for the emperor. Diocletian also reformed the protocol surrounding the emperor to make himself more remote from ordinary people, and



Ruins of the temple of Augustus Caesar remain in Ankara, Turkey. More temples of Augustus survive than of any other emperor.

abandoned traditional titles like *princeps* in favor of the more arrogant *Dominus Noster*, or “Our Lord.” Historians dispute whether the imperial cult was purely political, or whether the feelings it evoked were religious like those of the gods and heroes. Although the imperial cult varied tremendously between regions, there is some evidence that it was integrated into local religious life. Local associations could choose emperors or members of the imperial family as their divine patrons.

After the conversion of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT to Christianity, the emperor abandoned his pagan religious role and took on a new one as protector and arbiter of the Christian Church. The abandonment of the imperial cult was a slow process; the Christian emperors continued to use the title *pontifex maximus* until Gratian renounced it as part of a campaign against the pagan high aristocracy of the city of Rome. There are also some signs of the persistence of imperial priesthoods in the fourth century C.E. under Christian emperors. The emperors themselves were not ordinary Christians but retained an exalted and sacred status. The peculiar religious position of the Byzantine emperors, whose titles included *isapostolon*, or “equal of the apostles,” was partially an inheritance from the pagan Roman imperial cult.

See also JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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Indo-Europeans

Indo-Europeans are representatives of a language family now widely distributed all over the world, with primary concentration in Europe, the Middle East, and northern Asia. Sir William Jones, who emphasized the similarity of SANSKRIT, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and the German language, introduced the term *Indo-European* in 1786. Primarily this term was used to mark the similarity detected in the languages of a major part of the population of Europe, Iran, and India. From the 18th to 19th centuries the focus of such studies was shifted to the detection of similarities in German and other languages, which is why in 1823 I. Kapport introduced the term *Indo-German*. This was quickly replaced by the term proposed by Max Muller, *Arian* (Aryan). Since the second half of the 20th century the term *Indo-European* has replaced other versions.

CONTEMPORARY INDO-EUROPEANS

The Indo-European family of languages in its contemporary understanding was designed in 1863 by August Schleicher as a peculiar genealogical tree, which reflects its wide distribution and its process of inner development and disintegration into dialects and new languages. This scheme is based on the assumption that common Indo-European prelanguage was distributed first only in a restricted area, and in the course of time its transmitters settled all over Eurasia (in modern times also in America, Africa, and Australia) disseminating their language and culture.

Many contemporary linguists distinguish 10 branches in the Indo-European family of languages: Indo-Iranian, Slavonic and Baltic, Armenian, Anatolian, Albanian, Tokharian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Hellenic. Every one of the aforementioned branches unites modern as well as “dead,” or extinct, languages used in the remote past by collectives known only by remnants of their artifacts and/or written sources, such as Sanskrit, Latin, Old Greek, Venetic, Old Persian, Lyd-

ian, and Mycenaean. Main branches of Indo-European languages are distributed unevenly in the contemporary world and sometimes could be subdivided into groups and subgroups with different numbers of languages.

INDO-EUROPEAN HOMELAND IDENTIFICATION

Searches for the place and time of origin of Indo-Europeans have been based on the assumption that linguistic and cultural similarity of the Indo-European family of languages is provoked by their connection with a common ancestor that lived in the remote past. Contemporary archaeology, cultural and physical anthropology, linguistics, and other neighboring sciences provide a wide variety of ideas and hypotheses, which can be divided into two groups: One tends to see common Indo-European ancestors as early agriculturists living mainly by land cultivation, while the second searches for the earliest Indo-Europeans among the nomadic population economy and mode of life based on cattle breeding and the exploration of domestic horses and wheeled vehicles.

Since the late 1960s new insights into the Indo-Europeans' ancient homeland imply the convergent development of a series of neighboring language transmitters, which practiced mutual borrowing of terminology connected with the main field of their livelihood and subsistence (the so-called surge model). Another contemporary tendency of Indo-European homeland research tries to integrate a genealogical tree model with a theory of regional development of Indo-European languages. The latest developments are based on archaeological data.

EARLY INDO-EUROPEANS AS NOMADS

V. G. Childe put forward the North Black Sea hypothesis of an Indo-European homeland in the mid-20th century. In spite of an apparent difference of backgrounds and arguments, this hypothesis was illustrated with data from Neolithic settlements of the region, implying identification of early Indo-Europeans as the first nomads. This may be the only reasonable explanation of the rapidity and scale of pre-Indo-Europeans' dissemination over the Eurasian steppe and forest-steppe region.

Valentin Danilenko also regarded nomadic impact (connected with the Serebnyy Stig culture of the Lower Dniپر region) as a crucial factor for Indo-Europeans' spread to inner territories of Europe and the diversification of Indo-Europeans into several branches. In Ukraine Yuriy Rassamakin has also studied this, localizing a probable homeland for Indo-Europeans in

the steppe zone between the Don and Danube Rivers. He identifies creators of Serebnyy Stig culture as early Indo-Europeans, who conducted progressive forms of a cattle-breeding economy of pastoralist genre and lived in a neighborhood with non-Indo-Europeans. Many representatives of Soviet archaeology (Alexander Bryusov, Viktor Gening, Dmitry Telegin) regarded the Caucasus and the steppe landscapes of the northern Black Sea region as the most probable homeland of early Indo-European pastoralists.

Maria Gimbutas localized the Indo-European homeland in the Ural-Don steppes and tended to reference them with the so-called mound-grave culture circle, which includes different peoples with the only common feature in their funeral rites. She regarded Indo-Europeans as aggressive invaders whose attacks during the fifth millennium B.C.E. caused the destruction of prosperous agricultural centers in the Balkans, Asia Minor, central Europe, and Transcaucasia and, later, in the Aegean and Adriatic region. John Mallory proposed recently an original interpretation of the creators of the Pit-Grave (Yamnaya) culture as the earliest proto-Indo-Europeans. On the rich and extensive empirical (archaeological and linguistic) database he has illustrated movements of the Pit-Grave population to Siberia; the Near East; southeastern, central, and northern Europe; and other regions of Eurasia.

Most of the versions of nomadic interpretation of early Indo-Europeans are based on the assumption that dispersal of this population was relatively rapid and covered huge territories during a restricted period of time (fifth–third millenniums B.C.E.). It implies the development of effective transportation (such as horseback riding with the use of wheel carts for heavy items and belongings) and sparse settlement, with the highly developed funeral monuments that reflected complicated rites and customs. That is why traces of horse domestication, the origin of the wheel, and the construction of mound graves usually are regarded as the most reliable archaeological evidences of Indo-Europeans as nomadic.

INDO-EUROPEANS AS EARLY AGRICULTURISTS

Most of advocates of early Indo-Europeans as early agriculturists believe that the process of their formation should be viewed in a broad chronological frame beginning from the Mesolithic Period and transitioning to a productive economy. The spread is usually connected with the dispersion of farming skills, which implies the drawing of terminology and rites and customs, the sharing of the “oasis,” or monocentric, theory of a transition to land cultivation and cattle breeding,

and searches for the time and place of Indo-European origin in the origin of agriculture.

One of the most widespread in contemporary pre-history and archaeology understanding of pre-Indo-Europeans as early agriculturists was proposed in the late 1980s by Colin Renfrew. Localizing Indo-Europeans in central and eastern Anatolia as early as the middle of the eighth millennium B.C.E., he distinguishes 10 diffusions of Indo-Europeans to adjacent and relatively remote territories (including the Black Sea steppe region). Such diffusions were caused by the necessity to ensure facilities for an agricultural mode of life (first of all, land suitable for farming), which did not imply widespread human migrations: In Renfrew's understanding it was rather a gradual movement of individuals or their small family groups (approximately 1.6 miles per year), which caused a series of local hunter-gatherers to adapt to an agricultural mode of life. Soviet researcher Igor Diakonov, who localized the Indo-Europeans' homeland in the Balkan and Carpathian regions, also indicated that their ancestors could have come from Asia Minor with their domesticated animals and plants. He dated this process at 5000–4000 B.C.E.

Russian archaeologist Gerald Matyushin believed that the only common Indo-European traits that could be traced and proved archaeologically are microlithic industry and the origin of a productive economy (land cultivation and cattle breeding). The earliest displays of both of these traits he localized in the Zagros Mountains and southern Caspian region, suggesting that agriculture distribution in Europe should be connected with the expansion and migration of Middle Eastern inhabitants to the north. European hunter-gatherers adopted agriculture together with appropriate rituals, rites, and spells, which were pronounced using the language of pioneers of land cultivation, ensuring the linguistic similarity of Indo-European peoples. His hypothesis is based on the mapping of microlithic technology, and the temporal and spatial distribution was later proved by the linguistic studies of T. Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav the Ivanov. They suggest that the ancestral home of Indo-Europeans was located in the region of Lake Van and Lake Urmia, from whence they moved to Middle Asia, the northern Caspian region, and the southern Urals.

One more version of the agriculturist interpretation of early Indo-Europeans is the hypothesis that their origin lay in central Europe on the territory between the Rein, Visla, and Upper Danube. It was based on the correlation of Indo-European hydronymy with the distribution of the population connected with linear pottery culture, funnel beaker culture, globular amphora cul-

ture, and corded ware culture. G. Kossina, E. Mayer, P. Bosch-Gimpera, and G. Devoto shared this idea, which was actively discussed during the first half of the 20th century, especially by the Nazis. This discussion resulted in identification of pre-Germans (or pre-Indo-Germans) with Aryans who were regarded as transmitters of the highest cultural achievements in ancient civilization. This conclusion was broadly used by fascist propagandists as a justification for the genocide of the non-Aryan population practiced in Europe during World War II.

SYNTHETIC, OR COMPROMISE, IDEAS

One of the earliest versions of a compromise was proposed in 1969 by Soviet archaeologist Vladimir Danilenko. He assumed that the roots of Indo-Europeans could be traced as early as 10,000–7000 B.C.E. on the border of Europe and Asia. By 5000 B.C.E., pre-Indo-Europeans (the population of Bug-Dnister, Sursko-Dniper, and linear pottery cultures) moved to the northwestern Black Sea region. He supposes the presence of at least two dialect zones in the pre-Indo-European homeland at that time: the western agricultural and eastern nomadic. Higher activity of the latter during the Neolithic had caused further disintegration of this dialectic unity and the relatively rapid spread of Indo-Europeans into the inner territories of Europe under the influence of the nomadic culture of Serebny Stig. According to Danilenko, several branches of Indo-Europeans could already be traced at that time, among them the Tokharians (pit-grave culture), Indo-Iranians (Usatovo, Kemi-Oba, Lowe Mykhailivka cultures), proto-Thrakians, and proto-Daco-Mezians (representatives of the agricultural zone, including the Trypillie phenomenon).

Russian researcher Viktor Safonov proposed an original version of the history of the Indo-Europeans, which he divided into four periods, each with a particular homeland: 1) boreal period (pre-9000 B.C.E.) with no apparent traces of Indo-European separation from other languages; 2) period of early Indo-European language (8000–6000 B.C.E.) with the homeland in the western and central part of southern Anatolia (Chatal-Hujuk culture); 3) period of middle Indo-European language (6000–5000 B.C.E.) with the homeland Danubian region (Vinch culture); and 4) period of late Indo-European language (5000–3000 B.C.E.) during seven stages of which the final version of Indo-European homeland was shaped in the course of Lengyel and funnel beaker cultures dispersion. During the first half of the third millennium B.C.E. he tracked disintegration of Indo-European language unity into different language branches with relatively independent and self-sufficient histories.

Mikhail Andreev, who used “linguistic paleontology” based on studies of F. de Saussure, proposed a similar version of Indo-European language development. In his version three global stages of Indo-European language formation are distinguished: boreal, in the Late Paleolithic; early Indo-European, in the Mesolithic; and late Indo-European. He traces the primary homeland of Indo-Europeans to the vast spaces of Eurasia along the 50th parallel from the Rein River on the west to Altay on the east.

Other trends in the conceptualization of the Indo-Europeans’ homeland are connected with further development of needs to abandon the search for a narrow and strictly outlined territory where the earliest displays of Indo-European language and culture could be traced. Many linguists (Oleg Trubachev, Lev Gindin) as well as many archaeologists (Nikolay Merpert, Evgeniy Chernykh) believe in the possibility of the divergent and convergent development of languages, which does not necessarily imply the existence of any Indo-European prelanguage.

Following the ideas of Nikolay Trubetskoy, Pizani, and others, the roots of contemporary Indo-European languages should be found in the environment of deeply interconnected dialects of the Neolithic—the Bronze Age, which gave birth to the primary Indo-European languages such as Greek, Sanskrit, Latin, and Celtic. In this sense all attempts to identify first Indo-Europeans with any archaeological data are regarded as useless and contradicting with the basic principles of historical reconstruction.

Contemporary studies in the field of Indo-Europeans’ homeland are concerned mainly with the Neolithic population of the European steppe region and imply that the homogeneity of the early pre-Indo-European family of languages was destroyed during the fourth millennium B.C.E.

See also ANDES: NEOLITHIC; NEOLITHIC AGE.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

Indus civilization

The Indus civilization is also called the Indus empire or Harappan civilization; the last name derives from Harappa, the first site of this civilization excavated by modern archaeologists. Many similarities and striking homogeneity through the region warrant classifying the entire culture under one name. Its dates are approximately 2500–1500 B.C.E. The discovery and scientific excavation of Indus sites backdated the beginning of the Indian civilization by at least 1,000 years.

Neolithic people began to build communities along the Indus Valley in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent around 5,000 years ago. Archaeological excavations began in 1921 under the direction of Sir John Marshall on the bank of the Ravi River (a tributary of the Indus) in Sind Province, where railway builders had discovered huge quantities of old fired bricks. They led to the discovery of an ancient city called Harappa that gave its name to the entire civilization.

In 1923 another expedition began to excavate a site called MOHENJO-DARO (meaning “mound of the dead”) on the banks of the Indus 400 miles from Harappa, uncovering another major find. Since that time more than 1,000 sites covering approximately 300,000 sq. miles have been investigated. They include not only the area around the Indus and its tributaries but also northwestern India to Kashmir, the entire Arabian Sea shore including a large seaport called Lothal (which also means “mound of the dead” in the modern language of the region), and as far as Delhi to the east.

Despite advanced agriculture and the use of draft animals to plow the land, the Indus was an urban and commercial culture. It is estimated that 35,000 people lived in Harappa. The towns had many characteristics in common: a central citadel on a mound surrounded by a brick wall, with a planned city located below, whose streets were laid out in a grid pattern oriented to the points of the compass. The cities were further divided into areas for stores, workshops, and residences. Working-class dwellings were two-roomed, whereas affluent houses were two-storied centered around a courtyard, with flush toilets and individual wells. The streets had covered sewers, sentry boxes, and public wells on street corners.

Lothal was excavated in 1954. Its specialty was bead manufacturing; a large factory measuring 5,380 sq. feet has been found that used locally produced and imported raw materials to make many sizes of beads for jewelry. The modern town near Lothal is still famous for producing beads for jewelry. It was also a

shipping center with docks and an extensive breakwater. Trade was important for the prosperity of Indus cities. Sumerian and Akkadian CUNEIFORM tablets dating to between 2400 and 2000 B.C.E. mention a place called Dilmun or Telmun in the east that may have been the Indus region. Indus artisans practiced many crafts: pottery made on wheels, cotton cloths, bronze and copper weapons and tools, and artistic and utilitarian objects made from ivories, various stones, gold, and silver.

Thousands of small, square, and round seals made from steatite have been found throughout the region. Each one has engraved on one surface several characters of pictographic writing together with engravings of animals, plants, or deity-like figures. Almost 400 separate pictographs have been identified, but not deciphered, and even if they were, each inscription is too short to provide much information. The seals were likely used for sealing merchandise, and the words were probably the names of the merchants. No other examples of Indus writing have survived.

Without a deciphered written script, the Indus civilization is classified as prehistoric. Thus, modern people can only make guesses about many things that concern the Indus civilization. They may have been united into some sort of an empire, as evinced by the uniform size of the bricks used throughout the region. Since there were no signs of palaces or royal burial sites, the Indus people were probably not ruled by monarchs. Perhaps a college of priests ruled and used the great baths and assembly halls for religious and government ceremonies.

Ritual baths associated with temples were characteristic of Hinduism in later India. Some seals depict a godlike figure with a horned headdress and sitting cross-legged. Some experts speculate that those images could be early images of the later Hindu god Shiva. Aside from a statue of a deity-like figure and what seem to be female fertility figurines, there are no indications of worship. However, in cemeteries the dead were buried facing the same direction, with artifacts, presumably to use in the next world.

Because of the lack of written records the reasons for the end of the Indus civilization are unclear. What is clear is the decline during its last centuries. One cause of decline was extensive floods, probably caused by widespread deforestation and overgrazing. Forests were chopped down to provide fuel for firing the billions of bricks used in construction. Denuded land was susceptible to flooding by monsoon rains, which deprived the land of top soil and silted up riv-

ers, raising the river beds and causing floods when rains brought down large quantities of water. Flooding was exacerbated by geological changes during the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., which lifted up the coastline of the northern shores of the Arabian Sea. As a result, the Indus waters could not reach the sea and formed shallow lakes.

These changes must have shattered the lives of farmers in the low-lying areas and ruined trade along the coast, which may explain the disappearance of the seals during the last years of the civilization. Flooding also explains the embankments and layers of silt found around Mohenjo-Daro. In time the floodwaters spilled over the barriers, and the river returned to its course to sea. The process was repeated several times, which must have worn out the people and wrecked the economy, evident by the poorer quality housing and falling civic standards in the last layer of Mohenjo-Daro.

Around 1900 B.C.E. the Indus River changed course and a parallel river, the Saravasti, dried up entirely. The walls and fortifications at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa also show massive reinforcements during their last phase. The skeletons found scattered helter-skelter at a couple of locations indicate catastrophe, whether human-made or natural. Harappa and other settlements that had not suffered from previous decline were suddenly abandoned. The last layer of materials excavated from Harappa show poorer quality pottery ware and the cremation of the dead rather than burial, as practiced earlier.

The last layer of habitation at another Indus city called Chanhudaro showed fireplaces and chimneys in the houses, a novelty in the Indus Valley, perhaps indicating the culture of newcomers from colder lands. Beginning around 2000 B.C.E. and for unknown reasons, Indo-European-speaking, seminomadic people from the Eurasian plains began to move from their homelands in a quest for new homes. One group calling themselves Aryans would move through the mountain passes of modern Afghanistan to the Indus Valley to settle in India. By c. 1500 B.C.E. the Indus civilization had perished and the Aryan age had begun.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; SUMER; VEDIC AGE.

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Israel and Judah

From the beginning the Jewish scriptures focus on the PATRIARCHS Abraham, Isaac (Ishmael), Jacob, and Joseph. The reason for this attention is that from them came the “covenant,” the divine choice that favors the people of the Bible. Abraham was promised the land of Canaan (present-day Israel). His grandson was named Jacob but after a divine encounter was renamed “Israel.” From this patriarch came 12 sons, which became the line of the tribes that dominate the rest of the Bible. Corporately the tribes are known as Israel, named after their forefather.

SAUL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON

The time of the Patriarchs likely occurred in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The earliest mention of Israel comes from the Merneptah Stela of c. 1200 B.C.E. in Egypt. The stela simply states: “Israel has perished; its seed is no more.” As for the tribes’ existence and the traditions surrounding them, the historical record is totally silent. Their way of life as described in the Bible is consistent with what can be hypothesized from the scanty archaeological record. These tribes first are migratory and go down to Egypt during a time of famine. From there MOSES leads them back to the brink of the land where Abraham had lived. Once they enter the land, it is clear that they lack political cohesion and stability, for charismatic heroes known as JUDGES are

required to take charge periodically and give military deliverance to the tribes. Finally, the tribes unite to select several kings, at first SAUL and then DAVID and his son SOLOMON.

The separate identity of Israel and Judah probably began to take shape in the time of the Judges. Israel referred to the land of Ephraim of the northern hill country, where the other tribes deferred to Ephraim as the largest and most powerful. This confederation of the northern tribes then came together to choose the first king, Saul, and the few southern tribes probably gave limited support.

When Saul died, the southern tribes rallied around David, a representative from the southern confederation from the tribe of Judah. David then sought to bring the northern tribes into the alliance by choosing as his capital city, Jerusalem, “the City of David,” outside the north or south, a foreign stronghold. In spite of this, resentments were still rampant in the north, and regional rebellions broke out. When Solomon died, even the Bible could not repress a negative view of the heavy taxes that were imposed on the north to pay for David and Solomon’s public works.

JEROBOAM, REHOBOAM, AND AHAB

The net effect of this tension was that the northern 10 tribes seceded from the southern two tribes as soon as Solomon died. Jeroboam, who had earlier led an



Ancient Jerusalem is pictured in 65 C.E. in this lithograph from 1887. David sought to bring the northern tribes into his alliance by choosing Jerusalem, or “the City of David,” as his capital city.

unsuccessful insurrection against Solomon, led them. Meanwhile, crown prince Rehoboam led the south and is portrayed as a stubborn and haughty king. The split, however, left both sides vulnerable to popular discontent and external threats. Whatever prestige they had from the “empire” of David and Solomon was lost when they often clashed with each other on the battlefield.

Israel, though bigger, was weak until the time of Omri, who was succeeded by his capable son and daughter-in-law, AHAB and JEZEBEL. They established their capital city of Samaria, and the country boomed under their leadership. The archaeological records tend to confirm this judgment. Judah continued to decline, although the interpretation of the Jewish scriptures is that it was more legitimate because it was the home of David and the location of the Temple and Jerusalem. Meanwhile, prophetic criticism mounted against Israel because of its idolatrous worship, its persecution of true religion, and its wealth disparities. Three recently discovered stela (Mesha Stela in Moab, Tel Dan Stela, and Shalmaneser III Stela) all confirm the involvement of Israel with foreign powers, including Moab, DAMASCUS, and ASSYRIA during the reign of Ahab.

Ahab and Jezebel also had to contend with external opposition, and eventually they succumbed to the Assyrians. Their ruler Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) was especially interested in the wealth of Israel, and the alliance Israel had made with the ARAMAEANS proved feeble in the face of the invaders. The cruel Assyrians not only took all the people of the north into captivity, but they erased their culture from history. Thereafter, the northerners were never heard from again and came to be called “the lost tribes of Israel.” A small remnant today claims to be offspring of the northern Israelites, the Samaritans, who live near Nablus on the Palestinian West Bank.

UNIFIED ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Judah meanwhile was rarely mentioned in the early books of the Bible but came into its own with its dashing king David and enigmatic successor Solomon. When Jereboam rebelled against Rehoboam, the land of Judah was all that Rehoboam had left of his father’s expanse. Such a small area at first came to be dominated by Egypt. After 40 years of bloody clashes with Israel, finally a truce brought the two fraternal kingdoms together. Royal intermarriages even brought them into an alliance. According to the Jewish scriptures, Israel also brought its corruptions to Judah, as well as its hapless allies, the Aramaeans.

The reunion of Israel and Judah definitely was too little and too late to do anything about the invading Assyrian forces that swallowed up the north and nearly

did the same in the south. At first the Assyrians simply turned Judah into a client state. Then their general Sennacherib challenged King HEZEKIAH to surrender. The Bible reports that a divine intervention turned back the invaders before they could overrun the walls of Jerusalem. None of this can be substantiated, though it is true that Judah was the only relatively independent state to escape Assyrian hands in the eighth century B.C.E.

FOREIGN RULE OF BABYLONIANS AND ROME

JOSIAH (c. 648–609 B.C.E.) then tried to expand Judah’s sphere of influence, but the Egyptian PHARAOH came to Assyria’s help and killed him. With Josiah’s death the vision of restoring the throne and territory of David and Solomon also came to an end. Even though the Assyrians were finally put down at the Battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.E.), a new conqueror, NEBUCHADNEZZAR II of Babylon, now completed what Sennacherib failed to do. He marched on Jerusalem and deported its citizens in 597 B.C.E. and then in 587 B.C.E. sacked the city.

Judah languished in Babylon for several generations. Even when many returned around 525 B.C.E., they did not have political sovereignty again until the time of the MACCABEES. This family claimed to be heirs of the Judean kingdom and successfully rebelled against the Hellenized SELEUCIDS around 164 B.C.E. They were able to maintain independence until POMPEY established Roman dominance 100 years later. When the insurrectionist Bar Kokhba tried to expel the Romans in 132 C.E., he seems to have laid claim to the same vision of Judah. The PROPHETS of the Bible all along had prophesied that the “lost tribes” would one day return. Theologically, many later groups laid claim to a spiritualized Israel as a religious concept, latching on to the prophetic vision. Groups as diverse as the QUMRAN community, the apocalyptic Jews of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA, EARLY CHRISTIANITY, and the EARLY JUDAISM of the rabbis all took stock in the idea of Israel, meaning the unity of the northern and southern kingdoms.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; DIADOCHI (SUCCESSORS); JEWISH REVOLTS.

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Jainism

Jainism is one of the world's great religions. It was started in India during the AXIAL AGE by the religious reformer Nataputta VARDHAMANA MAHAVIRA. Like GAUTAMA BUDDHA, with whom he was a contemporary, he was from a noble warrior family and also rejected the VEDAS and the formalism of Vedic religion. He is often mentioned in Buddhist scriptures by the name of Nigantha Nataputta (the naked ascetic of the clan of Jnatrikas). Nataputta Vardhamana was a son of Siddhartha, a chief of the warrior clan of the Jnatrikas. His mother, Trishala, was the sister of Chetaka, the chief of the Licchavis tribe.

Vardhamana was reared in aristocratic luxury; however, in his youth he wanted to join a band of ascetic monks who lived in a park just outside of town. The monks were followers of Parshva, who had lived several hundred years before as an ascetic preacher. Because of filial duties Vardhamana did not take up the ascetic life until after the death of his parents. Vardhamana was carried in an expensive litter to the park where the band of monks dwelled. When he arrived he was wearing gold ornaments and finery. He threw them off, pulled out his hair, and took the vow to live a life of complete detachment to the world.

Following an extremely severe ascetic practice Vardhamana rejected all shelter from the elements. He sought to avoid sleep, went unclothed and uncleaned, and avoided human society. He was on several occasions abused by angry villagers who interpreted his silence

as insolence. After 12 years of rigorous ascetic practice (*tapas*) Vardhamana experienced liberation from karma. Jain sources say that in deep meditation he reached nirvana and became a completed soul (the complete and full, best knowledge and intuition called *kevala*).

Thus he became Jina (Conqueror), Mahavira (Great Hero), and the 24th Tirthankara (Ford-finder). These titles are the ones by which his followers have named him ever since. After Mahavira's liberating experience he set out on a 30-year teaching career, proclaiming the way of ascetic detachment as the path of salvation. He organized a band of disciplined, naked monks and sent them forth to teach the way of liberation. He died by self-starvation at age 72 (c. 468 B.C.E.) in Pava, a village near Patna, where Jains come each year on pilgrimages or during festivals. The Jains believe that Mahavira is now in a state of bliss (*isatpragbhara*).

In the first century after Mahavira's death the Jains grew slowly. Their chief rivals were the Ajivikas. Their growth began in the period of the MAURYAN EMPIRE. The first Maurya emperor, Chandragupta (c. 317–293 B.C.E.) supported the Jains and eventually became a Jain monk. About this time there was a schism in the Jain movements. Since the death of Mahavira, "pontiffs" called Ganadharas (supporters of the communities) led them. The 11th ganadhara, a monk called Bhadrabahu, anticipating a famine in northern India, led a group of followers into southern India. Many monks refused to follow him south. Those remaining behind were led by a teacher named Sthulabhadra. When the famine ended, the monks who had returned from the south discovered

that the Jains who had remained in the north had adopted a number of questionable practices, the most heterodox of which was the wearing of white robes. To complicate matters the only person still living who knew perfectly the unwritten sacred texts of Jainism was Bhadrabahu.

To deal with the controversial religious practices Sthulabhadra called a council of monks; however, Bhadrabahu did not attend. Eventually he moved to Nepal because of his horror and disgust at the “corruptions” that had entered the Jain community. In the end the Jain canon was written from the defective memory of Sthulabhadra and other leading monks as the *Anga* (Limbs). The Jain community then separated into two sects. The Shvetambaras were the “White-Clad” monks who wore white robes. The Digambaras were the “Sky-Clad,” or naked, monks. Despite these outward differences Jain doctrine remained basically the same for both groups.

The Digambaras sect is usually found in warm south India. Their practice of Jain nudity proclaims a break with human bondage to the world. The Jain canon of scripture differs between the Shvetambaras and Digambaras. In addition to the canonical writings there is a considerable body of devotional or inspiration literature. These writings are considered as sacred scripture but are cherished for their pious themes. During the time of the Middle Ages the Jain faithful produced an enormous body of non-canonical sacred literature known as the Puranas (Legends), which were modeled after Hindu forms. The Puranas tell long stories of the 24 Tirthankaras and other Jains who lived meritorious lives. In addition, Jain scholars produced works on mathematics, poetics, politics, and other subjects. The corpus of Jain-cherished works was produced in several Indian vernaculars besides SANSKRIT. After the arrival of the British some Jain works were produced in English.

The Sthanakvais sect of Jainism formed in the 1700s. Sthanakvais oppose all temples and rituals. They claim that worship can be done anywhere simply with inward meditation. The core of Jain doctrine is the teaching that every living thing is an eternal soul (*jiva*) that has become trapped by matter in a physical body by involvement in worldly activities. Salvation can be found by freeing the soul from matter so that it can return to its original pristine state. The Jains believe that each *jiva* is reincarnated in many bodies before it is finally freed. After being freed, it exists eternally in a state of perfect knowledge and bliss. The doctrine of ahimsa (nonviolence, or respect for life) teaches Jains that all life is sacred. To avoid harming any living creature, even the smallest insect, Jains avoid agricultural work and related activities. Ahimsa teaches

Jains to be strict vegetarians. The Jain doctrine of ahimsa has influenced many people, including Mohandas Gandhi. They will also strain drinking water through a piece of cloth to avoid swallowing living things. Death by starvation is the ultimate of Jain practice as the way to cross the ford to bliss.

Scholars have noted that the Jain views on the soul are close to the early Sankhya school of HINDU PHILOSOPHY. Jains do not believe in a supreme God, in gods nor in goddesses, rather they believe in the divinity dwelling in each soul. But they do believe that there is a life after the escape from karma. This means they appear to practice an atheistic religion but actually venerate the Supreme Spirit in liberated souls. When released from the cycle of karmic rebirths, the soul enters a state of bliss in *lokapurusha*.

See also INDUS CIVILIZATION; SAKYAS.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Jerome

(c. 347–c. 419 C.E.) scholar

Jerome was a scripture scholar, translator, ascetic, spiritual adviser, church father, and Doctor of the Church. Jerome was born Eusebius Hieronymus into a prosperous Christian family at Stridon in Dalmatia. At age 12 he was sent to Rome to study the liberal arts under the famed grammarian Aelius Donatus. After about

six years of education, around 366 C.E., Jerome was baptized at age 19. In his 20th year Jerome continued his studies at Treves (Trier, Germany), where he was introduced to MONASTICISM. From here he journeyed around 370 to Aquileia, where he joined a group of ascetics, including Rufinus and Chromatius, under Bishop Valerian. Several years later Jerome set out for the East, staying first at Antioch, where he mastered Greek and began his lifelong study of the Bible. He lived for several years (c. 375–377) as a hermit in the desert region of Chalcis in Syria, where he also began studying Hebrew. Back at Antioch, Jerome was ordained a priest (with no pastoral jurisdiction) by Bishop Paulinus in 379 and was introduced to biblical interpretation through the lectures of Apollinaris of Laodicea.

Jerome traveled with Bishop Paulinus to the Second Ecumenical Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 381, where he met the Cappadocian theologians Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. He then accompanied Paulinus to Rome, where from 382 to 385 he served as secretary to Pope Damasus and became the spiritual counselor of a group of Roman noblewomen, including Paula and her daughter Eustochium. During this period Jerome translated Greek patristic texts, particularly those of ORIGEN, and began work on a new Latin translation of the Bible. After the death of Damasus in December 384 and the election of Siricius as bishop of Rome, Jerome departed for the East with Paula and others. They eventually settled in Bethlehem in 386, where they founded a double monastery of men and women. Jerome spent the remainder of his life here, devoting himself to scripture study, translating, and writing.

Jerome's voluminous writings fall into four broad categories, namely, translations and studies of the Bible, polemical treatises, historical works, and letters. Translations and studies of the Bible represent Jerome's most significant and influential writings. He is known primarily for his new Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, which became the accepted text in the Latin West during the Middle Ages. Jerome's work on the Vulgate began, at the request of Pope Damasus, with a revised version of the Gospels based on Old Latin and Greek texts. He began working on the Old Testament by revising the Old Latin based on the Septuagint (that is, the Greek translation of the Old Testament produced by Jewish scholars and used in the early church).

His increasing familiarity with the original Hebrew, however, led him to doubt the accuracy of the Septuagint and convinced him of the necessity of basing his new translation entirely on what he called *veritas Hebraica*, or "Hebrew truth." Although Jerome himself was

not able to produce a fresh translation of every biblical book, his associates and other scholars after him completed this massive project. In addition to translation, Jerome was also interested in biblical interpretation. In this vein he wrote commentaries on many biblical books (including all of the minor and major PROPHETS), and composed and delivered a series of homilies for the religious community at Bethlehem (based mainly on the PSALMS and Gospels).

Polemical treatises constitute the second major category of Jerome's writings. These works, often teeming with bitter and abusive invective, were intended either to combat various HERESIES or to defend himself against the charge of heresy. Jerome's work in this area grew out of his profound faith in the Catholic Church and its apostolic authority, on the one hand, and his firm conviction that heresy is destructive to Christian unity, on the other. In treatises against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and the Pelagians, Jerome defended the perpetual virginity of Mary, the virgin birth of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, the superiority of celibacy over marriage, prayer to the saints, devotion to the relics of martyrs and saints, original sin, and the necessity of infant baptism.

The third category of Jerome's writings is historical works. Jerome either translated or composed several historical treatises related to his study of the biblical text. First, around 380 he translated the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, adding to its contents and carrying it forward to his own day. About a decade later Jerome translated and revised Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, an inventory of biblical places, and produced a dictionary of biblical proper names. Around 392 Jerome published his work *On Famous Men*, a historical survey of the lives and writings of 135 authors (mostly Christian) from St. Peter to himself. Jerome also wrote a *Book of Hebrew Questions* (a linguistic, historical, and geographical discussion of Genesis) and several "lives" of ascetics.

Finally, Jerome wrote more than 150 letters that we know of relating to biblical interpretation, monasticism, the clergy, virgins, widows, and his own translation practices. In an important correspondence with AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO between 394 and 419, the two churchmen vigorously discussed the authority of the Septuagint and Jerome's translation from the Hebrew.

Jerome's Vulgate, his scriptural commentaries, and his translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle* made him a major bridge figure in the transition to the European Middle Ages. His views on the monastic life, celibacy, Mary, and the cult of the saints became central to medieval Catholic piety. On account of his elegant Latin, his strong invective, and his vast knowledge, Jerome

became a favorite of Renaissance scholars. In 1516 Erasmus published the first successful critical biography of Jerome along with his edition of Jerome's works. He has been considered a Doctor of the Church since the eighth century, and the Council of Trent (16th century) described Jerome as "the greatest Doctor in explicating Sacred Scripture." His feast day is celebrated on September 30.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CAPPADOCIANS; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; PILGRIMAGE.

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FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth

(c. 4 B.C.E.–30 C.E.) *religious leader*

The independent evidence—apart from the New Testament—that Jesus actually lived falls into three categories: Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Jewish-Christian writings outside the Bible. Jewish evidence, surprisingly, is rather sparse. First of all, there are no contemporary archaeological or epigraphic remains that prove Jesus' existence. What research has found corroborates the background of the New Testament but does not confirm its hero. Second, there are two literary records—the TALMUD and JOSEPHUS—that speak about Jesus from a Jewish perspective, but both of these have been called into question.

JEWISH EVIDENCE

The Talmud speaks of Jesus in derogatory ways, but it is written centuries after his life and undoubtedly reflects a fiercely polemical perspective. The historian Josephus writes extensively about the Jews of his first-century C.E. generation, but only in one short passage does he mention Jesus. In the *Testimonium Flavianum* (Testimony of Flavius) Josephus assesses Jesus as nothing less than a prodigy. But as soon as he finishes his

statement, he never writes of Jesus again. Historians now believe that the paragraph is a total or partial interpolation, added by later scribes as it passed down through Christian monastic hands.

GRECO-ROMAN HISTORIES

Contemporary Greco-Roman evidence is also sparse, though there are brief and uncomprehending remarks by Tacitus and Suetonius about the reputation of one "Christus." The evidence, however, is enough to warrant that Jesus actually lived and was rather despised by the prevailing imperial authorities. There are ancient references to Jesus in religious writings outside of the New Testament. The main document that merits attention from historians is the Gospel of Thomas. The problem is that the date of Thomas cannot be ascertained. The date most often given is 100 C.E., and most likely it is much later since it was found among late Gnostic documents and seems either to use the Gospels of the New Testament or to counter their teachings. Certain parts of Thomas probably do have gospel-era or earlier origins.

It is understandable that there would be little external evidence about Jesus. He probably was an embarrassment to the Jews, who would not dignify him by reviving his memory. In fact, few Jewish writings survive at all during this period because of the Roman invasions. Certainly, this is the time when Jews would have been debating the claims of Jesus and his followers. The Romans would not have cared about Jesus, an obscure nuisance who neither founded cities nor led armies. Nonetheless, the fact that he is something of a footnote to accepted contemporary writers means that he lived.

One other fact outside the Bible supports his existence. The Christian movement spread like wildfire in spite of strong opposition, and a letter from 110 C.E. addressed to the emperor TRAJAN describes the tenacity of the Christian resolution to believe in Jesus. Many historians use such evidence to show that only a real person and a real event (like a resurrection from the dead) could have inspired the spreading of faith over such distances in such a short period of time. Otherwise, their testimonies show signs of a mass delusion on the scale of which is less believable than the religious explanation.

THE NEW TESTAMENT STORY

To understand the "real Jesus" the historian is left with the New Testament. Two warnings must be issued before taking up the Bible as an information book. First, the stories about Jesus are not to be taken as history or biography in the modern sense. The life of Jesus is

told in the Gospels, but this genre is meant to persuade the reader as well as to inform. In other words, the Gospels already have an interpretation based on faith when they report the “mere” facts. The second warning is that the Gospels represent in their final form at least three levels of information: first, there is an oral tradition that reports eye-witness accounts of Jesus’ life; second, there is the written account of the oral tradition; third, there is the final editing by the community of those who believe.

These two warnings serve to make the reader understand that it is impossible to separate out the Jesus of history from the Christ of faith. It drove some scholars to despair that any historical facts could be gleaned from the Bible concerning faith. One of the most influential figures of the 20th century, the German Rudolf Bultmann, believed only a courageous will to believe could justify biblical faith. His faith came perilously close to CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM). By a variety of historical tools, however, some basic facts can be ascertained. Moreover, other points can be received if the Bible reader is willing to accept that faith does not compromise the truth value of the information. Jesus’ identity can be broken down into the man Jesus was on earth, the mentor Jesus was in his ministry, and the message Jesus lived out and taught.

JESUS THE MAN

Jesus was born a Jew, the son of a Jewish woman, and observed Jewish customs. He lived in Galilee and Judaea, his childhood was inconspicuous, and the record about his early manhood is silent. Around the age of 30 he began his public life as an itinerant preacher. When he was on his own he attracted disciples and large crowds of curiosity seekers. His career was cut short when Jewish leaders arrested him, and then he was tried and condemned by the Roman governor Pontius Pilate as a criminal. Because he was accused of being an insurrectionist, he was given the capital punishment of crucifixion.

Jesus was the religious devotee of his first cousin named JOHN THE BAPTIST. He lived with John in the wilderness and was baptized by him in the Jordan River near Jericho. Apparently Jesus learned apocalyptic ideas from John and probably maintained some of his cousin’s practices, such as an austere lifestyle and baptism for his followers. When John was imprisoned, Jesus began his independent ministry.

JESUS THE MENTOR

The main proclamation of Jesus focused on the KINGDOM OF GOD. Jesus seemed to be extending this idea

as he learned and adapted it from his cousin John. The Kingdom of God was not a physical domain, but its power took hold whenever he spoke or acted authoritatively. The kingdom had both a present and future orientation. It seemed to be completed in the future, yet it was visible in the present through acts of power called miracles. The miracles demonstrated that Jesus was preaching a real kingdom, and they also attracted huge crowds. As Jesus did miracles, faith in him increased.

Several other messages emerged from the teaching of Jesus. First, Jesus distinguished himself from his main competitors, the PHARISEES, through his radical teachings on the need to love (even as far as one’s enemies) and through his radical discipleship demands (following Jesus even to one’s death). The closest disciples, called the apostles, formed a close-knit social unit that became the replacement for family and property. Second, Jesus did not urge the rejection of the Jewish law, or TORAH; if anything he strengthened its moral imperatives, while lessening its ceremonial aspects.

LIFE, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS

The followers of Jesus were so “converted” by the life of Jesus that they traveled far and wide with his message and risked their lives for its truthfulness. The presuppositions of the New Testament—probably at every level of its formulation based on the very early writings of the apostle PAUL—include the miracles and the resurrection of Jesus, and this was also the driving force for the spread of the Jesus movement. Such enthusiasm is



Although Jesus attracted many disciples, he was tried and condemned by the Roman governor Pontius Pilate as a criminal.

simply unthinkable without taking into account Jesus's resurrection after his ignominious death on a cross.

At first the followers of Jesus expressed the identity of Jesus in typically Jewish ways, that is, he was anointed messiah, authoritative lord, suffering servant, and "prophet like MOSES." The stature of Jesus grew over time and reflection, especially when the Christological controversies occurred in the third century C.E. and climaxed in the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. However, the supernatural element of the identity of Jesus had abundant fodder in the writings of the New Testament.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; APOSTLES, TWELVE; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SERVANT SONGS OF ISAIAH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Jewish revolts

JOSEPHUS best tells the first military struggle of the Jews against Rome in his *Jewish War* history, but a background history can be ascertained from the New Testament and the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA. Both sources tell of a fractured political and religious society, at first ruled by a local ruler (Herod) and then ruled by imperial agents of varying qualities (for example, Pontius Pilate was offensive to Jews). Taxes were high, and Romans tended to discriminate against non-Hellenized Jews. QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls testify to many sectarian divisions within the Jewish faith. Josephus speaks of public discontent taking the form of riots, banditry, and fanaticism.

When the war broke out under NERO's reign in 66 C.E., Jews at first were united and held the upper hand. Political intrigue at home kept the Romans from reasserting themselves for two years. The tide quickly turned with Vespasian, and later his son Titus, in charge of the Roman legions. The traditional date for the destruction of the Temple is a solemn fast day for observant Jews,

also the very date that the Romans burned the city and desecrated the Temple Mount 60 years later. Only the Western "wailing" Wall of the Temple was preserved. When Jews were driven out of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., they took refuge at Masada, a wilderness cliff fortress. There, after a long siege, all 1,100 holdouts recognized their certain fates and committed suicide.

After the failure of this revolt Jews found themselves without a temple, without clear religious leadership, and without a political and economic infrastructure. Their ruling council, the Sanhedrin, was disbanded; sacrifice and pilgrimage in the city of Jerusalem was eliminated or drastically reduced; and the Roman legionnaires were given the most valuable and sacred of the Jewish land. After a certain period of time even the historical record is silent.

Hostility against Romans must have simmered, however, because later historical records tell of a second uprising of Jews against Rome, beginning outside Palestine. Fighting first began in Mesopotamia and Judaea, but then open warfare broke out in Egypt, Cyprus, and Libya. The Roman emperor Trajan responded by dispatching his trusted and ruthless generals Martius Turbo and Lucius Quietus. Romans retaliated by slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout the troubled areas. The Great Synagogue of ALEXANDRIA, one of the wonders of the world, was razed. In Cyprus it is said that no Jew remained alive. The hated general Quietus was made governor of Judaea.

The next period of time was presided over by the emperor HADRIAN. The main Roman history comes from Dio Crassus, some 100 years later and incomplete, and from very late Jewish and Christian sources. Hadrian took a different tack than his predecessor Trajan. He dismissed Quietus as governor and executed him. He appointed two Jews as his liaisons and openly encouraged the redevelopment of the city of Jerusalem. According to the rabbis, the Romans gave permission for the rebuilding of the Temple.

Then Hadrian's conciliatory attitude toward the Jews changed. First, he proposed that the Jewish Temple should be built somewhere else than the Temple Mount. Then his daughter was murdered, and his Jewish liaisons bore the blame. Hadrian took strong measures against the Jews in rapid succession: He forbade outside Jews from returning to Palestine, forbade Jewish religious observances, and decided to erect a pagan temple where the Jewish Temple was. Intense negative reaction laid the conditions for the third revolt.

Only the Jews and the Christians mention the name of the instigator of this war. His nom de guerre was Bar



The fall of Bar Kokhba's besieged city occurred in 135 C.E. Only the west "wailing" wall of the temple was preserved.

Kokhba (Shimon bar Kosiba). Bar Kokhba was at first remarkably successful: He defeated the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem and then chased the Romans out of the important areas of Judaea. He attracted some 400,000 Jewish recruits, who then defeated the Roman military reinforcements brought in from Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. Within one year he recaptured 985 villages and constructed 50 fortresses. Bar Kokhba proved himself an able bureaucrat in the early days of his government, setting up administrative systems and land division. He also restamped Roman coins with the mottos "Freedom of Jerusalem" and "Freedom of Israel."

In the face of such an emerging state Hadrian had to send in his best general, Sextus Julius Severus, recalling him from Britain. Because Bar Kokhba had learned techniques of guerrilla warfare, Severus had to fight patiently and slowly. Severus put down the insurgency largely by starvation, siege warfare, and propaganda, because the Jews had taken refuge in isolated terrains and in rugged natural strongholds, such as caves and cliffs. When Jerusalem was taken in 135 C.E., the insurgents made their last stand in Beth-Ter, a well-protected town southwest of Jerusalem. Though they withstood the Romans for a long time, in the end the townspeople ultimately turned on Bar Kokhba and killed him.

After the siege Hadrian razed Jerusalem and made good on his promise to put a Roman temple on the Temple Mount. And he decreed that no Jew could ever

again enter the city or even lay eyes on it from afar. After the Bar Kokhba war, Jewish and Roman relations entered into a long period of mutual enmity.

In the beginning of the third revolt Bar Kokhba was so impressive in battle that messianic speculation swirled about him. Many rabbis apparently openly embraced him as the messiah. Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, who approved of the revolt, applied to his name a messianic title: Bar Kokhba, "the son of the star." Probably most of the Palestinian sages had similar views at first. One noted rabbi demurred, saying, "Akiba, grass will sooner grow on your chin, before the Messiah comes." Akiba died along with an estimated 500,000 others in Palestine when Bar Kokhba was defeated. Countless others, including many rabbis, were sold into slavery. Rarely is the name Bar Kokhba used in Jewish sources, while it is the normal name given in Christian sources. Rabbinic texts bitterly refer to him as Bar Koziba (son of the lie), a pun on his name bar Kosiba.

See also HELLENIZATION; HERODS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Jezebel

See AHAB AND JEZEBEL.

Job and theodicy

Job (c. 600–400 B.C.E.) is the principal character of the biblical book that bears his name. A prologue introduces the book's readers to Job and describes decisions made in a parallel universe, that of a celestial court in which Yahweh, the head of the pantheon according to ancient Israelite belief, holds ultimate power. The heart of the book consists of a series of dialogue cycles between Job and three friends in which Job appeals to Yahweh for vindication, the responses by Yahweh to Job's appeals, followed by a brief response by Job. Speeches by a young interloper, Elihu, serve as a kind of intermezzo before Yahweh's response to Job's appeal.

Job's response to the experience of undeserved suffering is the focus of the book. The book's resolution of the problem of Job's suffering, the role assigned to God in bringing about Job's suffering, and God's reply to Job's charges against God, have challenged and baffled generations of interpreters. The book describes the titanic struggle of a human being with the meaning of his suffering and what it says about him and the world of which he is a part. Even interpreters who do not believe in God or in the God of the book of Job have praised the book of Job as a literary and theological masterpiece. The influence of the book of Job on art, literature, drama, and philosophy, wherever Judaism and Christianity have been potent cultural forces, has been far reaching.

SUFFERING AND VINDICATION

In the prologue Job, a man of exemplary behavior, is meted out suffering through no fault of his own. One of God's angels ("the Satan" or "the accuser" in the original Hebrew) has cast aspersions on Job. God takes up Job's defense. The matter is put to the test. If Job suffers every manner of affliction but does not thereby hold God in contempt, Job will be vindicated. God allows the Satan to empty Job's life of whatever makes it meaningful, but the Satan must also act as Job's guardian angel and save Job's life from a premature conclusion: "He is in your power, but his life you must protect."

No one in the Job story—neither Job, nor Job's wife, nor Job's friends, nor Elihu—knows about God's wager with the accusing angel. The reader knows, but despite this knowledge, an explanation for Job's suffering is not given. After all, Job fails the test. He cracks under the pressure of his suffering. He begins by speaking of God approvingly, even after he loses his children and all that he possesses. But when the suffering literally gets under his skin, Job maligns God again and again, directly and indirectly. "Let there be darkness," exclaims Job. Job colors the world and God's relationship to it with the same dark hues that have invaded his personal existence. He considers God to be his worst enemy and the enemy of all humankind.

When Job charges God with all manner of inappropriate behavior, Job's friends defend God from Job's charges by maligning Job. Job must have done something to deserve his fate. Job is incensed by his friends' accusations. So malicious are their words that Job ends up contradicting the God-accusing thrust of his early speeches and insists instead on God's righteousness and wisdom. In the end he *needs* God to be a righteous

judge; otherwise, his friends will not be condemned, and he will not be justified. Job refers his case to God.

God replies to Job furiously, in a whirlwind: "How dare Job darken God's counsel! Does Job even know what darkness is? Only God, of all living beings, has walked in the recesses of the deep." God confirms Job's worst fears. God's counsel, or design, really does include unimaginable terror. The world God has created is not anthropocentric at all. It is full of awesome creatures, useless or inimical to human beings, creatures in which God takes immense delight. God's knowledge and power, not God's justice, take up most of God's replies to Job. We sense the bewilderment of Job, who has suffered without cause under God's hand. "I am of contemptible worth; what can I answer you? I clap my hand to my mouth," and "I recant and I change my mind amidst dirt and ashes."

The plot thickens. God acquits Job and vindicates Job before his friends. Job was right to defend himself before God. Job was guilty of putting God in the wrong in order to put himself in the right, the point of God's reproof of Job before acquitting him, but Job's forthrightness before God is ultimately held to his credit. In the end God responds by giving Job twice what he had before. He goes on to live a life of legendary proportions and delight in his children's children.

ANTI-THEODICY

A theodicy is an attempt to justify the ways of God to human beings. The book of Job is an anti-theodicy. According to the book of Job, unjustifiable suffering takes place in the world. Those who claim otherwise "do not speak the truth about [God]." Defense of man before God (anthropodicy), not defense of God (theodicy), is appropriate when suffering occurs. Job's friends should have defended Job against God rather than God against Job. The apologetics of Job's friends do not do justice to the status of the sufferer in God's sight. An authentic theodicy will vindicate the sufferer even at God's expense, if the book of Job is taken as a model. For in it God vindicates Job even as he puts an end to Job's revolt against him.

There are other works of ancient literature outside of the Jewish Bible that attempt to deal with questions of theodicy. Examples include the Babylonian Theodicy and "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" from Mesopotamian literature. Other similar biblical works include PSALMS 37, 49, 73; Proverbs 30, and Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), 4 BARUCH, and 2 Baruch.

See also PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA.

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JOHN HOBBS

John the Baptist

(first century C.E.) *religious leader*

One of Judaism's divergent voices raised in the turbulent first century C.E. was that of John the Baptist. He is most known for his role in the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH as reported in the New Testament. But the writings of JOSEPHUS make clear that John was a leader and hero in his own right, and even the New Testament indicates that his following extended to later times and places.

Many populist religious leaders arose in John's generation who promised deliverance from corrupt religion, brutal armies, and unjust governments. Their expectations were that the miraculous events of their biblical ancestors would be reenacted in their own times. They were able to mobilize Jews to organize and prepare for history's conclusion. Today theologians call this focus on the future and on the end "eschatology" and the visionary experiences connected with it APOCALYPTICISM.

A few examples give the tenor of John's time. At the time of Pontius Pilate a Samaritan prophet claimed to be a new MOSES. A few years later a certain Theudas brought his devotees to the Jordan so that the waters would part for them. An Egyptian Jewish prophet rallied people to the Mount of Olives where they would see the collapse of the walls of Jerusalem and so claim the city for their own. Oracles and heavenly signs were publicized that supposedly told of the ruin of the city or of its rulers. Whenever the Romans or the Jewish authorities learned of these prophets and predictions, they rooted them out violently. John was born of priestly descent to parents of an advanced age. Surprisingly, he abandoned his priestly patrimony and joined this eschatological movement. Perhaps even as a young man he took up his abode in the wilderness near Jericho and gained a reputation for fiery preaching and for practicing a ritual known as baptism. For the rest of his life his priestly birth did not figure in his vocation.

When he did not adopt his birthright as a priest, he put on the mantle of prophet. As a prophet, he most re-

sembled the biblical Elijah, an ascetic, recluse, and visionary. John was an ascetic himself, and the New Testament says that his diet was locusts and wild honey, and his clothing was hides and a leather belt. In other words, he lived off the land and did not give thought to his future. As a recluse, he gave up wife and home, lived in the open air, and did his preaching in the wilderness. Undoubtedly, he believed that this isolation allowed him to maintain his independence from religious and political authority.

As a visionary, he preached a new approach to religion through baptism. John believed that this rite was more important than lineal descent from Abraham, the normal entrance into the Jewish faith. Preparation for water baptism involved a decision to give up sinful practices and to practice virtue in all relationships, as well as the renunciation of any privilege that came with birth or election. Baptism, as practiced by John, was different from other types of water rituals among the eschatological groups because it was once for a lifetime. In the temple, for example, cleansings were frequent and required a constant supply of water, either from cisterns or streams. Apparently, for John the water must have symbolized more than cleansing, but a death and rebirth. Jesus, who said that his approaching death was a baptism that he needed to undergo, articulated the idea that baptism implied death. Later Christians, writing in the New Testament, use the image of the water to suggest new birth, or rising again from death. If the conventional belief was that one was Jewish by birth, John was making a radical reform by making spiritual birth the new prerequisite. Later Christians who evangelized the Gentile world used baptism.

The fact that John spoke urgently of the coming judgment and unquenchable fire also might suggest that somehow he believed that the nature of the water (its cleansing, its vitality) protected his followers from the eschatological destruction. Fire was a common metaphor for the final days of judgment. John started a movement, but he did not develop a stable community the way other eschatological leaders did. It therefore was quite different from QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls community, and it was even different from the itinerant society that flourished around Jesus. John's ascetic and reclusive life did not allow anything other than temporary stays with him. Nonetheless, masses of Jewish people flooded out to hear him in the wilderness, and prostitutes, peasants, and politicians were affected. The fact that he stirred Josephus and that Jesus received baptism from him shows how diverse and penetrating was his influence.

The eschatological context of John's preaching included an emphasis on "one who is to come," a designation that the New Testament keys on for the messiahship

of Jesus of Nazareth. The New Testament portrays Jesus as the younger cousin of John, and John, as an Elijah-like precursor for Jesus. Because of Jesus's stature in the New Testament, it is surprising that he submits to John's baptism. Christians throughout the ages debate the significance of the baptism of Jesus, but one thing is clear: John the Baptist acts as mentor for Jesus, and John's shadow is cast over Jesus's entire mission.

John's influence does not rest with Jesus or even with later Christians. Stories in the New Testament speak of John's disciples being found as far away as Ephesus. Justin Martyr mentions those who regarded John as the messiah. Even today there are sects of ancient pedigree that claim that their roots lie in John the Baptist (such as the Mandaeans and the Manichaeans). In the GREEK CHURCH John becomes a standard icon (religious artwork) in religious art as summing up the message of the Jewish scriptures. John's popularity with wide segments of the public did not permit him to escape trouble with the authorities. In this sense he really did play the role of Elijah, the northern kingdom prophet who condemned the political authorities of his day. He was imprisoned and executed for his bold criticism of Herod's government, specifically of the moral life of Herod Antipas. In the wake of John the Baptist's death Jesus launched out on his own mission.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; MONASTICISM; PROPHETS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Jomon culture

The Jomon culture of Japan was a pottery-using Neolithic or Mesolithic society that flourished approximately 10,500–300 B.C.E. Most archaeologists accept a division into six periods within Jomon culture, which are the incipient, initial, early, middle, late, and final periods. The term *Jomon* means “cord mark” and was coined by the 19th-century American archaeologist Edward S. Morse to describe the pottery of that culture. The Jomons produced possibly the world's first pottery, of a particularly innovative and vibrant style. Early pottery sites have been found in the Russian Far East and in China, and it is possible that resulting from lower sea levels during the

Jomon period, land migration might explain the replication. Pottery in Japan has been found at the same level as shale arrowheads, demonstrating the simultaneity of the two forms of production and predating development in other parts of the world. Shards from a site at Odai Yamamoto in the north of Honshu indicate the vessel was used for boiling, and this has provided material suitable for carbon dating testing. The melting of ice during the period led to the isolation of the Japanese islands and, ultimately, the creation of the Japanese state, although this did not happen for a considerable period.

Maritime activities such as fishing and collecting shellfish were important, although the Jomon also hunted land animals and gathered plants. By the end of the Jomon period, people had begun to organize rice paddy farming. Evidence of environmental change across the islands of Japan is accompanied by changes in diet and hunting patterns. This includes the extinction, presumably by hunting, of some large mammals. Jomon culture is unlikely to have coincided with the presence in the Japanese islands of either mammoths or elephants. Jomon people were primarily sedentary, although they may not have remained in the same site the whole year round, and they were culturally complex.

Villages supplemented their diets with chestnuts and other plant products, some of which were cultivated in early forms of agriculture. The presence of decorated ceramics suggests the possibility of trade and economic exchange, as well as the gendered distinction of labor. There has been some speculation that Jomon culture people reached northwestern America, but there is no evidence for this. The Jomon culture was succeeded by the YAYOI CULTURE, which is dated from 250 B.C.E. to 350 C.E.

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JOHN WALSH

Josephus, Flavius

(c. 37–c. 100 C.E.) *historian*

There is no historical account for the period that saw the emergence of Christianity and Judaism from the land of Palestine like that of Josephus. For one thing no Greco-Roman historian so directly and immediately addresses the struggle between Roman Empire and Jewish

commonwealth. For another thing there is no one else to corroborate and interrogate the issues and personalities of the New Testament, except for Jewish sources who wrote generations later.

Josephus was born of priestly descent around 37 C.E., but his curiosity led him in early life to experiment with diverse and even countercultural Jewish expressions. First, he tried the philosophy of the ESSENEs. Though he was favorably impressed with them, he left them. Then he joined up with an ascetic wilderness group led by a charismatic leader named Banus. Perhaps this group exhibited something that Josephus found attractive among the Essenes. All these experiences came before the age of 19. Then he took up an interest in the PHARISEES, another Jewish sect, though his later commentaries show that his involvement with them was strained.

A journey to Rome in 63 C.E. triggered a respect for the Roman Empire, one that became evident in his later actions. When he returned, war broke out between his countrymen and Rome, and Josephus reluctantly and futilely led a detachment of Galileans against the Roman army. His troops were overwhelmed, and his surviving cohorts made a pact to die rather than surrender. Driven to the point of committing suicide, Josephus refused and fled. He presented himself to Vespasian, the Roman general, as an ally, translator, and guide. He projected himself as another Jeremiah, the prophet who led his people at the time of the Babylonian invasion, through his preaching in Jerusalem against the uprising and through his prophecies about Vespasian and Roman destiny. Josephus's decision to side with Rome was motivated by religion as well as by an instinct for survival. However, he was considered a traitor by most of his Jewish fellows.

At the end of the campaign Josephus was honored in Rome with a country villa, special privileges, and friendship with the Roman emperor. He never returned to his home country, much less to his wife and family. He spent the rest of his days as a historian, writing at least four compositions. The first was the *Jewish War*, an account of the events leading up to the difficulties of 70 C.E. Josephus blames the war on a small band of Jewish fanatics. The second is *Against Apion*, a defense of Jewish culture and historical pedigree. The third is the longest, a history of the Jews from creation to his own time (around 90 C.E.), called *Jewish Antiquities*. This work is modeled after other Greco-Roman histories and skillfully combines secular and religious virtues in the telling of the Jewish story. Finally, he writes his own *Autobiography*, largely as a defense for his conduct during the war. To the last of his sentences, however, he is an apologist for his Jewish people and their cause.

His histories are assessed as factual and fair. While he was in Rome he had access to official records and relied on other sources, like Nicolas of Damascus, a historian of Herod's court. He had firsthand knowledge of the land, the personalities, the issues, and the battles. Many of his own descriptions can serve as a background for such New Testament persons as the HERODS, the priests, the Pharisees and Sadducees, JOHN THE BAPTIST, James ("brother" of Jesus), and perhaps of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. JEROME touted Josephus as the "Greek Livy" for his masterful history telling. It is true that Josephus's powerful voice has persuaded Christians over the ages about the historical veracity of their scripture. For this reason Josephus was preserved in Christian circles, not Jewish ones; in fact, in certain ancient manuscripts of the Bible, the writings of Josephus have also been appended. But others question his neutrality and impartiality. There are inconsistencies in his descriptions of his leadership during the war and questions as to whether or not he supported the revolt from the beginning.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PROPHETS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Josiah

(c. 648–609 B.C.E.) *king of Judah*

The writer of the biblical book of Kings rates Josiah as the highest of all the kings of Judah after DAVID. He is known primarily as a religious reformer, but his vision of Judah motivated political changes, foreign-policy changes, and a measure of reunification with the northern kingdom of Israel (Samaria).

He began to reign at the age of eight, when his father Amon was assassinated, and ruled for 31 years. Going back to the time of HEZEKIAH, Judah had been bullied by ASSYRIA, although the capital had never fallen. His grandfather and father both had made big religious concessions to the Assyrians and to native religious groups. In contrast to his father and grandfather Josiah showed

a pious loyalty to the traditional Judaeen faith, perhaps coming under the influence of the temple priests in Jerusalem. By the age of 20 he was willing to go public with his religious agenda.

He made it clear that he wanted to return to the God of his ancestors and cast away the foreign gods and their worship customs. Such customs included things like child sacrifices and fertility rituals. Perhaps he was bold because it was clear that Assyria was going through a civil war, as the Babylonian Chronicle points out; perhaps he knew that the Assyrian ruler Ashurbanipal was too old to conduct a campaign; or perhaps he was encouraged through his communication with Assyria's rivals in Egypt and Babylon.

Gradually Josiah became more and more assertive about his religious goals. He made repairs on the temple; he purged the temple precincts of foreign religions and altars; then he broadened his geographical sweep to include attacks on foreign religious sites in Israel (Samaria). Josiah then discovered a religious law book, often thought to be some form of the biblical book of DEUTERONOMY with its laws on the temple, orthodox doctrines, and centralized government. Some have speculated that this document was reformulated into some kind of Deuteronomic history, covering the biblical books from Joshua-Kings. The climax of Josiah's reforms came with an invitation for all the people of ISRAEL AND JUDAH to join together for a celebration of the Passover. In addition to remembering the rite of Israel's escape from Egypt, Josiah also led the people in rededicating themselves to observing the covenant of MOSES.

Josiah died when a new PHARAOH, Neco II (c. 609–594 B.C.E.), marched across the coastal plains to challenge Babylonia and Persia as the emerging powers of Mesopotamia. The Bible says that Josiah opposed Neco, interfering with the divine intention for Egypt to have the right of way. The picture is murky, for it is not clear why Josiah stood against Neco, nor why the divine plan favored of Egypt's passage. Josiah, who the Bible hails as the most faithful of kings, was mortally wounded on the battlefield, a casualty of the divine plan.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Judah

See ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

Judah ha-Nasi

(c. 130–c. 220 C.E.) *religious leader*

Traditional Jews maintain that Judah ha-Nasi (Judah the Prince) was the sole editor of the MISHNAH. This explanation assumes that there was an unbroken line of rabbinic thinking beginning from Hillel (a famous rabbi from the early first century C.E.) and proceeding through YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI and Akiba (another rabbi from the time of Bar Kokhba) to Judah. It is more likely that the Mishnah is the work of more than one writer. The Mishnah probably was compiled during Judah's days as the patriarch and prince, and he takes a central place in history for this achievement.

After the fiasco of Bar Kokhba (132–135 C.E.), it is hard to overestimate Judah's importance for Palestinian Jews. He consolidated the rabbinic movement under his leadership as patriarch and thus became the leading religious spokesman for the Palestinian Jews. Even the Babylonian Jews, outside the ROMAN EMPIRE and under the Persian satrap, took refuge in his shadow. The political position he is known for, prince, reached its zenith under his tenure, and he managed to institutionalize it by bequeathing the title (ha-Nasi) to one of his sons.

His success with his countrymen and with the occupying Romans is reflected in the numerous larger-than-life stories that circulated about him. Legends say that he was a personal friend with Antoninus—probably the later SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, if there is any kernel of truth in the stories. His wealth was also fabulous; sources say that his steward was richer than the Persian satrap. At the same time the generosity and almsgiving—at least as told in the rabbinic literature—made him a popular figure among the poor. He managed to mollify Jewish hostility toward Rome for having destroyed Jerusalem and its Temple. He eliminated the annual fast commemorating the Temple's destruction and cancelled rabbinic decrees requiring foreign Jews to contribute to Palestinian causes. He negotiated the return of some land to Jews that the Romans had confiscated. He also standardized the Jewish calendar and eased some of the sabbatical year's disciplines. He found ways of dealing with the many rabbi leaders by a carrot-and-stick policy. First, he cancelled some of their taxes, and then he took away their power to ordain new rabbis. By such Solomonic measures, the Talmud hailed him as the first since MOSES who had "combined TORAH and (political) greatness in one place."

Because the Mishnah was written in a dialect evolved from late biblical Hebrew, he revitalized Hebrew for Jews both in and out of Palestine. To this day among all Jews Mishnaic Hebrew is the dominant language of liturgy and prayer. When he died, his tomb became a place of PILGRIMAGE for Jewish devotees. No other Jewish leader so captured the hearts and minds of rabbinic Jews. No other sage was so able to master the oral Torah and apply it to the politics of his day. He combined political shrewdness with religious piety like no other Jewish figure in late antiquity. Often in the sources he is simply called “Rabbi” or “the Prince.”

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Judaism, early (heterodoxies)

After SOLOMON, king of united ISRAEL AND JUDAH, died c. 922 B.C.E., the northern 10 tribes seceded and reconstituted themselves as the kingdom of Israel. The Assyrians took its capital, Samaria, in 722 B.C.E. The Jewish scriptures states that the Israelites there were deported and replaced by foreigners who worshipped the Israelite god along with their ancestral gods. The exiled Israelites became known as the “Ten Lost Tribes.” Traditional Judaism traces the immigrants to the Samaritans. However, Samaritans say that the biblical priest Eli usurped the high priesthood and set up a false sanctuary at Shiloh (c. 1090 B.C.E.). The tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and part of Levi stayed with the true sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim, near present-day Nablus. Samaritans trace themselves to the loyalists at Mt. Gerizim.

Neither view is without objection. Assyrian records suggest that they removed only about one-tenth of the Israelites, and another part of the Jewish Bible indicates that kings of Judah dealt with the northern tribes after the fall of Samaria, without suggesting that the inhabitants were foreigners. The Samaritan view is first attested in medieval sources about 2,000 years after the alleged event. A split between Samaritans and Jews perhaps occurred between the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (464–358 B.C.E.), who were said to have trouble with Samaria, and

the time of John Hyrcanus, who destroyed the temple on Mt. Gerizim in 128 B.C.E. There are two versions of the story explaining the split: A great-grandson of the Jewish high priest married the daughter of the Persian governor of Samaria, refused to divorce her, was exiled, and, in the later version, became high priest on Mt. Gerizim.

The Gospels of Luke and John and the Acts of the Apostles attest the Samaritans’ role in earliest Christianity and their conflict with Jews. However, when Jews fought the Romans in 66–73 and 132–135 C.E., Samaritans were on both sides. The Samaritan chieftain Baba Rabbah gained independence for his people in the third century C.E. By this time the Samaritans also had their own scripture, a version of the Pentateuch differing from that of the Jews.

The conversion of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT in 312 occasioned constant Christian persecution of the Samaritans. In 484 and 529 the Samaritans revolted against the Byzantines and lost thousands of their compatriots. The Muslim conquest in the seventh century decreased persecution but made misrule constant, which brought the Samaritan population to 146 by 1917, when Samaritans began to increase their numbers by marrying Jewish women. Nonetheless, there were only 655 Samaritans in 2003. The State of Israel, reversing Jewish tradition, considers them virtually Jewish.

The Ebionites were Christians who kept the Torah. The name is derived from Hebrew *‘ebyonim*, meaning “poor,” which seems to have been the self-designation of the earliest Christians of Jerusalem. The Ebionites were supposed to descend from these earliest Christians, having fled across the Jordan before Jerusalem fell in 70 C.E. Ebionites often are distinguished from the Nazarenes, Jews who purportedly believed in the virginal conception and divinity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and the apostleship of PAUL. The Ebionites, by contrast, believed that Jesus was biologically the son of Joseph and because of his perfect life was adopted at his baptism by God. They also rejected Paul, animal sacrifice, and meat eating, and they highly valued marriage and daily ritual baths. Several apocryphal gospels are linked with the Ebionites, including the Gospel of the Ebionites.

Both Ebionites and Nazarenes have been associated with the Samaritans, who call themselves “those who keep [*smr*] [TORAH].” *Nsr*, from which *Nazarene* may be derived, also means “keep.” The Ebionites have other similarities to Samaritans, such as a belief in a messianic successor to MOSES and criticism of the Jewish temple. However, that the Ebionites venerated Jerusalem makes it unlikely that they came from Samaritanism. The Samaritans, Jesus, and the Ebionites seem

rather to have come from anti-Sadducee, anti-Pharisee Judaism, many sects of which had names derived from *nsr*. The Ebionites' position between Gentile Christianity and rabbinic Judaism became untenable, and they disappeared from history after 400. On the other hand Ebionite denial of Jesus' divinity lived on in ARIANISM, Nestorianism, and Islam.

See also ASSYRIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; NESTORIUS; PHARISEES; SADDUCEES.

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GRANT R. SHAFER

Judges

Israelite history between the Exodus and the crowning of the first king SAUL is the period of the Judges. Strictly speaking, the leaders of ISRAEL during this time are better described in modern language as "champions" or "heroes," and they are not altogether different from the heroes and heroines praised in the poems and myths of ancient Greece. These "judges" are the charismatic generals and prophets who fought battles and won territory for specific tribes of Israel around the 12th and 13th centuries B.C.E. Each of their tenures was limited in territory and short in duration.

The book of Judges in the Jewish scriptures is a collection of tales about 12 specific judges. The fact that there are 12 suggests an editorial design perhaps in keeping with the book's emphasis on the 12 tribes of Israel. The date for the compilation of these tales was certainly generations after the events, for the words, "for there were no kings in the land," recur often in the book. However, some of the poetry of the book probably is ancient, possibly going back to the time of the event.

Most of the tales conform to a rough pattern of storytelling; that is, they suggest that whenever the tribes fall away from their covenant with the deity, they are punished with division and invasion. The editorial position is that when MOSES and Joshua first brought the tribes into Canaan, they were relatively secure, unified, and successful.

However, the tribes soon got bogged down in their bid to conquer the land, and the Israelites slid into accommodation with the native Canaanites. The results were that homes and farms were raided, and certain tribes were evicted from their land. When retribution

was complete, a general or prophet brought the tribes back into security, unity, and success.

The judge Deborah's example shows that authority was not limited to men, though the rest of the 11 judges were men. Although she is not the field commander of the campaign against the native Canaanites, she is the muse behind her tribe's general Barak. Interestingly, another woman strikes the fatal blow against the enemy general. Deborah then leads her kinfolk in a victory song whose roots might go back to the days of the battle. Historically, her tales speak of the difficulty that the newly planted highlanders had in claiming the native land of the fertile valleys. Correspondingly, archaeology shows a layer of destruction in 12th-century B.C.E. Megiddo, the time and place that possibly correspond to Deborah.

The judge Gideon (Jerubbaal) shows how hard it is for the Israelites to live in the valleys. During the days of Gideon, nomadic ARAMAEANS keep raiding the tribes' settlements. It is the clash between the farmers and the herdsman. Gideon is coaxed into leading an elite army and wins miraculous victory over the Midianites.

The judge Samson hardly fits the image of a stereotypical hero: He is more like a wild man who saves the tribes by acting on his passions. In this sense he lives and dies like the Greek hero Heracles. He possesses superhuman strength and singlehandedly delivers the tribes from the Philistines. However, his womanizing results in his downfall—like Heracles—and in the end he dies like a tragic hero, killing himself and pulling everyone down with him.

See also DEUTERONOMY; GREEK MYTH AND PANTHEON; HELLENIZATION.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Julian the Apostate

(c. 331–363 C.E.) *Roman ruler*

A target of the later fathers of the church and a hero of the Greco-Roman pagan romantics, Julian the Apostate generated literary reaction out of proportion to his tenure as Caesar. It is debatable what his vision of a return to religion of the Greeks and Romans really entailed, whether an embracing of the philosophy of NEOPLATONISM or a true devotion to Greek mythology and the pantheon of Mount Olympus and its cult. Nonetheless,

his passion was for a return to a non-Christian Greco-Roman culture, and he was as passionate about religion opposed to Christianity as the Christians were about their converting the world. All else—taxes, communication, empire—were secondary to both groups.

He grew up in a world of political rivalry and blood-letting among the family members of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Because he was only a small boy, his life was spared when Constantine's illegitimate descendants killed his father and all of his uncles in 337 C.E. He was shuffled off here and there by wary imperial wardens, first to bustling Nicomedia and then to lonely, distant Cappadocia. In such an isolated existence he discovered the world of the HOMERIC EPICS and HESIOD, the twin sources of the Greek pagan "Bible" canon. He also found consolation in the beauty of nature and thus was prone to sympathy for the pantheistic theology of his Greek forebears. Later, as a teenager, he was exposed to the philosophy of some excellent Neoplatonic teachers (Libanius, Maximus, and Iamblichus). All of these factors—the strife that Christianity brought to his childhood, the stability of the Greek classics, his sensitivity, and the explanation of philosophy—led Julian to undergo a secret "conversion" to Greek (pagan) religion by the age of 20. He was initiated into the mystery of Mithras at that time.

His true colors did not show up publicly for at least 10 more years. At the age of 24 he was summoned by his cousin Emperor Constantius II to do service in the West. Although he was named Caesar, he was closely supervised by the emperor's key personnel. He had no particular military training, yet he acquitted himself well on the battlefield against the Germans over the next five years. At that point the emperor ordered Julian and his troops to go east and fight against the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE. Instead, after a careful conspiracy his troops mutinied and proclaimed Julian Augustus, that is, emperor, in place of Constantius II.

A civil war was avoided only because his cousin suddenly died in 361. At the age of 30 Julian was sole leader of the Roman Empire and could with impunity proclaim that he was not a Christian but a believer in Greek religion. He purged the bloated imperial bureaucracy for the sake of efficiency and to eliminate Christian influence. He showed youthful energy in taking actions to reinstate paganism: He cut off funding for churches; he refurbished Greek temples and tried to reinstate the Greek priests and bloody sacrifice; and he forbade Christians from teaching the Greek classics.

He tried to undermine Christianity in several ways. One of his quirky ideas was to rebuild the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, a project probably intended as a jab at the

Christians. That idea was abandoned when an earthquake occurred just before reconstruction was to begin. Another, more reasonable idea was to proclaim complete religious tolerance, probably in hopes that Christianity would disintegrate into a morass of doctrinal wrangling. He exiled one of Christianity's venerable heroes, ATHANASIUS, and he refused to rescue the Christian intellectual center, Nisibis, when the Persians captured it. By the same token he wanted to prove that he was both serious about his duties as emperor and endowed with the blessings of Zeus and the gods, so he undertook a campaign against the Persians. He was ingloriously defeated and died in 363 in the dry lands of Mesopotamia, less than two years after he had assumed power. His program had generated only limited public support, and in the end the empire reverted into the hands of the Christians, determined never again to let another such pagan take over.

See also BASIL THE GREAT; CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CHRYSOSTOM, JOHN; EDESSA; EPHREM; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Julio-Claudian emperors

The Julio-Claudian emperors of ancient Rome were from the family of JULIUS CAESAR—or rather his sister Julia, and that of the first husband of the wife of AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Tiberius Claudius Nero. They include the emperor Augustus Octavian; (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), Tiberius (14–37 C.E.), Caligula (37–41 C.E.), Claudius (41–54 C.E.), and NERO (54–68 C.E.). The founder of this line of emperors was Octavian, who became known in history as Emperor Augustus. He was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, later becoming his adopted son. The mother of Augustus was the daughter of Julia, sister of Julius Caesar. His connection to Julius Caesar was twice through the female line, but this did not stop the Roman general from nominating Octavian as his heir. Octavian ruled over the ROMAN EMPIRE from 31 B.C.E. until his death in 14 C.E. but carefully chose not to title himself as emperor.

EMPEROR TIBERIUS

When Octavian died in 14 C.E., Tiberius succeeded him as emperor. Tiberius Claudius Nero was the son of Livia, the second wife of Octavian, with her first

husband, making him Octavian's stepson. Tiberius was born in 42 B.C.E. When he was two, his father, a prominent Roman aristocrat and the commander of Julius Caesar's fleet, was forced to flee Rome—and from Octavian. Tiberius's father had declared his support for Mark Antony and took the family to Sicily, and then to Greece, returning a few years later when an amnesty was announced. When Tiberius was four, his parents divorced, and his mother married Octavian. He and his younger brother, Drusus Nero, both went to live with their mother and their stepfather, Octavian. Tiberius was soon earmarked as Octavian's possible successor, and when he was 13 he rode one of the horses in Octavian's chariot in the victory parade through Rome after the Battle of Actium. Tiberius married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa. Tiberius then embarked on a military career.

In 20 B.C.E. the young Tiberius accompanied Octavian to Parthia where the Roman legions were keen on avenging a loss suffered 33 years earlier. Tiberius continued his time in the military, managing to capture Pannonia (encompassing much of modern-day Slovakia). In 9 B.C.E. Nero Drusus, his younger brother fell from a horse in Germany. Tiberius made his way over to see him as quickly as possible, but Drusus died. Tiberius divorced his wife and married Julia. In 6 B.C.E. Tiberius became a tribune, and then retired to Rhodes where he grew reclusive. In 14 C.E. Octavian died, and Tiberius, aged 54, became Emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Octavian had not liked him but saw that he would be a capable administrator who could rule over the Roman Empire.

Tiberius began his reign well, although a possible rival, Postumus, was murdered soon afterward. The new emperor saw his role as consolidating the empire that Julius Caesar and Augustus had created. He spent money wisely, ending massive gladiatorial shows, and during his reign of 23 years he left 20 times as much wealth in the government's coffers as had been there when he took over. However, much of his reign was plagued by problems over succession. His son Drusus died in 23 C.E., and soon afterward, Sejanus, the commander of the Praetorian Guard (who might have been involved in the death of Drusus) became the most powerful man in Rome after the emperor.

In 27 Tiberius, aged 67, moved to Capri. Tiberius held court on Capri, and the courtiers, guards, officials seeking favors and others also moved to the island. Many believe that Tiberius became mentally ill, as he started ordering executions, seemingly at random. With Tiberius on Capri, Sejanus essentially ruled Rome, mar-

rying the widow of the son of Tiberius. Many began to feel that Sejanus was about to become the anointed successor of Tiberius, yet when the emperor managed to smuggle a letter to the Senate in Rome asking for Sejanus to be executed, they complied. In the end Tiberius nominated Caligula, a son of his stepdaughter, and also a great-nephew, as his successor. Tiberius returned to Rome and took part in ceremonial games that required him to throw a javelin. The effort wrenched his shoulder, and he retired to bed where he fell into a coma. Caligula was proclaimed the new emperor in 31, but soon after this Tiberius regained consciousness. The new Praetorian Guard commander, Macro, immediately smothered the emperor.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS

Caligula was born Gaius Caesar in 12 C.E. and became known as Caligula (Little Boot) when he was a boy and accompanied some soldiers on a march, having his own miniature armor made. His father, Germanicus Caesar, was a stepson of Tiberius, and when his father died, he had become Gaius Caesar Germanicus. Caligula made a tremendous speech at the funeral for Tiberius. Soon after he became emperor, he became ill and then started to display massive cruelty and sadism. Roman historians clearly did not like him, and from many accounts he was a despotic emperor. With the coffers of Rome filled by Tiberius, Caligula started to squander money on an extravagant scale, so much so that he later had to resort to extorting money from wealthy Roman citizens. Caligula held lavish games at the Colosseum during which he watched massive displays of brutality and sadism. At the same time he came to regard himself as a deity, and soon rumors spread that he would marry one of his sisters to establish a Ptolemaic-type succession whereby the oldest son married the oldest sister.

As his excesses became more and more horrendous, a coup d'état was planned, and a tribune of the Praetorian Guard killed Caligula on January 24, 41 C.E., when he was at the Palatine Games. His wife and daughter were also murdered. As the Praetorian Guard sacked the imperial palace, they found Caligula's uncle, Claudius, and proclaimed him the next emperor. Claudius, born in 10 B.C.E., was always regarded as clumsy and stuttered a little and was an unexpected choice of emperor, having spent much of his time devoted to studying history and literature. Altogether he wrote, in Greek, 20 books on Etruscan history, and eight on CARTHAGE, as well as an autobiography, but none of these books have survived.

Some of the senators sided with Claudius, and others supported a small insurrection in Dalmatia. Soon after

his appointment as emperor, Claudius annexed Mauretania in North Africa and then decided to invade Britain. This took place in 43 C.E. with the Roman soldiers led by Aulus Plautius. With victory assured Claudius arrived in Britain and established a large colony of Roman veterans around the capital, Camulodunum (modern-day Colchester), although many were killed. Claudius significantly added to the empire by taking Lycia in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey) and Thrace, avoiding war with the Germans and the Parthians.

Claudius expended much of his energy on reforming the administration of the Roman Empire. He improved the legal system and established a large settlement of Roman army veterans in Britain and at Colonia Agrippinensis (modern-day Cologne). He also made changes to the Roman religious practices. However, there was dissatisfaction in the Roman imperial family after Claudius divorced his wife Messalina and married his niece Agrippina. He then adopted her son Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (who became the emperor Nero), and he became heir instead of Claudius's son, Britannicus. On October 13, 54 C.E., Agrippina poisoned Claudius, allegedly with mushrooms, his favorite dish, leaving the adopted son of Claudius to become the next emperor.

NERO, THE FIFTH ROMAN EMPEROR

Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, born in 37 C.E., had taken the title Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, and in 54 became Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the fifth Roman emperor. Nero's father died when he was three, and his mother, who poisoned her second husband and then married her uncle Claudius before poisoning him, had brought him up. She later poisoned Britannicus, Claudius's biological son, as well. The Praetorian Guard proclaimed Nero emperor when he was 16. Initially, Nero pushed through some important reforms.

Nero forbade bloodshed in the circus, banned capital punishment, and allowed slaves to bring complaints against their masters. In the period after the death of Nero's mother—killed on his orders in 59—and that of his wife Octavia, in June 62, also murdered at his instigation, Nero changed dramatically. He married two more times, but neither marriage lasted. He quickly became famous for his extravagances and personal debauchery. Burrus died in 62 C.E., and Seneca soon lost his influence over the emperor. In 64 a large fire burned down a significant section of Rome, and Nero used it as an excuse to build his "Golden House," planned to span a third of the city of Rome.

The emperor was 35 miles away at Antium when the fire started, but this did not stop the accusations

that he had started the blaze himself. Nero blamed the Christians for the fire, and soon afterward the persecution of Christians, and also many Jews, started. Many Christians were arrested and taken to the Colosseum, where they were fed to lions to the amusement of tens of thousands of spectators. Others were crucified, covered in pitch, and set alight. Meanwhile Nero indulged himself in wild orgies and quickly spent the wealth that Claudius had amassed. A plot to overthrow Nero in 65 failed but did show that he was resented by many of the population. Finally, a large rebellion broke out in Spain where the provincial governor Servius Sulpicius Galba led his troops through GAUL to Rome. Nero at first fainted when he heard the news. He then pondered how to prevent the rebels from reaching Rome with one idea being to allow them to legally plunder Gaul, which he thought might occupy them for several months while he could collect together his own men. However, Galba led his men to Rome. With the Praetorian Guard fleeing, Nero was forced to leave for Greece. There he was recognized, captured, and executed. Galba, who succeeded him, did not last long as emperor. He was quickly ousted by Marcus Salvius Otho in the following year, who was then ousted by Vitellius, and finally by Vespasian.

See also ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Justinian I

(c. 482–565 C.E.) *Byzantine emperor*

Justinian was born to a nonaristocratic family in the Balkans. His uncle Justin served in the imperial bodyguard and rose to become its commanding officer and then emperor from 518 to 527 C.E. Justin promoted and

adopted his talented nephew and proclaimed him co-emperor in 527. Two years earlier Justinian had married Theodora, a former actress and prostitute, who would prove a strong imperial partner until her death in 548. Justinian envisioned the restoration of imperial unity and power that had been impaired during the fifth century, when the empire endured assaults by German tribes that removed most of the west from imperial control.

In 532 Justinian faced his gravest challenge in the Nika Riot in CONSTANTINOPLE (called so because the crowd shouted “*Nika*,” the Greek word for “conquer”). Justinian’s tax reforms and some of his officials were unpopular. Justinian attempted to arrest members of the Blues and Greens (the leading sports clubs which supported their charioteers who wore the said colors during the races in the Hippodrome) that were rioting. The riots escalated in force and various senators who opposed Justinian’s centralization of power used the riots, which appeared ready to topple the government, to propose a new imperial candidate. Justinian considered abandoning the throne. At this moment of doubt Theodora declared that she would rather die than abandon the imperial purple. Bolstered by her, Justinian unleashed soldiers under Belisarius and Mundo who massacred, reportedly, 30,000 people. The riot had the effect of strengthening Justinian’s position, as he used it to arrest and punish his political opponents.

He also used it to impose his stamp on Constantinople, sections of which had been burned down, including the church of HAGIA SOPHIA. The emperor built a new, far grander Hagia Sophia that was the greatest church in Christendom and the mark of Byzantine power and splendor to the 15th century. It stands today as one of the great works of world architecture. Justinian built or repaired other churches as well as fortresses throughout the empire. Procopius, a contemporary, wrote *On Buildings* to describe the imperial effort.

As part of his restoration of unity and power, Justinian commissioned the revision and reorganization of laws, known collectively as the Corpus Juris Civilis. This work comprised the Code (the law book), the Digest (legal decisions and commentaries), the Institutes (a legal textbook), and the Novels, which were the new laws promulgated after the Code.

Justinian’s greatest challenge was to find a way of uniting the various Christian groups in his empire. Without a solution his empire would remain divided between eastern lands, like Egypt and Syria, and the West. As a student of theology himself, Justinian was one of the few emperors to write theological works, though he was not above persecuting other groups to pressure

them to conform. He persecuted non-Christians such as Samaritans and pagans.

The theological problems even affected the imperial palace. His wife, Theodora, was pro-Monophysite, while he himself fluctuated between a pro-Chalcedonian and a more tolerant position. In 553 Justinian summoned the Fifth Ecumenical Council that met in Constantinople. This did not, unfortunately, bring a permanent solution. Justinian was more successful with other groups, namely the Christians of ARIANISM, who rejected the COUNCIL OF NICAIA and the Council of Ephesus, which proclaimed that Christ was begotten and not made by God. His persecution of them made relations with the German tribes in the West uneasy, since they too were Arians (except the Franks). Justinian’s goal of stamping out heresy and bringing the lands of the West back into Roman hands would both be accomplished by military assault.

Under Belisarius he campaigned first against the Vandals of North Africa, which he quickly conquered (533–534). The campaign then shifted to Sicily and Italy where the Ostrogoths were defeated in a long drawn-out conflict that devastated Italy (535–552). (Three years after the emperor’s death, the Lombards invaded Italy and deprived the empire of much of the reconquered peninsula.) Justinian also occupied portions of Spain held by the Visigoths. The army’s focus on the West, however, weakened the eastern and northern defenses.

Justinian’s vision of unity managed to bring entire regions back to the empire, created a lasting legal compilation, built one of the great monuments of world architecture, and asserted imperial power over all challenges. Yet, this was achieved at a great price. He was not able to find a solution to theological divisions, and the cost of the western reconquest emptied the treasury and opened up problems of defense for his successors.

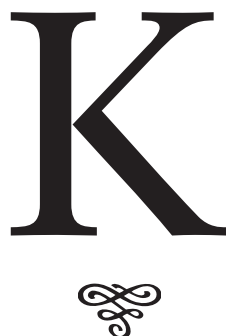
See also CODE OF JUSTINIAN; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); KHOSROW I; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Justinian, Code of

See CODE OF JUSTINIAN.



Kama Sutra

The *Kama Sutra* (or *Kama Shastra*) is one of three ancient Indian texts written in the SANSKRIT language that describe the permissible goals of life. It is devoted to the pursuit of karma, a legitimate goal but less exalted than the goal of *artha* (power), while the pursuit of dharma (moral law) was considered the most worthy.

Since creating the next generation is a vital task in ensuring the stability of society, all adults should know methods of achieving it efficiently and pleurably. According to tradition, the companion of Shiva, Nandi, who overheard the god making love to his wife Parvati and was consequently inspired, wrote the original *Kama Sutra*. The scholar Vatsayana redacted this version, sometime in the early centuries of the Common Era, possibly the fourth century. Vatsayana was an important commentator on the sutras, or aphorisms that were given by GAUTAMA BUDDHA to humankind for assisting them in their spiritual development. However, Vatsayana's version seems to incorporate works from other scholars and his own observations according to the accepted Indian tradition.

Although the *Kama Sutra* has become widely known as a semipornographic work of erotica, this is not the sole topic of its content. The acts of love or sexual congress are divided into eight different methods, each of which may be performed in one of eight different positions. There are, therefore, 64 different arts of love. Both heterosexuality and homosexuality are addressed, as well as female sexual satisfaction. These sections

may be seen as strengthening the bonds between people because they include details not just on how to create the next generation but also on how to provide pleasure and variety to each other without seeking a new domestic situation. The remainder of the 35 chapters also cover methods to attract a spouse and how to be a good wife, among a variety of other topics. Many people continue to follow the precepts of the *Kama Sutra* in the modern world, and some self-help manuals were inspired by it.

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JOHN WALSH

Kanishka

(2nd century C.E.) *Kushan emperor*

The greatest of the emperors of the KUSHAN EMPIRE, which stretched through modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and parts of northern India, Kanishka reigned for 20 years from about 127 C.E. During his reign the Kushan Empire reached its zenith as a major military power and also was to play an important role in redefining

Buddhism in the region. The Kushan emperors were of YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) ethnicity, tracing their origins back to China. In about 174 B.C.E. the HUNS had driven them westward and southward from China, taking over the Greco-Bactrian kingdom in 135 B.C.E. and establishing their rule over a large part of Central Asia. The empire they created controlled important trade routes, and the aims of the Kushan emperors had been to try to control trade between Rome and China. There is evidence of contact with the Roman Empire at Pompeii and with China.

Kanishka's major achievement was convening the Fourth Buddhist Council, held in Kashmir. Most historians argue that Kanishka embraced both Buddhism and also the Persian religion of Mithras, which later became popular among Roman soldiers. Followers of Theravada Buddhism criticized the Fourth Council, which led to the rise of Mahayana Buddhism. In spite of this opposition some 500 *bhikkhus* (Buddhist monks) made their way to Kashmir at the request of Emperor Kanishka. Their task was to edit the TRIPITAKA, which was reported to have taken 12 years, resulting in 300 verses and 9 million statements. The entire Buddhist scriptures, which had been in the GANDHARA vernacular of the Kushan Empire, were translated into SANSKRIT. The new ideas that emerged essentially started to bridge the differences between Hinduism and Buddhism with the Lord Buddha portrayed as a god. Some of these developments can be traced on the very few surviving coins of Emperor Kanishka's reign, which have an image of Buddha. Some Buddhist texts go as far as acclaiming Kanishka as a second king Ashoka whose kingdom was, by definition, a second holy land for Buddhism. Kanishka also launched wars against neighboring countries, extending the empire from the borders of China to modern-day Bengal in the east and to the basin of the Ganges in the west. It is not known exactly how Kanishka died, although popular accounts have him being smothered by his enemies.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Kautilya

(350–275 B.C.E.) *prime minister of India*

One of the earliest political thinkers of ancient India, Kautilya (Chanakaya), the celebrated author of the *Arthashastra*, was prime minister of the emperor Chandragupta (r. 326–301 B.C.E.) of the MAURYAN EMPIRE (326–200 B.C.E.). According to some historians, he is dated around fourth century C.E., belonging to the GUPTA EMPIRE (320–500 C.E.). He was educated in the famous University of Takshasilâ (Taxila) and afterward taught politics there. Repeated Greek invasions forced him to migrate to PATALIPUTRA, the capital of Magadha (presently Patna, the capital of Bihar Province). He soon fell out of favor with the ruling king Dhana Nanda (r. 334–322 B.C.E.) because of his outspoken and blunt nature. Indian legends speak of a meeting of Kautilya and Chandragupta, both of whom had an ax to grind against the Nanda dynasty. Dhana Nanda had humiliated Kautilya and had ousted Chandragupta from the army. Chandragupta deposed Dhana Nanda with the help of Kautilya and thus the first unified empire, covering most of present-day India and Pakistan, was created. The Mauryan Empire had a well-organized administration, thanks to the Brahman pundit Kautilya. When Chandragupta renounced his kingdom to become an ascetic, Kautilya remained as prime minister, but jealousy of some of the ministers put his life in danger. According to Indian legends, a jealous minister named Subandhu burned him to death in 275 B.C.E.

The most important of three books attributed to Kautilya is the *Arthashastra* (Science of material gains). Written in Sanskrit, the *Arthashastra* is a work on practical politics and covers topics on statecraft, the duties of a king, information pertaining to social life, the plant kingdom, the animal world, agriculture, minerals, and metals. The *Arthashastra* came into the limelight in the beginning of the 20th century and has been compared with *The Prince*, written by Machiavelli (1469–1527).

Kautilya covers in detail conduct of diplomatic affairs and policies to be followed with neighboring states. Kautilya speaks about preparation for war, methods for defeating independent kingdoms, and occupation of an enemy capital. The safety of the king was the first priority. There should be secret escape routes, the residential complex should be fireproofed, and there should be female guards armed with bows. We know from chapter five of the *Arthashastra* that Indians had a sound knowledge of metals, such as *arakuta* (brass), *vrattu* (steel), *kamsa* (bronze), and *tala* (bell metal). He talked of *manidhatu* (gem materials), different stones and jewelry, and *kachamani* (artificial gems) imitated by coloring glass.

Although not widely known in the world as compared to CONFUCIUS (551–479 B.C.E.), SUNZI (SUN TZU) (sixth century B.C.E.), and Machiavelli, his exposition of strategies of a well-planned economy, warfare, details of administration, and diplomatic games placed him as a top political theorist. He is known as the Indian Machiavelli, and the diplomatic enclave housing foreign embassies in the Indian capital of New Delhi is named after him, Kautilyapuri.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA AND SUDHANSU S. RATH

Khosrow I

(r. 531–579 C.E.) *Sassanid king*

Khosrow I, also known as Anushirvan, was the son and successor of Kavadh I and one of the most powerful kings of the SASSANID EMPIRE. He led Persia into a glorious age after a long period of rebellion and civil wars. Although not the oldest son of Kavadh I, the terms of his father's will and the support of aristocrats and Zoroastrian clerics led to him being crowned in 531 C.E. In the second year of his reign Khosrow agreed to an "eternal peace" with the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I. By the terms of the agreement the Byzantine government subsidized the defense of the Caucasus Pass, which had been used by Berber tribes to attack Persia and Byzantium.

Byzantine support for rebellions in ARMENIA and GEORGIA against Persians convinced Khosrow to break his peace agreement and begin a second war with the Byzantine Empire in 540. After establishing another peace, Khosrow successfully fought the Romans in Lazicia on the Black Sea and in Mesopotamia until 562, when a 50-year peace was established. Using the peace between Persia and Rome, and with a coalition of Turks, Khosrow defeated the Hephthalites, a permanent threat for Persia. Khosrow made many reforms while king and continued Kavadh's attempts to reform the taxation system by abandoning the annual taxation calendar, introducing instead a constant system of taxation that was based on a survey of property and annual income. Changing the taxation policy gave Khosrow the ability to make long-term plans for the country. Because of his attempts to

establish social justice, Khosrow became famous for his just rule. Khosrow I organized a permanent army whose discipline was superior to that of the Romans. He was also the first Sassanid king to pay a salary to soldiers and provide weapons. In order to minimize the risk from plots against him Khosrow divided the empire into four regions, each of which was ruled by a military leader. During this time Ctesiphon, his capital, became a metropolis, and he developed his famous palace, Taq-e Kasra.

In addition to founding new towns, Khosrow constructed buildings, canals, and strong fortifications in frontier towns to protect his empire. Although Khosrow was an orthodox Zoroastrian, he was tolerant of other religious beliefs. Because of Khosrow's interest in philosophy, seven Greek Neoplatonic philosophers immigrated to Persia after the Academia of Athens was closed in 529 by Justinian I. With his support, many books from India, Greece, and Syria were translated into Pahlavi. One of these books, *Kalileh and Dimneh*, remains one of the most famous works of Persian literature.

In his last years Khosrow extended the boundaries of his territory to YEMEN. The Romans stimulated the Turks to attack the eastern boundaries of the Persian Empire, and then attacked Mesopotamia, part of Persia. Despite his old age Khosrow personally led the Persian army and defeated the Romans. He went on to conquer Armenia, Syria, Cappadocia, and the fortress of Dara on the Euphrates, before forcing the Byzantine emperor Tiberius II to sign another peace treaty. In 579, while negotiating the peace contract, Khosrow died, and his son, Hormozid IV, succeeded him.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WARS; ZOROASTRIANISM.

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MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR AND FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH

Kija

(c. 12th century B.C.E.) *Chinese prince, ruler of Korea*

Kija is the Korean rendition of a semilegendary man named Qizi (Ch'i Tzu) in Chinese transliteration, who

lived in the 12th century B.C.E. and played an important role in advancing civilization in Korea. The Korean peninsula is located in northeastern Asia, adjoining China. The ancestors of the Koreans moved into the peninsula from the Manchurian region of present-day China and belong to the Mongoloid family of peoples, akin to the Chinese and Japanese. The early Koreans lived in tribal units, first by fishing and hunting, gradually developing agriculture. Korean mythology has Tan'gun, the first ruler of Korea, as born of a union between a female bear and the son of the divine creator, in 2333 B.C.E.

Another legend has a prince of China's first historic dynasty, the SHANG (or Yin) DYNASTY, migrating to Korea c. 1122 B.C.E. with his followers and founding a state, called CHOSON, with a capital city near modern Pyongyang in northern Korea. The last king of the Shang, reputedly cruel and vicious, listened only to the advice of his evil advisers and his wicked concubine. In despair his kinsman Qizi, or Lord of Qi, decided to leave the Shang realm before its inevitable fall. He led his followers across Manchuria to Korea and founded a dynasty. Korean legends have Kija ruling Korea for 40 years, cite several locations as his grave site, and credit him as the founder of a dynasty that ruled for generations.

Archaeological evidence indicates a gradual flow of cultural influence from northern China into Manchuria and Korea during the first millennium B.C.E. The wars that led to the fall of the Shang and consolidation of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY in China did propel refugees to seek safe new homes, both to the northeast and south of the Yellow River. Coming from the Yellow River, where the most advanced civilization in East Asia had developed, the dispersal of peoples did bring development to regions where they settled.

See also ANYANG.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Kingdom of God

The Kingdom of God is central to the message of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. The idea that God is king of the world is a concept that every ancient nation utilized for its propaganda purposes, and the Jewish people were no exception. However, the precise expression is not used at all in the Jewish scriptures but is found only in the

deuterocanonical book of Wisdom and the New Testament. Divine kingship is found in a few books of the Bible: PSALMS, the latter half of Isaiah, Daniel, Exodus 15. The idea is closely knit with the idea of God's intervention to bring history to an end and to inaugurate a new age of direct divine rule. It is in this context that the idea meshes with the themes of apocalyptic literature. The literature between the Old Testament and the New Testament, called the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, more often give attention to the existence of God's kingdom, though it is not a prominent theme in the literature of QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jesus uses the term uniquely both in its precise expression and in its general meaning. In its usage prior to Jesus it almost always means something that is going to happen in the future. But in the New Testament Jesus also means that it is already present, a concept that theologians call "realized eschatology." Most often, Jesus intends the Kingdom of God to be a future event ("may your kingdom come"), but there are times in his speeches when he means that the kingdom has partially arrived in the exercise of his preaching and miracles. One notable line from the Gospels suggests this new dimension: "The kingdom is in your midst." By this he does not mean that the kingdom is an interior and mystical state; this would be a form of Gnosticism that is simply not present in the Gospels. Rather, he means that the kingdom manifests itself through the actions of faith. God, in effect, is taking control, and the kingdom is present.

Realized eschatology is most commonly found in the last and most theological Gospel of John. Here the term *Kingdom of God* is less often used, but the effects of the kingdom are experienced in this present time and space. When Jesus says, "I am the resurrection and the life," he collapses all of time and creation into himself. His very presence is the sign that the kingdom has come, and his ongoing presence abides in those who believe, such as the church. Questions arise about the realized eschatology of the Gospel of John because it is debated how authentically it represents the historical life and teaching of Jesus. In order to understand Jesus in any of the Gospels it would be better to translate the *Kingdom of God* as the reign of God: The stress is thereby on the power of God to act, more than on a physical, spatial, or political dimension. It is activated through faith and manifested through divine interventions in space and time, phenomena that are called miracles. The kingdom is thus present in part but is mainly imagined as future oriented. The future orientation of the term led the way for later Christians to speak more and more of heaven as the Kingdom of God. Later fathers of the church such as EUSEBIUS thought that the Kingdom of God was a political idea

that was fulfilled in the reign of Emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The emperor then became the king over state and church, an idea that later was called Caesaropapacy. This idea took hold in the Byzantine Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the Russian "Third Rome," and among the military religious orders of the CRUSADES.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); TORAH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

King's Highway and Way of the Sea

There were two main highways in ancient times between Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the lower Arabian Peninsula: the King's Highway and the Way of the Sea. The King's Highway largely skirted the desert and served desert peoples. It ran from DAMASCUS to the Gulf of Aqabah, and from there it forked into a route that crossed the Sinai to Egypt and a route that ran the eastern coast of the Red Sea into the Hejaz, or western Arabic coastal region. While the term appears often in historical records, it may have originally meant simply "royal road" or "principal highway," with no connection to a particular king or kingdom.

The King's Highway has always been an important road for pilgrims, traders, and conquerors. The Bible records it as the route that MOSES and the "children of Israel" might well have taken after they fled from ancient Egypt. Most likely it was the path that Abraham used to pursue the desert kings who had taken his nephew Lot as hostage. Throughout later history the King's Highway was a crucial resource for kings and generals. On this highway DAVID and SOLOMON secured trade and leverage over their eastern neighbors, Moab and Edom. When the ARAMAEANS arose under Ben-Hadad I and Hazael, they expanded southward by controlling this highway. The people of ASSYRIA took Damascus and the Transjordan by means of it, and centuries later the NABATAEANS used the King's Highway to ship their spices and luxury goods from their hideaway refuge in Petra to the markets of Damascus and beyond.

Around the turn of the millennium Rome entered the area and subjugated Nabatea a century later. The Romans made the King's Highway a part of their imperial

road system, especially using it as a means of transport through the forbidding Arab deserts. They called it the Via Nova Traiana (Trajan's New Way) because of TRAJAN's sponsorship. Its strategic value did not end when the area was traded off between Byzantines, Arabs, Persians, and Muslims. Because of the requirement for PILGRIMAGE (hajj), the road became even more important for Bedouins and northern Arab Muslims for travel to Mecca and Medina. Only in the 16th century did the Ottomans develop an alternate route. The crusaders fortified the highway at the turn of the next millennium, and their castles are still imposing landmarks in the modern Jordanian villages along the way. Today the route is called Tariq es-Sultani (Way of the Sultan).

Ancient road builders left traces along the highway, from the Roman milestones to the crusader castles. Even today villages of the modern state of Jordan mark its path. The King's Highway follows the highlands and ridges east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and some of the most spectacular desert scenery in the Middle East greets travelers. Freshwater springs flow at various places and so explain the popularity of the King's Highway.

The Way of the Sea was the principal coastal highway and the one most chosen by traffickers between Mesopotamia and Egypt. The reasons are simple: It was close to water, food sources, and towns and avoided the highlands. Damascus was the northern junction, and the path went from there to the Sea of Galilee, then through Jezreel Valley and Megiddo, reaching the Mediterranean coast and following it until Zoan in northern Egypt.

Various parties controlled the Way of the Sea. At first it fell under the influence of the Egyptians (and was called the Way of Horus in ancient sources), then under the Philistines (called the Way of the Land of the Philistines in the Bible), and finally under the Romans (who called it Via Maris, Way of the Sea). There were three main sites of strategic importance along the Way of the Sea: Gezer along the southern section of the road in the area contested by the Egyptians and the Philistines; Megiddo in the central section guarding the fertile Jezreel Valley, and Hazor in the north, where the road forked toward the city-states of the Phoenicians in the northwest or toward Damascus in the northeast.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Kush

The Kushite kingdom flourished in the northern part of present-day Sudan (called NUBIA by the Romans) and southern Egypt. From their capital at Napata, the Kushites controlled the trade between Egypt and East Africa and developed into a major military power. Under the leadership of Piye, Kush forces moved into Upper Egypt, conquering THEBES and, in spite of strong resistance, Memphis. Under King Shabako (r. 721–706 B.C.E.) the Kushites established their own dynastic rule over Egypt but retained many of the old Egyptian customs, particularly regarding burials, and adopted the Egyptian pantheon of gods. The Kushites developed their own written language based on Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, but as this language has yet to be deciphered, much remains to be learned about Kushite history and customs.

As the Assyrians conquered the eastern Mediterranean and moved into Egypt, the Kushites were forced to retreat southward into the Sudan where they built a new capital at MEROË, north of modern Khartoum. Controlling the valuable gold mines in the Sudan and acting as middlemen in trade between East Africa and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as Greece, the Kushites grew wealthy. The numerous ruins of temples, tombs, pyramids, and palaces at Meroë and environs are evidence of the prosperity and artistic complexity of the Kushite kingdom. The Kushites also produced high-grade iron for the manufacture of weapons. They may have transmitted their skills in iron smelting and the lost-wax process for bronze casting to West Africa, or that knowledge may have emerged independently in that area.

By 300 C.E. the Kushite kingdom had begun to decline as its trade in iron and other products with Egypt diminished. Attacks from the newly emerging kingdom at Axum in present-day Ethiopia further weakened it, and it finally fell to Axum rule in the fourth century C.E.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Kushan Empire

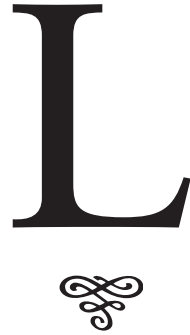
The development and consolidation of the HAN DYNASTY in China, particularly in terms of the expansion of population and agriculture, had an impact on the nomadic tribes along its northern border. In 135 B.C.E. the Han Chinese emperor sent his emissary Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien) to find the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) for a joint offensive against the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU). Zhang found the Yuezhi, now calling themselves Kushans, in modern-day Afghanistan but failed to persuade them to renew their enmity against the Xiongnu. Earlier the Xiongnu had been forced to move west, and they in turn had displaced a confederacy of settled tribes who then came to occupy a wide swath of land across northern India, BACTRIA, and GANDHARA, which are now part of Afghanistan. These people were known to the Chinese as Yuezhi and to others further west as Indo-Scythians. One branch of the Yuezhi was known as the Kushans, or Kusana, probably as a result of the connection with the Chinese province of Gansu (Kansu). The Kushans established themselves as the dominant force in the north of the Indian subcontinent, parts of Central Asia, and Afghanistan during the first three centuries of the Common Era. The expansion of the Kushan Empire is most usually ascribed to the leader KANISHKA.

The Kushan Empire controlled long stretches of the SILK ROAD and this served to provide rulers with considerable revenue and power. Under Kaniska, the Kushan Empire was considered an equal of both Rome and China. Trade goods passed through Kushan territory from both the east and the west, influencing Kushans with trends and ideas from around the world. It was through Kushan territory that Central Asia received early Buddhist ideas and knowledge. The emperor Kaniska welcomed ideas from other countries and scholars debated ZOROASTRIANISM, Brahmanism, and Greek religious concepts. A lasting memorial to this is seen in the Gandhara school of art. The Kushan culture declined as independent forces in India and, particularly, the SASSANID EMPIRE in Iran began to attain more influence.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JOHN WALSH



Laozi (Lao Tzu) and Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu)

founders of Daoism

Confucianism and DAOISM (TAOISM) are the two most influential philosophies in China. Both had their roots during the later ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY in the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY. The political and social environment that inspired the Hundred Schools was the breakdown of the Zhou monarchy and the rise of powerful states that warred with one another for the right to rule China, and the economic progress and social changes that had disrupted the traditional social order.

All philosophers agreed that China had lost its way, or *dao*. Whereas the Confucians were traditionalists who interpreted ancient texts to fit their view of political philosophy and morality, the Daoists were rebels against the bonds of a decadent society; they preached renunciation of the world and a return to primitive simplicity, which was to them the golden age. Whereas a fixed date and fairly accurate biography have been established for CONFUCIUS, nothing is certain about later Daoist claims concerning their founder Laozi. He purportedly lived in the sixth century B.C.E., hailed from the southern state called Zhu (Ch'u), and worked as an archivist in the Zhou court. He later decided to leave China and was detained at the western border; the guards would not let him go until he had written down his philosophy. The resulting 5,000-word-long work is called the *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*) or *Daodejing* (*Tao-te*

Ching), which means the “Canon of the Way and virtue” and from which the name Daoism is derived.

After that he traveled west, reached India, and converted GAUTAMA BUDDHA, founder of Buddhism, to his philosophy. However, Laozi means “old master” in Chinese, indicating that the founder of Daoism did not even have a surname, though his followers in later centuries gave him one, Li. Whether he existed or not, there were hermits and recluses in China during the era of the Hundred Schools, and Daoists were obviously among them. This school is also called “Teaching of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi” (the YELLOW EMPEROR is the mythical founder of the Chinese nation) or the “Teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi.” Zhuangzi means master Zhuang. His given name was Zhou, and he lived between around 369–286 B.C.E. He was a historical figure who was a minor official for a while but lived as a recluse most of the time. Zhuangzi was the second most important figure of Daoism and was contemporary of MENCIUS, the Second Sage of Confucianism. He and his followers left a prose work named the *Zhuangzi* (*Chuang Tzu*).

The *Laozi*, or *Daodejing*, contains a philosophy of life and government. It has been read and puzzled over by its Chinese readers and in translations by readers the world over because it can be approached at different levels and yield different interpretations. It is part prose and part poetry and both enigmatic and profound. It opens thus:

The Dao [Way] that can be told of
Is not the eternal Dao;

The name that can be named
 Is not the eternal name,
 Nameless, it is the origin of Heaven and Earth
 Namable, it is the mother of all things.
 Refrain from exalting the worthy,
 So that the people will not scheme and contend;
 Refrain from prizing rare possessions,
 So that the people will not steal;
 Refrain from displaying objects of desire,
 So that the people's hearts will not be disturbed
 Therefore a sage rules his people thus:
 He empties their minds,
 And fills their bellies;
 He weakens their ambitions
 And strengthens their bones.

In other words, the ideal ruler and government do not interfere in the lives of the people and lead them to the golden age of primitive simplicity by nonaction. It is civilization that has corrupted humanity from its early state of innocence. The sage practices nonaction, gives up worldly ambitions, and lives a simple life in accord with nature. The *Laozi* also criticized the do-gooders (such as Confucians) thus: "He [the ruler] strives always to keep the people innocent of knowledge and desires, and to keep the knowing ones from meddling. By doing nothing that interferes with anything, nothing is left unregulated."

The *Zhuangzi* is a book that is full of humor and whimsy, which pleads for a kind of spiritual freedom for humans so that he or she can rise above individualism and partial understanding. Only then can a person achieve full happiness that is beyond change and freedom from both life and death. One passage from his book illustrates his point. When Zhuangzi's wife died, his friend Huizi (Hui Tzu) came to offer condolences. Finding him singing Huizi was offended and reprimanded him for disrespectful behavior. Zhuangzi replied: "You misjudge me. When she died I was in despair, as any man might be. But soon pondering on what had happened, I told myself that in death no strange new fate befalls us. . . . For not nature only but man's being has its seasons, its sequence of spring and autumn, summer and winter. If some one is tired and has gone to lie down, we do not pursue him with shouting and bawling. She whom I have lost has lain down to sleep for a while . . . in the Great Inner Room. To break in upon her rest with the noise of lamentation would but show that I knew nothing of nature's Sovereign Law. That is why I ceased to mourn."

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

late barbarians

Late barbarians invaded present-day Europe, contributing politically, culturally, and militarily to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire by establishing their own kingdoms. The HUNS, Alans, and Goths from the Asiatic steppes were the first wave of land invaders to make inroads into the waning Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., while the Vandals, Sueve, and Burgundians pressured the Roman Empire from the west. The Franks, Alamans, and Bavarians invaded during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Lombards and Avars were the last of the land invaders in the sixth and seventh centuries. The maritime invaders included Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

THE HUNS

The skillful mounted archers known as the Huns, who derived from present-day Mongolia, were an amalgam of multiracial, pastoralist nomads. Their invasion into southeastern Europe in 371 C.E. set off a domino effect of invasions from various tribes and geographical directions that permanently changed the economic and political landscape of Europe. The Huns vanquished the Alans (Alani) who had settled in Pannonia, between the Don and Volga Rivers, and the Ostrogoths, who occupied the area between the Dniester and the Don Rivers. They also defeated the Goths in present-day Romania in 376.

The Huns allied briefly with Roman general Flavius Aëtius (c. 406–454) who had been a Hunnish hostage under King Rua (Rugila) in present-day Hungary. The Roman-Hun alliance ended when Rua died in 434 and his nephews Bleda and Attila, sons of his brother Mundzuk, succeeded to the throne. Attila had Bleda murdered in 441 while the Huns reached the Danube River on the northern boundary of the Roman Empire and invaded Thrace. A peace treaty with Rome granted them an enormous tribute, but when a payment was missed Attila waged war on the Romans on the Danubian border in 441. The Huns then moved into Italy and Greece. Aëtius and his allies defeated Attila on June 20, 451 at Chalons-en-Champagne at the Battle of Catalaunian Fields. Attila died in 453, and his sons divided his empire and began to fight their own people. In 455 the Huns were finally

routed at the Battle of Pannonia by an alliance of tribes including the Ostrogoths. The Huns were prevented from moving into the Eastern Roman Empire; consequently, they vanished as a tribe.

THE GOTHs

The Goths were originally a group of Teutonic tribes from Scandinavia who had settled between the Vistula and Oder Rivers in present-day Poland. The Roman Empire and the Goths met under the rule of Gordian III (238–244 C.E.). The Goths invaded Thrace in 238 C.E. The Romans concluded an alliance (*foedus*) with them in 332 that remained in effect until 350 when Gothic king Ermeric extended his territory from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Black Sea. Around 369 divisive internal issues caused a permanent split between the Goths, creating the Teuringi, meaning “forest people,” who eventually became known as the Visigoths (western Goths), and the Greutingi, meaning “shore people,” and known as the Ostrogoths (eastern Goths). Little animosity persisted among the split Gothic tribes; groups would pass from one tribe to the other.

THE VISIGOTHS

The Visigoths first gained power under Emperor THEODOSIUS I (346–395), who used them to help defend the frontier in Moesia, present-day Bulgaria. Under elected king Alaric (c. 370–410) they left Moesia, became Arian, and plundered cities in the present-day Balkans and Italy until an pact was made with the eastern emperor in 397. Alaric’s forces grew in strength until ultimately Alaric besieged Rome in 408 and 409 and received a huge ransom. Alaric proclaimed the usurper Priscus Attalus as his puppet Western Roman emperor. In 410 Alaric occupied Rome, an act that contributed to the final collapse of the Roman Empire.

THE BURGUNDIANS

The Burgundians, who had settled in present-day Poland, moved westward around 260 C.E. to the present-day Koblenz area. They founded their own nation, were crushed by the Huns, later established a *foedus* (alliance) with Rome, and rooted themselves in present-day Geneva. The Franks eventually vanquished the Burgundians, who converted to Catholicism by 533 and submitted to the Merovingian dynasty in 534, under whom they thrived.

THE FRANKS

The Franks were originally an alliance of numerous German tribes that included the Allemani, Franks, and Sax-

ons. The Franks moved into present-day Belgium by 357 C.E., converted to Christianity in 360, and were soundly defeated by the Romans at the Battle of Argentoratum. In 486 the Franks defeated the Romans in present-day France. Around 496 the Allemani component of the Franks were defeated, and they became members of the Ostrogoth tribe then ruled by Theodoric.

THE VANDALS

The Vandals first raided the Roman Empire around 275 C.E. As they fled from the Huns they settled in GAUL and then Spain from 409 to 411. They moved to North Africa ultimately conquering Algeria and Morocco. The Vandals destroyed Hippo and finally settled in CARTHAGE in 439, raided Sicily and Italy, then sacked Rome in 455. The Western Roman Empire, suffering from population decline, decaying cities, and a poor economy, finally collapsed in 476.

Their vicious methods made their name synonymous with wanton destruction. Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I conquered the Vandals in 533.

THE SUEVI

The Suevi were a Germanic tribe that resided in present-day Czech Republic. They were pressured by the Huns to relocate, and in 407 C.E. they crossed the Rhine, eventually settling in Galicia, present-day Spain. They were vanquished by the Visigoths in 456 and disappeared from the written record.

THE LOMBARDS

The Lombards were from present-day northwest Germany. They migrated south and by the sixth century C.E. moved into present-day northern Italy. The Franks besieged the Lombards in 773. Emperor Charlemagne (742–814) intervened and captured Lombard king Desiderius in 767, effectively ending Lombard rule in Italy.

THE AVARS

The Avars were mounted nomads from Central Asia who settled on the present-day Hungarian plain. An 80,000-strong expedition of Avars, Huns, Gepids, and Bulgars laid siege to CONSTANTINOPLE in 626 C.E., but the attempt was unsuccessful. The Avars successfully pushed the Croats and the Serbs southward and fought the Merovingians in present-day France. However, Charlemagne destroyed their capital in 796. Shortly thereafter the Avars disappeared as a tribe because they incorporated themselves into the Carolingian dynasty.

THE ANGLES AND SAXONS

The Angles and Saxons derived from the present-day Netherlands, western Germany, and southern Denmark. Their maritime movements resulted in their settling in present-day England in the fifth century C.E. after the Romans withdrew their legions from Britain. They conquered Celtic Britain and made the people subjects. The Angles and Saxons founded numerous kingdoms of which Northumbria, Wessex, and Mercia were the most prominent. The Anglo-Saxons established a strong culture but were vanquished by the Norman invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066. The Jutes, from present-day Jutland in Denmark, were one of three Teutonic tribes to invade present-day England in the fifth century C.E. They settled on the Isle of Wight and in Kent.

The major effect derived from the late barbarians was the push toward the ultimate destruction of the Roman Empire. Their subsequent empires and kingdoms became the forerunners to the modern nation-states.

See also ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Latin Church

The Latin Church must be defined in relation to the GREEK CHURCH. The fact that the former came to mean Roman Catholic (as opposed to Greek Orthodox for the latter) was a function of the politics of the later part of the first millennium C.E. At first the Latin Church was simply an extension of the missionary efforts of Jews and Gentiles who believed that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was the messiah, the one promised in the Jewish scriptures who would fulfill the covenant of Israel. As the missionaries moved to the heart of the Mediterranean world, Rome, they conveyed their message using the Greek language and thought. From the beginning the Christian communities in the Diaspora

Jewish world wrestled with its message using logic and philosophy to explain its message, not just the appeal and initiation experiences typical of a MYSTERY CULT. In addition, early Christianity brought to Rome and points further west the Greek sense of visual art and self-discipline that later developed into fondness for icons and monastic life, more typical of the Greek Church.

At first, the term *catholic* was used to describe the common culture of the Christian Church, whether in the East or West. Ignatius of Antioch used the term c. 110 C.E. (*kata* meaning “according to,” and *holos* meaning “the whole”) as a prepositional phrase describing the local church resisting division, but within another 100 years, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA used the term to speak of the “universal” church that did not commune with the heretical groups. By the time of the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE (381 C.E.), the term was used in the creed as one of the four main characteristics of the true church: it was “one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.”

The Latin Church increasingly used *catholic* to define its traditions and doctrines, while the Greek Church embraced another common term, *orthodox* (“right opinion”), to describe itself. The Council of Chalcedon (451) named Rome and Constantinople as the leading centers of the Christian Church, and in the following centuries these two cities represented the diverging Latin and Greek Churches. When various ravaging tribes overran Rome in the fifth century, Constantinople became increasingly the center of classical civilization, a fact that caused many Latin Christians to complain bitterly when Greeks did not come to their aid. By the time of JUSTINIAN I Latin had faded as an official language of the Eastern empire, thus increasing the cultural distance between the two churches.

The pope and political patrons such as the Franks dominated the Latin Church, while the Greek Church gave prominence to the “ecumenical patriarch” (who was given less authority than the pope) and his more dominant political patron, the Byzantine emperor. Centralization of authority became far more pronounced in the Latin Church, and with this came standardization of doctrinal development.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Legalism

Legalism in Chinese is called *fajia* (*fa-chia*), meaning “school of law.” It is not strictly a philosophy but a set of amoral and cynical rules aimed at total control and regimentation of society in the interest of a powerful state that is successful in war. It developed late in the Warring States era (403–222 B.C.E.), during the QIN (CH’IN) DYNASTY, and is credited as the reason for its successful drive to unify China.

The first Legalist leader was Gungsun Yang (Kung-sun Yang), better known as Shang Yang or Lord Shang (d. 330 B.C.E.). He wrote the *Book of Lord Shang*, which emphasized government by law, giving the school its name. Lord Shang became chief minister of the state of Qin. He opposed the feudal order as anachronistic and replaced it with a centralized government in which military and civil officers were promoted by merit. Agriculture and war were promoted and glorified because these activities made a state rich and strong, whereas music, literature, and history were condemned as useless and poisons to the mind. Man-made laws, not divine or moral laws, were all encompassing, severely punishing people for disobedience and richly rewarding those who served the state well; no one was exempt. When the system was completely in place, the state was supposed to run flawlessly and the ruler was supposed to be able to enjoy life in the palace untroubled.

Two other Legalist leaders were Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.E.) and Li Si (Li Ssu, d. 208 B.C.E.). Both studied under the heterodox Confucian philosopher XUNZI (HSUN TZU) and went on to serve the Qin state. Han Fei wrote a book named after himself, and like Lord Shang’s book, it was a guide for operating a Legalist-style government that emphasized authority, administrative techniques, and the law. Han Fei fell from power at the hands of his schoolmate and rival Li Si and was forced to take poison in prison. Li became chief minister of Qin and guided its final push to supreme power under the first emperor. He too died in prison at the hands of his political enemy; two years later the Qin empire fell, and the discredited and hated Legalist school would be discarded for all time.

Legalism emphasized the use of ruthless power to create an all-powerful state run on impartial and strict laws that could self-perpetuate endlessly. Rewards and punishments were manipulated so that people would serve the interests of the state. Everything was regulated, including thought, hence chief minister Li Si advocated and carried out the burning of books and the killing of hundreds of Confucian scholars after the Qin unification. Lord Shang, Han Fei, and Li Si developed

and implemented Legalist ideas and techniques, which enabled Qin to defeat its rivals, unify China, and briefly impose its totalitarian rule.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; CONFUCIUS; HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

legionaries

Legionaries were the soldiers of the Roman Republic and Empire, who collectively formed groups of between 1,000 and 6,000 men called legions. Legionaries are widely regarded as some of the most efficient and effective military personnel of the ancient world. Legionaries achieved astonishing victories over the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and dozens of barbarian tribes, often in the face of far more numerous armies.

Five distinct types of legionaries served in the Roman legions: light infantry, cavalry, and three kinds of heavy infantry. Members of the light infantry, or *velites*, were armed with a short sword called a *gladius*, a bundle of light javelins, and a small round shield that offered limited protection. *Velites* tended to be recruited from poor citizens who could not afford more elaborate weapons and armor. They were not organized into rigid units; they served instead in a flexible support role to assist the other types of legionaries.

The cavalry, or *equites*, were the most elite and prestigious unit in a Roman legion and tended to number approximately 300 legionaries, regardless of the size of the rest of the legion. They were armed with a comparatively long sword called a *spartha*, several javelins, body armor, a helmet, and a round shield.

Most *equites* were wealthy citizens who could afford the expense of their equipment and horses. Their main role in battle was to charge at enemy soldiers, particularly when the foes were retreating. Many wealthy Roman citizens became *equites* in order to provide a foundation for later political careers.

Heavy infantry tended to be drawn from wealthy citizens and were divided into three classes based on age. The youngest heavy legionaries, those in their late teens and early 20s, formed the *hastati*, which made up the legion's front line. The second line of heavy infantry was made up of men in their late 20s and early 30s, who were known as *principes*, or men in the "prime of their lives." They were armed with a *gladius*, two heavy javelins, heavy body armor, and a large semicylindrical shield called the *scutum*. Finally, the third line of heavy infantry was made up of older and very experienced legionaries, the *triarii*. *Triarii* were generally equipped with the heaviest armor and carried a long and heavy spear instead of javelins. The primary role of all heavy infantry was to directly engage enemy troops and fight to the death.

In the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.E. heavy legionaries fought in units called *maniples*, which were commanded by *centurions*. The *maniples* were arranged in a checkerboard formation so that the *maniples* in the second line, the *principes*, would cover the gaps in the front line of *hastati*. *Maniples* of *triarii*, in turn, covered the gaps in between the *maniples* of *principes*.

When marching across a battlefield to engage their enemies, Roman heavy legionaries would first throw their javelins to disrupt the enemy's front lines. Following this, they used their shields to protect themselves and punch at their enemies in face-to-face combat while stabbing with their short swords. Their goal was to open a hole in the enemy front lines, break the enemy formations, and convince the enemy to flee in panic. *Velites* would assist by throwing more javelins at the enemy to further disrupt their lines. Finally, when the enemy broke, the Roman *equites* would chase them down and try to inflict additional casualties. The expense of maintaining a large number of elite soldiers was enormous. As a result, the legionaries disappeared as a class of soldier in the fifth century C.E. when the political and economic infrastructure needed to support them collapsed.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE.

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SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

Leonidas

(d. 480 B.C.E.) *king and general*

When news came to Sparta that the Persians were advancing for the second time in 10 years into the Greek heartland, only King Leonidas and his hand-picked band of 300 were dispatched to stop them. It was the feast of Carneia, and the Spartans were not inclined to go against their latent isolationist tendencies by committing more resources. Leonidas picked up some Greek recruits along the way, forced some 1,100 Boeotians to join him, and then marched to the strategic pass called Thermopylae. Here some 7,000 troops eventually were dismissed when the Persians outflanked them. Leonidas refused retreat and held out at the pass for almost three days, probably in August 480 B.C.E.

The main historian for this battle is HERODOTUS, who leaves out many conflicting details known from other contemporary writers and modern archaeologists. Other routes would have allowed the Persians to advance, but for some reason they chose Thermopylae as their main attack. Perhaps the Persian generals expected that the Greeks would melt away in intimidation, for they waited three days before attacking Thermopylae. For the first two days Leonidas and his men brilliantly defend the pass. On the third day of fighting the locals give the Persians advice about an alternative and unguarded trail through the highlands overlooking the pass. After an all-night march by the elite Persian force called the Immortals, Leonidas and his troops faced a rear attack along with a frontal assault by the vastly superior Persian regulars. Despite fierce Spartan resistance that killed two Persian princes, Leonidas and his 300 were slaughtered to the last man. Most of their collaborators and allies also were cut down, with the exception of a few Thebans who are said to have surrendered.

The passage of time only increased Leonidas's reputation. The Persians mutilated Leonidas's body, but 40 years later, the Spartans claimed to have recovered the corpse. In a ceremonial reburial a fifth-century B.C.E. hero shrine was established for Leonidas in Sparta. Somewhere on the battlefield a monument was erected that announced to future generations the glory of Leonidas and his 300: "Stranger, tell the Spartans that we lie here, being obedient to their words." A famous lyric poem reads: "Renowned was their fortune and fair their fate. Their tomb is an altar; instead of laments they have remembrance, instead of pity, praise. Their shroud is such as neither decay nor the victory of time will touch, for they were brave men and their graveyard took the glory of Greece for its inmate. To this Leonidas the king

of Sparta bears witness who has left a great memorial of valor and eternal glory.” Ultimately Leonidas’s gallant action paid off. He probably believed that he could hold out with his small group, given his initial success at Thermopylae. The stealthy movements of the Persian Immortals took him by complete surprise. However, the detainment of the Persians for two days probably made the engagement of Battle of Artemisium necessary, a naval clash that the Greeks won. Leonidas had given Athens the time to evacuate and so the Greek navy prevailed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; XERXES I.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Leo the Great

(c. 400–461 C.E.) *pope and theologian*

Leo I, elected pope in 440 C.E., is one of two popes to have earned the epithet “great,” the other being GREGORY THE GREAT. Little is known of his early life. He first appears with certainty in the historical record as holding the important position of archdeacon under Pope Celestine (422–432). When the controversy between CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and NESTORIUS erupted in 429–431, it was Leo who, on behalf of Pope Celestine, recruited John Cassian to write against the errors of Nestorius. Cassian in turn later honored Leo, calling him “the ornament of the Roman church and of the divine ministry.” We also have Leo’s own testimony that Cyril of Alexandria wrote to him in 431 in order to gain his support in a controversy concerning Juvenal’s attempt to promote the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Under Pope Sixtus III (432–440) Leo continued his service as archdeacon, supporting the pope in his efforts against the Pelagian, Julian of Eclanum. While away in GAUL on a diplomatic mission in 440, Leo learned of his election to succeed Sixtus III and returned to Rome for his coronation. He possessed a very strong conviction that each pope was the direct successor to Peter—and acted as Peter for the sake of the church. This keen conviction of his own role as Peter for the church marked all that he did in the 21 years of his reign.

Leo can be credited with three primary accomplishments. First, he was an effective teacher of the Chris-

tian faith. Leo’s short homilies (96 in all) reveal both his oratorical skill and his theological insight. He was not a speculative theologian like AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, but he had a remarkable ability to synthesize eloquently the essentials of the Christian faith. His homilies are largely on the feasts of the church year, and they weave together the profound truths of Christian doctrine with a practical orientation to living the Christian life day to day. Leo also carried a particular burden for the poor; his preaching is marked with a consistent plea for alms and for works of charity.

Leo’s second noteworthy accomplishment is as pastor of the Western LATIN CHURCH. His letters show how active he was in handling disputes, appointing bishops, and offering pastoral wisdom for many crises of his day. Perhaps his most famous intervention occurred in 452, when he traveled from Rome to Mantua to confront Attila the Hun who was ravaging all of northern Italy. Somehow Leo persuaded Attila to stop his approach toward Rome and withdraw. A few years later, in 455 he confronted the Vandal leader, Gaiseric, outside Rome’s city walls, and persuaded him to limit his destruction of the city.

Leo is best known, however, for the role he played in shaping the doctrine of Christ. He was a key player in what is known as the Christological controversy of the fifth century. In the midst of a debate in 448 between Flavian and the monk Eutyches, Leo composed a doctrinal letter (known as his *Tome*) on the two natures of Christ. Initially rejected, Leo’s *Tome* played a crucial role in the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Leo is rightly credited with helping to forge the doctrine of the Incarnation for both the Western Latin and the Eastern GREEK CHURCH. He died in 461. Because of his many accomplishments—theological, pastoral, and societal—he earned the title “great” and was declared a Doctor of the Western Church by Pope Benedict XIV in 1754.

See also EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF.

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DANIEL A. KEATING

libraries, ancient

The preconditions for a society to have a library are a writing script, a level of literacy, schools that foster

literary skills, an educated and resourceful educated class, an interest in reading, and a publishing industry. These conditions favored societies in the Near East and Greece in ancient times, though by the beginning of the Common Era libraries were not unknown in imperial China. The most successful early libraries offered the greatest public accessibility.

The seeds of libraries are found in the archives of ancient monarchies and governments. As soon as writing developed it was used by rulers for administration and record keeping. The tablets of EBLA (near Aleppo, Syria) provide an early example. Here excavators found approximately 2,000 clay tablets dating back to 2300 B.C.E., recording information about food, clothing, and raw materials, apparently used as a palace archives. A similar cache was found at Ras Shamra, Syria, reflecting the 13th-century B.C.E. city UGARIT. Here the writings are of a somewhat more intellectual nature: diplomatic correspondence, laws, history, a little poetry and incantations, and even a Sumerian-Ugaritic dictionary. These early collections were storage places for administrative information.

Pleasure reading and general reader access were not high priorities. The palace repository of Ashurbanipal (c. 650 B.C.E.) in NINEVEH provides more of an ancient parallel for our topic. The collection included 1,500 titles in CUNEIFORM texts. The finding of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* suggests that the readers here were not merely interested in governing more efficiently, though the vast majority of texts are resources for Ashurbanipal's palace bureaucrats.

PRIVATE AND SPECIALIZED

In the ancient Greek world there is a long history of literacy, books, and education. However, libraries were at first decidedly private and specialized. In the fourth century B.C.E. ARISTOTLE's personal collection of books was famous, and his Peripatetic school continued in his footsteps. Also, scholars recently discovered a catalog of books that indicates what an ancient library should offer: Homer, HESIOD, the tragedies, even cookbooks. The prevailing attitude, though, was that book collections were for eccentric intellectuals. The foundation of a publicly used library goes back to the followers of Aristotle who migrated to ALEXANDRIA when Aristotle's student, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, died.

Perhaps they persuaded the DIADOCHI monarchs, the PTOLEMIES, to establish a library like Aristotle's but to make it available to all as a public resource. Or perhaps the Ptolemies, being Hellenized, simply wanted to subsidize Greek scholarship in Egypt. Thus, the library

soon was associated with a circle of Greek thinkers called the "Mouseion" (the gathering place of the Muse inspired).

Demetrios Phaleron (345–283 B.C.E.) and a string of other Homeric scholars were Alexandria's first chief librarians. The first critical edition of the HOMERIC EPICS was produced, as well as the first Jewish Bible in Greek. Other library savants probably included Callimachus, Plotinus, and PHILO the Jew. It is also likely that religious figures such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, the Gnostics, and proponents of NEOPLATONISM were patrons in later centuries. Alexandria's holdings were vast, consisting of at least 500,000 rolls (scrolls), or the equivalent of 100,000 books. The complex had 10 buildings, connected by colonnades and adjoining areas for reading and discussion. The library survived until the days of the Muslim caliphate. One of the main rivals for Alexandria was Pergamum, a beautiful city in Asia Minor. Around the year 200 B.C.E. King Eumenes II or Attalus I founded a library to compete with Ptolemy's. The Egyptians were so threatened that they banned the export of papyrus, a raw material for book production, which only stimulated the production of parchment as a substitute. The library eventually contained around 200,000 scrolls. Other ancient libraries were also found in such Mediterranean areas as Rhodes, Cos, Pella, and Antioch.

The Roman Empire boasted a library institution that linked Greek traditions to the modern world. When Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus of Macedon in 168 B.C.E., he ransacked the royal library and brought back its books. He wanted to educate his sons in Greek culture, just like the Alexandrians. As Rome's thirst for Greek learning increased, so did its desire for Greek tutors, books, and libraries. Evidence for first-century C.E. Roman libraries is abundant. CICERO and Plutarch speak much about the procurement of books, the accessibility of books through lending and copying policies, the storage and organization of books, and the reading of books. From the satires of Trimalchio, SENECA, and Lucian, we learn that rich Romans would use their libraries as a mask for their stupidity. They would make a display of their wealth and "high culture" by founding "public libraries."

In the time of AUGUSTUS CAESAR the state started to take a role in making books available to the public. Emperors started to provide library benefits. JULIUS CAESAR made the first plan of a library, though he did not live to see its implementation.

There is evidence for libraries erected in honor of Emperors Vespasian, TRAJAN, MARCUS AURELIUS,

Caracalla, and DIOCLETIAN. By one count there were more than 28 libraries in Rome alone. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT pillaged books from Rome in order to start in CONSTANTINOPLE a collection of 7,000 books. New Rome eventually had 120,000 books.

Roman libraries offered more amenities than their Hellenistic forebears. Romans provided reading rooms and easy access to the stacks of books. Ancient library planners advised that the structure should face east to catch the sun, should have green marble floors to reduce strain on the eyes, and be decorated with gilded ceilings to increase good light. The still-standing library of Celsus in Ephesus shows that the facade would have busts of famous authors, and the central niche of the reading rooms might be graced with a statue of the library's benefactor. Rules for lending and hours of service have been found inscribed in stone: "No book shall be taken out, for we have sworn. . . . Open from dawn to midday."

Three other libraries are worth noting. Origen's third-century C.E. library in Caesarea was used by JEROME and EUSEBIUS. EDESSA and Nisibis were intellectual centers of SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH, and by 485 C.E. Nisibis had an extensive collection of Greek scientific and philosophy books that later made their way into the libraries of the Abbasid Muslims. JUSTINIAN I's sixth-century C.E. library in Constantinople was a resource for his famous CODE OF JUSTINIAN.

The decline of libraries has sometimes been associated with the establishment of Christianity and its alleged disdain for the classics and Hellenistic culture. There are stories of anti-intellectual religious mobs burning down libraries, but there are also examples of Christian support for learning (such as the CAPPADOCIANS, BASIL THE GREAT, and Jerome). In fact, the transmission of classical writings to the Renaissance was due to monastic libraries of the Middle Ages. Probably it is more accurate to say that the worst enemies of libraries were the forces of nature: the worm and fire. And unfortunately, the decline of Rome led to a decline in the economy and in education.

See also ASSYRIA; BENEDICT; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; GREEK CITY-STATES.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Libya

The first PHOENICIAN COLONIES were established on North African shores around 1000 B.C.E. The original people of North Africa, surviving to this day in the form of various Berber tribes, strongly defended their territory and freedoms from outside domination. The geography of North Africa made it easy to mount attacks on settled territory. Vast tribal armies could be hidden in the Sahara to the south. Despite geographic challenges to settlement, there were also irresistible agricultural riches that could be gathered from the coastal plains and valleys of North Africa. The history of the ROMAN EMPIRE and the Roman army would have been very different were it not for the breadbasket of Rome that was ancient Libya and North Africa. It provided the "bread and circuses," grain and olives, and wild beasts to the population of imperial Rome and other imperial cities.

The Romans defined ancient Libya as all the lands of North Africa to the west of Egypt. Two thousand years ago the climate of the region was very different. The Sahara did not extend as far north, and there were more regular rains. Barbary elephants, lions, and apes roamed the forests. The tribes of Libya were not random, disorganized bands of warriors. Most settlement, however, occurred on the coasts where grain and other goods could be easily transported throughout the Mediterranean.

The Romans defeated CARTHAGE in the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E., ushering in a new era of Roman colonization of the region. Augustus Caesar for example, granted rich farming territory in North Africa to retired army soldiers and officers. Granting land to veterans also gave them an incentive to defend the empire. A vast system of mud walls and forts were erected throughout North Africa on the edge of the desert to defend settlers, and hundreds of new Roman cities and villages were established in the coastal plains of Tunisia and Libya. In cases where it was too difficult to defend Roman territory, regions were given over to local client kings, and pacts of peace were signed. Soon many Africans would become integrated into the Roman system. Several Roman emperors, including the formidable SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS were from North Africa. Other famous Roman North Africans included Apuleius, writer of the first classical novel, *The Golden Ass*, and AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, the intellectual father of the Roman Catholic Church. The Byzantines revived Roman North Africa in 533 C.E. after the invasion of the Vandals in 429. Sparked by the revolutionary message of Islam, the Arabs began their rapid invasion of North Africa around 641. Yet the Arabs, like the Romans before them, faced

fierce resistance from the native Berbers. According to legend, the famed Berber queen al-Kahina only surrendered after burning the forests and laying waste to the land. Indeed, centuries after the Arab invasion, cycles of conflict between the Berbers and Arabs, especially in modern Algeria, continue to this day.

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ALLEN FROMHERZ

Linear A and B

Linear B is the oldest known form of Greek writing extant today. It is a syllabic script that was used to represent Greek sounds. Adapted from Cretan Linear A, it was probably developed for a language other than Greek. The MINOANS and MYCENAE used Linear B in their palaces at least 400 years before the Greek Dark Ages. It is quite different from the Greek alphabet, which was based on a North Semitic script and developed after the Greek Dark Ages. Archaeologists became aware of the existence of Linear B in 1878, when a clay tablet was found at Knossos.

By 1895 archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1941) suspected that it was Greek after examining signs found on seals. Evans published his work in a volume entitled *B Cretan Pictographs and Prae-Phoenician Script* (1895). In 1900 Evans conducted an archaeological dig at Knossos where he discovered an archive of clay tablets in Linear B, thought to be the archive of the palace of King Minos. Despite years of effort Evans was unable to decipher the Linear B script. However, he was able to conclude that frequently repeated short line markers in Linear B were word markers. The hieroglyphic script of Linear A has yet to be deciphered. Evans noticed that there were parallels between the Cypriot script, which had been deciphered, and Linear B. In 1939 another archive of tablets in Linear B were discovered at Pylos in Greece.

Linear B was believed to be Minoan until 1952, when British amateur archaeologist Michael Ventris (1922–56) deciphered it. At first Ventris did not believe that the language represented by the script was Greek,

despite the fact that many of the deciphered words were archaic forms of Greek. In 1951 Ventris approached John Chadwick, an expert in early Greek, for help. Together they were able to show definitively that Linear B was Greek. Most of the material in Linear B records lists of people, goods, and animals. The occasional use of ideograms such as “tripod” and “horse” provided an important clue for deciphering Linear B. Further study has shown that it has features closely related to the Classical Arcadian and Cypriot dialects.

See also HIEROGLYPHICS.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Liu Bang (Liu Pang)

(247–195 B.C.E.) *founder of Chinese dynasty*

Liu Bang was also known as Liu Ji (Liu Chi). He was born in 247 B.C.E. to a farming family, was the first commoner to ascend the Chinese throne, founded the long-lived HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), and died in 195 B.C.E. As emperor he was called Gaodi (Kao-ti), which means “high emperor”; after death he was called Han Gaozu (Han Kao-tsu), which means “high progenitor of the Han.” He was admired for his abilities, generosity, and taking advice from his ministers.

A minor official in 209 B.C.E., Liu rose in revolt against the oppressive QIN (CH’IN) DYNASTY and joined forces with XIANG YU (HSIANG YU), the foremost rebel general. They agreed that the first to enter the Qin capital area would be king. In 206 B.C.E. Liu’s forces entered the Qin capital Xienyang (Hsien-yang) and received the surrender of the last Qin monarch. He was generous in victory, protected the Qin royal family, and forbade looting.

However, irreconcilable rivalry between Xiang and Liu led to war between them. Xiang’s brilliant generalship was nullified by his cruelty and arrogance; abandoned by his allies and troops, Xiang committed suicide in 202 B.C.E.

Liu then assumed the title of *huangdi* (*huang-ti*), or emperor, of the Han dynasty, becoming known by his reign title Gaodi. He chose CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) as his capital for its strategic location (it lies in the vicinity of Qin capital Xienyang). Gaozu was a pragmatic and humane ruler. He lowered taxes, relaxed the severe Qin laws, proclaimed a general amnesty, and practiced frugal government so that the people could recover from decades of wars and high taxes. He maintained the Qin system of central government but was realistic: He divided the empire into two halves. The western portion was organized into 14 provinces and counties, which were administered by central government appointees, while the eastern half was organized into 10 kingdoms ruled by his independently powerful allies over whom he only gradually gained control.

Gaozu's greatest problem was how to deal with the nomads called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) along his northern frontier. Qin armies under the formidable general MENG TIAN (MENG T' IEN) had defeated the Xiongnu, linking existing walls into the GREAT WALL OF CHINA. In 209 B.C.E. the Xiongnu came under a ruler named MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) who not only led raids into Han territory but also enticed some of the semi-independent kings under Gaozu to defect to him. In 201 B.C.E. Gaozu led a mostly infantry force of 300,000 men to battle Maotun's larger cavalry force and narrowly escaped capture. The two sides signed a peace treaty to the Xiongnu's advantage.

In addition to establishing a border along the Great Wall, Gaozu agreed to marry his only daughter by his wife EMPRESS LU to Maotun and to give him regularly large quantities of silks, food, and liquor. Empress Lu vetoed the handing over of her daughter, and another girl from the Liu clan was given the rank of princess and sent to be Maotun's wife. Thus began 60 years of appeasing the Xiongnu because the Han government thought peace necessary to China's economic recovery. Gaozu died of an arrow wound in 195 B.C.E. while campaigning and was succeeded by his young son; in reality his strong-willed widow, Empress Lu, also of commoner origin, would rule for the next 15 years.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Lo-lang

Lo-lang commandery was one of four commanderies established in Korea after the conquest of the northern and central part of the peninsula by China's HAN DYNASTY in 108 B.C.E. It was the most prosperous among the four commanderies and remained under Chinese control until 313 C.E. Contacts between China and the Korean Peninsula intensified after the establishment of the Han dynasty in China (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). In 194 B.C.E. a Chinese named WEI MAN (WIMAN, in Korean) fled China after a failed revolt and established a state called CHOSON in northern Korea. In 109 B.C.E., on pretext that Wei Man's successors were harboring Chinese fugitives, Emperor Wu sent an expedition against Choson, defeating it and establishing four commanderies on the peninsula after 108 B.C.E.

They were Lo-lang (Korean: Nangnang) in the northwest, whose administrative capital was that of the Choson kingdom, near modern Pyongyang; Chen-fang (Korean: Chinbon) to its south; Lin-tun (Korean: Imdun) in the northeast; and Xuan-tou (Korean: Hyondo) in the north. By 1–2 C.E. only Lo-lang and Xuan-tou remained, comprising 28 counties. The retreat was motivated by native unrest and the lack of strategic reasons to maintain control in remote regions on the peninsula. But even as the Han dynasty was disintegrating in the early third century C.E., the Chinese were still powerful enough to found a new commandery called Tai-fang (Korean: Tae-bang) in the Han River valley in west-central Korea.

Lo-lang was a rich outpost of Chinese civilization for four centuries. It had 25 counties with 400,000 registered inhabitants. Many tombs excavated near Pyongyang contained some of the best products of Han artisans: many items, such as lacquerware, were made in other regions in China, but some must have been the products of local Chinese immigrants. Because of its cultural dominance and the lure of trade, Korean tribal leaders in areas outside the commanderies offered tribute and received patents of office from the Han government. With China divided and in a state of civil war at the end of the Han dynasty, Lo-lang commandery fell in 313 C.E. and Tai-fang soon followed. Lo-lang and other Chinese commanderies in Korea were comparable to Roman colonies in Britain. They served to transmit advanced culture to the occupied countries, however, more effectively in the case between China and Korea than between Rome and Britain. As Chinese political influence ended in Korea in the fourth century C.E., naive Korean states would emerge. Though these states were not the direct political heirs of Chinese rule, they nevertheless received much of their

institutions and culture from contacts with China through its colonial outposts. Importantly Korea also served as the conduit between China and Japan.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Lu, Empress

(d. 180 B.C.E.) *Chinese ruler*

Empress Lu's given name was Zhi (Chi). Both she and her husband, LIU BANG (LIU PANG), founder of the HAN DYNASTY in China (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), were born commoners. In 195 B.C.E. Liu Bang, who is known in history as Gaozu (Kao-tsu), meaning “high progenitor,” died of an arrow wound in battle. His eldest son by Empress Lu became the new ruler Huidi (Hui-ti). Huidi reigned as an adult even though he was only 15 years old. He was noted for his filial piety and respect for learning. He ordered the lifting of a ban on books that the previous QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY had enacted. However, his strong-willed mother, who vindictively killed one of her husband's concubines and several of her stepsons, dominated Huidi. Her actions so terrified him that he became bedridden for a year and never dared to challenge his mother again. Huidi died in 188 B.C.E., leaving a young son. That son, and another whom Empress Lu adopted as her grandson, became puppet emperors with the empress as regent.

Empress Lu followed her husband's policy of government, which included peace with the powerful XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads. In 192 B.C.E. she received this letter from MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN), the Xiongnu ruler, which read: “I am a lonely widowed ruler, born amidst the marshes and brought up on the wild steppes in the land of cattle and horses . . . Your Majesty is also a widowed ruler living in a life of solitude. Both of us are without pleasures and lack any way to amuse ourselves. It is my hope that we can exchange that which we have for that which we are lacking.” This was a marriage proposal to join their two empires. Although the empress was furious, China was too weak for war, and she had to reply humbly thus: “My age is advanced and my vitality is weakening. Both my hair and teeth are falling out, and

I cannot even walk steadily . . . I am not worthy of his [Maotun's] lowering himself. But my country has done nothing wrong, and I hope he [Maotun] will spare it.” She did, however, send a Han princess to be his wife.

Empress Lu refrained from formally proclaiming herself as reigning empress, but many of her actions seemed preparation for the enthronement of a man from the Lu family as emperor. She appointed a brother as chancellor and another as commander in chief and elevated several members of her family to the titles of kings and marquises, granting them large fiefs. Encouraged by her policy, members of her family attempted to seize power when she died in 180 B.C.E., but surviving members of the Liu clan and Han loyalists thwarted them. A son of Gaozu led a march on the capital city CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), captured the city, and wiped out the Lu clan. Empress Lu set a precedent for most of the Han era: strong mothers and grandmothers of young rulers seizing power and elevating their families. Some rulers would be murdered when they grew up and attempted to regain power, others were intimidated to acquiesce. One, the long-lived Empress Wang allowed her brothers to share power, and eventually allowed her nephew WANG MANG to usurp the throne in 9 C.E.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Lucian

(c. 117–c. 180 C.E.) *author, satirist*

Lucian came from the town of Samosata (modern-day Samsat, Turkey) in the Roman province of Syria. Likely of Semitic background, he learned of the Greek language and culture as an outsider. He had a very short apprenticeship as a sculptor under an uncle and then began his education in earnest, becoming skilled in Greek language and rhetoric. He became a successful speaker on the lecture circuit, a more important part of his career than the law courts. He made his way as far

as GAUL (France), and Athens was his home for some time. Around the age of 40 he gave up his vocation as a public speaker to take up philosophy, or rather to write dialogues concerned superficially with philosophical matters but vigorously larded with touches of comedy.

About 80 works have come down to us from his hand, some spuriously. They testify to the education in rhetoric that Lucian had, his wide reading in the literature of the Greek world of prior eras, and his consciousness of being a Greek by acculturation. These works can be divided into a number of genres. Some are rhetorical exercises (for example, *In Praise of the Fly*, where the rhetorician displays his ability to praise things unworthy of praise); others are short pieces presented to introduce a longer lecture. A large number are dialogues, either actual or reported, wherein he sometimes uses verse. He also wrote essays on a variety of topics, romances of a sort, biographies, and one or two playlets.

Dear to Lucian was the “description,” a subgenre in its own right, and he displays a truly remarkable ability to give the reader a picture of some painting or other object. However, he is perhaps best known for his comic dialogues, a type he considered to be somewhat of a novelty. Lucian uses a variety of characters in these works, including famous people of bygone eras, gods and goddesses often ludicrously portrayed, and, most intriguingly, a person, sometimes named, sometimes not, who is no doubt the persona of the author. From this springboard, among others, Lucian was able to do what he did best—ridicule the minor idiocies of humans and the unique silliness and gullibility of humankind. Attacked by his pen are those he considered to be false prophets, religious charlatans, superstitious folk, and proponents of a certain fanatical interest in the niceties of classical Attic diction. This last group is especially interesting because, as an outsider, Lucian was interested in the proper usage of language, and yet he was able to see the excesses involved in such interest.

Ultimately, Lucian is an amusing skeptic, though not a serious thinker, and extremely difficult to set within a typology of litterateurs; in a way he is *sui generis*. As a late writer had it, Lucian was “serious—at raising a laugh.” The vigor of his language, his powers of description, and especially his adroitness in poking fun at man’s idiosyncrasies and foibles, made him one of the most influential authors for later Western literature.

See also GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; SECOND SOPHISTIC.

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JOEL ITZKOWITZ

Luoyang (Loyang)

Luoyang was a capital of China from c. 1100 B.C.E. to the mid-10th century C.E. The ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY initially ruled from the capital city Hao, located at the confluence of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. After defeating the last Shang king, King Wu of Zhou placed three of his brothers in the Shang capital, Yin, to supervise a Shang prince whom he had put in power at that location. Wu soon died, leaving the throne to his young son under the regency of his uncle, the DUKE OF ZHOU. Jealous of the Duke of Zhou’s power, his three brothers and the Shang prince rose in revolt. The Duke of Zhou acted decisively, defeated the rebels, laid waste to Yin, executed the Shang prince and one of his brothers, and went on to conquer more land to the east. Then he founded an auxiliary capital to administer the new conquests in the east, later called Luoyang, located at the junction of the Luo (Lo) and Yellow Rivers in present-day Henan (Honan) Province.

In 771 B.C.E. nomadic invaders forced the Zhou court to flee Hao to Luoyang, where it remained until the dynasty’s end in 256 B.C.E. Few architectural remains have been found that date to the Eastern Zhou in the environs of Luoyang; however, tombs of that era are abundant. Luoyang was rebuilt during the Western HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) as a subsidiary capital and enlarged as the principal capital during the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.). A rammed earth wall 50–65 feet thick at the base enclosed a square-shaped city, pierced by 12 gates; about half a million people lived within its limits. Due to a change of course by the Luo River, part of the Han city now lies underwater, but significant sections of the wall, traces of streets, and foundations of palaces remain.

One palace was located at each the northern and southern end of the city, connected by a covered passage. In addition to enlarging the city, Emperor GUANGWU (KUANGWU), founder of the Eastern Han, also began building the Tai Xue (T’ai-hsueh), or Imperial Academy, in 29 C.E. It was subsequently enlarged several times, until it accommodated more than 30,000 students. In 175 C.E. Emperor Ling ordered the complete CONFUCIAN CLASSICS cut on stone; the slabs were installed at the Tai Xue. Rubbings made on paper (invented in China in the first century C.E.) from the slabs were the precursor to printing.

Luoyang was devastated by rebels toward the end of the second century C.E. and was destroyed by XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads in 311 C.E. The Turkic Xiongnu were replaced by Tungusic nomads called the TOBA (T'Ō-PA), who ruled northern China as the Northern Wei dynasty from Datong (Ta-tung), a frontier town; they were rapidly converted to Buddhism and assimilated to Chinese culture. In 495 the Tobas moved their capital from Datong to Luoyang. Outside the city, on a rocky escarpment on the bank of river Luo they began to excavate cave temples at a site called Longmen (Lung-men) to show devotion to Buddhism. Luoyang became the second capital of the Tang (T'ang) dynasty (618–909 C.E.), which expanded the Longmen cave temples. Most of Tang Luoyang has perished, except for the Longmen caves. After the fall of the Tang, Luoyang would never be capital city again.

See also CHANG'AN; WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

lyric poetry

Lyric poetry maintained a small but dedicated following in the Hellenistic world, especially from the seventh century B.C.E., and in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, with a focus in ALEXANDRIA. It was relatively uncommon in the Latin world, although it was popular in China, Japan, and Persia. Many poems of the ancient world were epics written for dramatic use, whereas lyric poetry was of a personal nature and depended not on characters and actions but in addressing the listener directly—most poems were recited or sung—and portrayed the state of mind of the poet. The Greek term *lyrikos*, first appears in the seventh century B.C.E. and comes from the word for “lyre,” which often accompanied the recitations. Some scholars point out that seventh-century lyric poetry is predated by finished meters of the earliest surviving lyric poems, which suggest that the custom was much older.

The lyric age seems to have come about when poets devised poems tied to a particular occasion. Alcman's “Maiden Song” is one of the earliest known lyric poems attributable to a particular poet and is about a festival to the gods, but there is little remarkable about it except that it has been preserved to the present day. The other

well-known Greek lyric poets include Alcaeus, Anacreon, Archiochus, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Lasus, Mimnermus, Pindar, SAPPHO, Simonides, Steseichorus, Theognis, and Xenophanes. Some of these have remained obscure, but a few, such as Sappho, are well known. Born on the island of Lesbos in the seventh century B.C.E., she was hailed as being “the tenth muse,” with her poetry collected and arranged in nine books. Little is actually known about her life, although much has been extrapolated from her poems or speculated upon by later writers.

The study of lyric poetry is by no means new. Greeks in the period after ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.) wrote about lyric poets, with Dichearchus writing about Alcaeus, and Clearchus of Soli writing *On Love Poetry* about Sappho and Anacreon. A body of lyric poems was edited by scholars at the library at Alexandria, with the literary tradition encapsulating nine lyric poets: Alcaeus, Alcman, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Pindar, Sappho, Simonides, and Steseichorus, all of whom lived in the period 650–450 B.C.E. Outside the Western classical world lyric poetry has been used in India in ancient times, but most of it remains anonymous. Lyric poetry was also popular in Han dynasty China and the period of the Warring States and Three Kingdoms, with important poets being Cao Cao (155–220 C.E.), Cao Pi (the former emperor Wen, 187–226 C.E.), and Cao Zhi (192–232 C.E.). The best-known Japanese lyric poets are Ariwara no Narihara (825–880), Ono no Komachi (c. 825–c. 900) and Saigyō (1118–90). The Persian tradition includes Anvari (1126–89), Asadi Tusi (d. 1072), Attar (c. 1142–c. 1220), Ferdowsi (935–1020), Omar Khayyam (1048–1131), Nezami (1141–1209), and Rudaki (859–941).

While translations of Greek and Latin poetry and literature have been available in the West for many centuries, access to Chinese and Japanese material has long been limited. The very style and atmosphere of Oriental lyric poetry was more evasive to effective translation and transliteration to European languages until recently.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Ma Yuan

(14 B.C.E.–49 C.E.) *Chinese general*

Ma Yuan came from a famous family in northwestern China. Civil war raged in China after the death of the usurper WANG MANG in 23 C.E. A powerful general in the Wei River region, he joined the newly proclaimed emperor GUANGWU (KUANG-WU), founder of the Eastern HAN DYNASTY (23–220 C.E.) with these words: “In present times, it is not only the sovereign who selects his subjects. The subjects also select their sovereign.” At about the same time, another regional leader, and rival of Ma, named Dou Rong (Tou Jung), also joined Emperor Guangwu’s cause. The Ma and Dou factions would be rivals for years to come.

Ma Yuan distinguished himself in campaigns against tribal people along several frontiers. The first was against the Qiang (Chiang), proto-Tibetans living in the northwest. After defeating the Qiang he settled many of them in the territory of the Han empire. This policy was motivated by several factors: to prevent them from joining forces with the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), the primary nomadic foe of the Han for two centuries; to put them under direct Chinese administration for ease of assimilation; and to alleviate the pressure of population growth of the Qiang by settling them in new lands.

Ma Yuan next distinguished himself in the southern part of the empire, in present-day Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwanghsi) Provinces in modern China, and in northern Vietnam. This region

had been conquered and annexed during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty in 110 B.C.E. Chinese administration and immigration (initially limited mainly to exiled prisoners) led to gradual assimilation. But a serious rebellion broke out in the Red River region in modern Vietnam in 40 C.E., led by two women known in Vietnam as the TRUNG SISTERS (Zheng, or Cheng, in Chinese transliteration). Ma Yuan was appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, 10,000 strong in 42 C.E. The revolt was quickly put down, and the sisters were executed. The Trung sisters became heroines in later Vietnamese folklore for attempting to gain autonomy for their people, and Ma Yuan, in the folklore among southern Chinese, for his military exploits.

In 48 C.E. there was a serious rebellion by aboriginal tribes in Wuling (Wu-ling) commandery in present-day Hunan Province. Ma Yuan volunteered to command troops to suppress the rebellion; his rivals in the Dou camp managed to insert their men among his staff, with the goal of sabotaging him. Despite Ma’s complete victory against the revolt, the Dou supporters among his staff sent a secret report to the emperor accusing him of incompetence. Ma died while he was being investigated.

His death emboldened his opponents in their attack, with the result that he was posthumously degraded from the rank of marquis to commoner, and the faction he headed fell from power. His rehabilitation began in 52 C.E. when one of his daughters was chosen as consort for the heir apparent but was not complete

until the emperor Guangwu's death in 57 C.E. and the accession of his son, Emperor Ming.

See also WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Maccabees

ALEXANDER THE GREAT's dream of a united world speaking Greek and living a Greek lifestyle ran into trouble when it was applied to the Palestinian Jewish world. The DIADOCHI, generals who followed the short-lived grandeur of Alexander the Great, allotted the Asian share of Alexander's conquests to the SELEUCID EMPIRE. Besides quarreling with the house of the PTOLEMIES over the control of Palestine, the Seleucids had their hands full with the resident Jews represented by the family of the Maccabees, a name that means "hammer-like." In rabbinic literature they are known as the Hasmonaeans.

At first favors were granted to the Jews who lived in Palestine to win over their sympathies. Later the Seleucids reversed their policies: They needed to raise capital to fund their wars and pay their tribute, so now the Jews were seen as sources of revenue. Jewish taxes were raised, the Jerusalem temple treasury was raided, and religious offices were bought and sold for the profit of the Seleucids. Another part of their strategy to take over Palestine was to turn Jerusalem into a GREEK CITY-STATE (or POLIS), whose culture would have supported things such as theater, gymnasiums, dance, and GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON, all repugnant in the eyes of the religious Jew.

The Seleucids found that Jewish opposition was so great that they had to establish a military garrison in Jerusalem in 167 B.C.E. The error of building a foreign base in the Jewish holy city was compounded by another grave error: The Seleucid emperor Antiochus IV started derogating Jewish customs and planning for the transformation of the Jewish Temple into a shrine for Zeus. By these measures Antiochus was abrogating Jewish self-rule and imposing Hellenistic values on all Jews. Had these reforms been adopted, as they had

in nearly every realm of the Mediterranean world, the Jewish people might not have survived past the second century B.C.E. Instead, a new generation fought assimilation to the Seleucids. Its leaders were the Maccabees, who "hammered" away at the Seleucid Empire, attained political independence, and retained their religious identity. Their struggle lasted 40 years, beginning with Mattithias and passed on to seven of his sons. The apocryphal (or deuterocanonical) book of the Maccabees tells the tale of their struggle.

The first of the sons was Judas. He started a military uprising, brilliantly capturing the temple precincts with his elite religious force and reinstituting Jewish worship there. The feast of Hanukkah (dedication) commemorates this event. Judas eventually won concessions from the Seleucids, and the disastrous decisions of 167 B.C.E. were rescinded. Eventually, the Hellenized Jews and Seleucids rebounded and killed Judas. The youngest son, Jonathan, arose as the new strong man of his people, much like the biblical JUDGES before the time of King SAUL. Jonathan tried negotiation. The Seleucids reciprocated by appointing him high priest and giving him several districts in Samaria. They also gave land to the last remaining Maccabean brother, Simon. Instead of drawing the Jews into the Seleucid Empire, the reverse happened: Now Judah was reconstituted under the two brothers, so much that the Romans even noticed and gave the Maccabees political recognition.

The Seleucids tried to cut their losses by killing Jonathan, but Simon acted with even greater fervor: He expelled the foreign troops from Jerusalem and abolished all payment of tribute to Syria. Syrian domination of Judah then came to an end.

See also HELLENIZATION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; KINGDOM OF GOD; MESSIANISM; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA AND APOCRYPHA.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Mahabharata

The *Mahabharata* is an enormous epic poem that now plays a central role in the Hindu religion. It tells the story of the great Bharata family and its war of succession. The poem was composed originally in SANSKRIT.

Scholarly analysis of the poem has led some to believe that some part of the poem may date from real events that occurred as early as 1400 B.C.E. Between 400 B.C.E. and 400 C.E. the *Mahabharata* reached its current form of more than 100,000 poetic couplets.

The *Mahabharata* most likely began as a warrior's story told either by a warrior, or by a poet about a warrior in the kingdom of Kuruksetra in northern India. It tells the story of the struggle for the kingdom between the descendants of King Bharata, contested by two families (the Pandavas and Kauravas) in early Indian history. The Pandava brothers lose the kingdom to the Kauravas and engage in a titanic struggle to regain it. The story is filled with violent conflict, gods, goddesses, heroes, the duty of making and keeping vows, and the futility of war. The heroes are real historic persons in some cases. In others the heroic figures represent human ideal or gods. The main story of the *Mahabharata* is interrupted with many side stories and discussions, including those on religion and duty. Central to the *Mahabharata* is dharma (codes of conduct). Dharma describes the proper conduct for kings or for others in all kinds of situations. In its present form there are 18 sections (*parvans*) to the *Mahabharata*. In addition there is a supplemental section called the *Harivamsa* (Genealogy of the god Hari), who is identified as the god Krishna-Vishnu.

The *Mahabharata* contains the whole of the BHAGAVAD GITA, or the Song of God. The Bhagavad Gita records the conversation between Arjuna and his chariot driver who is really Krishna (an avatar of Vishnu). The philosophical conversation takes place on the battlefield between the two sides as they are poised for the final slaughter. It presupposes a definite cosmology that is different from many other cosmologies including that of the modern West. The battle between 18 armies lasted 18 days. The cosmology of the *Mahabharata* depicts the universe as cycles of recurring creation and destruction. The war and the imminent deaths of the warriors are all going to occur as part of a cycle that is part of Brahman, or reality. The philosophical discussion is about karma, predestination, and human action. Actions of people are determined but at the same time are also efficacious in achieving goals. The *Mahabharata* was retold over wide areas of Southeast Asia. Many of its stories were carved or painted into the walls of Hindu temples in India and in Southeast Asia. The relief carvings at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom in Cambodia portray its scenes.

See also DHARMA SUTRAS; HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Maotun (Mao-t'ün, Maodun)

(r. 209–174 B.C.E.) *Xiongnu leader*

Maotun, or Maodun, was the most powerful leader of a nomadic people called the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), who lived north of the Yellow River valley; under his leadership the Xiongnu reached the zenith of power. He became *shanyu* (king) of the Xiongnu in 209 B.C.E. after killing his father, Toumen. A dynamic leader, he consolidated his power between the Xiongnu and conquered tribes, calling their leaders to an annual meeting at his headquarters in modern Outer Mongolia. There he took a census of people and animals and devised a system of government with himself as the supreme leader.

Maotun's coming to power coincided with the collapse of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY in China, beginning with the death of the first emperor, followed by the suicide of General MENG TIAN (MENG T' IEN) in 210 B.C.E. (his powerful Chinese army had defeated the Xiongnu forces and built the GREAT WALL OF CHINA to keep them out of Chinese territories). The Qin dynasty ended in 206 B.C.E., and four years of civil war ensued, ending with the founding of the HAN DYNASTY by LIU BANG (LIU PANG). The collapse of the Qin had left the frontiers undefended and Liu Bang, known posthumously as Han Gaozu (Han Kao-tsu), decided to deal with the Xiongnu threat immediately. In 200 B.C.E. he personally led 300,000 mostly infantry troops to war against the Xiongnu. Maotun and Gaozu met in battle near the modern city of Datong (Ta-tung) in Shanxi (Shansi) Province; Maotun won with his 400,000 cavalry, and Gaozu narrowly escaped capture.

The two sides made peace in 198 B.C.E. The Heqin (Ho-ch'in) Treaty declared the two sides as equals, demarcated their boundary along the Great Wall, and stipulated gifts of silver, silk, food, and liquor in fixed quantities several times a year from the Han to the Xiongnu. In addition, Gaozu promised his only daughter by his wife EMPRESS LU to marry Maotun. The empress vetoed

the marriage of her daughter, and they adopted a relative, gave her the rank of princess, and sent her to wed Maotun. When Gaozu died in 195 B.C.E. Maotun proposed to Empress Lu, suggesting that they marry and unite their empires. She was furious but had to refuse politely. A second Han princess was sent to marry him in 192 B.C.E.

The Xiongnu empire continued to expand under Maotun. They were victorious against another nomadic people called the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) and expelled them from the Gansu (Kansu) Corridor. The main Yuezhi tribe fled all the way to Afghanistan where they remained. Before his death in 174 B.C.E. Maotun negotiated the Heqin treaties with the Han, each time increasing the amount of gifts the Han had to give to the Xiongnu. Successive Han rulers submitted to Xiongnu terms because the Chinese economy had been damaged by previous civil wars, and peace was necessary for recovery. Maotun's son and grandson were also powerful leaders, following Maotun's example of intimidating the Han. It was not until 134 B.C.E. that the Han ended the era of the Heqin treaties and began a long-term war that ended in the defeat of the Xiongnu.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Marathon, Battle of (490 B.C.E.)

In 490 B.C.E. Greece was threatened by an invading Persian force led by DARIUS I, who was active in destroying the rebels in the Ionian Islands. Darius landed at Marathon to the northeast of Athens. He had previously captured the rebels of Eretria on Euboea, and Marathon was near that island. It was also close to the home territory of the Peisistratid tyrant Hippias, who was accompanying the Persians. The Persians had a clear advantage in cavalry, as horses were scarce in Greece, although their more lightly armed infantry was outmatched by the Athenian citizen troop hoplites, so named for the large *hoplon* shields they carried. Hoplites maneuvered in deep, well-ordered ranks with their shields, armor, and long spears presenting a formidable foe.

Confronted with this danger, the Athenians debated whether to await siege or march to meet the enemy. Ten generals were selected for command, each leading the troops for a single day in rotation. This unwieldy system was brought to a close when Callimachus ended an impasse by meeting the Persians and enabling the professional soldier Miltiades to lead the troops, upon which a number of other generals ceded authority. Plataea sent a contingent of 1,000 men to join the 10,000 troops from Athens. According to HERODOTUS, a major source of information about the battle, Miltiades dispatched a runner named Pheidippides to Sparta to appeal for assistance. Other traditions state that Pheidippides ran to Athens to announce the result of the battle and immediately died upon completion of his task. The Spartans did not arrive to help.

Miltiades proved to be an able and rather lucky commander in that the Greeks came across the Persians while their cavalry was elsewhere. The Athenians attacked at full speed. Miltiades strengthened both flanks to permit the Persians to push back and then to find themselves threatened with being surrounded on all sides. The Persians broke and fled, and 6,400 casualties were suffered, some 40 percent of the total force of 15,000 infantry that was fielded. The Athenians lost just 192 men and celebrated a famous victory as the Persians withdrew from Greece. However, after the death of Darius a few years later, the Persian cause was reinvigorated by his successor, XERXES I, who planned a greater invasion. The Battle of Marathon has an important place in the development of the Western intellectual tradition as an event that marked a victory for European democracy against Asian despotism. In reality neither side was as black or white as they have subsequently been portrayed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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JOHN WALSH

Marcellinus, Ammianus

(c. 330–c. 398 C.E.) *Roman historian*

By common consent Ammianus Marcellinus was the last important ancient historian of the Roman Empire.

Most authorities agree that he was born in Antioch in Syria (now Antakya, Turkey) late in the reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, although a case has been made for Tyre or Sidon. He was a son of a high-ranking Greek-speaking Roman officer with important political connections. Ammianus probably had a literary education, if we credit his narrative's frequent allusions to CICERO, Sallust, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius. He may have coveted a distinguished military career, which went unfulfilled, possibly on account of his public association with the pagan emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

In Antioch during his mid-20s Ammianus entered an elite military corps, the *protectores domestici* (household guards), possibly as an intelligence officer. He served on the personal staff of Ursicinus, governor of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, as well as the *mater militiae*. Recalled to Italy with Ursicinus in the mid-350s C.E., he later accompanied his mentor to GAUL to depose the famously unfortunate Frankish imperial usurper Silvanus. Returning with Ursicinus to the East in 359, Ammianus barely escaped a ferocious Persian attack on Amida (Diyarbakir, Turkey). Ammianus spent the next few years in Antioch until he joined the emperor Julian's campaigns in Gaul and in the East. After Julian's death in battle in 363 Ammianus again repaired to Antioch. His activity for the next 20 years is mostly unknown. He traveled to the Black Sea, Egypt, Greece and, possibly, Thrace around the time of the Goth invasions there, 376–378.

Ammianus does not reappear until 383 in Rome during a food shortage in which foreigners—except some 3,000 foreign dancing girls—were forced out of the city. It is likely that Ammianus came to Rome to interview eyewitnesses of significant contemporary events and to access official records. The first draft of Ammianus's *Res gestae* (Deeds of men) begins his history in 96 C.E., on the accession of Nerva, and stops in 364, with the death of Jovian soon after Julian's demise (Books 1–25). It appears that favorable public reception to recitations of his manuscript persuaded him to add six more (Books 26–31). The first 13 books tracing Rome's course from 96 to 354 are lost, and the 18 books extant cover only 25 years, from 354 to 378. This segment is a precious survival because only fragments exist of his contemporary Eunapius's history; his fellow soldier Eutropius's *Breviarium ab urbe condita* and the work of Aurelius Victor all are mere summaries that end before 378.

Following Thucydides, he reproduced important speeches and included gossip character sketches. More to modern taste, Ammianus broke with traditions to depict contemporary social, economic, and cultural life.

Though still controversial, his usually objective treatments of Christianity—perhaps motivated by a desire to win a wide readership—are likely the most impartial perspectives on this topic of any ancient writer. Much admired by Ammianus, Julian's virtues are duly enumerated and lauded, but the historian also details a catalog of Julian's defects of judgment. By comparison, neither Julian's predecessors such as Constantius II, nor his successors, Valentinian I and Valens, fare so well in *Res gestae*.

Ammianus's *Res gestae* is the most important work on ancient Roman history after Tacitus. It was composed by a patriotic citizen of the empire who possessed an idealized moral vision of the Roman past and was anxious about the prospects of Rome's civilization in the future. While his text is often florid and gossipy, it is clear that Ammianus Marcellinus—"a soldier and a Greek" (31.16.9) who wrote in Latin in Rome—tried to deliver what he promised to his readers: an account of the deeds of men that is competent, accurate, and often comparable to the best models of ancient historiography.

See also HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

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LEO J. MAHONEY

Mari

The Mesopotamian city of Mari is identified with modern Tell Hariri, located on the west bank of the Euphrates River, 30 miles north of the border between Iraq and Syria. Its palace architecture has been beautifully preserved, and historical records provide a rare glimpse into upper Mesopotamian politics during the Old Assyrian Period.

Mari was a circular city (1.2 miles in diameter), excavated first by André Parrot (from 1933) and later by Jean Margueron (from 1979). Excavations reveal a series of palaces from the Early Dynastic II–III Periods (early third millennium B.C.E.) to the Old Babylonian Period (early second millennium B.C.E.), each palace built upon the ruins of the preceding one. The latest palace is one of the best preserved and most impressive of the entire Bronze Age. It was exceptional for its time

period, because it incorporated various religious shrines together with the royal residence.

More than 20,000 CUNEIFORM tablets were uncovered at Mari, most dated to the Old Babylonian Period. Although the language of most texts is Akkadian (east Semitic), northwest Semitic grammar and syntax show up in proper names and in various constructions. The archive consists mostly of palatial and provincial administrative texts, letters, and treaties, demonstrating the political value of writing in this period. It is one of the major sources of information on how the great Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I organized his empire in northern Mesopotamia. In addition, Mari has the largest number of Mesopotamian prophetic texts. These were letters from prophets, often to the king, claiming direct messages from deities.

The city of Mari likely originated from the very start of the Early Dynastic I Period (beginning of third millennium B.C.E.). It prospered rapidly due to its strategic location along the trade route connecting Mesopotamia with Syria. The archaeological evidence found for the Early Dynastic III Period (c. 2600–2350 B.C.E.) shows Mari's indebtedness to much of Sumerian culture. Short inscriptions from this period refer to Ansud as the king of Mari, a name that may also appear in the Sumerian King List. During c. 2250–2000 B.C.E., the title *shakkanakku* (Akkadian for "governor") was used for the rulers of Mari, a term that may allude to a time of foreign control, when Mari's rulers were the deputies of other kings. This seems to have been a period of great power, when the city underwent extensive renovation.

The final century before Mari's destruction is much clarified by the written record. Yahdun-Lim, who derived from the Sim'alite stock of the Amorites, ruled as king over Mari. He was assassinated in a palace coup, and his successor, Sumu-Yaman, died shortly after. In 1796 B.C.E. the Assyrian ruler Shamshi-Adad I conquered Mari and installed his younger son, Yasmah-Adad, upon Mari's throne. Zimri-Lim, a descendant of Yahdun-Lim, fled to Yamhad (Aleppo), whose king Yarim-Lim was his father-in-law. Shamshi-Adad died in 1782 B.C.E., and Zimri-Lim reclaimed the throne of Mari. He established strong ties with Aleppo and Babylon, faithfully supporting Hammurabi's expansionistic conquests. Hammurabi, however, eventually turned against Mari: The city was conquered in 1761 B.C.E., and within the next two years its riches, removed to Babylon and its palace burned. Although Mari continued to be inhabited as a small town, Hammurabi's destruction marked its end as a major political center.

See also AKKAD; ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; EBLA; FERTILE CRESCENT; SUMER.

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JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

Marius and Sulla

After the bloody revolt of the GRACCHI, two emblematic figures concentrated the political destiny of the Roman Republic. The Senate initiated several foreign wars in order to withdraw the attention from the internal conflicts that had shaken the stability of the *urbs*. Gaius Marius (157–86 B.C.E.), born in Arpinus into a plebeian family, began his public career during the war against Jugurtha, where he won the support of the popular party because of his military victories, and was elected consul in 107 B.C.E. From 113 B.C.E. the Romans had been facing various defeats against such Germanic tribes as the Cimbri and Teutons that were heading into Italy. Marius commanded the army, and the Senate allowed his consulship to be renewed for three consecutive years.

In 100 B.C.E. Marius was elected to the consulship for the sixth time, and by then he had forged a political alliance with Saturninus, the tribune of the plebs, who promoted a law in order to continue the Gracchan reforms on land distribution. The proposal included an extension of the privilege to the members of the *populus* who had served the army: Spoils of war and land-parcels would constitute an appropriate payment for their service. However, the Senate immediately rejected the law, and Marius could not stand by the proposal; he had to suppress the arising rebellions instead. Suspected by all—since the aristocracy took him as an unfaithful partner and the plebs regarded him as a potential traitor—Marius left for the East. He was called back to Rome in 91 B.C.E. when Italic allies had started to rise up because of the profound differences existing between Rome and the conquered cities. The Italic war lasted for three years, and Marius managed to appease the rebellion. Marius had come back to the *urbs* and seemed to have recovered part of his prestige.

While Rome was focused on the reorganization of its territory, the East was preparing to separate from

the *urbs*, and by 89 B.C.E. most Eastern cities were supporting Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. A new dispute, related to the appointment of the military commander who would have to fight the new threat, arose in Rome. The task was finally entrusted to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a consul chosen in 88 B.C.E., who belonged to the small aristocracy and had served as a lieutenant to Marius for years. Having taken Caecilia Metella, daughter of the *pontifex maximus* and *princeps senatus*, as his fourth wife, the aristocracy considered him to be its natural representative. Nevertheless, the tribune Suplicius Rufus rejected this idea and, supported by the popular party, wanted Marius to be named general instead. Sulla then escaped to Campania and fiercely moved the legions against Rome. By the time they got there Marius had already escaped to Africa as a fugitive; many opposing leaders were brutally killed. The civil war between *optimates* and *populares* raged.

Sulla decided to travel to Greece and deal with the Eastern conflict. Marius came back and joined Cinna, who was promoting subversion in the *provinciae*. After shaping an army they headed toward Rome and implemented a violent consulship; many members of the senatorial and equestrian orders were killed. In 87 B.C.E. Marius died, and Valerius Flaccus was appointed as his successor. Sulla, immersed in an unfavorable situation, let his army plunder the cities of Epidaurus, Delphi, and Olympus. After the reduction of Athens, he reorganized his men and defeated Mithridates in Chaeronea and Orchomenus. He pacified the rival Roman army that had killed Flaccus in rebellion and forced Mithridates to sign a peace treaty. When he arrived back in Rome, where Cinna was ruling, civil war began again. Sulla finally disembarked in Brindisium. Cinna tried to stop him but was killed in combat. Rioting started in Rome, where power was still in the hands of the *populares*, led now by the younger Marius, son of Gaius Marius. Marius declared Sulla a public enemy and tried more than once to face him in battle but was also overcome by Sulla's troops. In 81 B.C.E. Sulla's triumph was absolute.

As supreme leader in Rome, Sulla put into practice several despotic acts. He promoted the systematic murder of his opponents and elaborated a list (*proscriptio*) of the names of those citizens whom he considered undesirable and wished to have eliminated. An aristocratic restoration was achieved, and the Assembly was weakened with the intention of increasing the Senate's power. During his rule Sulla granted himself the title of "dictator" and exercised an autocratic power. Once he thought his reforms were enacted, in 78 B.C.E., he

resigned the dictatorship and left Rome. He died soon afterward in southern Italy.

See also CAESAR, JULIUS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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SILVANA A. GAETA

martyrologies

The heroic response of early Christians to persecution led to a genre of literature that inspired later Christians to the same zeal. This genre is called martyrology, and it flourished after the Roman Empire made peace with the church under CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The spirituality inspired by martyrs goes back to a confluence of ideas and regional influences found as early as the fourth century B.C.E. Greek philosophy and Mesopotamian myth had put forward the idea of the heroic struggle for personal convictions and virtue. Later, as Persian theories of Zoroastrian dualism spread, the sense of martyrdom as a life-and-death struggle of good versus evil found a place in religious literature. EARLY JUDAISM, for example, began to see the world as a struggle of its heroic remnant people against polytheism and corrupting influences of neighboring peoples. This is vividly expressed in the martyrologies of the MACCABEES and in the APOCALYPTICISM of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA and the Dead Sea Scrolls compiled as Christianity began.

Early Jewish Christians met resistance and found in the ideology of the martyrs an expression of what had happened to JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. At the same time they took advantage of the popular fascination with the asceticism of the philosopher. The philosophers of STOICISM, as in the *Soliloquies of Epictetus*, showed that the pagans could put forward individual teachers who were willing to lay down their lives to prove their ideals and beliefs. As Christianity took root outside of Judaea in Mesopotamian regions, a unique synthesis of Greek and Asian concepts produced the first generation of martyrologies. The cult of the martyrs was in place by the end of the second century C.E. One of the earliest

tales concerned the Syrian bishop Ignatius of Antioch, who was condemned by imperial authorities during the reign of TRAJAN (98–117 C.E.) and transported to Rome for execution. Ignatius never called himself a “martyr,” but an “imitator” and “disciple” of Jesus. He describes his martyrdom as a demonstration that Jesus suffered in the flesh (countering the idea of Docetism, that Jesus did not have a real body).

Polycarp of Smyrna received one of Ignatius’s last letters, thus a link was forged between two great martyrs of the faith. Polycarp was martyred around 156 C.E., and his death generated at least two accounts that can be called martyrologies. In the earliest one (written about 165), the sense of “martyr” is embraced and becomes the standard way that later lives of martyrs are told. Martyrologies feature representatives who are not just witnesses (*martyr* in Greek means “witness”) in a judicial sense to proper beliefs about Jesus but champion Christian confession and its vindication over its antagonists.

In these stories, usually enemies of the faith, those who are judicial, military, or religious functionaries of the predominant world powers, confront the martyrs. The martyrs are prosecuted as terrorists, criminals, or deviants who threaten fundamental order, and yet the martyrs in the martyrologies triumph in their death because they refuse to adopt these fundamental societal priorities. They confound the sensibilities of their persecutors, confirm the faith of their coreligionists, and often convert their pagan audience.

Both men and women are featured in the martyrologies. One of the more brilliant stories tells of the women martyrs Perpetua and Felicity (d. 203). However, since martyrologies tend to promote figures already in leadership in the Christian community, it is more frequently the male bishops and pastors who are celebrated. Where women had more responsibility in the ancient world, that is, in domestic contexts, they are featured in martyrologies. Thus, Barbara’s father beheaded her when she took a vow of virginity in the course of conversion, and Cecilia died with her husband and friends. Both died in the early third century.

As martyrologies flourished, they grew in importance in church spirituality. Some early documents claimed that martyrdoms were like a “second baptism” or “baptism by blood” (for example, *Shepherd of Hermas*, or Tertullian’s writings) because they took away all sins since the first water baptism. Another early writing said that the moment of martyrdom was epiphanic, that is, divinity possessed and transfigured the otherwise mortal body, so close was its imitation of Jesus in his own physical suffer-

ing. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Lactantius all affirmed this belief.

As the reputation of martyrs grew, popular zeal went way beyond concern for a proper burial and halloving of their memories. Relics, funereal meals (*refrigeria, agapai*), and martyrdom days (*dies natalis*) began to play a role among Christians. Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE compared the cult of the martyrs to the hero worship of the Greeks: Many of the same devotions occurred for both groups, including gravesite meals, festal days, and special oracles or revelations from the dead person. Martyrologies would tell of the signs and wonders surrounding the expiration of the martyr, much like the events that surrounded the death of Jesus. BASIL THE GREAT made the statement that “anyone who touches the bones of the martyr is partaking in the holiness and grace that resides in them.” The sense was that the martyrs by their death had earned a place as powerful patrons of the living who were devoted to them. If the soul of the martyr was in heaven, the physical remains of the martyr were worth treasuring on earth: the body, the relics, and even images.

Later church teachers attempted to control the unbridled customs of martyrologies. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, especially, but also JEROME emphasized that the context for understanding the martyrs was devotion to Jesus, not the intrinsic and mystical power of the saint. They also suggested that the real value of the saints was in their demonstration of virtue. The lesson for later generations of Christians, these fathers of the church said, involved pursuing virtue in the midst of everyday life.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MYSTERY CULTS; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; QUMRAN; ZOROASTRIANISM.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Mauryan Empire

Chandragupta Maurya founded the Mauryan Empire in 326 B.C.E. in northern India. His son Bindusara and grandson ASHOKA (Asoka) continued his conquest that unified the entire subcontinent, with the exception of the southern tip, and part of Afghanistan into India’s first great empire. The political and

cultural achievements of the Mauryan Empire inspire Indians to the present.

Indian history began to emerge from legend in the sixth century B.C.E. with the formation of large kingdoms. One was Magadha in the Ganges Valley with its capital city at PATALIPUTRA, near modern Patna. The trend toward large state formation was also stimulated by external conquest. The first was in 518 B.C.E., when King DARIUS I of Persia conquered part of northwestern India, incorporating it into his empire. The Persian Empire fell to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who continued marching eastward until he reached the Indus River valley and defeated King Porus and other local rulers.

Chandragupta Maurya might have been inspired by Alexander's example. In any case, he defeated his Indian rivals, including Magadha, established his capital at Pataliputra, and then fought Alexander's successor in Asia, Seleucus Nicator, in 305 B.C.E. The two rulers agreed to a peace treaty that settled their boundary in Afghanistan, exchanged gifts and ambassadors, and perhaps formed a matrimonial alliance. Seleucus's ambassador to the Mauryan court was MEGASTHENES, who wrote a book of his observations on India. The original is lost, but excerpts have survived in works of other ancient writers, from which we derive much firsthand information about early Mauryan India.

Chandragupta's minister, named KAUTILYA, reputedly wrote a book titled *Arthashastra* (Treatise on polity), which dealt with the theory and practice of government, the laws, and administration. The *Arthashastra* described the Mauryan Empire as a centralized bureaucratic state. The ruler was supreme commander, chief administrator, and judge. A council of ministers, civil servants, a network of spies, and a large military, reputedly 600,000 men strong, assisted Chandragupta. Megasthenes described Pataliputra as a grand city, enclosed by a wooden wall 9 miles long by 1.5 miles wide, interspersed with gates and watchtowers, and further protected by a wide moat. The city government consisted of six boards of five men each, in charge of different functions. The ruler lived in a sumptuous palace, his hours of work and play were strictly regulated, and when he appeared in public he either rode on an elephant or was carried in a palanquin.

Chandragupta ruled for 25 years. According to Jain tradition he abdicated in 301 B.C.E., became a Jain monk, and fasted to death. His son and successor Bindusara ruled until c. 272 B.C.E. Little is known of him except that he warred to expand the empire southward and was known as the Slayer of Foes. He also ex-

changed ambassadors with the SELEUCID EMPIRE, once asking King Antiochus I to send him some Greek wine, figs, and a philosopher. Antiochus sent him wine and figs and replied that philosophers were not for sale.

Bindusara's son Ashoka succeeded around 269–268 B.C.E., perhaps after a succession struggle. Ashoka (r. 269–232 B.C.E.) was India's greatest ruler. He waged war to expand the empire in the south, incorporating all but the southern tip of the subcontinent. His conquest of a state called Kalinga filled him with remorse for the death and destruction and changed his personal life and state policy. Posterity knows much about Ashoka because he had many of his edicts and pronouncements carved on stone pillars and rock surfaces; 10 inscribed pillars survive. Most of the inscriptions are in the Brahmi script, the oldest surviving post-Indus writing; it is a phonetic alphabetical script that is the antecedent of modern Hindi.

Ashoka converted to Buddhism, became a vegetarian, and dedicated the rest of his reign to spreading Buddhism, although he honored all religions. He also discouraged hunting and encouraged people to go on pilgrimages instead. A son and daughter became Buddhist missionaries, spreading the faith to CEYLON. He also convened the Third Buddhist Council around 240 B.C.E. at Pataliputra to deal with differences within the monastic order and to finish compiling the Buddhist canons. He denounced immoral behavior and appointed morality officers to enforce his rules. He also renounced war, stating his intention to change people through moral persuasion; but importantly, he did not disband the army.

Life under the Mauryans was prosperous. While most people lived on farms, cities grew with increasing commerce within the empire and beyond, with China in the East and Rome in the West. The government even established a bureau that built ships and leased them to merchants. Culture flourished. Buddhist and Jain canons were completed during this period. Other writings include religious commentaries and early versions of the epics *MAHABHARATA* and *RAMAYANA*.

It appears that Ashoka lost his grip in his later years and died around 232 B.C.E. Several sons disputed his succession, and the empire began to fall apart as local governors, many royal princes, exerted their autonomy. Little is known about his successors except their names. Perhaps the fall of the Mauryan Empire was inevitable due to its size and diversity. In 183 B.C.E. a general killed the last Mauryan ruler and established a dynasty in northern India called the Sunga. Meanwhile, Bactrian Greeks were invading the northwestern frontier. India would be torn apart and fragmented for almost five centuries. Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of India's first

great empire, and his minister Kautilya helped establish the institutions that sustained it. The empire grew in size, wealth, and culture under his son and grandson, reaching its zenith under Emperor Ashoka. Its legacy to modern times is the concept of unity for the subcontinent.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; JAINISM.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Maximus the Confessor

(580–662 C.E.) *Catholic theologian*

Maximus the Confessor, also known as Maximus the Theologian and Maximus of CONSTANTINOPLE, was born in Constantinople to a noble Byzantine family and received a good education. He served as a secretary of the emperor Heraclius, became head of the imperial chancellery, and oversaw the comprehensive overhaul of the upper echelons of civil service. However, he renounced his post and became a monk around 614 C.E. at the monastery of Chrysopolis. He was unhappy about the religious attachments of the court and retired to enjoy his love for quiet prayer. By 618 he had made enough progress in the monastic life to acquire a disciple, the monk Anastasius, who was Maximus's companion for the rest of his life.

When the Persians invaded his region in 626, Maximus fled to Africa. During his time there he gained a considerable theological reputation. The majority of what are considered his greatest theological writings come from his time in Africa. There, he became an outspoken opponent of monothelitism—the doctrine that Jesus Christ had one will but two natures: divine and human. The Catholic Church rejected this doctrine, as did Maximus, who insisted on dythelitism, which believed that Christ had two wills, rather than one. He spoke out against monothelitism at the Lateran Council of 649.

His outspokenness led to his arrest in 653 by Emperor Constans II, and when he refused to accept the emperor's decrees, he was exiled. He returned to Constantinople in 661 but once again refused to renounce his beliefs. His punishment included having his right hand and tongue cut off, and he was banished once again. He died on August 13, 662. Considered one of the great theologians of the Catholic Church, Maximus was given the title of “the Theologian” and is ranked as a Doctor

of the Church because of his contributions to theology, most notably of the Incarnation.

Maximus favored two forms of writing: a collection of paragraphs, many being very short, and the other being responses to questions asked of him by others. In his work he saw himself as interpreting different traditions, most important scripture, but also church fathers, councils, saints, and sacraments. Maximus's writings are considered by some to be highly speculative, very intellectual, and difficult to comprehend. He liked to explain things at great length. He left behind approximately 90 writings, notably his *Letter on Love*, *Difficulty 10*, *Difficulty 41*, *Difficulty 71*, and *Opusculum 7*. These writings dealt with topics such as theological and polemical treatises, symbolism, mysticism, Gregory of Nazianzus, spiritual maturity, and the Incarnation of Christ.

See also JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; MONASTICISM.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Maya: Classic Period

During the Classic Period, which is divided into Early (250–600 C.E.), Late (600–800), and Terminal (800–900/1100), Maya civilization reached the pinnacle of its cultural, economic, and political development. From the 200s to the 400s C.E. dozens of autonomous city-states, many founded in the Preclassic, others early in the Classic, jockeyed for power. By the 500s two had gained preeminence: Tikal and Calakmul. These were sprawling city-states of 100,000 people or more, with towering pyramids and temples, massive civic and ceremonial centers, outer rings of lesser compounds and residences, and intensively farmed hinterlands extending many miles. A hereditary king and a small class of elites controlled vital trade routes and secondary centers and aggressively pursued conquest of and alliances with other polities. From the 500s to the 700s a series of highly destructive wars erupted between these two great powers and their respective allies. Elsewhere in the Maya zone other city-states engaged in the same process of expansion, alliance building, and warfare.

Then, for reasons still much debated, in the 700s and 800s all of these polities underwent steep declines, with more than a dozen major and scores of lesser urban complexes abandoned by the early 900s. A resurgence in northern Yucatán, beginning in the 800s and marked especially by the rise of Chichén Itzá, also declined by the late 1000s. This 600- to 800-year period saw the flourishing of commerce, architecture, engineering, writing, mathematics, calendrics, astronomy, cosmology, and artistic creations of every description across the Maya zone, achievements that emerged together as part of a broader process of cultural, economic, and political development.

MAYAN WRITING

While the origins of Mayan writing in the Middle Pre-classic remain obscure, by the Late Classic the Maya had developed the most sophisticated writing system in the history of the pre-Columbian Americas, one of only a handful of independently invented writing systems in the history of the world. After more than a century of painstaking effort by scholars on several continents, breakthroughs in the 1970s and 1980s permitted many of these ancient texts to be read for the first time.

By the Early Classic anything that could be spoken in Maya could be rendered as written text. Using a script consisting of more than 800 glyphs in a characteristic round or oval shape and intricate style, Mayan writing employed both logographs and phonetic signs. Read from top to bottom and left to right, these glyphs are classified as “main signs” and “affixes,” with the latter made up of prefixes, suffixes, superfixes, subfixes, postfixes, and infixes. Such written texts, often accompanied by dates and graphic depictions of human figures and divine entities (stylistically not altogether unlike contemporary graphic novels), appear on carved monuments, murals, pottery, other artifacts, and a handful of surviving folded-paper codices. The Spanish destroyed hundreds and perhaps thousands of these codices during the conquest, a purposeful eradication of vast quantities of accumulated knowledge on par with the burning of the library of ALEXANDRIA.

Most extant texts memorialized significant episodes in the lives of kings, though many recorded wars, dynastic alliances, and other major events. (Many personal items conveyed more prosaic information, such as “his cup” or “his bowl”). If only a tiny fraction of the populace could write or read, the prominent display of these texts in civic and ceremonial spaces on imposing and magnificently carved stone stele, stairways, altars, lintels, and other public monuments were clearly



Maya city-states contained 100,000 people or more, with towering pyramids and temples and monumental civic and ceremonial centers.

intended to convey unequivocal messages of the king’s divine power to all who bore witness to them.

MAYA INNOVATIONS

Intimately linked to writing and no less remarkable for their sophistication were Maya mathematics and calendrics. Having invented the mathematical concept of zero—evidently making them the world’s first civilization to do so—the Maya went on to undertake fantastically complex mathematical calculations. Their numerical system was vigesimal (based on the number 20), most commonly written using a bar-and-dot notation, with a dot representing one; a bar, five; and a shell-like figure, zero. With these simple notations they were able to calculate numbers into the millions and accurately predict lunar and solar eclipses thousands of years into the future.

The Maya conceived of time as a series of recurring cycles. All Mesoamerican peoples shared three cyclical calendars: the 365-day solar year, the 260-day sacred almanac, and the 52-year “calendar round.” These three calendars, which can be visualized as three interlocking wheeled gears, made each of the 18,980 days of the 52-year “calendar round” unique.

The Maya added to this what scholars call the “Long Count” or “Initial Series,” which was independent of the other cycles and served as an absolute chronology by tracking time from a fixed or “zero” date far in the past. Evidently they were the first world civilization to mark time from a fixed date. According to the Long Count, the world came to an end and was created anew every 5,128 solar years, at the close of each “great cycle.” The

current world, by this calendar, will end on December 21, 2012.

Like all Mesoamerican civilizations, the Maya invested the movements of the Moon, Sun, planets, and stars with deep religious and cosmological significance, often designing and constructing their temples, shrines, and other edifices to align with astronomical observations. These celestial bodies represented gods and deities, and there is no evidence that the Maya understood the circular or elliptical orbits of the Moon, Earth, and planets as discovered by Copernicus and Kepler centuries later.

Maya religion and cosmology were exceedingly complex, an all-encompassing system of belief in which the distinction between sacred and secular did not exist. Rivers, rocks, caves, springs, and other natural features were seen to possess divine powers, while a multiplicity of spirits and deities, including ancestor spirits, infused every aspect of everyday life. Creation myths emphasized the cyclical re-creation of the world by dualistic divine beings who entered Xibalbá, or the Otherworld, “a place beyond death inhabited by ancestors, spirits, and gods—the place between the worlds,” according to Friedel et al., outwitted the gods, and became divine kings. The most elaborate Maya treatment of creation myths and cosmology is the *Popul Vuh*, a uniquely revealing book written by the highland K’iche (Quiché) Maya after the Spanish conquest.

ECONOMY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

The economic foundations of Classic Maya city-states and kingdoms consisted of extensive and intensive agriculture supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering; craft specialization; and local, regional, and long-distance trade, all of dizzying complexity. Society was divided into two broad groups: a tiny group of elites and the great majority of commoners, with fine gradations in status at all levels. In some instances a more prosperous strata of commoners emerged, though on the whole wealth and power were highly centralized and concentrated in very few hands.

Political power was exercised by hereditary ruling dynasties. At the pinnacle stood the king (“sacred lord,” or *k’uhul ajaw*), almost always male and considered a divine or semidivine being. Beneath him was a small group of high-ranking elites—warriors, high priests, scribes, and administrators.

Interstate politics were byzantine, with alliances between polities generally consummated through dynastic marriages. Kingdoms were formed by conquest and domination of lesser polities, whose ruling houses the conquering power generally left intact.

The decline of the massive city-state of El Mirador in the late 100s C.E. created a power vacuum in the lowlands that was soon filled by other emergent polities, most notably Tikal and Calakmul. From the 100s to the late 300s, when it allied with mighty TEOTIHUACÁN, Tikal became the preeminent Maya kingdom, its power stretching from the northern lowlands as far south as Copán in Honduras. In the 400s Calakmul began to challenge Tikal through conquests and alliances intended to encircle and weaken its adversary. In 562 Calakmul defeated and sacked Tikal. There followed a period of intense conflict lasting more than a century. “The giant war went back and forth,” in the words of Arthur Demarest, until 695, when Tikal “roared back and crushed Calakmul. And then the Maya world just broke up into regional powers, setting the stage for a period of intensive, petty warfare that finally led to the collapse of the Maya.”

During the Late Classic, similar processes unfolded to the southwest among the kingdoms of the Usumacinta River, most notably in the centuries-long conflict between Piedras Negras and Yaxchilán. The war between these two regional powers and their allies raged off and on from the 400s to the 800s, finally ending in the defeat of Piedras Negras in 808. Another major regional conflict between Copán and Quiriguá, far to the south along the contemporary Guatemala-Honduras border, had a similar denouement.

By the 800s, as the kingdoms of the southern and central lowlands declined, the northern lowlands saw numerous polities rise to prominence in the 900s and 1000s, particularly in the Puuc region of western Yucatán. To the east the kingdom of Chichén Itzá, founded in the late 700s, soon became the most powerful and populous state in all of Maya history. With a more decentralized political structure and diversified economic base than its weakening southern neighbors, Chichén Itzá prospered from the 800s through the 1000s, when it too experienced a period of decline and was all but abandoned by 1100.

CAUSES FOR DECLINE

A complex combination of factors most likely caused the decline of Classic Maya polities. Despite much variability in time and place, the most plausible scenarios point to the interplay of overpopulation, long-term ecological crises, endemic warfare, and the erosion of the moral legitimacy of divine kings in the eyes of the populace.

By the 800s the Maya lowlands were inhabited by tens of millions of people, probably exceeding the carrying capacity of the land even under optimal conditions.

Over time, surging population densities and ever more intensive and extensive agriculture and urban construction led to widespread deforestation, worsening soil erosion, and declining soil fertility, in some cases exacerbated by prolonged drought. The evidence shows that these processes caused increasing incidences of malnutrition and disease and fundamental ecological bottlenecks that in the end proved insoluble.

Endemic warfare was both symptom and cause of these deleterious processes. By the early 500s warfare was consuming prodigious quantities of material and human resources, and by the late 700s the cycles of violence had begun spinning out of control, with a series of ever more destructive wars overtaking not only the land and the people but, no less important, commoners' faith in the moral legitimacy of their kings. Since Maya kings ruled by virtue of divine sanction, any prolonged crisis—economic, ecological, political—could set in motion a profound spiritual-religious-moral crisis among the general populace, whose labor and faith were necessary to keep the whole system operating. All of these factors, working in dynamic and contingent combination, were most likely responsible for the decline of one of the world's most creative, original, and sophisticated civilizations.

See also MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Maya: Preclassic Period

During the Early Preclassic (2000–1000 B.C.E.) the two major archaeological markers of civilization in the Maya zone first emerged in the Pacific and Caribbean coastal regions: permanently settled agricultural and/or maritime villages and pottery.

The earliest known examples of Mesoamerican pottery have been found along the Pacific coast from Chiapas, in Mexico, south and east to El Salvador. Scholars subdivide these ceramic styles into three phases: Barra (c. 1850–1650 B.C.E.), which apparently emerged from an earlier tradition of gourd containers; the more sophisticated Locona (c. 1650–1500 B.C.E.); and the more elaborate and diverse Ocos (c. 1500–1200 B.C.E.). Handcrafted clay-fired figurines, many with highly individualized styles and motifs, also proliferated during this period. A wide variety of other goods made from perishable materials, including textiles, baskets, and nets, were also likely common, though they have left few traces in the archaeological record.

The origins of complex society in the Maya zone have been traced to the Pacific coast Locona phase. Evidence includes differential house sizes, part-time craft specialization, and funerary practices. Excavations at Paso de la Amada, Chiapas, have unearthed one house considerably larger than others at the site, and renovated at least nine times, suggesting both growing social differentiation and high spiritual and aesthetic value placed on continuity of place and homage to ancestors. The superimposition of dwellings and other buildings around a previously sanctified place is characteristic of Maya (and Mesoamerican) construction practices generally.

A nearby site has revealed a burial of a small child adorned with a mica mirror, indicating the growing importance of hereditary inequality. Further east along the coast of contemporary Belize, the Early Preclassic saw the growth of numerous maritime settlements, founded during the late Archaic (c.3000 B.C.E.) that by the Middle Preclassic had expanded west into the interior. Similar developments may have been taking place in the highlands as well, though subsequent volcanic activity likely buried these settlements, rendering them inaccessible and thus creating an evidentiary bias in the archaeological record.

Other important Early Preclassic sites have been excavated in Honduras (Copán Valley, Cuyamel Cave, Puerto Escondido) and El Salvador (Chalchuapa). The inhabitants of these and other Early Preclassic settlements made their living through a combination of swidden agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering. Bone isotope analyses show that maize constituted less than 30 percent of their diet, far less than the average for many contemporary Maya, which approaches 75 percent. Extant pottery from this period indicates the emergence and spread of a shared corpus of religious symbols, beliefs, and concepts that formed the basis for later cultural developments.

MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

The Middle Preclassic (1000–400 B.C.E.) witnessed growing social complexity among coastal and piedmont communities and the expansion of complex societies into the highlands and, to a lesser extent, the lowlands. Social differentiation intensified, as symbols of status and power came increasingly under the control of a small group of rulers and elites. Prestige items such as mirrors, masks, ear spools, blood letters, and specialized vessels often made or adorned with precious minerals or stones (jade, obsidian, pyrite, and others) became increasingly common and elaborate. A shared body of religious beliefs, ritualized and controlled by a small class of ruler-priests, served as the ideological underpinnings of an increasingly unequal society. Public works also grew in size and complexity, indicating a growing degree of elite control over surplus labor.

One of the largest of the Middle Preclassic sites is La Blanca along the Río Naranjo on the Pacific coastal plain in contemporary Guatemala. Mostly destroyed by modern development, the site covered 99 acres and included at least 40 smaller houses and four large earthen mounds covering the ruins of temples or other public works. The largest of these latter measured 182,987 sq. feet at its base and rose more than 82 feet high, making it one of the largest structures in Mesoamerica at the time.

The polity, which flourished from 900 to 650 B.C.E. and was abandoned 50 years later, ruled an estimated 60 settlements in an area of perhaps 127 sq. miles administered through at least two secondary centers. These patterns of growth and collapse, mounting social differentiation, and multitiered administrative hierarchy typified the later rise, expansion, and decline of scores of city-states across the Maya region. Other important Pacific coast Middle Preclassic sites include El Mesak and El Ujuxte, both of which, along with La Blanca, show close economic and cultural contact with the Olmec civilization far to the north along the Gulf of Mexico littoral.

In the highlands the city of Kaminaljuyú (place of the ancient ones) grew to become the largest highland Preclassic Maya capital. Founded in the Early Preclassic and eventually covering some 2 sq. miles, the city extended its reach to dominate numerous satellite settlements by around 500 B.C.E., waxing and waning in power until its final collapse toward the end of the Classic—some 2,000 years after its founding. Already by the Middle Preclassic there is evidence for extensive earthworks, canals, temples, and other public works, along with a carved monument depicting a succession of rulers seated on

thrones receiving homage from bound and kneeling captives. Other highland Middle Preclassic centers include El Portón and the adjacent burial site of Las Mangales, which provides clear evidence of warfare, tribute, and sacrifice of war captives.

This growing public expenditure of labor, social differentiation, and militarism along the coast and in the highlands during the Middle Preclassic contrast with the simpler constructions and relative egalitarianism found in the lowlands to the north. Still, the overall trajectories are very similar, with the lowlands having been settled later. The most intensively studied lowland centers in the Middle Preclassic include Altar de Sacrificios and Nakbé in Guatemala, and Blackman Eddy, Cuello, K'axob, and Cahal Pech in Belize. In particular, the El Mirador Basin at the northernmost tip of the contemporary Guatemalan Petén (where the Nakbé ruins are located) saw the rapid development of numerous major urban centers, including El Mirador, Wakna, and Tintal. Also during the Middle Preclassic, the inhabitants at more than 20 sites in the lowlands of northwestern Yucatán built sizable urban centers with characteristic Maya ball courts and temple complexes.

The Middle Preclassic, in short, was a period of rapid transformation and growth across much of the Maya zone. Large urban centers with accompanying monumental architecture—including temples, plazas, palaces, ball courts, causeways, and elaborately carved monuments—sprang up over the course of just two or three centuries, dotting much of the landscape by the end of the period. This rapid growth suggests a high degree of centralized control over surplus labor, as well as deepening institutionalization of inherited inequalities, though to date no tombs of lowland Middle Preclassic rulers have been uncovered. Just as significant, the evidence also shows many signs of trade and exchange and of intensifying competition, conflict, and warfare between these emergent polities.

LATE PRECLASSIC

The Late Preclassic (400 B.C.E.–100 C.E.) saw the emergence of what is conventionally termed *civilization* across the Maya zone. The period as a whole was characterized by surging populations, deepening social stratification, increasing centralization of political power, expanding public works, heightening militarism and warfare, and, especially significant, the full development of writing and calendrics. The origins of Mayan writing during the Middle Preclassic remain obscure, with evidence of both Isthmian influence from the Veracruz region to the north and of independent

invention. But whatever its specific origins, Mayan writing reached full flower during the Late Preclassic, as did the practice of dating events from a fixed point in time in the past, the so-called Long Count. Surviving artifacts with Long Count dates permit scholars to determine chronologies and sequences of events with considerable accuracy.

The largest and most important polity in the southern Maya zone in the Late Preclassic was Kaminaljuyú. Control of quarries with valued minerals combined with control over vital trade routes—both north to south and east to west—permitted the city's rulers to consolidate their power over an area of hundreds of sq. miles. Sadly, because this site lies adjacent to contemporary Guatemala City, most of it has been destroyed by commercial and residential development. Other important Late Preclassic sites in the south include El Ujuxte, Tak'alik Ab'aj, Chocoma, Chalchuapa, and El Guayabal in the Copán Valley in contemporary Honduras.

In the lowlands to the north the largest polity of this period was El Mirador, which, like Kaminaljuyú, was the center of an expansive regional trade and political network. With a massive triadic pyramid at its western edge (a structure dubbed El Tigre), and its ceremonial and civic core extending about a mile to the east—a core that included temples, palaces, ball courts, tombs, and vaulted masonry buildings—El Mirador rivaled in size and complexity the largest Classic Period urban centers, including Tikal and Palenque. Some scholars consider El Mirador the earliest preindustrial state (as opposed to chieftaincy) to emerge in the Maya lowlands. Other important Late Preclassic lowland sites include Cerros, Nohmul, Lamanai, Tikal, Uaxactún, and San Bartolo (the latter, not discovered by archaeologists until 2001, contained some of the most magnificent Maya murals ever uncovered, pushing the date of the full flowering of Maya art back centuries, to at least 100 B.C.E.).

For reasons that remain murky these and other Late Preclassic centers underwent a period of precipitous decline during the Terminal Preclassic (100–250 C.E.). Some have pointed to the catastrophic eruption of Ilopango volcano (near contemporary San Salvador), which covered thousands of sq. miles in ash and rendered the entire area within a 62-mile radius uninhabitable for at least a century, as partly responsible. Others have suggested that shifts in migratory patterns, disruptions in trade routes, ecological bottlenecks, dynastic crises, and other factors also played a role. Whatever the exact causes, it is clear that many important Maya polities experienced dramatic declines

during the Terminal Preclassic, setting the stage for the extraordinary cultural, economic, and political renaissance of the Classic Period.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; OLMECS.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Medes, Persians, and Elamites

The Medes and Persians were both Indo-European-speaking peoples and part of the broader Iranian groups. The Elamites have very different Mesopotamian roots. The Medes and Persians moved south to the Iranian high plateau in the second millennium B.C.E., although exactly when is the subject of much debate. The Medes settled in the northern Zagros Mountains (Loristan in today's Iran), a land of high mountains, rich valleys, and cascading rivers. The Median capital of Ecbatana, today's Hamadan, was situated at a critical point on the main road between Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau, from there leading around the Iranian central desert and eventually to China; as a result the Medes were well connected with the surrounding nations. The Persians on the other hand initially settled slightly to the west of the Medes, but the first written records, from ASSYRIA, find them in the southern Zagros Mountains, in the area north of the Persian Gulf, around Pars and the ancient Persian capitals of Pasargadae and Persepolis, an area away from the main trade routes.

During the period of Assyrian dominance in Mesopotamia in the eighth century B.C.E., Tiglath-Pileser III invaded the Zagros region twice, and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.) invaded it six times. The Assyrians were determined to control the trade routes to the east, and this meant keeping Media under their control; deportations of Median people are recorded 18 times in the Assyrian annals. Sargon's texts record 50 Median chieftains in the

eighth century B.C.E., and if HERODOTUS is to be believed, it was not until the coming of the ruler Deioces in the early seventh century B.C.E. that the Median people became united, and Ecbatana was established as their capital. The Medes struggled to throw off Assyrian overlordship, only finally succeeding after an alliance was struck between their king Cyaxares (c. 650–585 B.C.E.) and the resurgent Babylonians, an alliance that resulted in the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, following a successful joint attack on the Assyrian capital NINEVEH in 612 B.C.E. The extent of the Median Empire before its absorption into the Persian Empire under CYRUS II is not clear, although it appears that it stretched to the border of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, the center of modern-day Turkey.

The Persians played a subsidiary role to the Medes throughout the seventh century B.C.E., and during the reign of Cyaxares they became a subordinate kingdom. However, in the sixth century B.C.E. Cyrus led the Persians in a successful revolt and an eventual takeover of the Median Empire. Although the Persians were the victors, the Medes had a special status within the Persian Empire, not only because they were similar peoples racially and linguistically, but also because Cyrus had both Median and Persian bloodline.

It seems that up until the time of Cyrus Persian was not a written language. As a consequence the CUNEIFORM script used on the ancient monuments visible today at Behistun and Persepolis was most likely invented for the purpose, either in the reign of Cyrus or DARIUS I. Overall the evidence suggests that neither the Persians nor the Medes were literate, and in fact the main written language of the empire was Elamite.

Whereas the Medes and the Persians were of one tribal root, the Elamites, the people of the southeast corner of the Mesopotamian plain were linguistically and racially Mesopotamian. The first recorded history of the Elamites is in the early third millennium B.C.E.; at this time they had their own form of writing, proto-Elamite. During the third and early second millennia B.C.E. the Elamites were rivals with the Sumerians, and though they married their sons to Sumerian princesses, there is evidence for their sacking of the great Sumerian city of UR in about 1950 B.C.E. During the second millennium B.C.E. they swung between war and peace with the other Mesopotamian peoples to the north and west of them.

The Elamites first met the Persians as the Persians migrated south; even though the Persians were to have the upper hand it is clear that they adopted many things from the more sophisticated Elamite culture. A good example of this cultural absorption can be seen in the

sculptured reliefs of Persepolis (the high plateau royal capital of the Persian Empire) in which the Persians are wearing Elamite dress and carrying Elamite objects.

The Elamites generally acted as a go-between nation between the Mesopotamian peoples and the Iranian and other peoples of the high plateau. However, this role was not always an easy one; when the Assyrian empire was seeking to maintain its dominance in the seventh century B.C.E., ELAM found itself at odds with the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, who launched a series of campaigns against Elam that utterly destroyed the Elamite capital, Susa. After the absorption of Elam into the Persian Empire in the sixth century B.C.E. the Elamite people began to lose their distinctiveness, even as Susa, their capital, became the main seat of government for the empire. Neither the Medes nor the Elamites are separate peoples today. The Persians however maintain an identity as the dominant people of Iran. Iran changed its name from Persia in the 20th century to reflect the diversity of its people.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; INDO-EUROPEANS; PERSEPOLIS, SUSAS, AND ECBATANA; SUMER.

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ANDREW PETTMAN

Megasthenes

(c. 4th century B.C.E.) *diplomat and author*

In 324 B.C.E. Chandragupta Maurya unified northern India by defeating his rivals. He went on to war against the successor of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in Asia, Seleucus Nicator, expelling his forces from the borderlands of India. In 305 B.C.E. the two men concluded a treaty in which the Greeks withdrew from the Punjab in northwestern India and which fixed the western boundary of the MAURYAN EMPIRE to the crest of the Hindu Kush. There was also exchange of ambassadors, gifts, and a vague mention of a marriage alliance. Megasthenes was Seleucus's representative at Chandragupta's court. He wrote a detailed account of his observations while in India. Although the original was lost, parts have survived through extensive excerpting in the works of other ancient writers.

Megasthenes described PATALIPUTRA, the Mauryan capital, as second in splendor only to PERSEPOLIS, capital

of the former Persian Empire. It had a wooden city wall 9 miles long by 1.5 miles wide, which had 570 towers, 64 gates, and a 900-foot-wide moat. He wrote admiringly of Chandragupta as an energetic ruler who personally supervised affairs of state. The emperor lived in splendor in an enormous palace built of wood, but he also lived in fear of assassination, appearing only rarely in public, attired in a splendid purple and golden robe, and was either carried in a palanquin or rode on an elephant. He also described the administration of the capital city by six boards each with five men, in charge of crafts and industry, trade and commerce, tax collection, foreigners, collection of statistical information, and public works. Other information states that a quarter of the people's produce was paid as taxes and that there were dues assessed on commerce. He described the Mauryan military as having infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants, navy, and a commissariat. He also commented on the division of people into seven CASTES by occupation.

One passage on the people's lives said: "They live happily enough, being simple in their manners, and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifice... The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law... Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem... The greater part of the soil is under irrigation, and consequently bear two crops in the course of the year." Some information Megasthenes provided was wrong, for instance his assertion that there was no slavery in India and that no famines occurred. Nevertheless, his writings on India are valuable because there are few Indian sources on actual life in the period, and his were the first extensive observations by a foreigner.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Mencius

(372–c. 289 B.C.E.) *Confucian philosopher*

Mencius is the Latinized form for Mengzi (Meng Tzu), which means "Master Meng" in Chinese. He is revered

as China's Second Sage, surpassed only by CONFUCIUS. His personal name was Ke (K'o), and like Confucius he came from a lower aristocratic family. Mencius's mother was widowed, but she made sure that he grew up in a good environment. She is honored as a model mother, and he later showed her great devotion. Mencius studied under the disciple of a grandson of Confucius. Like Confucius he traveled from state to state attempting to convince rulers to govern by virtue and follow the ways of ancient sage rulers, most often in vain; also like Confucius he was a distinguished teacher. He debated with other philosophers, most notably with Moists. He wrote a book entitled *The Mencius*, which contains his sayings and teachings.

Mencius expounded on Confucian teachings on government and human nature. He emphasized the quality called *ren (jen)*, which means "humanity" and "love," but unlike the Moists who insisted on universal love, or the obligation to love all equally, Mencius insisted that one's love to others is graded depending on their mutual relationships and obligations. Mencius also insisted on the practice of righteousness, a sense of duty, or *yi (i)*, in human relations. He argued that it was the practice of these virtues that had made the reigns of ancient rulers a golden age.

Mencius lectured about benevolent government, insisting that the government existed for the people, not vice versa. But if the ruler neglected his responsibilities, or worse if he misruled his people, Mencius was more radical than Confucius, saying that such a ruler has forfeited the Mandate of Heaven and should be overthrown. He further explained that while the ruler owed the people a moral example, he could not expect them to practice virtue without enjoying economic well-being. Thus he advocated and explained various social and economic programs that would be in the enlightened self-interest of rulers to provide. He idealized the early ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY for implementing the well-field system, one that divided the land equitably for groups of eight farming families that jointly farmed a ninth plot for the government and argued for its restoration.

Mencius taught that all people are born with the beginnings of virtue and inclination to goodness, which is as natural as water's inclination to flow downward. People turn to evil when they neglect to cultivate their innate goodness. Thus, self-cultivation, a moral education, and the study of history are essential for individuals to return to purity, and the same applies to states to return to the virtuous ways of the golden age. These teachings have made Mencius loved by the people and feared by tyrants.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; MOZI (MO TZU); XUNZI (HSUN TZU).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Meng Tian (Meng T'ien)

(d. 210 B.C.E.) *Chinese general*

Meng Tian was the most powerful general of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY. He participated in the Qin state's final drive to unify China that resulted in the creation of the Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.E. His greatest feat was the building of the GREAT WALL OF CHINA, called the "Long Wall" in Chinese.

Major wall building began in China in the fourth century B.C.E. by three northern states, Qin, Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen), each of which faced nomads in the north. In 221 B.C.E. just after Qin completed the unification of China, General Meng was given the task of connecting existing walls and adding to them to form a unified system of defense against the nomads. Some 300,000 men, soldiers, convicts, and corvée laborers were called up for the task, while they simultaneously fought campaigns against the Rong (Jung) and Di (Ti) barbarians. There is little detail on how he tackled the gargantuan task. A biography of Meng in a monumental work called the *Historical Records*, by SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEN) in the first century B.C.E., merely said: "He...built a Great Wall, constructing its defiles and passes in accordance with the configurations of the terrain. It started in Lin-t'ao and extended to Liao-tung, reaching a distance of more than ten thousand li. After crossing the [Yellow] River, it wound northward, touching the Yang mountains."

In addition, Meng was responsible for building a major north-south highway that connected the capital city Xianyang (Hsien-yang) northward through the Ordos desert, across the northern loop of the Yellow River, ending at Jiuyuan (Chiu-yuan) in Inner Mongolia. Over flat land the road was more than 75 feet wide, and even over mountainous terrain it measured about 17 feet in width. Remnants of the road survive and a modern road follows approximately the same route. This was one of a network of imperial highways, known as speedways

that were built during the Qin dynasty that radiated from the capital city. The total of Qin highways was approximately 4,250 miles. They were crucial for fast movement of troops as well as trade and colonization.

In 210 B.C.E. the first emperor of Qin unexpectedly died while on an inspection trip, leaving the throne to his eldest son, Prince Fusu (Fu-su). Since 212 B.C.E. Fusu had been to duty on the Great Wall under General Meng. It was thought to be punishment for remonstrating with his father for the latter's harsh treatment of Confucian scholars. The emperor's chief minister Li Si (Li Ssu) and chief eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) then conspired to alter the will, designating a weak younger son as heir and ordering both Fusu and Meng to commit suicide. Both complied with the order. Without its ablest general and with a weakling on the throne, the Qin dynasty fell to widespread rebellion.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Meroë

Evidence of civilization in Meroë, now part of Sudan and then called NUBIA, has existed from about the eighth millennium B.C.E. The culture was fated to live in the shadow of Egypt of the PHARAOHS to the north on the Nile. Over the centuries the pharaohs raided Nubia for gold, slaves, and other booty. However, the decline of the Egyptian dynasties around the 11th century B.C.E. gave the Nubian kingdoms a chance to flourish.

As John Reader wrote in *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*, the rulers of KUSH actually were able to subdue Egypt, "where they ruled for more than sixty years—a period of Egyptian history known as the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty." However, a final burst of Egyptian power forced the rulers of Nubian Kush to retreat up the Nile to safety at Meroë in 590 B.C.E. Meroë was ideally placed for a defensive position, according to Reader, since "the tract of land, 250 [kilometers] broad, lying between the points at

which the Atbara and the Blue Nile join with the main stream of the White Nile is known as ‘the island of Meroë.’” According to the article “Kush, Meroë, and Nubia” in the Library of Congress’ *Sudan: A Country Study* (1991), “During the height of its power in the second and third centuries B.C., Meroë extended over a region from the third cataract in the north to Sawba, near present-day Khartoum, in the south.” The very distance south gave Meroë some protection from invasion from Egypt in the north. After CAMBYSES II, son of CYRUS II of Persia, invaded Egypt in 525 B.C.E., an army he sent into the desert simply disappeared—one of the great mysteries of history. With the city of Napata as capital, the rulers at Meroë kept memories of pharaonic Egypt alive, and in early days patterned their court after the Egyptian court.

After the suicide of Cleopatra in 30 B.C.E., Egypt was ruled by the Rome of Octavian, who was strong enough to reassert power in Upper Egypt, which had become a raiding ground for Meroitic armies. A Roman punitive expedition in 23 B.C.E. razed Napata. Meroë never recovered from the Roman incursion, and by the second century C.E. the Nobatae, nomads from the west were able to establish themselves as rulers of Meroë. The Roman Empire, however, faced with Germanic invasion and the continuing fight against Parthia in the east, was happy to subsidize the Nobatae as allies and use them to defend Roman Egypt’s southern frontier.

By this time, however, Ethiopia had become a regional power, in the kingdom of Axum. Axum first appeared around 500 B.C.E. and thrived in its position on the trade routes from the Middle East, through Arabia from Yemen to the south, and with Egypt. Axum was one of the most diverse of the early kingdoms, becoming a commercial and administrative center. By this time Rome faced severe pressure throughout its empire and could devote less energy to the Nobatae, Meroë, or the frontiers of Egypt. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT died in 337 C.E., and a struggle for succession ensued. Seizing the moment, Axum invaded Meroë in about 350 and conquered it, destroying Meroë as an independent state. However, as Karl W. Butzer noted in 1981, Axum too would suffer eclipse largely due to “environmental degradation and precipitous demographic decline.” By about 800 Axum had virtually ceased to exist.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; YEMEN.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Mesoamerica: Archaic and Preclassic Periods

The geographical region and culture zone called Mesoamerica (literally, “Middle America”) extends from present-day central and southern Mexico as far south as northern Nicaragua (approximately 21 to 13 degrees north latitude). The Archaic Period (8000–2000 B.C.E.) in this vast and variegated region was characterized by the first emergence of settled communities and agriculture. The Preclassic Period is conventionally subdivided into Early (2000–1000 B.C.E.), Middle (1000–400 B.C.E.), Late (400 B.C.E.–100 C.E.), and Terminal Preclassic (100–250 C.E.). Economic, political, and cultural developments in each of these periods are marked by both broad similarities and regional variations—periods most fruitfully seen as convenient dating devices rather than fixed horizons characterized by definitive shifts. Four major Mesoamerican cultural complexes emerged during the Preclassic: the OLMECS along the Gulf of Mexico littoral, in the Valley of Oaxaca, in the Valley of Mexico, and further east and south in the Maya zone.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

In the early Archaic Period people in various parts of Mesoamerica initiated a shift from nomadic hunting and gathering to more territorially based specialized foraging, a prolonged process culminating in sedentary agriculture. The first permanent villages appeared along the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean, and Pacific seacoasts early in the Archaic, likely a result of the relative abundance of maritime food resources in these areas. Sites demonstrating year-round occupation during the Archaic include Cerro de las Conchas on the Chiapas coast, several along the Caribbean coast in contemporary Belize, and inland along rivers at Colha and Cobweb Swamp.

While the precise origins of Mesoamerican agriculture remain obscure, scholars agree that over many generations people in two principal regions domesticated several species of wild plants during the Archaic that later served as the agricultural basis of Preclassic and Classic Mesoamerican civilizations, most notably maize, squash, beans, and chili peppers, usually grown

together in a *milpa*. These regions were the highlands of Oaxaca and Tehuacán (southeast of the Valley of Mexico) and the coastal lowlands of the Gulf of Mexico and Pacific. The origin of maize in particular has spawned extensive debates and a voluminous literature. The resulting food surpluses resulted in higher populations and the beginnings of more complex societies marked by growing social differentiation, craft specialization, and localized trade—especially food, flint, obsidian, chert, textiles, and feathers.

EARLY PRECLASSIC

The Early Preclassic was marked by denser populations, the expansion and increasing complexity of settled communities, specialized craft production—pottery and stylized figurines being the most evident in the archaeological record—more extensive regional trading networks, more marked social differentiation, and the beginnings of warfare. The earliest evidence for sustained Mesoamerican warfare, from the Zapotec in the Valley of Oaxaca, dates to around 1800 B.C.E. Armed conflicts in this zone intensified thereafter, culminating in the supremacy of the Monte Albán polity over the entire Oaxaca watershed by the end of the Preclassic. The earliest Mesoamerican pottery has been traced to the Pacific coast of Chiapas and areas further south, extending as far as contemporary El Salvador. Evidence for increased social differentiation during the Early Preclassic includes differences in house sizes, attainment of status goods, and funerary practices. This period also saw the rise of the Olmec, long considered the “mother culture” of subsequent Mesoamerican states and polities, a view that in recent years has been displaced by a more multiregional perspective.

MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

During the Middle Preclassic these complex societies developed further along the trajectory established during the earlier period, with more centralized and hierarchical polities emerging in the Valley of Oaxaca, Chalcatzingo, the Valley of Mexico, and the Maya lowlands and highlands. Some areas saw the transition from chiefdoms to states, most notably in Monte Albán I (c. 500–200 B.C.E.) in the Valley of Oaxaca. The period also saw the consolidation of hereditary rule and the origins of notions of divine kingship. As populations and population densities grew, social differentiation became more pronounced, with finer distinctions among members of the elite and a wider gap between elites and commoners. Ruling and religious elites deployed spiritual power to underpin their legitimacy and rule. This period saw the crystallization of a pan-Mesoamerican culture zone, with widespread

and continuous exchange of goods and ideas across the region. Exchanges of prestige goods such as magnetite, jade, pyrite, pearl oyster shells, and quetzal feathers accompanied exchanges of religious beliefs and symbols.

This period also saw growing sophistication in the development of monumental architecture and carved monuments. The first carved monuments in the Valley of Oaxaca date to 1000 B.C.E. Here, at Monte Albán, a rudimentary system of glyphs had developed by 500 B.C.E. During Monte Albán I rulers erected more than 300 carved monuments recording names, dates, and events, many with martial themes and motifs, including ritual sacrifice of captive war victims. Scholars have yet fully to decipher these glyphs. Similar developments took place among the Maya, with elaborately carved stelae serving as public displays of rulers’ authority, power, and legitimacy. Middle Preclassic Maya monuments were erected from Chiapas as far east and south as El Salvador. Across Mesoamerica, as contending polities jostled for power, warfare grew in scale and complexity. Agriculture became more intensive, evidenced by denser populations and more elaborate water-control technologies. Pottery styles, too, became more elaborate, sophisticated, stylized, and varied.

LATE AND TERMINAL PRECLASSIC

The Late Preclassic, characterized by a veritable “urban revolution,” laid the groundwork for the florescence of states and polities during the Classic Period. In Mexico’s central highlands planners designed, laid out, and began construction of the colossal city of TEOTIHUACÁN, which came to dominate much of Mesoamerica during the Early Classic Period. Further south Monte Albán II (c. 250 B.C.E.–1 C.E.) was expanded as a residential and ceremonial center, as its ruling elite consolidated its control over the region. In the north and west (in contemporary Nayarit, Jalisco, and Colima), urbanization, state building, and attendant monumental architecture were of a lesser scale, with pottery and artistic styles, along with funerary practices, exhibiting distinctive regional variations. In the east, along the Gulf Coast the Olmec center of Tres Zapotes continued to thrive, while the adjacent urban centers of La Venta and San Lorenzo waned in influence and power. The most stunning achievements of the Late Preclassic took place among the Maya, where advances in writing, mathematics, astronomy, architecture, urban planning, warfare, and related spheres presaged the later developments of the Classic Period.

See also MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD.

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Mesoamerica: Classic Period

The Classic Period in Mesoamerican history is divided into the Early (250–600 C.E.), Late (600–800), and Terminal Classic (800–900/1100). Four major culture areas reached florescence during this period: the central highlands, dominated by TEOTIHUACÁN until its fall in 650; the Oaxaca Valley, dominated by Monte Albán until its fall around 900; along the gulf coast among the Classic Veracruz, which reached its apogee around 900; and four distinct Maya zones, most of whose city-states collapsed by the late 800s.

The overall trajectory of this period was characterized by incremental and continuous social and cultural development, economic expansion, and state formation in all four culture areas, growing organically out of Preclassic developments, followed (except in the case of Classic Veracruz) by the sudden and calamitous collapses of states and empires marking the end of the Classic—demises whose underlying causes remain a subject of research and debate among scholars.

THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AND TEOTIHUACÁN

Called the “City of the Gods” by the Aztec centuries after its abandonment, the colossal city of Teotihuacán remains shrouded in mystery. Its inhabitants left many monuments, carvings, murals, and other artistic creations, but only a few glyphs and no readable texts comparable to the writings of the Maya. We do not even know what they called themselves. What is clear is that the city’s ruling elite oversaw a city of some 150,000–200,000 people—making it one of the largest urban concentrations in the world at that time—and an empire that spanned most of Mesoamerica outside the Oaxaca Valley and the Maya zones to the south and east. For centuries the dominant power in the Valley of Mexico, the empire of Teotihuacán extended its economic and ideological

reach north as far as the present-day U.S. Southwest, west to the Pacific coast, east to the Gulf of Mexico, and south as far as Honduras.

Teotihuacán’s influence in Mesoamerica was of three principal types: political-military, economic, and ideological-religious. Politically and militarily the city directly ruled most of the central highlands, including the densely populated Valley of Mexico, which saw its population increase by a factor of 40 in the 10 centuries from 900 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. In towns and districts directly ruled by the empire’s armies, labor drafts and exacted tribute were combined with the construction (or reconstruction) of new towns and urban centers in styles imitative of the colossal city. Economically the empire established and maintained extensive trade and exchange networks throughout Mesoamerica. Teotihuacán-style merchant residences show this as far south as Guatemala and by a wide variety of identifiable exchange items spread over a large area (such as green-tinted obsidian unearthed at sites in Honduras from the Teotihuacán-controlled Pachuca quarry).

It was in the ideological or spiritual realm that the city-empire exercised its greatest power. In particular, its cult of Quetzalcoatl (the Feathered Serpent), already a pan-Mesoamerican deity, became increasingly important throughout much of Mesoamerica. So too did its practice of ritual human sacrifice, probably derived from the OLMECS, Maya, Monte Albán, or other antecedent cultures. The dispersal of these and other religious myths, symbols, and practices from Teotihuacán to the central highlands and beyond, as well as the persistence of these myths and practices in the centuries following the city’s demise, demonstrate the tremendous ideological influence wielded by the empire and its ruling elite.

THE CLASSIC VERACRUZ

What caused Teotihuacán’s fall is unknown, though a combination of ecological crises and invasions from the north are the likeliest reasons. What is known is that around 650 C.E. parts of the city were burned and desecrated and most of the city itself abandoned. The resultant power vacuum in the central highlands led to the formation of numerous lesser states, most notably Cholula and Cacaxtla in contemporary Puebla, and Xochicalco in Morelos. Along the Gulf of Mexico coastal region, the Classic Veracruz, most commonly associated with the urban complex of El Tajín, emerged as perhaps the most powerful polity north of the Maya zones. Noted especially for its many ball courts—the ball game, or *ollama*, comprising another

pan-Mesoamerican cultural tradition closely associated with warfare and ritual human sacrifice and steeped in religious symbolism—El Tajín reached its florescence around 900 C.E. All of these states exhibited a heightened emphasis on militarism that would characterize the later Postclassic Period.

THE OAXACA VALLEY AND MONTE ALBÁN

In the Valley of Oaxaca the highly militarized Zapotec state of Monte Albán came to dominate the surrounding region through conquest, colonization, and alliances with lesser powers. During the period of Teotihuacán's dominance Monte Albán and Teotihuacán enjoyed good diplomatic relations, evidenced in part by carved monuments at Monte Albán depicting ambassadorial meetings and by neighborhoods within Teotihuacán that housed Zapotec merchants. In Monte Albán, too, a hereditary class of kings and priests whose legitimacy was divinely sanctioned dominated a rigidly hierarchical social order held together by war, threats of war, and an elaborate corpus of religious beliefs and practices, including ritual sacrifice of captive war victims. Monte Albán reached the zenith of its power around 400 C.E., after which numerous of its vassal towns and districts wrested their autonomy from the hilltop city, which subsequently underwent a period of gradual decline. By 800 parts of the city were no longer inhabited or used, though the site and surrounding districts were occupied well into the Postclassic.

THE MAYA

The most remarkable cultural achievements of the Classic Period took place among the Maya. In virtually every field of human endeavor—writing, mathematics, astronomy, calendrics, warfare, architecture, agriculture, water-control technologies, and many others—the Classic Maya bequeathed an astounding legacy. Comprised of a shifting mosaic of city-states that never unified under a single political umbrella, the history of the Classic Maya is conventionally divided into the Early (250–600 C.E.) and Late Classic (600–900), with a political reorganization in Yucatán, originating largely from outside the region and enduring until around 1100. Scholars also divide the Maya area into four principal geographic zones: (1) the Pacific coastal plain and piedmont, which merge into (2) the northern highlands in contemporary Guatemala and Chiapas, which merge into (3) the southern and central lowlands, or Petén, and further north into (4) the northern or Yucatán lowlands. While economic, social, cultural, and

political developments in each of these zones followed distinct trajectories, it is also the case that Classic Period developments in the Maya region as a whole exhibited a range of shared features and attributes that need to be understood within both pan-Maya and pan-Mesoamerican contexts.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

messianism

Broadly speaking, messianism refers to any expectation of the appearance of a messiah or messiahs in the end time. Messianism appears in four bodies of literature: Hebrew scripture, extrabiblical works written in the Second Temple period, the New Testament (NT), and the writings of rabbinic Judaism. From the middle of the 19th century until recently scholars have generally held that messianism was only a marginal phenomenon not only in Hebrew scripture but also in the writings produced in Second Temple period. Christianity has been either credited with or blamed for introducing messianism in such a prominent way. In more recent years this traditional understanding of messianism has come under criticism.

Messianism in Hebrew scripture has been approached in two ways. The first approach is to investigate the occurrence of the word *messiah*, which means “anointed one.” An extreme position would be to limit messianism to passages that mention the word *messiah* in an eschatological (end-time) context. By this criterion Daniel 9:25–26 would be the only one that qualifies. Other occurrences of the term *messiah* in the Jewish Bible are more debatable since an eschatological context appears to be absent. It is unclear, for example, whether when DAVID is called “the Lord’s anointed” this qualifies as an eschatological prophecy. The most

one can say is that such references may have eschatological overtones. The second approach to messianism is to investigate it from the broader perspective of Israel's eschatology. It is undeniable that many passages of Hebrew scripture envision some sort of an end-time agent, whether human or angelic, who will restore Israel and reestablish God's original order on the earth. Most scholars feel that many of such passages are messianic even though these passages do not mention *messiah*. The most important messianic figure in Hebrew scripture is a future king in the likeness of David and a descendant of David.

There are basically two scholarly opinions about the origin of messianism. Some believe messianism developed from the pre-exilic practice of venerating Israelite kings as divine agents. S. Mowinckel was the key proponent of this hypothesis. Others believe that either before or during the exile, the Jews borrowed the concept of divine kingship from Egypt or Persia and shaped it into messianism, a form more consistent with Israel's monotheism.

Whatever the case may be, scholarly consensus points to kingship as the primary matrix of Jewish messianism. The extracanonical Jewish works produced in the Second Temple period refer to the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA, QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls, JOSEPHUS, and PHILO. Although end-time speculations abound in much of these Jewish writings, direct mention of the word *messiah* is found only in Philo, the Psalms of Solomon, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, 2 BARUCH, and 1 Enoch. Of these, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, technically speaking, lie outside the Second Temple period, and Philo mentions *messiah* only once in a quotation of Num. 24:7 (LXX). Also 4 Ezra is the only apocryphal writing that mentions the word *messiah*.

Inasmuch as the Apocrypha was passed down with the Septuagint, the Greek translation of Hebrew scripture, and preserved by the Christians, one might have expected a more overt messianism in it. In other words, the actual occurrences of the word *messiah* in the Jewish writings of this period are few and far between. The reason may be that during the Hasmonean period, when much of these works were produced, a strong interest in a stable Jewish kingship here and now tended to suppress messianism. By far the most interesting messianic material from this period is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which speak of at least two—royal and priestly—messiahs. This development is due to the fact that in Hebrew scripture not only kings but also the priests, the sanctuary and its contents, and sometimes even the prophets were anointed.

The title most frequently used for Jesus in the NT is "Christ," which is the Greek translation of *messiah* (cf. John 1:14). PAUL, who uses this title most often, also uses it as a virtual name for Jesus. In Luke, Jesus reads a passage from Isaiah at the beginning of his ministry to refer to himself as the anointed: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has *anointed* me to preach good news to the poor" (Luke 4:18). In other words, in the NT *messiah* is practically synonymous with JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. But other messianic titles also occur in the NT. The Gospel writers use the titles Son of David and Son of Man in addition to Christ. Hebrews use the title high priest for Jesus. The image of Jesus as the High Priest of God also figures prominently in Revelation. These and other messianic titles of Jesus in the NT share the common notion that Jesus is a suffering messiah.

Rabbinic Judaism certainly knows of the messiah. The word *messiah* occurs in the MISHNAH, the Eighteen Benedictions, the Targums, and the TALMUD. Messianism, as a theological idea, however, has had little direct influence on the formation and development of rabbinic Judaism. Notwithstanding, messianic movements have played a vital role in Judaism to this day.

Nearly all messianic materials mention a connection with God's end-time judgment. The Qumran scrolls are noteworthy in this regard because they not only link together messianism and divine judgment but also develop them into elaborate end-time scenarios. Similarly, 4 Ezra (cf. 12:32) and 2 Baruch (cf. 29:3) mention a messiah in close connection with visions of the end-time judgment, which in the two books is equated in part with the fall of Jerusalem. Jesus and his followers also center their messianic messages on the announcement that the end-time judgment of God has finally arrived. The followers of Jesus, like Paul, who believed that divine judgment had taken place in the death of Jesus, gave Jewish messianism its most notable and lasting expression.

In short, messianism is an apocalyptic phenomenon that tended to become prominent in Jewish and Christian communities that believed themselves to be under divine judgment.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; JUDAISM, EARLY; PSALMS; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

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Middle Kingdom, Egypt

Ancient Egyptian language begins with Middle Egyptian, accepted by later Egyptians as the classical period of language, literature, and culture. The Middle Kingdom dated from approximately 2055 to 1650 B.C.E. It comprised the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty, the Twelfth Dynasty that spanned 212 years (1985–1773 B.C.E.), and the Thirteenth Dynasty, at the end of which the central administration was once again weakening, leading into the Second Intermediate Period. The pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty had remarkably long reigns: two, Senusret I and Amenemhat III, reigned for some 45 years. The First Intermediate Period was one of decentralization, but local rulers, religious institutions, and customs developed and flourished.

By the end of the First Intermediate Period power had concentrated in two centers, Herakleopolis, near the Faiyum in Middle Egypt, and THEBES. From the latter city the first three kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, all three named Intef, ruled Upper Egypt and gradually pushed the boundary of their rules further north. Around 2055 B.C.E. Mentuhotep II managed to reunify Egypt and reigned for 50 years, ushering in a period of peace and stability. His two successors reigned a further 18 years, and Mentuhotep III was likely succeeded by his vizier, Amenemhat, as the first pharaoh of that name and of the Twelfth Dynasty. His name, compounded with Amun, signaled the demotion of the local Theban patron god, Montu, and Amun's steady rise to unrivaled prominence and wealth. In his 30-year reign Amenemhat I conducted campaigns in the eastern Delta and south in NUBIA

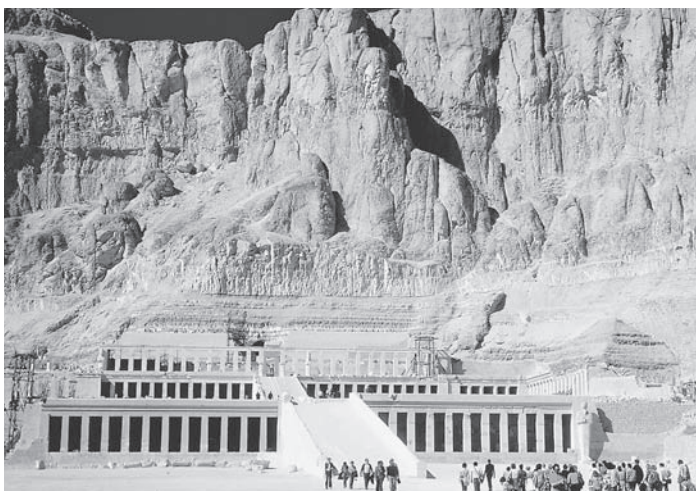
to secure Egypt's access to gold. He also sailed the Nile dealing severely with any signs of rebellion from local rulers. Amenemhat moved the capital to a site about 20 miles south of the old capital, Memphis. This was named Itjtawy, or "Seizer-of-the-Two-Lands." Amenemhat I was murdered as the result of a palace coup.

Though Senusret I was campaigning in Libya when his father Amenemhat I died, he returned, quelled any rebellion, and ruled on his own for 34 years—having reigned approximately 10 years with his father. He extended Egypt's borders as far as Buhen at the Second Cataract in Nubia and led expeditions into Syria. Like his father, he was a great builder and rebuilt the temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. Amenemhat II succeeded around 1928 B.C.E. His reign saw an expansion of trading contacts with Syria and the Aegean. Egyptian artifacts from his reign have been found at BYBLOS in Lebanon and Knossos in Crete. A treasure trove from his reign was found in the temple of Montu at el-Tod, immediately south of Luxor, with silver goblets from Canaan and the Aegean, along with seals and jewelry from Mesopotamia.

His son, Senusret II, continued his father's interest in the Faiyum by beginning to irrigate the area. His statues display a realistic appearance of the royal subject, which would continue into the succeeding reigns. This was a break from the traditional representation of the PHARAOH, especially in the OLD KINGDOM, as a remote, godlike being. This trend, copied among the nobility, makes the portraiture of this period unique and vivid.

The last two major pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty were Senusret III and Amenemhat III. Senusret III was apparently a commanding figure. He conducted several campaigns in Nubia, noted for their brutality. He extended the southern boundary of Egypt well into Nubia, building a fortress at Semna beyond the Second Cataract. Even into the Thirteenth Dynasty military dispatches show how stringently the Egyptians controlled the natives and exploited resources. Much of the wealth that poured in from Nubia was given to the gods. The shrine of Osiris at Abydos was gifted with precious metals and stones, and funds for priestly maintenance were given to the temple of Amun at Thebes.

The last of the long-reigning and powerful pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty was Amenemhat III (1831–1796 B.C.E.). His reign was long and peaceful, and the Middle Kingdom reached its cultural and economic peak. He expanded the use of the turquoise and copper mines in Sinai and quarried at Aswan and Tura and in Nubia, all recorded on inscriptions. There are two statues that seem to show him in youth and maturity, displaying the strong features of his ancestors. The Twelfth Dynasty



Deir el-Bahri is a complex of mortuary temples and tombs, including the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut.

slid peaceably into the Thirteenth with the short reigns of Amenemhat IV and his sister-queen, Sobekneferu.

Wegaf Khutawyre, the first pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty, seems to have succeeded legitimately, tied by blood or marriage to the old royal family. His throne name, Khutawyre, "Re protects the Two Lands," proclaimed his aim of continuing the policies of the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty. The pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty continued to use it as the royal seat, and there was no great crisis or collapse until the founding of the Hyksos states (1650 B.C.E.). Life went on much as before, even as far south as the Second Cataract. By the reign of Sobekhotep IV (c. 1730 B.C.E.), control of Nubia lessened and in the Delta, local rulers strengthened their positions, which led to the weakening of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the fragmented dynastic rule of the Second Intermediate Period.

The Middle Kingdom saw the emergence of a comfortable "middle" class, the increase in endowments of mid-level temple priests, and a mercantile class who traded independently of royal interests. There was a more confident appropriation and expression of a blessed afterlife that relied less on proximity to the deceased pharaoh and more on the preparations of the individual. As noted, the Middle Kingdom produced a great number of literary works, many of which became "classics" of genre, language, and style. In sum, it was an age that encouraged the rise of the individual and became aware of the world beyond Egypt.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

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JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

migration patterns of the Americas

Native Americans inhabited every region of the Western Hemisphere, from arctic North America to Tierra del

Fuego at the southern tip of South America. There are more than 500 distinct Native American tribal groups or nations in North America alone. Native people showed a remarkable ability to adapt to the different physical environments throughout North America. They organized themselves into communities, governments, and cultures that were adapted to their local environment and were recognized as distinct tribes or nations by the people within the tribe as well as by the other Native nations. Native Americans' own stories of how they arrived in their homelands are as varied as the tribes themselves.

There are some common themes, however, to these creation stories and oral traditions. All tribes have a creation story; most tell of humans being brought up from the ground by spiritual powers, and each culture tells of its own tribe as being the original people. This is usually a positive story, with humans being brought into this world with joy, companionship, and laughter. Native cultures have a strong sense of distinct male and female powers and principles in the universe, and often these creation stories tell of the male spirits of the sky and Sun bringing humanity up from the female counterpart, the womb of Mother Earth. Sometimes these stories tell of the women pushing the men to venture out of the earth (or up from a lake or to embark on a long journey) to find the new world in the light.

Some tribes' creation stories tell of their people emerging from the earth directly into their homeland. But many of them tell of a long migration: The people emerge and travel a great distance to their eventual homeland. Some tribes' creation stories contain both subterrestrial and terrestrial journeys. The San Juan Tewa tribe of New Mexico tells of human beings first living in Sipofene, a dark world beneath a lake far to the north. The first mothers of the Tewa, Blue Corn Woman and White Corn Maiden, directed a man to travel to the world above the lake, where he eventually obtains the gifts that allow the Tewa to live in the terrestrial world.

The Potawatomi of the southern Great Lakes are another example. The Potawatomi are culturally, politically, and linguistically linked to the Ojibwa and Odawa people in the northern Great Lakes, and many stories link the Potawatomi to the Great Migration of the Ojibwa from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes. But Potawatomi creation stories also tell of the original people arising from the St. Joseph River southwest of Lake Michigan. Native creation stories always carry a sense that it was a journey of great distance to arrive at the homeland, whether it was a journey from underground or a journey over land. And the goal is always to arrive at a distinct homeland for the original people.

This is a question that puzzled the European immigrants and settlers, beginning with the early explorers (once they realized they had not reached Asia as they had expected). Some Europeans speculated that the Native Americans were the lost tribes of Israel cited in the Bible. The Jesuit missionary José de Acosta in the late 1500s proposed the theory that the Native Americans traveled from Asia following the great herds of animals that they hunted. Anthropology grew as a science in America in the 1800s, focusing on Native cultures and their origins. Most contemporary evidence points to a migration of the Native American people from Asia, coming from north-eastern Siberia into Alaska sometime between 25,000 to 11,000 years ago. But there is still much debate about the exact time of this migration and whether it was one migration by a single group of people or different migrations by different groups.

The geological record points to an ice age that occurred from 40,000 to 11,000 years ago. There are two factors that would have influenced this migration. First, tying up so much of the earth's water into ice would have resulted in a drop in the level of the oceans. About 60 miles of water presently separate Alaska and Siberia, but in the last ice age, the ocean would have been low enough for these two landmasses to be connected, permitting easy migration from Asia into North America. Studies of the fossil record indicate that this type of migration has occurred among the great herding animals. Caribou, mammoths, elk, and moose apparently traveled from Asia to North America, and horses and camels migrated the opposite way.

Secondly, the scarring of rock strata indicate that the ice sheet covering North America in this time period was vast, stretching south to the Canadian Pacific coast and across to the Atlantic Ocean. While migration from Asia into Alaska was feasible as early as 25,000 years ago, the ice sheet would have blocked further overland travel into the interior of North America until 14,000 years ago. Some scientists argue that travel would have been possible along the Alaskan and Canadian coastline, but no evidence has been found as yet to indicate boats or a fishing-based culture in this region prior to 11,000 years ago.

Anthropologists have applied modern language theory and biological techniques to the question of migration. There are more than 1,000 Native American languages, and the North American languages are commonly recognized as falling into eight large, related groups. Anthropologists have attempted to determine migration patterns tribes based on the dispersion of these language groups. Most agree that three or more

migrations occurred, with the first beginning more than 11,000 years ago. The largest language group, the Amerind, links many languages in all regions of North America and is believed to be the earliest. This migration was then followed later by the Na-Dene group, which is found in the U.S. Southwest and Northwest Coast (some 9,000 years ago), and still later by the Inuit and Aleut speakers of the Arctic (less than 8,000 years ago). Studies of dental traits and blood-group traits among Native Americans also tend to support the concept of three large migration events.

Once Native Americans did become established in central North America, they began to spread out to every region of the continent, and cultures and lifestyles began to evolve and adapt to the various regions. Scientists refer to these earliest cultures as Paleo-Indians. One artifact common to these people is a distinctive flint spear point referred to as the Clovis point. A number of archaeological sites along the Great Plains have been dated to 11,000 years old, and they show evidence for the use of the Clovis point for hunting the great herds of mammoth, bison, and other animals. Other studies indicate that use of the Clovis point spread throughout North and South America as far north as the Yukon and as far south as the Andes.

Gradually, the climate warmed in North America. The huge herd animals of the ice age, such as the mammoths and mastodons, died out, the vast lakes in the U.S. West dried out and turned to desert, and deciduous forests became widespread in the East. Native Americans adapted to their new environments and established new ways of life different from their Paleo-Indian ancestors. This second wave of cultures is referred to as the Archaic Tradition. Archaic-period cultures developed more specific, regionalized characteristics. People of the western deserts utilized the lowland seasonal marshes and rivers for their sustenance or became hunter-gatherers in the foothills and mountains. People of the Northwest developed into great ocean and river fishers. California Archaic people developed hunting-foraging cultures utilizing the abundance of resources in their region and practiced controlled burning to encourage plant and animal populations, particularly for oaks and acorns. The people of the Great Plains developed a greater reliance on the bison.

Eastern groups began to adapt to the growing woodlands. One particular cultural group is referred to as the Poverty Point culture. This group was first studied based on the Poverty Point earthworks in Louisiana, dated between 4,000 and 2,000 years old. Poverty Point includes several earthen mound constructions, with

the largest taking the form of a bird with outstretched wings. Artifacts uncovered at Poverty Point reveal trade materials originating as far away as the Great Lakes. Clay figurines, stone beads, and other ornaments are distinctive to the Poverty Point culture.

The Woodland culture was the next stage to develop. This term as used by archaeologists refers to a specific Native American cultural pattern that became common about 3,000 years ago and spread from the edge of the Great Plains to the Atlantic Ocean. The Woodland culture had three main characteristics: a distinctive style of ceramics, community-based agriculture, and the construction of burial mounds. Mound building is perhaps the most recognized Woodland culture feature. Mound structures from this stage have been discovered from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the southern Great Plains to Ontario.

The Woodland groups again were not a single vast tribe or nation but instead were distinct communities that centered on local village or city sites often with mound structures. The mounds were usually burial structures but also frequently served ceremonial and political purposes. The Woodland culture showed local variations, but certain practices were common to all. Trade was extensive throughout the network of mound communities, and a certain commonality of cultural practices likely served to unite these communities and help maintain the trade routes.

Elements of both the Archaic and Woodland stages existed in Native cultures up to 1600 C.E. For example, the Archaic fishing cultures of the Northwest and the hunter-gatherer-fishers of California inhabited some of the richest regions on the face of the earth. Their lifestyles never experienced any pressure to change their cultural practices. The early Spanish explorers reported city-states of the Woodland mound culture in the 1500s. The Iroquois tribes in New York are also organized on Woodland culture patterns.

The size of the Native population prior to 1492 is also subject to much debate. Scientific studies in the early 1900s relied on the reports and estimates of the European explorers and American settlers from the 1500s forward. These studies generally agreed on a figure of about 1 million Native Americans north of Mexico at the time of European contact.

More recent studies have begun to take into account additional factors, particularly the effect of Old World diseases. Diseases such as smallpox, chicken pox, the plague, and measles did not exist in the Native American population prior to 1492. The disastrous effect of these diseases in Mesoamerican and Central and South

American Native populations was well documented by the Spanish conquistadores in the 1500s. Given the existence of the extensive Native trade routes and the virulence of these diseases, it is reasonable to assume that these diseases had a similar devastating effect in interior North America as well.

More recent population studies, taking into account the effects of disease and the estimated carrying capacity of the various regions of the continent, have revised the Native American population estimate upward. Some studies have ranged as high as 18 million, but most recent estimates project Native population in North America prior to 1492 as closer to 5 million people.

The indigenous people of North America, their governments, and cultures were incredibly varied, with great adaptation to their respective regions, and they showed a great awareness of and respect for their physical environment.

Native American cultures were not static and had been undergoing cultural changes independent of and prior to European contact. But by 1600 a radical transformation had begun resulting from Old World immigration. At that point disease had begun to decimate Native populations, and this would be one of the key factors in opening the Atlantic seaboard to English colonization in the 1600s.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: CHRONOLOGIES AND PEOPLES; NATIVE AMERICANS: REGIONAL ADAPTATIONS.

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KEVIN DAUGHERTY

Milan, Edict of (313 C.E.)

Emperor DIOCLETIAN pursued a comprehensive program against Christianity from 302 C.E. until his retirement in 305 C.E. His successors continued hostilities toward the church, especially in the eastern empire for several years, until it became clear that such programs were futile. Sometime around 311 Galerius, one of the ruling Caesars, grudgingly and condescendingly issued

the Edict of Toleration for all religious subjects, understood to apply mainly to the benefit of the persecuted Christians.

Shortly thereafter Galerius died. The western empire's Caesar, CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, immediately seized initiative and forged a similar agreement at Milan in 313 with his eastern counterpart Licinius. This edict was more sympathetic to the Christian cause, reflecting Constantine's sympathies for the faith. In time Christian causes even started to receive funds from the imperial treasury.

Ten years later Licinius unsuccessfully broke from Constantine's religious revolution and renounced the accord of Milan; some 40 years later Constantine's nephew JULIAN THE APOSTATE also went this route and tried to reinstate conventional Greco-Roman religion. The chronology and development of the Edict of Toleration and Edict of Milan is suspect, as the main sources (Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesaria) do not agree in detail; nonetheless, it is clear that Christians won their civic rights through these proclamations.

Contrary to popular opinion, Constantine the Great did not make Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire. Only overt and widespread persecutions stopped. In fact, it was THEODOSIUS I, called "the Great" by an appreciative church, who issued the edict *Cunctos Populos* in 380 that made orthodox teachings on the Trinity and the Incarnation of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH mandatory for all citizens. Anyone who did not go along was deemed "an extravagant madman." In 381 he summoned the bishops to the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE, as he began to deal seriously with church divisions.

Ten years later he fined and forcibly removed all church leaders who accepted ARIANISM. In addition, he forbade all Roman officials from participating in Greco-Roman religious sacrifices. By 392 Theodosius I had banned all pagan worship. These aggressive religious programs effectively established Christianity as the state religion. From the fourth century onward Orthodox or Catholic Christianity was the dominant religion in the Mediterranean world.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MARTYROLOGIES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Minoans

The Minoan civilization has its roots on the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea during the Neolithic Period (7000–3000 B.C.E.). The original inhabitants most likely emigrated from Asia Minor, which had already developed cities and conducted trade by 2000 B.C.E. The Greek poet Homer refers to the Minoan population as "Eteo-Cretans" in book 9 of the *Odyssey*. This early culture used HIEROGLYPHICS similar to that of the Egyptians, which they eventually developed into a linear script for keeping records. Most of what is known about this civilization was discovered during the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans during the early 1900s. Despite a strong naval influence, Minoan culture has no evidence of any warlike activity or organization.

The most important center of Minoan civilization was the palace city of Knossos. Located inland on the island of Crete, Knossos was built at the confluence of the Vlihia stream and the Keratos River, with good lands for vineyards and olive groves. The main palace was constructed on Kefala Hill in the early second millennium B.C.E. The Minoans also built a sophisticated system of drains, roads, and warehouses to promote trade. The structures at Knossos show evidence of compartmentalized homes with working doors and partitions, with no difference between the homes of the wealthy and the workers. This suggests that wealth may have been more evenly shared as the Minoan trade routes prospered. The palace and larger buildings may have even had functioning toilets. Many of the ruins at Knossos have colorful frescos or intricately designed pottery, which display a unique form of art in the ancient world. Nearly all of the artwork uncovered displays Minoan daily life, showing fishing, sailors trading goods, young men and women participating in sporting games or rituals, wildlife, and religious figures. The Minoans developed art for art's sake, a revolutionary concept in the ancient world. Through the Mycenaeans they passed this love of art on to mainland Greece.

The religious beliefs of the early Minoan culture were polytheistic and matriarchal, a goddess religion. The serpent goddess played a prominent role in the homes of Minoans, perhaps a foreshadowing of the strong female deities in the Greek religion. Minoan influence in the Mediterranean spread through trade. The Cretans and their Aegean relatives developed what was one of the most advanced mercantile navies in history. There is evidence of trade with diverse areas such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt, Afghanistan, and Scandinavia. Goods traded with Knossos included copper, ivory, amethyst, lapis lazuli,

carneian, gold, and amber. Clay tablets have been found at Knossos with both LINEAR A AND B writing styles that contain records of goods traded and stored. Evidence of this vast trading network can also be found in the palace city of Akrotiri, located on the southwestern tip of Santorini island. This city had only been rediscovered in the mid-1900s, having been buried by a volcanic eruption. Excavations revealed an elaborate drainage system built under sophisticated, multi-tiered buildings. The building interiors were decorated with magnificent frescos, furniture, and vessels. The absence of skeletal remains or any valuables hints that the population may have been warned of the eruption and evacuated.

The most important Minoan artifact is the Law Code of Gortyn, which dates to 450 B.C.E. It is inscribed in marble at the Odeion using Dorian Greek in the boustrophedon style (one line is read right to left, then the next left to right). Most of the laws pertain to property rights, marriage, divorce, and inheritance relating to free men and women and slaves. The content of the code corroborates the concept that men and women were given equal status in Minoan society.

Scholars cannot agree on what exactly brought about the end of the Minoan civilization. It was, perhaps, a combination of calamities over a short period of time. Crete is susceptible to seismic events. It is believed that the volcanic eruption at Thíra (Thera) may have caused a tsunami that decimated the civilization. Other theories point to the adoption of Linear B writing as proof that the Mycenaeans conquered Crete and treated it as its colony. All that is known for certain is that Minoan culture declined as the Mycenaeans prospered.

See also CYCLADES; HOMERIC EPICS; MYCENAE.

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GEORGE RALEIGH DERR III

Mishnah

When Palestinian society emerged from the turbulence of the two JEWISH REVOLTS against the Romans at the

end of the second century C.E., rabbis united to promote a religious document called the Mishnah. The Mishnah and its subsidiary books, commonly called the Tosefta and the TALMUD, serve Judaism to the present day just as a constitution unites citizens to a state.

The Mishnah is the core of this constitution; its name comes from the Hebrew word for "repeat." It was compiled under the leadership of JUDAH HA-NASI, organized into six "orders," 63 tractates, and 531 chapters. The six orders are Zera'im (agricultural laws), Mo'ed (seasonal observances), Nashim (relations with women), Neziqin (civil law), Qodashim (cultic law), and Tohorot (taboos). The Tosefta is a collection of supplements to the Mishnah, with approximately three-fourths devoted merely to citation and amplification of the contents of the Mishnah. The Tosefta has no independent standing, being organized around the Mishnah, probably closed around the fifth century C.E. Both of these documents are the basis for the Talmuds, Palestinian (fourth century C.E.) and Babylonian (fifth century C.E.). The organization of the Talmuds also follows the Mishnah's orders and tractates.

The Mishnah is something like the New Testament for Christians in two important ways: It represents a new and limited perspective of the Bible, and it presents itself as divinely inspired. After the Temple was destroyed there was a need to reorient Judaism from a temple-oriented cult to a TORAH-oriented culture of study and exposition. Similarly, after the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, Christians reinterpreted the Old Testament in a way that centered on his messiahship. Thus, neither document was a repetition of the Jewish Bible, since neither pays attention to all aspects of the Bible's themes. The Mishnah projects itself as an orally transmitted supplement to the written inspiration of the Bible. It claims to be the words of MOSES that were not originally written down like the Bible, now safeguarded in written form to preserve the Jewish faith. The Bible is the written Torah; the Mishnah is the oral Torah. Both are from Moses and authoritative.

Surprisingly, however, the Mishnah is not at all focused on the historical plight or future destiny of the Jewish people. Rather, it is a compendium of topics that the rabbis found relevant for their religious imagination. The only historical references are the some 150 teachers and rabbis that speak out in the book, but not much description surrounds them to help the reader figure out their "real world." In fact, the only historical context reflects the Jewish world after 150 C.E. Its value for historians is therefore limited. Modern scholarship holds that the Mishnah reflects what the second-century rabbis considered important for their

faith: not the temporary and changing face of external history, but the permanent and enduring world of holiness and eternity. For example, the fifth order mainly concerns the Temple, even though the Temple had been destroyed generations earlier and its grounds were off-limits to Jews. Half of the Mishnah addresses this imaginary world of officials and customs that were no longer present or possible in Judah ha-Nasi's day.

Jews in late antiquity, however, could take "real-world" consolation in the message of the Mishnah. Its message hinted at an imaginary world that countered the Roman worldview where Caesar demanded total allegiance. The Mishnah says that God owns the land of Palestine and gives it to the people of ISRAEL, Israel must pay God representative payments (tithes and offerings) and observe religious calendars to show divine ownership, and God has sovereignty over the social dimensions of human life as in clan and culture.

If the Mishnah is a selective treatment of the Bible and reflects a theology that its compilers found inspiring but not overtly related to the external world, then its sequel, the Talmud, also commented on the Mishnah according to its later priorities. Whole sections of the Mishnah were ignored. The Jerusalem Talmud covers only 39 of the 63 tractates and says nary a word on the fifth order and little on the sixth order; the Babylonian Talmud has its own set of equally limited applications. Together, both treated the Mishnah in a manner that was different than what the compilers of the Mishnah intended. If the Mishnah is analogous to the New Testament, then the Talmuds are analogous to the writings of the fathers of the church.

Very soon after the Mishnah was compiled, Jews made it the centerpiece of their study, and it became the structure and content of their discussions. Other academies outside of Yavneh (Tiberias, Caesarea, Sepphoris, and Lydda in Palestine; Sura, Pumbedita, and Nehardea in Babylonia) adopted the Mishnah as their base text. Even non-Mishnaic materials (such as the *baraitot*) were studied in relation to their parallels in the Mishnah. Its language, commonly called Mishnaic Hebrew, is a direct development of the spoken Hebrew language of the late biblical period with heavy influence by the predominant Aramaic language. Because of the Mishnah's authority not only in Palestine but also in the other great center of Jewish culture, Babylon, the Hebrew language was revitalized and never died out in rabbinic circles.

See also CAESAR, AUGUSTUS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Mittani

The kingdom of Mittani was an impressive Indo-European empire that ruled over northern Mesopotamia, or the FERTILE CRESCENT, during the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E. At its height the geographical region of Mittani stretched from the ancient city of Nuzi and the Tigris River in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west. The two capital cities, Taite and Waššukanni, were most likely located in the heartland of the Khabur river valley or at its headwaters. The capitals' archaeological sites have not yet been located.

Despite its greatness no Mittani texts regarding its own history have been found, so most of the information concerning the Mittani comes from Egyptian, Hittite, and Assyrian records. The HURRIANS, a people who were present in the Khabur River valley for several hundred years prior to the Mittani's political establishment, composed the majority of the population. The ruling class of Mittani, however, seems to have been an Indo-European people in origin and worshipped Vedic deities; that is, the marks of this society planted in today's Middle Eastern heartland bore resemblance to classical Indian culture.

Whether the Mittani introduced the horse to the Fertile Crescent is disputed, yet they did make use of it in a new form of chariot warfare. The Mittani developed a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses. The elite aristocratic warriors, called Maryannu (meaning "noble in chariot"), and an accompanying archer manned these chariots. The Maryannu, along with their horses, were clothed in bronze or iron scale armor. The chariots were used as a vehicle to surround enemies and a base from which to fire consistent volleys of arrows and javelins. The chariots were also used as collision and trampling weapons. This form of warfare served as a model for the Egyptians, HITTITES, Babylonians, and Canaanites.

The Mittani kingdom ruled over all of northern Mesopotamia in the 15th century B.C.E. and reduced the former Assyrian state to vassal status. By the 14th century B.C.E. the constant conflict with the Hittites and

Egyptians caused a significant reduction in the size of the Mittani Empire. After the Mittani king Artatama established a treaty with Thutmose IV, PHARAOH of Egypt, the two nations lived in relative peace, and the Egyptians acquired daughters of the Mittani kings for wives. However, the growing power of the Hittite kingdom in the west and the resurgence of the Assyrians in the east quickly became too much for the Mittani to handle.

During Tushratta's reign, the last independent Mittani monarch, the Hittite king Suppiluliumas sacked Waššukanni. This event marked the fall of the Mittani Empire around 1370 B.C.E. The region of the Mittani was reduced to a Hittite vassalage known as Hanilgalbat and would later be controlled by the Assyrians. A Hittite and Assyrian alliance destroyed the last remnant of the Mittani state in the north about 1340 B.C.E. Finally, an Assyrian king by the name of Shalmaneser I wiped history clean of the Mittani by securing the territory of Hanilgalbat (1280–70 B.C.E.) and deporting the Mittani people across the known world as cheap labor.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; INDO-EUROPEANS.

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JONAH B. MANCINI

Mohenjo-Daro

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are two ancient cities located on the banks of the Indus and its tributary the Ravi River in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent. They represent the earliest civilization in the region, called the Indus, or Harappan, civilization, dating to approximately 2500–1500 B.C.E. Excavation of the INDUS CIVILIZATION began in 1921 under the direction of Sir John Marshall. Mohenjo-Daro is located on the bank of the Indus River in present-day Pakistan and is the best-preserved city of the Indus civilization.

Its name means the “Mound of the Dead” because the center of the town is an artificial mound about 50 feet high surrounded with a brick wall and fortified with towers. The mound also had a great bath 39 feet by 23 feet, flanked by a large pillared hall, small rooms, and a granary. A well-laid-out town lay below the citadel with streets running in a grid pattern oriented to the points of the compass. The town was divided into wards according to function, such as areas for shops, workshops, and residences. All buildings were made with baked bricks of uniform size. Besides private wells in the courtyards of two-story individual residences, there were also public wells at street intersections. Covered sewers disposed of waste. There was also a cemetery where graves were neatly oriented in the same direction. There were no palaces or royal cemeteries.

Inscribed seals found at Mohenjo-Daro and other Indus cities show pictographic writing, to date undeciphered. So few characters are inscribed on each seal that they would not give much information even if they were deciphered. Thus despite a high-level material culture, the Indus civilization is still considered prehistoric. The absence of palaces and royal cemeteries and the presence of a ceremonial bath and great hall lead specialists to guess that a college of priests ruled. The abundance of small female figurines indicates a fertility cult. The uniform-sized bricks throughout the Indus Valley and nearby regions lead to speculation that some kind of government supervised the entire area; hence the name Indus Empire is also used to describe this civilization.

In Mohenjo-Daro archaeologists have discovered an advanced metal-using culture (bronze and copper), where people used wheel-made pottery vessels, wove cotton cloths, lived under a well-organized municipal government, and traded among one another and with other cultures. Indus seals have been found in Mesopotamia and lapis lazuli, a semiprecious stone used by Indus artisans, is mined in Afghanistan. Conditions in Mohenjo-Daro deteriorated around 1700 B.C.E., shown by hoards of buried jewelry and precious objects, pots and utensils strewn about, evidence of fire, and at least 30 skeletons scattered about indicating that the people were trapped and died or were killed. Whether natural disaster or invaders caused the final disaster, the city was abandoned, hence, posterity's name Mound of the Dead for its ruins. Mohenjo-Daro is the best preserved of the Indus civilization cities excavated to date.

See also ARYAN INVASION.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

monasticism

The English word *monasticism* derives from the Greek word *monos*, meaning “alone.” Those who rejected the world to embrace the worship of God and obedience to his commandments without compromise were soon grouped into a communal residence, called in Greek *monasterion*, and later in English *monastery*; the inhabitant of a monastery was a *monachos*, the source of the English word *monk*.

Asceticism, which originally referred to the physical training of athletes for sports contests, in the Christian context means the training of the passions—physical and mental—for the purposes of withstanding the temptations to sin present in this world and focusing completely on God. Asceticism is not confined to monasticism; in the early church forms of asceticism were incumbent on all Christians. Asceticism is also but one part of the monastic life, which includes other dimensions, including prayer, charity, the cultivation of virtue, and education in the Holy Scriptures and other edifying Christian literature.

Judaism and other Greco-Roman religions active during the first centuries of Christianity also had movements in which a group separated from society to follow religious precepts unfettered by the demands and temptations of society. However, the attempts to find in any religion of late antiquity the precursors of Christian monasticism are at best inconclusive. After the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire came to an end, monasticism became understood as a form of martyrdom, in which the monk became “dead to the world” to pursue a life focused entirely on God.

Monasticism in the forms transmitted to the Middle Ages appeared in the third and fourth centuries C.E. Monasticism was a spectrum of living arrangements between the anchorite, or solitary, who lived alone, and the coenobite, who lived in a community (*coenobium*), under a single abbot and a single rule. Many shades in between the two developed, and every monk or nun would have experienced both extremes to some extent, either through temporary arrangements as part of his or her training or due to the rhythm of life that might be an alternation of elements of both extremes. Monasticism

in all of its forms was probably practiced to some extent throughout the Christian world. The limitation of our sources has led to a focus on Egypt, Syria, and Palestine as the earliest centers. Even if there were monastic communities in the West before the fourth century, the forms of monasticism that became standard in the West are based on Eastern models.

In Egypt the major figures in the third and early fourth centuries are Anthony (c. 251–356) and Pachomius (292–346). The *Life of St. Anthony* attributed to the fourth-century bishop of ALEXANDRIA, ATHANASIUS, is less a biography of the saint than an anti-Arian work intended to show the roots of “orthodox” monasticism. The extant letters of Anthony reveal concerns different from those of the later fourth-century *Life*. Anthony is credited with the founding of eremitic or anchoritic solitary monasticism, though there are clear signs in the *Life of Anthony* itself that he was not the first in this regard.

Pachomius is credited with having established coenobitic, or communal, monasticism. He founded two monasteries, according to the *Life of St. Pachomius*, in Upper (southern) Egypt. At his death he had perhaps 3,000 monks under his supervision. Not to be neglected is Shenoute (Shenouda) of Atri (334–450 C.E.), who was the abbot of the White Monastery at Sohag, also in Upper Egypt. Shenoute is considered to be the greatest of all writers in Coptic, the language of the Egyptian church outside Greek-speaking Alexandria and the direct descendant of the language of the PHARAOHS.

Monasticism in Syria also developed contemporaneously to that in Egypt. Syriac Christianity from its inception distinguished itself by its strict asceticism. Baptized Christians were celibate. Syriac Christianity also developed by the mid-fourth century the institution of the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant, baptized Christians who dedicated their lives to renunciation and the service of the local bishop and church. These Christians continued to live in close proximity to their families of origin, not infrequently under the supervision of their parents.

By the early fifth century canons regulating the life of the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant were issued alongside canons regulating the lives of monks, indicating that the former was not merely a stage of development to coenobitic monasticism in Syria and Mesopotamia. Also distinctive for Syriac monasticism were the stylites, or solitaires who dwelled atop a pillar. The most famous of these was SIMEON THE STYLITE (388–459), a monk in northern Syria (today Qa'lat Sem'an) whose counsel on all matters was sought by Christians and non-Christians alike on a variety of practical matters.

historical roots that must be carefully sifted through. He is a difficult and ambiguous hero, according to the written accounts. He was a solitary leader, set apart from his very birth. His birth was strangely similar to other ancient heroes (CYRUS II of Persia and SARGON OF AKKAD): thrown into the river, miraculously rescued, adopted, and raised by powerful rulers. His genealogy shows his Hebrew origins and family, yet his very name is derived from Egyptian religious sources. The first part of his life shows privilege and education.

The second part of his life continues to show his alienation. His own first efforts to free the Hebrew slaves were rebuffed by his own people and prosecuted by the Egyptian oppressors. He was forced to flee to the land of Midian where he took a foreign wife and family and adopted a foreign way of life. (Paradoxically, Moses' last public act in life would be to order the extermination of this people.)

The third part of Moses' life involves a summons by God to return to the Hebrew people in Egypt. Much like other biblical prophets, Moses at first was reluctant to be a spokesperson for God but finally accepted. He parleyed many times with the Egyptian leader, called the PHARAOH, apparently his former foster father. Ten times Moses demanded the release of the Hebrew slaves, and each time Moses made good on his threats against the Egyptians in the form of plagues and blights. Finally Moses won the release of the "children of Israel," and they celebrated with a ritual meal called Passover at Moses' command. Pharaoh again reneged on his word and pursued Moses' people. When the water separating Egypt from the outside world trapped them, Moses worked a miracle. The Hebrews escaped, but the Egyptians drowned in the water.

Moses enters the fourth phase of his life as supreme tribal chief for the throngs of refugees in the desert on the other side of the water. He again showed his separateness from the people by face-to-face dialogues with the God of Israel. He was summoned to ascend MOUNT SINAI to receive the laws of the covenant that would hold Israel together, something like a religious constitution. He had almost unlimited access to the presence of God, and his people were afraid to draw near to him because of his divine brilliance. Even in his defects he was shown superior: His "meekness" in the face of criticism was said to be greater than any other human being's.

Moses failed to persuade his people to enter the land of Canaan when they had the opportunity shortly after the covenant was given at Mount Sinai, so the people were forced to wander for 40 years in the desert as a punishment. Moses continued as their chief until they were ready to enter; but, as if to underline Moses'

uniqueness, God did not allow him to enter. Though the bones of certain Patriarchs were carried in and the new generation of Israel went across, Moses died looking at the "promised land" from afar and was buried in an unmarked grave. No wonder later generations of religious writers would speculate that Moses had been raptured and had a special place in the divine court.

Peter Machinist gives four reasons why Moses was portrayed as an outsider. First, he played the role of an ancient world hero, which meant he was like a demigod, neither completely human nor divine. Second, he symbolized the people of Israel themselves, a people that were to be different from the other nations. Third, the characterization of him in the Bible as an ambiguous person allowed the reader to focus on the God of the Bible and the covenant, not Moses. Finally, the Bible normally portrays human leaders and authorities negatively so that no cult of personality arises around any hero.

Around the turn of the Common Era, Moses was described by JOSEPHUS and PHILO as a divine man, perhaps trying to persuade outsiders that he was as educated as any Greek or Roman philosopher and as ingenious as any founder of civilization. QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls depicted him as the greatest prophet. The New Testament revived his image, both as a model of MESSIANISM for JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and as a foil representing the epitome of the Legalism representing the TORAH of the Old Testament. The later rabbis, such as YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI and others in the MISHNAH and the TALMUD, found in Moses a model teacher and founder for their faith: All rabbis after the Common Era were disciples of Moses.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA AND THE APOCRYPHA; PHARISEES.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Mozi (Mo Tzu)

(c. 480–390 B.C.E.) *Chinese philosopher*

Mozi, which means "Master Mo," began a Chinese school of philosophy called Moism. His personal name was Di (Ti). After studying under disciples of CONFUCIUS, he broke away and founded his own school of philosophy. During the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY Moism was a significant challenger to both Confu-

cianism and DAOISM (TAOISM). Mozi and his disciples are the authors of a book of 71 chapters (18 are missing), the *Mozi*, that explain their views. They can be summarized under three categories: universal love, utilitarianism, and pacifism, or opposition to offensive warfare.

Mozi taught that heaven was an active force in human lives and would punish humans for persisting in evil. He therefore urged people to follow heaven by practicing universal love. He said: "The way of universal love is to regard the country of others as one's own, the family of others as one's own, the persons of others as one's self. When feudal lords love one another there will be no more war... When individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury... When all the people of the world love one another, then the strong will not overpower the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor... the cunning will not deceive the simple."

Moists also emphasized utilitarianism, the rejection of all activities and expenses that do not contribute to the welfare of the people. Moists took strong issue with Confucians who taught the importance of all forms of ritual and music and mocked Confucian insistence that children formally mourn the death of their parents as a waste of time and resources that could be better used in feeding and caring for the living. They also condemned Confucians as pompous elitists who would only take up government positions that suited them. They moreover taught that thought should be consistent with action, that leaders obey the will of heaven and the people obey their leaders.

The third major point of Moism concerned warfare. Mozi lived in an era when interstate wars were intensifying. He denounced aggressive warfare as the greatest crime against heaven but justified the right of self-defense. Thus Moists became experts in defensive tactics and made their help available to any state threatened by aggression. The story goes that Mozi once walked for 10 days and nights on a peace mission, binding his sore feet but not resting. When he failed to persuade the aggressor he would hurry to warn the potential victim. Many folk tales survived of Robin Hood-like acts of Moists in the cause of justice. Mozi and his followers were idealists and militant do-gooders. They criticized Confucians for being traditionalists and for their graded approach to relationships and responsibilities. In time Confucianism became the mainstream Chinese philosophy, while Moism was abandoned.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Mycenae

Mycenae is an ancient city-state located in Greece on the Peloponnese Peninsula, upon a hilltop on the lower slopes of the Euboea Mountains, between two of its peaks, on the road leading from the Argolic Gulf. This site has been inhabited since around 4000 B.C.E. in the Neolithic Period. Mycenae gained in power and influence in the Late Bronze Age (1350–1200 B.C.E.). The Mycenaean culture was originally based on warfare due to the rugged geography, which made farming difficult and herding a challenge. These warrior-chiefs would eventually become conquerors and administrators, bringing Greek knowledge to the Mediterranean.

The ancient city is built on an acropolis, surrounded by massive "cyclopean" walls, with a palace at the summit of the hill. Known as megarons, Mycenaean palaces were great halls with a portico in front, similar to the long houses of the Helladic period. These palaces were more functional and austere than those of Knossos or Akrotiri. As with most expansionist civilizations, Mycenae broadened its military reach in search of raw materials and goods to support its population. The most famous of the Mycenaean raids is the war against TROY in Asia Minor. Mycenaean warriors' raiding ships traveled to Crete and Egypt as well and were even encouraged to practice piracy. Eventually raiding shifted to trading, with evidence of Mycenae and Crete trading goods as early as 1600 B.C.E. Mycenae transitioned from a military center to a center for the redistribution of goods over the many roads connecting it to the surrounding coastal towns. During this time the Mycenaeans gradually adopted Minoan technology and artistic skills, while passing on the Linear B script that was used for record keeping and eventually developed into the Greek language.

The development of the Greek alphabet began in Phoenicia, where a consonant-only writing system first appeared. The Mycenaeans took this writing and added vowels to it, creating Linear B writing. This alphabet

had 24 letters, and its name came from combining the names of its first two letters, alpha and beta. Linear B script was used to inscribe the stories passed on by Homer, the trading records of Aegean cultures, and the political and social structures they developed.

The Mycenaeans shared many of the religious beliefs of the MINOANS. Mycenae had a polytheistic religion and was actively syncretistic, which means that they added foreign gods to their pantheon of gods. However, many early forms of the Hellenistic Greek pantheon of gods and goddesses are found in the archaeological record. Like other monarchical societies, Mycenae would bury their kings in lavish *tholos* tombs, large chambers cut into the side of a hill. Another unique religious practice of the nobility is the burial mask, placed over the face. Goldsmiths would fashion a likeness of the deceased's face and create a thin mask with the appearance of sleeping eyes on it.

As trading with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean increased, so did trades practiced by Mycenaean citizens. In addition to warriors, craftsmen such as bronze workers, potters, masons, and carpenters began to develop. Also, bakers, messengers and heralds, and shepherds are found in the artistic record left in frescoes and on pottery. Mycenaean social classes began to develop and take shape as well. At the top of the society were the kings and other war leaders. Unlike the kings of Minoan, Mycenaean kings accumulated wealth that they did not share with commoners. He was also the warlord of a society that was geared for war and prepared for invasion. There were also lower members of society, consisting of soldiers, peasants, artisans, serfs, and even slaves.

Mycenae became the central power in a loose confederation of city-states throughout the Aegean Sea. Possible other members of the city-states were Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, and Orchomenos. Mycenae was the strongest. This political system is described in Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. Many scholars believe that Agamemnon may have been the king of Mycenae during the events of the Trojan War. A series of fires from 1250 to 1100 B.C.E. brought down the political and military power of Mycenae. The Dorians of Argos finally conquered the city-state in 468 B.C.E., and its population was banished from the ruins. The Greek writer Pausanias visited Mycenae during the second century C.E. and reported that it had been abandoned for some time. The political influence of Mycenae over the Aegean region spread the language, culture, and trade that would eventually develop into Hellenistic Greece.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HOMERIC EPICS; LINEAR A AND B; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

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GEORGE DERR

mystery cults

In the Greek and Roman worlds dissatisfaction with civic and public religion often gave rise to experimentation with foreign and secretive religions that promised better benefits to its devotees. The reason for the popularity is a matter of scholarly speculation. Perhaps the population displacements, the exposure to foreign cults, and the breakdown of the city-state (POLIS) made people interested in change. The gods of the Romans and the Greeks might have seemed out of touch with the new realities of empire and the need for community. The literature shows more attention to inward concepts like self, intimacy, personal relationships, and privacy, all terms that are not associated normally with Greek and Roman public religion.

Public religion bound all the citizens together by sacrifices that were openly conducted and enjoyed—that is to say, at altars outside the specific temple. Usually the sacrifice involved a feast day observed by everyone, processions that publicized the event, and finally a banquet where the sacrifice was consumed. All the citizens were bound together by such public demonstrations, and the bonding of everyone was more important than particular emotional expressions.

Exposure to the Middle East may have presented people with an alternative to the Greeks and Romans. There is evidence in documents and inscriptions that "hidden" teachings were passed on, perhaps from even more isolated or foreign groups (such as Persians, Egyptians, and Asians) in contact with the mediate cultures of the Middle East. The Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, use the notion to promote the priority of their teaching. Certainly the New Testament (such as Col. 1:26), late JEWISH BIBLE books (such as Daniel), and rabbinic Judaism (Moses's "oral traditions") also speak of knowledge not known to mainstream religion. This idea also finds expression in the Gnostic sects of later centuries.

Often a small group of people would meet privately, and secret rituals would be conducted indoors away from the public eye. The Greek word *mysterios* means a secret that is revealed to insiders. Outsiders wrote about

the secrets, many of whom were Christian and often hostile to or competing with the mystery cult. Members were sworn to secrecy, and punishment was meted out to anyone who disclosed the mystery. The small group of the mystery cult emphasized their exclusive fraternity. In order to belong, a process of initiation was set up. The initiation often was available only to certain qualified individuals, instead of to every interested person. The process of initiation might take days and hardships like fasting or vigils. The idea was that the initiated member would experience solidarity with everyone else who endured the same experience. Through the initiation the members would feel a sense of identity and belonging in an otherwise foreign world.

Usually at the center of the mystery cult was a hero, who was the focus of the rituals. The activities of the cult served to reenact the life of the hero so that the members could participate and derive the strengths and virtues of the hero. Often initiation began the participation, but there might be some ritual that ended or fulfilled the member's process of initiation. Such things might involve sacred meals, dramas, or liturgies. Many mystery cults of Roman times promised their members not only intimate community but union with the divine, liberation, and reassurances about the afterlife. Orpheus, Demeter, Dionysus, Achilles, Adonis, and others were the kind of heroes celebrated by cults.

They all shared in suffering, misery, or ill fate. In addition, they all were human (though mythical) and shared in human nature's limitations, including loneliness and death. Thus, it was easier for the initiate to find solidarity with their hero than with the public religion's gods and goddesses. By the reenactment of the hero's life, the participant might be able to purge his or her own anxieties and fears about life. As the mystery cults devel-

oped in the Roman world, the idea of "rebirth" replaced the idea of purgation of fear.

Some mysteries were considered deviant to public welfare and so were persecuted—and here Christianity might serve as an example. Public officials acknowledged other mysteries as serving a constructive and cohesive function for society. The Eleusinian Mysteries conducted city-wide processions and inducted the likes of MARCUS AURELIUS, ALCIBIADES, and JULIAN THE APOSTATE, and existed for more than 1,000 years before THEODOSIUS I destroyed its sanctuary (400 C.E.) and established Christianity as the state religion. In general, the mystery cults did not openly contradict the public religion.

Membership in the mysteries was limited, though some permitted almost anyone regardless of rank and sex to join (ELEUSIS). Some mysteries served soldiers (Mithras), some women (Villa of Mysteries in Pompey), some family members or slaves (here many scholars would place Christianity). Since secrecy and privacy surrounded the mystery religions, hard evidence for their members and rituals is lacking. The familiarity of the ancient world with the mystery cults may explain why Christianity came to be so readily accepted in the communities and societies outside of Diaspora Judaism.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; MOSES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; QUMRAN; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS



Nabataeans

The merchandise and produce that traversed the great deserts separating the Mediterranean from the Orient often were traded and carried by the Nabataeans. This lucrative commerce meant that their capital city, Petra, became an exotic and prosperous center of ancient civilization. The Nabataeans migrated as Arab wanderers from the northwest Arabian Peninsula and occupied the land of the Edomites. By the fourth century B.C.E. they controlled the southern region of the Transjordan, the southern Negev Desert, and Wadi Arabah. Unlike many of their Arab predecessors, they settled into cities and formed into a political state under a monarchy, 11 kings of which have so far been identified. They established their domain as the intermediary trading power in the Middle East, dominating the trading routes going north and south from Arabia to Syria, and having an interest in east-west trade as well. Nabataean goods have been found as far west as Spain. Precious items of their cargoes included frankincense and myrrh from Arabia, balsams and bitumen from the Dead Sea area, and silk and gems from Asia. To protect their routes they constructed hundreds of caravan stations throughout the deserts. They were also famous for their sophisticated water-gathering technology that enabled them to support relatively heavy populations and sustain desert agriculture on a scale unmatched until modern times. Nabataean cities thrived in otherwise waterless areas.

The capital city Petra greatly benefited from trade and technology. It reached its height in the first century

C.E., tucked away in a remote desert valley of present-day Jordan. Its climate was ideal for preservation of the architectural structures, often carved into the rocky cliffs: Some 800 structures of tombs and cult survive in addition to the many more conventional Greek-styled temples and secular buildings. The evidence for Petra's advanced culture is also found in its inscriptions, coins, ceramics, and decorative art. The Nabataeans borrowed Aramaic as their language, perhaps because it was the lingua franca of trade in the region, but their language retained many Arabic words. Their script is the basis for modern Arabic. Many letters and business documents have been found—including very many Byzantine manuscripts—but no early extensive literary texts remain to describe the civilization's ideology, social structure, and even history. Speculation must come from external sources and from the material remains.

The earliest references to the Nabataeans come from the biblical stories about the MACCABEES and later from Roman historians. The Persian Empire effectively left them alone, and the SELEUCID EMPIRE was unable to absorb them. Under Aretas IV (c.9 B.C.E.–c. 40 C.E.), their borders reached as far north as DAMASCUS. There were some tensions between them and the Judeans during the reign of the HERODS, but the Romans apparently left them alone and independent until the end of the first century C.E. In 106 C.E. TRAJAN decided to colonize the entire area. Though the kingdom ceased to exist at that time, nonetheless Petra seems to have continued largely unaffected for another 250 years. Only a succession of earthquakes and Islamic invasions

brought oblivion to the Nabataeans for the outside world. Except for a brief visit by crusaders in the late Middle Ages, Petra and its civilization were not opened again to outsiders until modern times.

See also ARAMAEANS; DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS.

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Nag Hammadi

See CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM).

Native Americans: chronologies and peoples

Native North American tribes had sets of beliefs describing the origin of Earth and the universe, the laws of that universe, how humans interacted with the rest of that universe, and the relationship between the physical world and the spiritual world. Prior to the incursion of Europeans, Natives in North America organized themselves into distinct self-governing units that functioned with an independence and sovereignty that was recognized both within the tribe and by outside groups. It is often estimated that there were more than 500 Native nations at the time of European contact, and as independent communities there was a remarkable variety to the beliefs and customs from tribe to tribe. There are, however, certain commonalities and patterns in languages, cultures, and beliefs across these 500 nations.

CREATION STORIES

Native Americans predominantly had creation stories telling of their arrival from the underworld into the physical world. Typically, this was a hero story for the tribe, telling of the first man's (or first woman's) adventures and trials in winning the way for all of humans to live in the current physical world. Male and female principles were very important to Native people. The underworld was typically a female realm, and whether this community was first under the earth or under water, it was associated with being within Mother Earth. The journey into the current world was often long and difficult and often involved a migration either up from the underworld or over land to arrive at the trib-

al homeland. And always, the community thought of themselves as the First, or True, People.

Native American tribes in North America closely integrated their spiritual practices with their community conduct, their cultural practices, and their decision making. Indians often believed in a strong tie between humans, the other living things in the world, and the elements in the world. The powers and forces of the spiritual realm were ever present in every day existence, and the laws of the spiritual world were just as important to the events of life as the laws of the physical world.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Most North American tribes were egalitarian, with little social stratification, and their spiritual beliefs reflected this. Humankind was recognized as a distinct type of being, but the other entities in the world all had spirits and were generally considered as being on equal footing spiritually with humans; there was no "spiritual hierarchy" to creation. This extended not just to the mammals but to birds, reptiles, fish, and often to stones, water, and the landscape. The fact that these other entities had spirits did not preclude hunting or harvesting them for food or using them for tools or shelter; it was considered that each entity had a purpose within creation and that using these other entities or harvesting them was within the purpose of creation.

But it was important to acknowledge the spirit of these other entities and recognize their place in creation. For example, the tribes of the Algonquin language group in the Northeastern woodlands of North America referred to the animals as their "brothers." When hunting and killing an animal, it was important to offer a prayer of apology and thanks to the brother animal for taking its spirit and to explain to the brother spirit that its life was given up so that the human tribe could continue on its path in the world.

Frequently, a spirit guide would be identified for the individual, such as an animal like the bear, the eagle, or the sturgeon, or a force of nature such as the thunders, and the attributes of this spirit would serve as a guide to an individual throughout their adult life. Many tribes organized themselves into clans associated with specific animals, and the clan families would serve specific roles in the life and decision making of the tribe. For example, the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy to the south of the St. Lawrence River divided their communities into nine clans, including the Turtle, Wolf, Heron, Hawk, Snipe, Beaver, Deer, Eel, and Bear. Clans were quite widespread throughout the tribes of North America and often were respected across tribal boundaries.

CONNECTION WITH THE NATURAL WORLD

This belief in the spirit within living creatures carried to the plant world as well, and the cultivated food plants of the Native Americans were particularly important. Corn was significant throughout the southern half of North America. The pueblo-dwelling tribes of the Southwest cultivated strains of corn that were adapted to the marginal semidesert climate, and the tribes had ceremonies to honor the spirit of the corn, to mark the times of year for planting, rainfall, and harvest, and to give thanks for the continuing cycle that led to the annual harvest and to the production of a new seed bank to begin the cycle again. The Iroquois tribes revered corn along with beans and squash as the Three Sisters. Their agricultural practice combined the three plants into symbiotic garden plots that minimized weeding and maximized production. Similar to the Pueblo people, the Iroquois honored the growing cycle and the spirits of the Three Sisters in their ceremonies.

Many plants were used for spiritual purposes as well. In ceremonies smoking was considered a way to offer prayers to the spirit world. Smoking pipes have been found in burial sites and village sites dating back thousands of years and range from very simple and humble clay pipes to elaborate carved artworks of pipestone and other precious materials. Various plants were used for smoking mixtures, with tobacco being used almost universally throughout the continent. Other plants were eaten, used in teas, or burned as incense for spiritual purposes. For instance, the Algonquin people in the Great Lakes considered sage, sweetgrass, cedar, and tobacco the four primary spiritual plants, and their use was common among many other tribes across North America.

HEALING AND SPIRITUALITY

Healing and spirituality were closely linked. Many plants were used for their medicinal and healing effects on the body. But many of the Native healing practices aimed at the spiritual problems as well as the physical. The Navajo in the Southwest speak of the Navajo Way, an outlook of having one's life and physical body in harmony with the community, the physical world, and the spiritual world. Many illnesses are considered to be a manifestation of actions or desires in one's life that are in conflict with the physical and spiritual order of the universe, and healing these illnesses is a matter of restoring the person to balance with the rest of creation.

This notion of balance and a cyclical order to the spiritual and natural worlds is widespread. The Sioux of the Great Plains speak of existence as the Sacred Hoop, delineated by the four cardinal directions. Tribes across

the continent revere this concept of the Circle and the Four Directions. Rather than viewing time and existence as a linear march of event following event, Native people looked at existence as cycles: the cycle of the year and seasons, and the cycle of birth to death leading to re-birth. The archaeological, geologic, and genetic records point to the FIRST AMERICANS migrating from Siberia into North America sometime between 25,000 to 11,000 years ago. These people then spread throughout the American continents, adapted to changes in climate and the varied American landscape, and arrived at their wide variety of cultural and cosmological worldviews prior to contact with the European colonists.

HUNTING AND AGRARIAN TRADITIONS

In studying Native American spiritual practices, modern anthropologists trace these Native beliefs back to two major traditions. The first is referred to as the Northern Hunting tradition, linked to the big-game hunters of the ice age migration from Siberia. The spirits of the animals and the cycles of the hunt are the focus of worship, with the cult of Bear worship being particularly common. Shamans, individuals within the community who are considered to have gained great power and wisdom carry out ceremonies and healing rituals.

The younger tradition is the Southern Agrarian tradition, believed to have spread northward from Central America, traveling with the introduction of corn and organized agriculture. The Southern Agrarian tradition links the power of creation and rejuvenation with plant life and the growing seasons, with Corn Mother becoming a central force in the cycles of the world. Priesthoods and cults directed the ceremonial practices in agricultural communities, particularly among the city-states of southern North America. Aspects of these two traditions mingled among the tribes over the centuries, with most tribes retaining portions of the old hunting tradition while incorporating elements of the newer agrarian tradition.

Both traditions indicate a people closely linked to nature and to the other living entities of the world. The force of life, spoken of by some tribes as the fundamental power of movement in the universe, was seen to be present in all things and was to be respected and acknowledged, particularly in the most central living things that give up their life-force so that humans could eat and live, whether that sacrifice was recognized in the corn plant or the bear. All other life and movement in the world, whether it was the hopping of the rabbit, the push of the seedling from the ground, the movement of the wind, or the turning of the Great Circle of Life itself, all related back to this central power, and by acknowledging the

spirit in the Bear or the Corn Mother, the community acknowledged the presence of the spirit within itself and the community's own place in creation.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: REGIONAL ADAPTATIONS; MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE AMERICAS.

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KEVIN DAUGHERTY

Native Americans: regional adaptations

Native Americans in North America had an enormous range of customs prior to the coming of Europeans. Their ancestors had first migrated into North America from Asia more than 10,000 years ago, hunting the huge herds of giant ice age mammals. As they spread throughout the continent, Native Americans adapted to take advantage of local resources and to cope with the local climate and geography. Community organization ranged from nomadic family units in the harsh deserts and the frigid Arctic, to elaborate city-states in the Temple Mound culture of the Southeast.

THE SOUTHWEST REGION

A common way to study Native North Americans is to group them according to geographic region. The Southwest region includes the upper Rio Grande River westward to the Colorado River. This is a hot, arid, and rugged area with limited plant and animal life. Paradoxically, a culture of permanent villages began developing 3,000 years ago, using farming to provide a steady food supply where little was available naturally. Influenced by the farming practices of Central America, Southwest people developed sophisticated irrigation systems and refined plant strains. They also developed permanent villages, the most striking of which are the large apartment-like pueblos. These clusters of rectangular rooms stacked one upon another could include 500 and more rooms. Some of these agricultural tribes are the Pima,

Zuni, Hopi, and Tewa. The Apache and Navajo entered the region later as nomadic hunter-gatherers. Over time they began to adopt some of the cultural practices of the Pueblo tribes.

THE SOUTHEAST REGION

The tribes of Southeast North America also practiced extensive agriculture. Their land, however, was more bountiful because of greater rainfall and richer soils, which allowed them to continue to combine hunting and foraging with organized farming. Mound-building cultures began developing about 3,000 years ago and spread inland from the Gulf of Mexico and up the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys. These were also likely influenced by the city-states of Central America, as evidenced by the farming practices, the shape of the temple mounds, and a cultural obsession with death.

By 1600 C.E. these mound-cities were largely gone, likely decimated by European diseases. The Natchez of the lower Mississippi River were the one mound-city people to survive into the 1700s. One hereditary leader ruled them, the Great Sun. The center of their city was the large temple mound, which hosted the religious ceremonies and where the nobility had dwellings. Artisans, farmers, and other citizens lived in small structures spread around the temple mound. The Natchez reported to French colonizers that as many as 500 city-states had once existed, ruled by Great Suns.

Most of the people in the Southeast, however, lived in smaller, semi-permanent villages. Linguistic and agricultural patterns point to many of these tribes, such as the Muskogee, Choctaw, and Cherokee, as being the descendants of earlier mound-building cultures.

THE NORTHEAST REGION

The Northeast includes the area of the Ohio River, New England, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence River. It was also a region of dense forests similar to the Southeast but with a colder climate and shorter growing season. Northeastern Indians practiced a similar combination of agriculture and hunting-foraging, but the mound-city culture was not common here. The tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy along the St. Lawrence established permanent villages of arched-roofed longhouses surrounded by log stockades. An extended family would live in one longhouse, which could extend for several hundred feet. The main food crops were the Three Sisters of corn, squash, and beans. Most of the other tribes in the Northeast were of the Algonquin language group. The peoples of the Atlantic coast often had palisaded villages similar to the Iroquois and also formed cooperative unions, including

the Abnaki Confederacy and the Powhatan Confederacy. Among the Great Lakes tribes fishing formed a significant part of the diet. The Indians in the western Great Lakes tended to a more mobile culture, building smaller, semi-permanent villages of dome-shaped wigwams.

THE GREAT PLAINS

The Great Plains were more arid than the Southeast and Northeast, with vast grasslands and with trees mostly restricted to river valleys. Indians here evolved a lifestyle of farming and foraging along the river valleys. Horses had become extinct in North America along with many other large ice age mammals but by 1600 were being reintroduced through contact with the Spaniards. Over the next 200 years this would lead to a revolution, as many tribes would use the horse to once again become nomadic hunters, relying on the herds of buffalo. Eventually, the tribes of the new horse culture would live side by side with other tribes, such as the Mandan, who remained village dwellers in the river valleys.

The Great Basin, to the west of the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains, is a harsh, arid land. Rainfall is sparse, and the few rivers flow into salty, alkaline lakes and sinks, unfit to drink. The people here, mainly of the related Ute, Paiute, and Shoshone tribes, lived in nomadic family groups, foraging for desert plants and shrubs and hunting small game. Families would often gather together for communal hunts, then scatter to forage again.

To the north of the Great Basin is the elevated Plateau region, including the upper Columbia River and upper Fraser River. While still dry the Plateau region is not as harsh as the Great Basin. The rivers supported huge runs of salmon that were the staple food. The people also hunted other large game such as deer and elk, as well as gathering edible plants. Some of the tribes in the south of this region included the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Nez Perce. Northern tribes were mainly of the Salish language group.

CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

California and the Pacific Northwest were both rich, bountiful regions. Most of California gets enough rainfall in the winter months to support abundant vegetation.

The numerous rivers supported many varieties of fish and shellfish, and game was plentiful. The Pacific Ocean provided a wealth of plant life, fish, seals, and other aquatic mammals. With year-round mild temperatures the tribes here lived a rich life with little adaptation from that of their ancestors.

California has areas of large oak savannas, and many tribes relied on ground acorn meal as a staple. The rugged terrain of the region combined with the rich natural resources encouraged the development of numerous independent communities, and, as a result, there were more than 100 distinct language dialects spoken in California. As one travels from California along the Pacific Ocean to the Northwest Coast, rainfall gradually increases, with some areas near Puget Sound classified as true rain forests.

The Northwest Coast's temperate and extremely wet climate produces a profusion of plant life and giant trees, and the region supports one of the great fisheries of the world. The Indians here built plank houses of cedar and developed a life of permanent villages without resorting to agriculture. One notable community practice was the potlatch, where a family or individual would mark a significant event by hosting a big feast and holding an elaborate giveaway of gifts and belongings to the rest of the village. The only plant cultivated in the region was the ubiquitous tobacco.

THE SUB-ARCTIC REGION

To the north, stretching from east to west across the continent is the Sub-Arctic region. The region experiences cold winters and a short growing season that prohibits agriculture. The region is largely forested with pine, spruce, and fir. The people here relied on hunting (especially caribou), fishing, and trapping. They were nomadic and built simple lean-tos and tipis. The Cree were widespread here, from the eastern shore of Hudson Bay to the northern Great Plains.

The Arctic is the northernmost fringe of the continent, a rolling plain of moss and lichen. The soil never thaws out. Winters are harsh, with little daylight, and winds can rage because of the lack of trees and relatively flat landscape. Despite these extreme conditions the Native people developed a rich culture. The Aleut and Inuit (or Eskimos) lived from Greenland to Alaska and into eastern Siberia. They were relatively late migrants to North America, coming across from Asia as recently as 3,000 years ago.

The people of the Arctic lived in nomadic family units relying on hunting and fishing. Sea mammals and caribou were the primary game. The people developed ingenious clothing, warm and watertight, to allow them to handle the elements, such as lightweight raincoats made from the stomachs and bladders of walrus and seals. They extensively ornamented their clothing and implements and practiced community ceremonies with music and dancing. Double-pitched brush lean-tos were



Native Americans developed villages or pueblos, like those found in this ancient Anasazi village in Mesa Verde, Colorado. These clusters of dwellings were stacked one upon another and could include 500 or more rooms.

used along the Alaskan coasts, and the famous domed snow igloos were common in the north-central Arctic.

Native communities throughout North America had a sense of kinship with the elements of their universe and showed an enormous respect for the plants, animals, and the land in their ceremonies and their practices. For the most part they lived with minimal impact on their environment. The mound culture, with its ruling Great Sun, nobility, and social castes, is in some ways an aberration. Most Native communities were egalitarian, and the individuals, notoriously independent. Father LeJeune, a French missionary on the St. Lawrence River, observed in 1634 that Indians would not “endure in the least those who seem desirous of assuming superiority over others.” This egalitarianism and the ways that Native communities managed the interactions and disputes between their nations through the Iroquois Confederacy would later provide an inspiration for the United States Constitution.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: CHRONOLOGIES AND PEOPLES; MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE AMERICAS.

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KEVIN DAUGHERTY

Nebuchadnezzar I

See BABYLON, LATER PERIODS.

Nebuchadnezzar II

(late 7th century–early 6th century B.C.E.) *emperor*

The reputation of Nebuchadnezzar II abounds in the ancient world, as he represents one of the most famous of the Near Eastern monarchs. No fewer than four books of the Jewish scriptures, 10 rabbinic commentaries, six

books of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA, several Arabic commentaries, and many classical and medieval Greek and Latin authors mention Nebuchadnezzar, showing his fame and impact on the ancient world. Many of these sources show him to be godlike and a city builder, while others, especially biblical and early Jewish writers, make him out to be the archetypal villain and city destroyer.

He often appears in the sources as Nebuchadnezzar (mostly in Latin and Greek writings), but more accurately he should be called Nebuchadrezzar (according to the Akkadian and Babylonian version of his name and the Aramaic and Hebrew spellings). His name means "Nabu protects the son (or boundary)." Nabu forms the main root of his father Nabopolassar's name and is the name of the divine son of the national Mesopotamian god Marduk. There are at least five other famous Babylonians who take Nabu's name, including Nebuchadnezzar I, ruler in Second Dynasty of Isin (southern Mesopotamia), 1124–03 B.C.E., from whom his father may have named his son. His life must be reconstructed from disparate and limited materials. Archaeology provides a somewhat sound basis to speak of his tenure as king. Another somewhat contemporary and CUNEIFORM record is the *Babylonian Chronicles*, but there is a 30-year gap in its account of Nebuchadnezzar. The gap is filled in by Jewish biblical accounts and by the history of JOSEPHUS, writing many centuries later.

The Neo-Babylonian Empire replaced the empire of ASSYRIA in 612 B.C.E. under Nabopolassar. It was built on a hybrid of peoples, one of which was the Chaldeans of southern Mesopotamia. There is some evidence that Nebuchadnezzar's family descended from the Chaldeans. One of Nebuchadnezzar's marriages was to a Median princess, an arrangement meant to keep security among the major powers (like the Medes and Persians) of the eastern FERTILE CRESCENT so that the Babylonians might venture westward. He accompanied his father on several campaigns and was with him at Carchemish in 608–607 B.C.E., a major frontier city on the Euphrates River, held by the Egyptians. His father had to return to Babylon, but Nebuchadnezzar stayed on and successfully fought the army of the PHARAOH Neco. The Egyptian army was vanquished, and the world of Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea lay open to him. News of his father's death, however, interrupted his plan, and he rushed back home to claim the throne. Then he swept to victories across the Levant in 601 B.C.E., and cities throughout the region were forced to pay tribute.

At this point the Jewish Bible is important as a commentary on Nebuchadnezzar, for the *Babylonian*

Chronicles is silent. Judah, the southern counterpart to the now defunct kingdom of Israel, chafed under the burden of Babylon's domination. The kings of Judah miscalculated the strength and resolve of the Egyptians to help them, and they let domestic hotheads and fanatics lead them into open rebellion against their overlords. By 587 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar surrounded and besieged the city of Jerusalem. On July 30 the Judaeen king and his family were humiliated, the city fell, and the Babylonian army deported the citizens. Only poor peasants were left behind in Judaea. All the Temple's treasures and cultural trappings were exported to Babylon. For the people of biblical Israel this event became a turning point in their national identity. The central image in the biblical books for this period is Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple, his captivity of their leading citizens, and his branding of their status as Diaspora.

In retrospect the Babylonian foreign policy was more merciful than that of the Assyrians, for Nebuchadnezzar did not totally disintegrate the structures that hold a people together (religion, family life, social customs). In fact, Nebuchadnezzar left enough intact that 50 years later the captive people could return and reconstitute themselves as a nation. Even the famous prophet Jeremiah counseled his fellow religionists to cooperate with Nebuchadnezzar and his ilk. But the enormity of the loss of land and temple forever colored the evaluation that writers of the biblical tradition would have of Nebuchadnezzar. They caricatured him in the darkest hues.

For Nebuchadnezzar's later years as king inscriptions, archaeology, and later writings must fill the gap. He never was able to invade Egypt successfully or enduringly. Instead he seems to have devoted himself to public works and beautification. The empire he led reached its pinnacle of power and prosperity under his rule. His construction program involved at least 12 cities in his own land, and he lavished the empire's resources on his capital city. Excavations suggest that five walls surrounded the city, with towers perched at various strategic places. In addition a moat protected the whole boundary. He was not satisfied to live in his father's palace but constructed a dwelling for himself using the most valuable of materials such as gold, silver, lapis lazuli, ivory, and cedar. He restored the city's temple of Marduk with a tower (ziggurat) perhaps popularly associated with the biblical Tower of Babel (anachronistically placed in the Bible at an earlier Babylonian period).

For all these reasons he wins adulation from later classical historians. For example, the Greeks considered him as the patron of the hanging gardens, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Judging by the extant physical

evidence he was not so much of a military general as a good administrator and planner. Nebuchadnezzar made his capital one of the splendors of the ancient world. The Neo-Babylonian Empire was not able to maintain Nebuchadnezzar's splendor in later generations. Either his descendants did not show the same leadership, or the resources were exhausted, but the empire soon succumbed to the Medes and Persians. In the biblical books of Daniel and Judith, a whole image of the man is projected to the readers. He comes across as a man of clear intellect and sophistication, though he literally goes mad because of his egomania. The later stories suggest that he became sympathetic to biblical religion later in his life, though his egomania fatally afflicted his descendants' ability to maintain the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

See also AKKAD; ARAMAEANS; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JOSIAH; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PROPHETS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Nefertiti

See AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI.

Neolithic age

The Neolithic age followed the PALEOLITHIC AGE and Mesolithic (or Epipaleolithic) as the last era of the Stone Age of human prehistory. *Homo sapiens* (the modern human species) experienced the Neolithic age; late-surviving relatives such as *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo floresiensis* died off in the Upper Paleolithic. Its boundaries are not specific years but rather the onset of trends: The Neolithic began roughly with the advent of agriculture and ended with the adoption of metal tools, events that varied from place to place and culture to culture.

In Europe, for instance, the Neolithic lasted from roughly 9,000 years ago to 5,000 years ago in southern Europe, and 4,000 years ago further north. The regional cultures that had first developed in the Upper Paleolithic became more distinct as agricultural innovations allowed (and encouraged) hunter-gatherer groups to settle in permanent or semi-permanent settlements.

Much of the technological innovation of the Neolithic pertains to building and pottery.

THE MESOLITHIC PERIOD

Between the long Paleolithic and the active Neolithic was the Mesolithic period, a barely 2,000-year-long transitional time during which the ecosystem, and the humans within it, adjusted to the environmental changes following the end of the last ice age. The last ice age began its glacial advance around 70,000 years ago and lasted about 60,000 years. At its most severe, sheets of ice reached northern Germany and covered Canada and the northern quarter of the United States. Denmark and Britain were connected by dry land, which the North Sea flooded into after the glacial thaw; the Baltic Sea became brackish when fresh glacial water diluted its salinity; and the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls were formed by glaciers scraping the Earth's surface.

The end of the ice age coincided with the widespread extinction of megafauna, sometimes called the Ice Age Extinction or the Pleistocene Extinction Event. Megafauna, broadly speaking, are any mammals larger than a bull, and while once plentiful, they began dying off toward the end of the ice age and continued to do so after its end. The woolly mammoth, a shaggy relative of the modern elephant, is the best-known victim of the extinction event. Nearly a dozen other species died off in Europe at the same time, including the cave lion and cave bear, while in the Americas nearly 80 species died, including the giant beaver, the dire wolf, and the five species of American horses. Australia suffered a mass extinction of megafauna marsupials and giant reptiles about 50,000 years ago, roughly coinciding with the arrival of humans, though not necessarily the result of hunting. Climate change is a strong possibility for their extinction, as are plagues.

The term Epipaleolithic is often used to describe this post-Paleolithic, preagricultural period in regions where such environmental changes were minimal: The Natufian culture of the Levant, for instance, was unusual in that their Paleolithic predecessors had been little enough affected by the ice age that their technological achievements continued uninterrupted. The Natufians developed building and permanent settlements before agriculture, reversing the order of most Neolithic cultures (in which agriculture is the initial reason for abandoning nomadism). Natufian homes were partially underground, kept cool by the insulating earth around their walls, just as modern basements are; when necessary they were warmed with central fireplaces. Although floors were often stone, the majority of the structure was made of wood.

The Natufians were probably able to settle in the Levant without farming because of abundant fishing conditions and plentiful wild plants to forage. Though they must have hunted, unlike their nomadic forebears they would not have depended on following migratory herds. Foraged acorns, almonds, and pistachios supplemented their protein intake. They domesticated dogs to assist them in the hunt (and may have attempted to domesticate jackals and wolves), made flint sickles to harvest wild grains and mortar stones in which to grind them for bread and were experts in making tools from bone, including harpoons and fish-hooks. Later in Natufian history, trade with other cultures is evident in the remains of Nile shells and Anatolian stone.

THE ADVENT OF AGRICULTURE

Eventually the Natufians and other Mesolithic and Paleolithic groups adopted agriculture—the seeding and harvesting of plants for food—more useful and difficult than foraging. The Younger Dryas event, or Big Freeze, was a 1,000-year period of sudden cold about 11,000 to 12,000 years ago. This was not an ice age as such but an extremely rapid cooling that led to glaciation in many mountain ranges, the displacement of hinterland forests by tundra, and in more southerly lands like the Levant prolonged drought. Wild plants would no longer be plentiful enough to sustain either the Natufians or the animals they had hunted and fished. It is likely that they understood some basic principles of agriculture through observation of the grains they had been harvesting but had lacked the incentive to sow their own fields—something they were now forced to do in order to maintain their settled, non-nomadic lifestyle.

Beyond the Natufian culture most groups were hunter-gatherers. They foraged and hunted, without domesticating plants or raising animals for food, and as such were generally nomadic, organized in bands of about 25 people and tribal groups of about 20 bands. Agriculture encouraged permanent settlements, a community life governed by the harvest instead of the herd, and cultivated land sustained much denser populations than wild land.

The adoption of agriculture led almost immediately to the rise of the first towns and of specialized building: granaries, family homes, tombs, temples, and megaliths. The megaliths are famous in the popular imagination: Monuments of large stone erected or stacked to some purpose include Stonehenge in England and the Monuments of Carnac in France. Some served as tombs, while others are hypothesized to have had significance to Neolithic astronomers.



The adoption of agriculture led almost immediately to specialized building and megaliths, such as Stonehenge in England.

POTTERY

In the archaeological record pottery is the most significant technological achievement of the Neolithic and is divided into the pottery and prepottery periods. Ceramics, unlike flint, were easy to fashion into containers, especially portable ones. The advent of pottery greatly expanded humans' craftwork repertoire. The prepottery technological periods in the Near East are divided into the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A and the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B: The first largely resembled Natufian culture, with sickle blades used to harvest wild grains, partially subterranean buildings with stone foundations and mud brick walls, and cooking methods using hot rocks as well as direct flame or smoke. In Pre-Pottery Neolithic B domesticated animals became commonplace.

The Paleo-Arctic culture developed at the end of the ice age among Siberians who had crossed the land bridge to Alaska and is noted for its specialized microblades and wedges. Contemporaneous with the Paleo-Arctic culture but slightly younger, originating around 9,000 years ago in China's Yellow river valley, the Peiligang culture created the first Chinese pottery and bred pigs for meat.

In Europe the most significant pottery culture was the Linear Pottery (LP) culture, which lasted about a millennium and started 7,500 years ago. Pottery cultures tend to be named for some distinctive feature of the potter's style rather than using a geographic derivation, as is done for tool industries: The LP culture decorated its products with incised bands. They seem to have prized weapons less than many of their contemporaries, and their efforts instead went into cultivating wheat, lentils and peas, hemp, and flax and domesticating the sheep and goats they brought with them from

southern Europe. The flint and obsidian used in their tools came from two different parts of the continent, indicating some sort of long-distance commerce, a distinct shift from the opportunistic use of local resources that had marked earlier cultures.

Despite the LP culture's deep cultural and technological impact on Europe, investigation of the mitochondrial DNA of 24 skeletons shows that their genetic impact on modern humans was minimal. It may have been native Europeans who furthered the cultures that followed the Linear Pottery, while the LP progenitors died off or migrated elsewhere, their descendants coming to an unknown fate.

Contemporary with the LP culture was the Yangshao culture in the Yellow River region of China, which started some 7,000 years ago. The Yangshao cultivated millet, wheat, and rice; raised pigs, dogs, sheep, cattle, and goats; built highly specialized tools; and were the first to cultivate silkworms. At least some of their dead were buried in pottery jars, as was becoming increasingly common across the Neolithic world. Approximately 5,000 years ago the Yangshao were displaced by the Longshan (Lungshan), who left their mark on China with their walled cities and moats, pottery wheels and beautiful polished black pottery, and extensive rice cultivation.

Compared to the slow development of tools in the Paleolithic, Neolithic advancements were outright rapid, a fact generally attributed to the superior cognitive faculties of *Homo sapiens*. In only a few thousand years humans went from crude cavelike dwellings to living near their new farms and then to fortified and defended cities with buildings for religious, commercial, and military purposes and the first roads. The concept of specialization to that degree, which would have been incomprehensible to most Paleolithic humans, became integral to human development by the end of the Stone Age. A species that had once traveled with the seasons, following its food, now cultivated, improved, harvested, stored, and traded its own food goods.

See also ANDES: NEOLITHIC; FOOD GATHERERS AND PRODUCERS, PREHISTORY; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY; RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY; XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY.

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BILL KTE'PI

Neoplatonism

Neoplatonism is the modern name for the last school of pagan Greco-Roman philosophy. It flourished from 200 to 550 C.E., when its last teachers died; however, the influence of Neoplatonic doctrines continued in the teachings of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim philosophers. The influence of Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages was enormous and has lasted into the 21st century. At times it was helpful, but more often it was rejected as subversive to orthodox monotheism. The term *Neoplatonism*, to distinguish it from PLATONISM, was first used in the 19th century. Neoplatonism combined the philosophy of Plato with bits of the whole history of Greco-Roman philosophy. It was otherworldly, mystical, and, in part, nonrational. Until Neoplatonism, Greco-Roman philosophy had been secular in that it sought the way to live as a "wise man" (or "wise woman") in this world.

Although Neoplatonism was to develop its own unique doctrines, it had a number of precursors. Except for the Epicureans whose doctrines were always seen by Neoplatonists as an anathema, virtually all of the development of Greco-Roman pagan philosophy contributed to their doctrines. Plato and the many interpretations of his teachings, especially in epistemology, had been developed into a long and varied tradition of Platonism. Moreover, Plato's greatest student, ARISTOTLE, had initiated new lines of inquiry with varied forms of Aristotelianism. Also of influence is the idea of a transcendent God who deals with humans only through intermediaries. Others also contributed to the emergence and development of Neoplatonism.

PLOTINUS

The first Neoplatonist was Ammonius Saccas of ALEXANDRIA. However, his student Plotinus (c. 204–270 C.E.) was the one who gave Neoplatonism its first major exposition. After studying and teaching at Alexandria he settled in Rome, where he taught in his own school that attracted some of the Roman elite, including the emperor and his wife. For a while Plotinus considered developing

a new city organized from the ideas of Plato's *Republic*. The city was to be called Platonopolis, but he was unable to implement the plan. During his life Plotinus wrote 54 treatises, which were less eloquent than his speeches. After his death Plotinus's literary corpus was organized into a unified whole and given the title, *Enneads*. The *Enneads* are the locus classicus for Neoplatonism's doctrines. Plotinus's thought presents a philosophical analysis of God, nature, human beings, and the problem of evil.

Plotinus taught a mystical form of Platonism. Plato, in describing the nature of knowledge, had argued that sensory knowledge was transitory and that ultimate knowledge was acquired by direct experience of the ultimate forms or ideas. The greatest of these was the form of the Good. The apprehension of the form of the Good required long philosophical training and was ultimately a kind of mysterious experience rather like "seeing" the solution to a mathematics problem.

For Plotinus the Good was really the ultimate or the divine. He was not a monotheist but a pantheist who believed that the divine was the ultimate "stuff" of the universe. For Plotinus the mystical experience of the One is ineffable. The One, or the Absolute, "resides" in Unity in an arena which is Transcendent, Good, and from which it is the Source of all things. For Plotinus the Absolute is the One from which all things come. It is an active force that is beyond description. The Absolute can be experienced mystically only by those who are seeking to be joined with it. In the philosophy of Plotinus, the One and all things are of the same substance. His view is very different from the biblical doctrine of creation. The biblical doctrine teaches that the world is not of the same substance with its creator but stands distinctly apart. For Plotinus the visible world is rationally apprehensible because it is the product of Intelligence. In this regard there is a similarity to Plato's rationally apprehensible forms, and to the Wisdom of God, the divine Logos, Christ, through whom all things are made.

PORPHYRY OF TYRE

After the death of Plotinus his best student, Porphyry of Tyre (233–305), devoted his life to spreading the teachings of Plotinus. Porphyry wrote the *Life of Plotinus* (298) as an introduction to the *Enneads* and arranged Plotinus's works into six *Enneads* or groups of nine. The *Enneads* is not a systematic organization of Plotinus's teachings but instead presents the oral lectures of Plotinus. Each lecture had independently considered ideas such as the problem of memory, the worth of astronomy, and the relationship of soul and body. Porphyry also wrote other works, including *On the*

Philosophy to Be Derived from the Oracles (written before meeting Plotinus); *On Images, Introduction to Intelligibles*, which taught that the soul was impassive; *On Abstinence from Animal Foods*; and *The Nymph's Cave*, which expounded a passage from Homer.

The literary achievements of Porphyry also included an introduction (*isagogue*) to Aristotle's *Categories*, which was translated by BOETHIUS and had a great impact on medieval philosophy. The Tetrabiblos suggests that Porphyry had a keen interest in astrology. With the death of Plotinus and the spread of his teachings numerous teachers used his instructions to guide their students. However, these varied Neoplatonic teachers created numerous conflicting interpretations of Plotinus's thought. Neoplatonism merged slowly with the religion of paganism. Those who had an interest in magical practices took up the great emphasis that Plotinus put upon rites and rituals as formulas that evoked powerful responses.

IAMBlichUS OF CHALCIS

Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 270–330) began the last stage of Neoplatonism. His teachings gave future Neoplatonists a method for developing it in new directions and allowed for a more mathematical expression. The son of a prosperous family in Coele-Syria, Iamblichus studied under Anatolius and later with Porphyry, after which he returned to Chalcis. There he attracted a large group of students from many different countries. Many of them would later claim that he had divine powers. Most of the writings of Iamblichus listed by Suidas have been lost. He wrote commentaries on Plato and Aristotle, works on Chaldaean theology, and on the soul. He also wrote a book called *On the General Science of Mathematics* and a biography of the *Life of Pythagoras*.

The tradition of students reading Plato's dialogues in fixed order is attributed to Iamblichus. He taught that the student should begin with ALCIBIADES, then read through the Gorgias, and finally complete the readings with the Parmenides. To read the dialogues in this order would teach students how to gain knowledge of self, political virtues, and spiritual principles. Iamblichus changed the teachings of Plotinus on the soul from a "being" that is passionless intellect to a more active reality that moves through multiple transmigrations in which it acquires virtues that are political, purifying, theoretical, paradigmatic, and priestly. He taught that the soul is active and has free will with which, and with the aid of the gods, eventually returns to the Absolute. The Pythagorean and Neo-Pythagorean influences accepted by

Iamblichus allowed him to teach that the whole complex vision of Neoplatonism was ruled by mathematical principles beginning with a monad.

Mystical experience did not play a major role in the philosophy of Iamblichus. Instead, he seemed intent on bringing the gods to people. For most of Iamblichus's life Platonism was held in high regard. With the founding of CONSTANTINOPLE there was even speculation that Plotinus's vision of a Platonopolis would be realized. This was not to be after Christianity became the religion of the empire, despite the great admiration for him by Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

PROCLUS AND DAMASCIUS

Proclus Diadochus (412–485), one of the late representatives of Neoplatonism, was born at Constantinople and grew up at Xanthus in Lycia. He attended the Neoplatonic lectures of Plutarch and Syrianus. About 450 he succeeded to the chair of philosophy at Syrianus to become the successor of Plato. He put Neoplatonism squarely into the Academy as its doctrine. An adamant supporter of the old paganism, Proclus often attended or performed the rites of Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Greek celebrations. He succeeded in so enraging the local Christians with his paganism that he felt it prudent to go to Asia Minor. After a year he returned to Athens where he remained until his death. The writings of Proclus were numerous, with a small number having survived. His views were fully developed in his work *On Platonic Theology*. His teachings on Neoplatonism were elaborated in *Institutio Theologica*. Other writings by Proclus discussed astronomy, mathematics, and some of the astrology of Ptolemy.

The Neoplatonism of Damascius (c. 480–550), taught at Alexandria, almost abandoned it. He wrote *Life of Isidorus* and a long treatise, *On the First Principles*, which is a commentary on the last part of the Platonic dialogue, *Parmenides*. The hierarchical world of Proclus is replaced with a mystical path that allows the soul to journey to the higher realities. Perhaps the most influential of Neoplatonic writings in the Middle Ages was the anonymous work long attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), but which are now attributed to Dionysius the Pseudo-Dionysius. The writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius were originally written in Greek sometime after 450, probably either at Ephesus or in Syria. The writings, *The Divine Names*, *The Mystical Theology*, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *The Letters*, have been the center of debates by scholars over whether the Pseudo-Dionysius was a Neoplatonist, a Christian, or both.

Neoplatonism's influence was deep and long lasting. The Neoplatonists promoted a fresh, dynamic philosophy. Christians influenced by Neoplatonism include ORIGEN, the CAPPADOCIAN Fathers of Orthodoxy, and some of the medieval Byzantines such as Psellos. Neoplatonism found occasional expressions in medieval Western philosophy in the writings of Johannes Scotus Eriugena, and others. After the Arab conquest of much of the Middle East, Neoplatonism deeply influenced Islamic philosophy through the thought of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Averroës, and others. Neoplatonism influenced Jewish philosophy and literature in Moorish Spain, eventually finding expression in the philosophy of Baruch de Spinoza.

See also ALEXANDRIAN LITERATURE; EPICUREANISM; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY; SOPHOCLES.

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JACK WASKEY

Nero

(37–68 C.E.) Roman emperor

The fifth and final of the JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS, a dynasty founded by AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus reigned for the last 14 years of his life, succeeding his mother's uncle Claudius. Although a patron of the arts, his reign is remembered as one indicative of the decadence and eventual fall of Rome—the

emperor who “fiddled while Rome burned” and possibly one referenced in the New Testament’s Revelation.

Nero was born Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus during the reign of the emperor Caligula, his maternal uncle. Caligula expected to have sons to succeed him, but despite his sexual misadventures (all three of his sisters were reputed to have been among his lovers) that did not occur. Instead, Claudius, uncle of Caligula and Lucius’s mother, Agrippina—and a disabled stutterer who had never been considered a likely emperor—succeeded Caligula after the emperor’s assassination. Claudius adopted Lucius, who was older than his natural children and became heir by default. In order to better ensure an adult heir, Lucius was made a legal adult at a younger age than most children. He married Claudius’s daughter Octavia a year before the emperor’s death, a death with which he was in some way involved. He repudiated Claudius after his death, declaring him insane and incompetent, and frequently praised mushrooms, the poison which had killed him. The ultimate cause of Claudius’s death was probably a conspiracy involving Agrippina and several of the emperor’s servants, and its goal may have been to put Nero on the throne before someone else could be named heir. Only 17 years old when he ascended to the throne, Nero most likely deferred to Agrippina in the early years of his reign, as may have been her intent. He continued to be tutored by Lucius Annaeus SENECA (Seneca the Younger), the Stoic philosopher and playwright. These first five years of Nero’s reign, the *Quinquennium Neronis*, were uneventful.

With Claudius’s son Britannicus approaching the age of adulthood and Nero’s advisers jockeying for position, the stability of Nero’s reign began to fray. Britannicus died suddenly, most likely of poison. Agrippina died four years later, the victim of another of the many conspiracies in Nero’s life. Nero began to surround himself with people of his own choosing rather than the tutors and advisers of his childhood. According to the historian Suetonius, Nero attempted to kill his mother numerous times, finally charging her with participation in a plot to kill him, having her executed, and claiming that she had committed suicide out of guilt. Nero executed many more of his relatives, on one pretense or another. Otho was sent away, and when his mistress Poppaea became pregnant, he divorced Octavia and married her 12 days later. Octavia was sent to an island in exile and was later executed.

Though his matricide had harmed his relationship with the Senate, nothing would jeopardize his popularity as much as the Great Fire of Rome. In 64 C.E. a fire began in the Circus Maximus on July 18 and spread

quickly throughout residential areas. The fire continued for six days, and even once under control it reignited and burned for another three days. At its worst the fire was hot enough to melt the metal nails used in construction. Most of Rome was destroyed—about three-quarters of the city. There are no indications as to a cause, but large-scale accidental urban fires were not uncommon.

Early historians were the first to recount the rumor that Nero “fiddled while Rome burned,” reading poetry about the fall of TROY while playing the lyre, but this was almost certainly only a reflection of Nero’s unpopularity. Needing a scapegoat of some kind, Nero blamed the Christians, which was then a small minority sect only a generation removed from JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Many were crucified, others sent to fight lions in the gladiatorial arenas. Christian tradition holds that he also ordered the deaths of the disciple Peter and PAUL of Tarsus. With public opinion of Nero plummeting and ill will against the emperor still present in the Senate, Gaius Calpurnius Piso and several senators conspired to have Nero assassinated and for Piso to take the throne. The conspiracy was wildly unsuccessful, and its members were ordered to commit suicide, including Seneca. A year later, even Poppaea was a victim of the emperor when he kicked her to death during a quarrel. Poppaea died pregnant, having previously given birth to a daughter who died in infancy. Nero was left with neither wife nor heir. An increasingly irate Senate deposed him within two years. Nero committed suicide on June 9, 68 C.E. His last words were “*Hoc est fides*” (“This is faithfulness!”), spoken in praise of the Roman centurion arriving to arrest him.

See also ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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BILL KTE’PI

Nestorius and the Nestorian Church

(d. 451 C.E.) *church leader*

Nestorius is the bishop associated with the Assyrian Church established in the realm of the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE. Nestorius has been called a heretic, but most likely his theological rivals misunderstood him; moreover, he is sometimes viewed as the father of the Assyrian Church (Nestorian Church), but his own theological positions are

sometimes markedly different than those of his namesake church. Nestorius grew up in Antioch and distinguished himself by his fasting, prayer, and preaching. His pious reputation caused him to be named as bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE (428 C.E.), the capital city of the Byzantine Empire and the center of the GREEK CHURCH.

One of the ambitious theologians of rival city ALEXANDRIA, CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, criticized Nestorius for an alleged heresy involving the nature of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. He claimed that Nestorius taught that Jesus Christ was the union of two persons, one that suffered and died and the other that was divine and eternal. However, Nestorius did not teach that there were two persons in Christ but rather that he had two natures in one person. This position was vindicated at the Council of Chalcedon, though the council emphasized the unity of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus. This was too late and too little noticed by the Greek Church and LATIN CHURCH, for the brand of heresy had already emblazoned the name of Nestorius. He was stripped of his office, his literary works were burned, and then he was exiled. He spent 10 years in the area of the NABATAEANS in the Jordanian desert and then 10 years at the Great Oasis in the Libyan Desert, before dying in 451.

The popular association of Nestorius with the Assyrian Church occurred because many followers of Nestorius migrated from Antioch to EDESSA, the intellectual center for the whole Syriac Church. Here they found sympathy among the Christians who were not allied with the Greek or Latin Churches. Eventually, pressure came against Edessa's intellectuals so that the dissidents moved into the Persian domain to the city of Nisibis, where they established their own school of theology. From there they dispersed into other parts of the Persian Sassanid Empire. By the sixth century the Assyrian Church had become "Nestorianized," as Nestorius's followers were welcomed into high ecclesial and educational positions. Their school at Nisibis was held in high esteem among the Persian Christians. The Assyrian Church had severed ties with the Greek and Latin Churches anyway and was little interested in the nuances of the controversy. As refugees from the Byzantine Empire they were not suspected of subversion or disloyalty.

Thus, the Assyrian Church grafted the followers of Nestorius and other Syriac Christians into their fold and received the name of their figurehead. The irony of history is that it never officially adopted Nestorius's position on the nature of Christ, nor did it accept the alleged heresy for which he was exiled many generations before. The Assyrian Church has always been

on the fringes of Persian society, whether the society was Zoroastrian or Muslim. This diminished and flexible status perhaps explains how the Assyrian religion so readily penetrated other people groups and political boundaries. The scope of its mission is remarkable for such a small group of believers: Their communities spread within 300 years to India, Sogdiana, Turkestan, Turfan, Manchuria, Siberia, and China.

See also ASSYRIA; HERESIES; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

New Comedy

New Comedy refers to ancient Greek theatrical comedies created and performed during the era in which the Macedonians ruled Greece—roughly 320–260 B.C.E. The revolutions in lifestyle of this period facilitated a change in entertainment. The characters in these comedies were typically drawn from the masses of everyday people, as opposed to earlier plays that featured caricatures of the rich, the famous, or the ruling elite. Many hundreds or perhaps even thousands of comedies were produced during this period, but only a few survive today.

All Greek theatrical performances originated in religious rites honoring Dionysus, also known as Bacchus, the god who roamed the world followed by throngs of crazed women. These women, called Maenads (from whom we get the term *mania*), participated in wild orgiastic rites. The god's symbol was the thyrsus, a phallic staff topped with a large pinecone and wound with an ivy or grape vine. Originally, festivals honoring Dionysus took the form of choreographed dances performed by a chorus. This evolved into cathartic performances of *tragedy*, a word that literally means "goat ode," the goat being the symbol of Dionysus. Tragedies gradually evolved into plays with actors and stylized formats, but the chorus remained. The chorus was held by some to represent the will and opinions of the society, while others believed the chorus represented supernatural forces.

According to some, the oldest known comedies emerged as a break between tragedies or between parts of a single tragedy, in which exaggerated characters lam-

pooned the tragedy in a spoof that closely followed the form, costumes, and masks of the tragedy itself. Others claim that comedy arose from the rough jests of Dionysian revelers in procession before the performance of the tragedies. From either origin, or both, soon entire comic plays arose. These are referred to as Old Comedy, referring to comedies performed in the period beginning with PERICLES' establishment of democracy, about 450 B.C.E. Notable authors such as ARISTOPHANES (whose *Clouds* lampooned SOCRATES) ridiculed, and made satires (a word coming from the satyrs sacred to Dionysus) of all aspects of Greek society, particularly the famous and most upstanding citizens. This was in contrast to tragedy, in which the main characters were held up for emulation and found to be very nearly perfect, other than having a tragic flaw. In Old Comedy, the main characters were exaggerated buffoons, who spoke and performed every manner of nonsense. No aspect of society was sacred in these comedies, and often even the very gods were lampooned.

The next major evolution in comedy was Middle Comedy, which reduced or eliminated the chorus, ridiculed private personages rather than public ones, and often featured plots that revolved around an intrigue created by the characters. This style was prevalent from the end of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR to the conquest of Greece by Macedonia. From about 388 to 322 B.C.E. New Comedy evolved from Middle Comedy when Athens's revolt against Macedonian rule failed, and free speech was lost to the Athenians and their plays. New Comedies tended to focus on the role of chance in the average citizen's daily fight for survival. The play would open to find the characters' lives had become quite tempestuous, but by the final act, chance would have resolved the difficulties in the characters' favor. Mistaken identities, disguises, and comical errors abound in these plays. In format New Comedies were typically divided into three or, more often, five acts. Frequently there was an interlude between acts of a comedy, such as our modern half-time shows. If a chorus appeared anywhere in a New Comedy, the chorus would be strictly limited to such an interlude.

Menander (342–292 B.C.E.), Philemon (c. 368–267 B.C.E.), and Diphilus (c. 360–290 B.C.E.) were the three most renowned authors of comical plays in this era. Of these authors' works, only a handful of the Athenian Menander's 99 plays survive. His work *Dysklos* (*The Grouch*) was discovered on an Egyptian papyrus found in 1959. Among the many of Menander's plays that exist in only fragmentary form are such titles as *The Farmer*, *Aspis*, *Phasma*, *The Shorn Woman* (*Perikeiromene*), and *The Hero*. Philemon was Menander's pri-

mary rival and was regarded as superior by many contemporary critics. Philemon lived to be 99 years old and wrote 97 plays. Much of what we know about these three poets comes from Roman scholars who quoted from and commented upon their works, and from Roman playwrights, such as Terence and Plautus, who adapted these Greek comedies to their own culture. New Comedy greatly influenced not only the plays of Rome, but also the romantic comedies of the Middle Ages, and also the plays of Shakespeare, which bear a formal resemblance to the plots of the New Comedies.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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JOSEPH R. GERBER

New Kingdom, Egypt

This era has been called "Egypt's Empire," when Egyptian armies reached and crossed the river Euphrates in the north and marched deep into NUBIA. The rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 B.C.E.) pursued a policy of vigorous expansion, creating an empire that the pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 B.C.E.) were able to sustain. Its focus was commercial rather than military, designed to facilitate control of trade routes and to extract the resources of conquered territories. Native princes ruled under the supervision of Egyptian officials; their sons were taken to Egypt to be raised in the royal household and their daughters to the royal harem. Nubian gold, the timber and metals of Syria-Palestine, Aegean trade, and regular tribute sustained the Nineteenth Dynasty. After the end of the weaker Twentieth Dynasty, Egypt slowly declined into its long twilight.

In the last phase of the Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 B.C.E.), a native Egyptian dynasty ruled from THEBES. By 1550 B.C.E. their influence extended from Qis in Middle Egypt to the First Cataract: The HYKSOS prince of Avaris held sway north of Qis, and a native Nubian dynasty ruled from Kerma at the Third Cataract. In a replay of the origins of the MIDDLE KINGDOM, the foundations of the New Kingdom were laid by Theban rulers, notably Kamose (1555–50 B.C.E.) and his brother Ahmose (1550–25 B.C.E.), the latter recognized as first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was Kamose

who complained that his rule meant nothing while he was “bound to an Asiatic and a Nubian.” He pushed as far south as the Second Cataract and set up the new government office of viceroy of Nubia, “the King’s Son of Kush.” He began a series of campaigns against the Hyksos that ended their rule at Avaris and united Egypt once more. Ahmose strengthened Egypt’s borders in Nubia and Syria and consolidated his rule at home.

The Eighteenth Dynasty is best seen through several remarkable pharaohs. Thutmose I (1504–1492 B.C.E.), a nonroyal, succeeded Amenhotep I without dynastic change. In his short reign a series of successful forays into Nubia and Syria defined Egypt’s early empire. Thutmose I enlarged and endowed the temple of Amun at Karnak, practices continued by his successors that would lead to the wealth and power of Amun’s priesthood rivaling that of the PHARAOH. Thutmose II married his half sister, the famous Hatshepsut. His life was brief, and his young son by a concubine became Thutmose III (r. 1479–1427 B.C.E.). For two years Hatshepsut, “Foremost of Noble Women,” was content to be regent for her nephew, but she soon assumed royal trappings, even having herself portrayed as a male. Other women ruled in Egypt, but she is the best known, chiefly from her magnificent mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. A relief from this temple shows the circumstances of her divine birth where the god Amun visits her mother, Queen Ahmose. Her tomb is in the Valley of the Kings, the preferred burial place of New Kingdom pharaohs.



The huge mortuary temple built for Ramses II, the Ramesseum, stands on the West Bank at Thebes.

After her death Thutmose III came into his inheritance. In his 32 years of sole rule he proved an energetic and adept military leader, advancing to the Fifth Cataract in Nubia. He made 17 campaigns into Syria, even crossing the Euphrates. He captured the strategic cities of Joppa and Megiddo and brought the city of Kadesh firmly under Egyptian domination. These wars were intended for plunder, tribute, and future peaceful trade, and Thutmose III’s incessant activity ensured Egypt’s prosperity. His building activities extended throughout Egypt. His tomb in the Valley of the Kings contains the complete set of vignettes and accompanying text of the *Book of What Is in the Underworld*, recounting the night journey of the sun god, Ra.

Amenhotep II (1427–1400 B.C.E.) followed his energetic father into Syria and Nubia. These campaigns of his first 10 years mark the end of the consolidation of Egypt’s empire. The reign of Thutmose IV began the association of the king with the sun god, Ra, and the joining of Ra with Amun as the supreme deity Amun-Ra. Also royal women came to prominence in the roles of “king’s mother” and “great royal wife.” The Eighteenth Dynasty reached its high point in the magnificent opulence of Amenhotep III, who reigned for almost 40 peaceful and prosperous years. Two large statues of this king stand forlornly beside the tourist road to the Valley of the Kings, all that survives of his mortuary temple. Every class of Egyptians appears to have prospered, and Amenhotep III was later revered as a fertility god. The cult of the sun god increased at Thebes and devotion centered on the, *aten*, the sun disc or sphere, as the giver of life.

Amenhotep III was followed by his second son, Amenhotep IV (1352–36 B.C.E.). Initially he ruled from Thebes and did not disrupt traditional religious life. The cult of the Sun reached its climax in his reign: The *aten* was depicted with its rays ending in hands holding the ankh, symbol of life. In year five of his reign he abruptly ordered the building of a capital at a site in Middle Egypt, el-Amarna, called Akhetaten, “Horizon of the Aten,” where the court moved in year nine. His name change to AKHENATEN, “servant of the Aten,” signaled his complete rejection of the other gods, notably Amun.

Akhenaten’s famous wife, Nefertiti, played an equal role with her husband. The Amarna idyll lasted only until his death in 1336 B.C.E. The boy-king Tutankhaten was moved to the ancient capital at Memphis, and his name changed to Tutankhamun, a clear return to the old ways and gods of Egypt, notably Amun. Enormous effort was made to expunge the Amarna period from Egypt’s history and to obliterate Akhenaten’s memory.

Tutankhamun died after 10 years, probably of natural causes. Paradoxically, this obscure teenager is the best known of Egypt's kings due to the discovery of his intact tomb in 1922. The reigns of the nonroyal Ay and Horemheb brought the Eighteenth Dynasty to an end.

RAMSES I, a close adviser and military officer, succeeded Horemheb. He was the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 B.C.E.). This dynasty is defined by the 67-year reign of his grandson RAMSES II (1279–12 B.C.E.). Ramses (born of Ra) was a larger-than-life figure who filled Egypt with his statues, recorded his military campaigns on temple walls, and built on a scale of unparalleled magnificence. His huge mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, stands on the West Bank at Thebes. His greatest monument is his temple carved into the mountainous cliffs at Abu Simbel above the Second Cataract. It was saved from the rising waters of Lake Nasser during the 1960s by an international effort and, with Giza and Karnak, remains a prime archaeological site. Two enormous statues of Ramses flank the entrance.

Ramses built a residence at Piramesse in the Delta where his family came from. The events of the biblical Exodus are traditionally associated with him, without much evidence. His first and beloved "great royal wife" was Nefertari, whose magnificent tomb in the Valley of the Queens has been carefully restored. Father of more than 100 sons and daughters, several of his sons by his chief wives held high positions. He died around the age of 92 and was buried in the Valley of the Kings. Ramses's mummy remains in good condition in the Cairo Museum. He outlived 12 of his sons and was succeeded by the 13th, Merneptah, already in his 60s. In his 10-year reign Merneptah subdued the Libyans and sent military expeditions to Nubia and Palestine. After Merneptah a disputed succession ushered in the last four short reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty ending with Queen Twosret.

The origins of the Twentieth Dynasty (1186–1069 B.C.E.) remain confused: From its second pharaoh, Ramses III, all its rulers were named Ramses. Ramses III reigned for 31 years and was the last powerful pharaoh. He successfully prevented the Sea Peoples from entering Egypt but ruled an Egypt whose influence abroad had diminished. At home the centuries-old policy of lavishing endowments on the major temples, particularly that of Amun-Ra at Karnak, led to a priesthood whose political and economic power rivaled that of the pharaoh. During the 28-year reign of the last pharaoh, Ramses XI, the high priest of Amun at Karnak, Herihor, adopted some royal titles and was virtual ruler of Upper Egypt. Royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were pillaged and the royal envoy to the ruler of BYBLOS, Wenamun, was re-

ceived with scant courtesy. The power of Amun-Ra had finally eclipsed that of the pharaohs, and Egypt's imperial age slid into decline and civil discord.

See also HITTITES.

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JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

Nicaea, Council of

Christianity in the early fourth century C.E. was a complex spectrum of beliefs, whose adherents were faced with the additional problem that their religion was illegal in the Roman Empire. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT recognized Christianity as a legal religion in 313 C.E. in the Western Roman Empire. With Constantine's unification of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires in 324, an approach to the growing Christian population and the implications of its theological diversity and disputes became a matter of national interest. At the heart of this Christian diversity was a theological dispute concerning the divinity of the Son of God that had developed in ALEXANDRIA. Bishop Alexander of Alexandria formulated traditional theology in somewhat novel formulas. He emphasized that the Word is eternally generated from the Father and that, if it is correct to call God Father, God always must be the father of a son. Alexander expressed these thoughts in slogans such as "Always God, always the Son."

To some this view endangered monotheism by suggesting, in effect, the existence of a second co-eternal and equal god alongside the one God. Arius, a well-respected senior presbyter and preacher in Alexandria, became the leader of the opposition called ARIANISM and attacked Alexander's theology by presenting a radicalized

version of a view of God as absolute unity outside of time, boundaries, and definition. The Word, in contrast, was to be understood as the principle of multiplicity. God the Father, as absolute unity, thus can and did subsist without the Word, a situation for which Arius and his supporters employed the slogan “There was [a time] when He [the Word] was not.” The Word therefore does not have to exist, but rather, as Arius interpreted Proverbs 8:22, the Word, or “Wisdom,” was “created . . . at the beginning.” Still, the Word was not like other creatures, since the Word was in fact the first of all that was created and also functioned in turn as creator of all that subsequently was created.

At a local council of bishops from Egypt and LIBYA, Bishop Alexander of Alexandria had Arius’s teachings condemned. Arius himself was deposed, but he quickly became the leader and figurehead of the opposition to Alexander’s theology, concentrated in a group of clergy who were students and followers of the exegete and martyr LUCIAN of Antioch (d. 312 C.E.). The theological dispute became quickly politicized, as both sides attempted to impose their position through the enlisting of popular sentiment and military and political support. A civil crisis ensued.

In response to this crisis Constantine called a council of all of the bishops of the Roman Empire to convene in Nicaea to decide this theological question and thereby put an end to the civil unrest it engendered. This council was inaugurated on May 20, 325. At the council the pro-Arian bishops, under the leadership of Eusebius of Nicomedia, presented a formula of faith that expressed the subordination of the Son to the Father and declared that the Son and the Father were of different natures. EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, whose doctrinal orthodoxy previously had been called into question as pro-Arian, now seized the opportunity to free himself of charges and presented his formula of faith that in the end, with a few modifications, served as a basis for the Nicene Creed. The creed that was finally adopted was not a new creed but one that reflected the baptismal confession of Jerusalem, with an additional postscript of anathemas (curses) against Arian subordinationism.

The most important aspect of the creed is its explicit mention that the Son is “of the same substance” as the Father, expressed in the term *homoousios*, translated in the Nicene Creed today as “begotten not made.” The insertion of this term was probably motivated by the fact that Arius had rejected it.

Arius had stressed that the Father was the source of all creation in a strict sense, meaning that he was also the creator of the Son. Some bishops had difficulty ac-

cepting the philosophical term *homoousios* because it was an expression found neither in other earlier Christian creeds nor in the Bible.

Therefore, the list of expressions “God from God, light from light, true God from true God” were added before the word *homoousios*. Immediately following the term *homoousios* in the creeds is the clarification “that is, of one being with the Father” to emphasize the equal divinity between Father and Son. In addition to attempting to solve the Arian controversy, the Council of Nicaea had other items on its agenda.

The date of the celebration of the feast of Easter was fixed to occur on the first Sunday after the first full moon of spring in order to settle the Quartodeciman controversy. The Quartodecimans stipulated that Easter should be celebrated on the 14th of the first month of spring, since this was the historical date of Christ’s resurrection.

A number of questions concerning church hierarchy in the empire were addressed in 20 canons. Most significant of these was the definition of the jurisdictions of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The decision to place CONSTANTINOPLE, the city called New Rome, and the residence of Emperor Constantine, on a par with Old Rome and over the older see of Alexandria created ecclesiastical tensions that would contribute to the fracturing of the church in the course of the Christological controversies of the fifth century. The results and effects of the Council of Nicaea included, on the one hand, the first creation of a universal statement of Christian faith, the attempt to organize the church into a coherent administrative structure, and the definition of its rights and responsibilities in reference to the Roman state.

However, the creed that resulted from the council did not eliminate the Arian controversy, nor did it settle the key questions of the relationship between the Father and the Son and between the divinity and humanity of Christ. The creed of Nicaea was not binding on all Christian bishops. It was modified at the Council of Constantinople (381), which added language to state more clearly the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Only at the Council of Chalcedon (451) did acceptance of the Nicene (Constantinopolitan) Creed become binding.

Nicaea was a step, but only a first step, toward a unified expression of Christian faith and the creation of the church as an integrated and hierarchical administration.

See also EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; WISDOM LITERATURE.

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CORNELIA HORN AND ROBERT PHENIX

Nineveh

For all of the attention Nineveh receives in the Jewish Bible, it was not the capital of ASSYRIA until the last few decades of the Assyrian Empire in the seventh century B.C.E. The earliest biblical reference to the city is in the first few chapters of the book of Genesis, where it is said that Nimrod, “the mighty hunter,” founded Nineveh, and also founded Babylon, the nemesis city-state of Nineveh. Nineveh’s ruins are in modern-day Mosul, Iraq. There the Khosar River flows into the Tigris River, providing natural protection for ancient Nineveh. There are three reasons why the location was advantageous. First, the water of the Khosar could be diverted into the moats that surrounded the massive city walls. Second, the land around Nineveh was agriculturally rich and productive, just south of the Kurdish foothills. Third, trading paths crossed this area, going north and south along the Tigris River and going east and west following the foothills.

The city was one of ancient Assyria’s four population centers (the others were Ashur, Calah, and Arbela), but before that the city was known for its connection with Ishtar, goddess of love and war. At its high point it was populated by more than 175,000 people, almost three times the size of Calah. The first archaeological records are Akkadian (2400 B.C.E.) and tell of a king named Manishtushu who restored Ishtar’s temple there. Writings tell of other kings who invaded for the glory of Ishtar, 400 years later. It was not until 300 years later that the city-state of Ashur took the city from the Mitannis and began to forge the fearsome Assyrian Empire. Shalmaneser I (c. 1260 B.C.E.) and Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.E.) made Nineveh their royal residences.

The Assyrians continued Nineveh’s Ishtar traditions throughout all the periods of their hegemony. The city grew in prominence as an imperial center. One of the great Neo-Assyrian emperors, Sennacherib, who nearly conquered Jerusalem about 700 B.C.E., made Nineveh his capital. He conducted a lavish building program: One of his famous projects was digging aqueducts and canals—one 32 miles long—for irrigating his city gardens and parks; another was building the enormous city walls and gates, which still partially stand. The emperors that followed him presided over the days of As-

syrian glory. A vast cache of tablets from Nineveh’s libraries has been discovered, making Assyrian literature better known than that of any ancient Semitic peoples except the Hebrews.

In 612 B.C.E. the Babylonian Chronicle says that a coalition of MEDES, Babylonians, and Scythians captured the city and defeated the Assyrian Empire, astonishing the peoples of the FERTILE CRESCENT. Nineveh went into decline, and by the time of the Greek historian Xenophon (401 B.C.E.), the city was unrecognizable. That Assyria was feared and hated can be seen in many books of the Jewish Bible where the destruction of Assyria is almost gleefully announced. This antipathy toward Assyria is also found most vividly in the book of Jonah, the biblical prophet ordered to preach salvation for Nineveh. Only when a whale swallowed Jonah did the prophet relent and go. Today the area where Nineveh is buried, Tell Nebi Yunus, literally means “Hill of the Prophet Jonah,” and Nestorian Christians first and then Muslims have erected a major shrine in his honor there.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; NESTORIUS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Nubia

Egypt provides the earliest historical record of northern Sudan, the land of KUSH at the First Cataract. The Egyptian name for Nubia was Kush, meaning “wretched.” Kush encompassed modern-day northern Sudan and southern Egypt. Nubia was the place where African and Mediterranean civilizations met. Nubia was sometimes under Egypt, sometimes independent, and has been inhabited for 60,000 years. By the eighth millennium B.C.E. Neolithic people lived a sedentary life in fortified mud-brick villages. They hunted, fished, gathered grain, and herded cattle. They had contact with Egypt by means of the Nile. The Nubian city of Kerma produced ceramics as early as 8000 B.C.E., earlier than in Egypt. Nubia was rich in minerals and gold needed for building temples and tombs. In the mid-fifth millennium B.C.E. central Sudan’s abundant savanna and lakes made a settled life with agriculture and domestication of animals possible for the Nubians who inhabited

the region. The early Nubians engaged in a cattle cult similar to those found in Sudan and elsewhere in Africa today.

Around 2400 B.C.E. the Neolithic culture evolved into the Kerma culture, and Kush prospered due to trade in ebony, ivory, gold, incense, and animals to Egypt. By 1650 B.C.E. Kerma was a city-state with territory, stretching from the First Cataract to the Fourth. The power of Kerma rivaled that of Egypt. Over time trade developed between Kush and Egypt, with Egyptian grain trading for Kushite ivory, incense, hides, and carnelian. Periodic Egyptian military forays into Kush produced no permanent presence until the MIDDLE KINGDOM (2100–1720 B.C.E.). At that time the Egyptians built forts to protect shipments of gold mined at Wawat. From the OLD KINGDOM (2700–2180 B.C.E.) for 2,000 years Egypt dominated the central Nile region economically and politically. Even during times of diminished Egyptian power, the Egyptian religious and cultural influence remained strong in Kush.

The nomadic Asian HYKSOS conquered Egypt around 1720 B.C.E., ending the Middle Kingdom, destroying the Nile forts, and cutting ties with Kush. An indigenous kingdom developed at Karmah. In 1500 B.C.E. Nubia fell to Egypt, which established an empire ranging from the Euphrates in Syria to the Fifth Cataract. The PHARAOHS of the NEW KINGDOM ruled for more than 500 years. Egyptian power renewed with the New Kingdom (c. 1570–1100 B.C.E.), and Kush became an Egyptian province that provided gold and slaves, with the children of local chiefs taken as pages in the Egyptian court to ensure the chiefs' loyalty. As a province of Egypt, Kush became attractive to Egyptian settlers, including merchants, military personnel, government officials, and priests. The Kushite elite converted to the Egyptian language, culture, and religion, preserving Egyptian culture and religion even during Egyptian decline and with temples to the Egyptian gods remaining in use until the coming of Christianity.

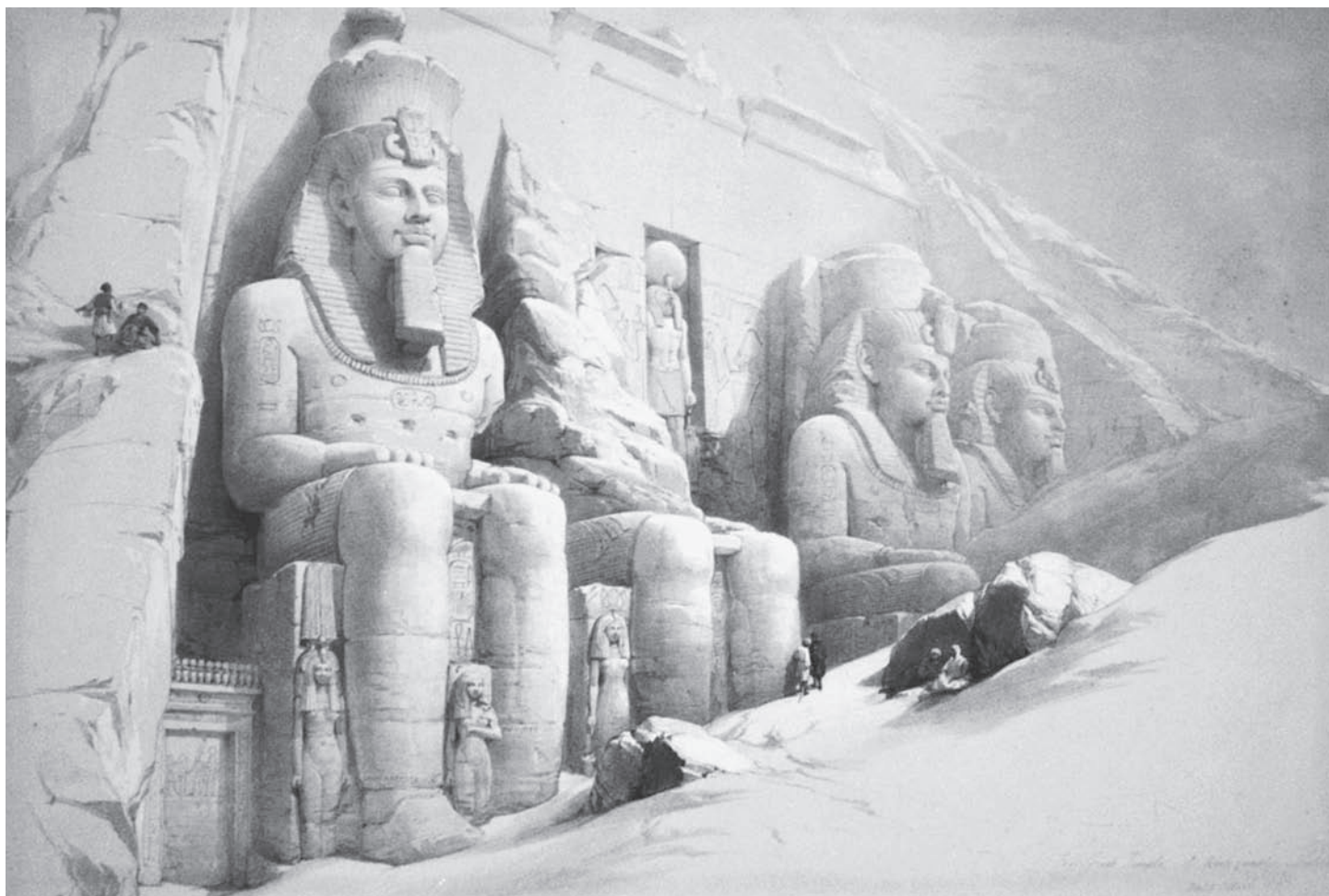
Egypt was weak and divided in the 11th century B.C.E., and Kush became autonomous for the next 300 years. Little is known about that period, but Kush reappeared as an independent kingdom in the eighth century B.C.E. The Kushites conquered Upper Egypt in 750 B.C.E. and all of Egypt later in the century, ruling Kush and THEBES for about 100 years. Egypt occupied Nubia for about 500 years. Then in 856 B.C.E. Nubia under the Twenty-fifth Dynasty ruled Egypt. The dynasty at Napata was known as the Ethiopian dynasty, making it a great African power despite its holding to Egyptian culture and religion. Conflict with ASSYRIA in the seventh

century B.C.E. led to the withdrawal of the Kushite rulers from Egypt to their capital of Napata. In 713 B.C.E. King Shabaka of Kush came to power. He controlled the Nile Valley to the Delta. His dynasty fell to Assyria. In 590 B.C.E. an Egyptian incursion led to the relocation of the capital to MEROË, and Egypt came under Persian, Greek, and Roman domination during subsequent centuries.

Isolated from Egypt, Kush developed its own culture, peaking in the third and second centuries B.C.E. The proximity to black Africa showed in the increased influence in Kushite civilization. They modeled their jewelry on African styles. Meroë had an elected kingship with the succession strongly influenced by the queen mother. The rulers at Meroë continued the Egyptian practices of raising stelae as records of their exploits and using pyramids as their tombs. The kingdom at Meroë enjoyed a centralized political system capable of bringing together the large numbers of artisans and laborers needed for building projects. The still-undeciphered Meroitic script that replaced Egyptian HIEROGLYPHS in the first century B.C.E. was an adaptation of the Egyptian writing system.

Meroë prospered due to trade and commerce, especially after the introduction of the camel to Africa in the second century B.C.E. and the concurrent flourishing of the African caravan trade. Meroë benefited from its access to the Red Sea. It was noted for its pottery, woven cloth, and jewelry. The kingdom also used Nile water and acacia trees (charcoal) to smelt iron for spears, arrows, axes, and hoes. It developed agriculture and irrigation in a tropical region. In religion Kush worshipped the Egyptian state gods but also its own regional gods, including Apedernek, the lion god.

Over time northern Kush, home of the religious center of Napata, fell to predatory nomads, the Blemmyes. Nevertheless, Meroë maintained contact with the Mediterranean world through the Nile, dealt with Arab and Indian traders on the Red Sea coast, and began to include Hindu and Hellenistic cultural influences. Meroë had occasional friction with Egypt. In 23 B.C.E. Meroë raided Upper Egypt, leading to Roman retaliation, the razing of Napata. The Romans regarded the area as too poor for colonization, so the army left. Meroë began to decline in the first or second century C.E. due to war with Roman Egypt and the decline of its traditional industries. The manufacture of iron had exhausted the acacia forests, and deforestation caused the loss of fertility in the land. The Nobatae were horse- and camel-riding warriors who occupied the west bank of the Nile in northern Kush in the second century C.E. Initially they sold protection to the Meroitic popula-



An illustration of the Temple of Abu Simbel (Semple), built during the reign of Ramses II in the 13th century B.C.E., in commemoration of Ramses's Egyptian queen and to intimidate his Nubian neighbors.

tion. Then they intermarried and became the military aristocracy. Until around the fifth century, they received subsidies from Roman Egypt, which used Meroë as a barrier between itself and the Blemmyes.

During this period Meroë shrank as the Abyssinian state of Axum took over. In 350 Ezana, king of Axum, invaded Meroë. By then the Meroites had already given way to the Noba. In the sixth century Meroë was home to three successor states: Nobatia, or Ballanah, in the north, with a capital at Faras in modern Egypt; Muqurra in the center, with a capital at Dunqulah; and Alwa in the south, with its capital at Sawba. Warrior aristocrats ruled all three cities, but the court officials styled themselves after the Byzantine model. The Nubian kingdoms converted to Christianity in the sixth century. The form of Christianity taken by the Nubian rulers was Monophysite Christianity, the Coptic version, and the spiritual head of the Nubian church was

the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, who held strong influence over the church and confirmed each ruler's legitimacy. The monarch in return protected the church's interests. The queen mother preserved the Meroitic right to determine the succession, making possible the accession of nonroyal warriors through marriage. With the change to Christianity, Nubia reestablished cultural and religious ties to Egypt and renewed contacts with Mediterranean civilization. The Nubian language replaced the Greek liturgy, but Coptic remained common in both religious and secular activities. Arabic grew in influence from the seventh century particularly in the world of commerce.

The Christian Nubian kingdoms attained their highest prosperity and military power in the ninth and tenth centuries. Arab domination of Egypt hampered Nubian access to the Coptic patriarch and ended the supply of Egyptian-trained clergy, causing the

Nubian Christians to become isolated from the rest of Christianity.

Islam changed Sudan and split the south from the north. It also promoted political, economic, and educational development among its adherents, mostly in the urban commercial centers. Islam began spreading shortly after the death of Muhammad in 632. Islam had converted the Arab tribes and cities, and Arab armies began spreading Islam into North Africa during the first generation after Muhammad's death. Within 75 years North Africa was Muslim. The conquest of Nubia began with invasions in 642 and again in 652, at which time the Arabs besieged Dunqulah (Dongala) and destroyed its cathedral. The Nubians refused to surrender, so the Arabs accepted an armistice and withdrew.

Nubians and Arabs had contacts long before the rise of Islam, and the process of Arabization took about 1,000 years. Inter-marriage and exchange of cultural values were common. With the failure of the early efforts at military conquest, the Arab commander in Egypt, Abd Allah ibn Saad, established the first of a series of treaties that lasted for almost 600 years. Arab rule of Egypt meant peace with Nubia. Periodically, non-Arabs ruled Egypt, and that generated conflict. The Arabs wanted commerce and peace, and treaties facilitated travel and trade between the two. Trade flourished, with Arabs exchanging horses and manufactured goods for ivory, gum arabic, gems, gold, and cattle. Arabs had treaty rights to buy Nubian land, and Arabs moved into Nubia as merchants, engineers in the gold and emerald mines, and pilgrims who used Nubian Red Sea ports, which also served as entrepôts for cargoes from India to Egypt.

Arab tribes who immigrated to Nubia during this time provide the ancestors of most of the region's mixed population. The two most important are the Jaali and

the Juhayna. The Jaali were sedentary farmers, herders, or townspeople. The Juhayna families are nomadic descendants of 13th-century migrants into the savanna and semidesert regions. The Arabs and indigenous peoples intermarried. Arabization occurred without forced conversion or proselytization.

The Christian kingdoms remained politically independent until the 13th century. Nubian armies invaded Egypt in the eighth and 10th centuries to free the imprisoned Coptic patriarch and reduce persecution of Copts under Muslim rule. Then in the mid-14th century the kingdom of Makuria fell in a combination of conquest and intermarriage to the joint forces of the Juhayna Arabs and Mamluk. In 1276 the Mamluk (Arabic for "owned") soldier-administrator elites overthrew the monarch of Dunqulah and gave the crown to a rival. Dunqulah was Egypt's province. Nubia converted to Islam and Arabic. Inter-marriage brought Arabs into the royal succession as the two elites merged. The king in 1315 was a Muslim prince of the royal Nubian line. Islam expanded, and Christianity declined. In the 15th century Nubia became politically fragmented, and slave raiding became a major problem. Towns fearful for their safety asked for Arabic protectors. By the 15th or 16th century Arabs formed the majority in the region.

See also AFRICAN CITY-STATES; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; NABATAEANS.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL



Odovacar

(c. 433–493 C.E.) *king of Italy*

Odovacar was the chief of the Heruli tribe of Germans and possibly a member of the Sciri tribe who lived in the Carpathian Mountains in the early fifth century C.E. and were defeated and integrated into the Ostrogothic tribal confederation. His name is probably made of the Germanic elements *od*, meaning “wealth,” and *wacar*, meaning “vigilant.” Odovacar was a commander of the Germanic mercenaries who were in service of Julius Nepos, the Western Roman emperor (474–475 C.E.). Upon the removal of Julius Nepos by his Romano-Germanic master of the army, Orestes, Odovacar’s troops, mainly made of the Heruli, revolted against Orestes and his son, the puppet emperor Romulus Augustulus. With Odovacar as their chief, the revolting mercenaries defeated Orestes at Piacenza and removed Romulus Augustulus from the throne and put an end to the Western Roman Empire (476). Odovacar was then confirmed as a patrician by the Eastern Roman emperor, Zeno, and set up his administrative capital in RAVENNA, which was already the capital under Julius Nepos and Romulus Augustulus.

Not content with the title of patrician, Odovacar chose to call himself king of Italy (*Rex Italiae*) and refused to accept the restoration of Julius Nepos to a real position of power, as requested by Emperor Zeno. In the early years of his reign Odovacar minted coins in the name of Nepos, accepting his superiority in formality. However, Odovacar’s position as the master and king of Italy was established beyond doubt. In 476 he

managed to gain control of Sicily via a treaty with the Vandals of North Africa. This was part of Odovacar’s plan to restore and revive the territorial integrity and the military strength of the Roman Empire, despite occasional setbacks and territorial losses to the Germanic tribes to the north of Italy. Odovacar changed very little in the administrative system of Italy and ran the government based on the imperial administration of the now defunct Western Roman Empire. He had the approval of the Roman Senate and was largely accepted as the ruler of Italy by the population.

Following provocations for regaining the power by the deposed emperor, Julius Nepos, who was residing in Dalmatia, Odovacar invaded that territory in 481. Shortly after (484), he attacked the western regions of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire in accordance with a treaty drawn with Illus, commander of the Byzantine forces who was planning to depose Zeno. The quick territorial expansion of Odovacar, together with his open hostilities against Zeno prompted the latter to provoke the Rugi tribe of Austria to attack Odovacar’s kingdom from the north. Despite the fact that Odovacar managed to defeat the Rugi in their own territory, his rapid expansion and foreign campaigns had made him weak enough to fall prey to THEODORIC the Great, the king of the OSTROGOTHS. Theodoric, appointed in 488 by Zeno as the king of Italy, repeatedly defeated Odovacar and conquered all of Italy between 488 and 490. In 493 Ravenna, in which Odovacar was taking refuge, also fell to Theodoric. The conqueror made peace with Odovacar by offering to rule Italy jointly with him. However,

pletion contained approximately 2.3 million blocks of stone, ranging from 2.5 to 15 tons each, was built under the orders of Khufu, the second king of the Fourth Dynasty. The other famous PYRAMIDS OF GIZA were built during the Fourth Dynasty reigns of Khafra and Menkaure, with the Great Sphinx built (presumably in his own facial likeness) to guard Khafra's pyramidal tomb. These massive building projects obviously strained the Egyptian economy and reduced the royal treasury. Probably as a result, although pyramids continued to be built in later Old and MIDDLE KINGDOM dynasties, they were never to the magnitude of those built in the Fourth Dynasty.

Contrary to the once popular view that the pyramids were built using slave labor, it is now thought that they were built by paid workers who rotated between the building projects and their own private work, with the bulk of the labor occurring in the inundation season, when agricultural work ceased. This contention has been supported by archaeological finds of workers' tombs, bakeries, and other elements associated with a workers' village just south of Khufu's pyramid complex.

The downfall of the Old Kingdom was likely the result of several decades of poor inundation levels (due to global cooling, which reduced rainfall to the Nile's sources in ETHIOPIA and East Africa), resulting in famine. Reliefs from the causeway of Unis (from the Fifth Dynasty), which depict scenes of starving men, and the account of the sage Ipuwer, which discusses the horrible conditions of this time, provide support for this theory. The Old Kingdom ultimately fragmented, with different factions taking control of separate nomes, the once-powerful central state becoming a collection of fiefdoms that would not be unified again until the advent of the Middle Kingdom nearly 200 years later.

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JASON A. STAPLES

Olmecs

The Olmec thrived in the Gulf of Mexico coastal lowlands (in the present-day Mexican states of Veracruz and Tabasco) from around 1500 to 400 B.C.E. The Olmec are one of several interrelated but largely independent cultural formations developing in Mesoamerica during roughly the same time period. Together with the highland and lowland Maya, the Zapotec and Mixtec peoples of the Oaxaca Valley, and various culture groups in the central highlands and Basin of Mexico, the Olmec were among the first and most sophisticated Mesoamerican civilizations. Linguists classify their language in the Mixe-Zoquean family, remnants of which survive in various pockets in southern Mexico. *Olmec* is a Nahuatl word (the language of the Aztec), imposed by U.S. archaeologist Matthew W. Stirling in the 1940s, roughly translating as "people of the land of rubber." By around 1800 B.C.E. the semisedentary peoples occupying the gulf coast region exhibited cultural traits not dissimilar from their neighbors elsewhere in Mesoamerica. During the next few centuries, a kind of cultural critical mass was reached, prompting the Olmec to create one of Mesoamerica's first and most distinctive state and cultural systems.

With the Gulf of Mexico providing ample maritime resources and a fertile plateau with the Tuxtla Mountains and their raging rivers looming behind it, the region exhibited many of the environmental attributes necessary for the emergence of complex civilization. By 1500 B.C.E. the Olmec had built an elaborate ceremonial structure at San Lorenzo, within which the ruling groups resided. It is estimated that some 81 million cubic feet of rock, most probably floated on rafts from mountain quarries nearly 50 miles away, provided the structural foundation for the ceremonial platform, which rose 151 feet high and covered nearly 0.5 sq. mile. Surrounding the ceremonial center were hamlets and villages inhabited by farmers, artisans, and commoners, covering nearly 3 sq. miles. The magnitude of the construction indicates a high degree of control over surplus labor by members of the ruling elite. For reasons still not understood, San Lorenzo fell and was abandoned around 1200 B.C.E. Archaeologists have interpreted evidence of ritual desecration of the site's structures and sculptures as originating in internal rebellion, as a kind of religious cleansing.

Around 1150 B.C.E. and some 50 miles to the northeast, the Olmec successors to San Lorenzo began building an even larger and more imposing urban center at La Venta. For the next six centuries, from around 1150 to 500 B.C.E., the city thrived. At its ceremonial core was a

cone-shaped clay mound rising some 101 feet into the air, a large pavilion, and a sunken rectangular plaza, along with lesser structures. The walls and floors of the pavilion and plaza were decorated with pigmented clays and sands, while elaborately stone-chiseled sculptures, including numerous colossal stone heads, were placed strategically throughout. The ceremonial center was reserved for the ruling elite, while the vast majority of La Venta's inhabitants resided in surrounding hamlets and villages. The Olmec built similar urban complexes to the northwest of San Lorenzo, at Tres Zapotes; about midway between the two at Laguna de los Cerros; and elsewhere in the gulf coast lowlands.

The economic underpinnings of Olmec civilization rested on a combination of intensive and extensive agriculture, harvesting of diverse maritime resources, and networks of local, regional, and long-distance trade and exchange. Long-distance trade and exchange relations extended throughout much of Mesoamerica, including the Maya zones to the south and east; into the central highlands; and far to the west and south, into contemporary Oaxaca and Guerrero States.

The Olmec left no written record beyond petroglyphs, carvings, and paintings, leaving the core features of Olmec cultural, religious, and political systems a mystery. Olmec art was highly stylized, technically advanced, and innovatively crafted and carried a host of religious and cosmological meanings. The Olmec are perhaps best known for their massive stone heads, most carved of basalt. Some have noted that these stone heads exhibit distinctly African characteristics, with their broad, flat noses and large lips, and suggested African influence in the formation of Olmec civilization. Most scholars discount the African-influence hypothesis, instead interpreting the Olmec as a distinctly Mesoamerican cultural tradition that emerged from wholly indigenous cultural antecedents.

Other artistic objects crafted by the Olmec include huge and elaborately carved stele depicting various mythological and cosmological scenes, masks and mosaics composed of diverse precious stones and minerals, intricately crafted ceramics and vessels, and small and exquisitely carved figurines made of jade, serpentine, greenstone, and other rare minerals. Many of the latter exhibit what has been called "howling baby" or "were-jaguar" imagery. Olmec art also includes stylized depictions of snakes, toads, eagles, and many other natural creatures and supernatural entities. By around 350 B.C.E. La Venta and other Olmec centers were, like San Lorenzo nearly nine centuries earlier, destroyed and abandoned. What the Olmec left in their wake was of

inestimable influence in shaping the subsequent history of Mesoamerica.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Olympic Games

The Olympic Games of the ancient world were one of four athletic competitions associated with four ancient Greek religious celebrations. In addition to the Olympic Games, which were held every four years in Olympia in honor of Zeus, these athletic competitions included the Nemean Games, held every two years in Nemea also in honor of Zeus; the Pythian Games, held every four years in Delphi in honor of Apollo; and the Isthmian Games, held every two years in Corinth, in honor of Poseidon. By the fifth century B.C.E. these biannual and quadannual athletic celebrations formed an athletic circuit, in which the most outstanding athletes of the ancient world competed.

The Olympic Games were the oldest and the most significant of these athletic festivals. While the origins of the Olympics are unknown, the Greeks developed several legends celebrating physical strength, competition, and skill. These include Hercules founding the games in honor of his own physical prowess. Others contended that the games celebrated Zeus's defeat of Cronus in their battle for the hills overlooking Olympia, and yet others claimed the games commemorated Pelops, who won a beautiful bride in a chariot race contested in Olympia. Legends aside, Olympia became a shrine for Zeus in c. 1000 B.C.E., and it is then that historians believe the athletic competition associated with the religious celebrations in honor of Zeus began. At the beginning of the games the athletes pledged to compete fairly in the name of Zeus, otherwise suffer significant fines, which went to the erection of statues and shrines to the god of Olympia.

The first recorded Olympic competition was in 776 B.C.E.; the footrace of approximately 200 meters (656 feet) long, the *stade*, was the only competition held at that time. In 724 B.C.E. the games expanded to include a double race of approximately 400 meters (1,312 feet). A long-distance race of 4,800 meters (15,748 feet) was added in 720 B.C.E., wrestling and the pentathlon in 708 B.C.E., boxing in 688 B.C.E., and a chariot race in 680 B.C.E. From 632 to 616 B.C.E. footraces, wrestling, and boxing were added for adolescent athletes. Finally a 200-meter race in armor was added in 520 B.C.E. Until 550 B.C.E. these events were held in open spaces at the foot of the hills surrounding Olympia. In that year construction began of a hippodrome, a stadium with the capacity to seat 40,000 spectators, a GYMNASIUM, and a palaestra. Footraces were held in the stadium, the inside length of which equaled the distance of the *stade*.

In 472 B.C.E. the format and order of the Olympic Games were standardized over five days, of which only two and a half were devoted to sport. Religious ceremonies, pledges, sacrifices, and singing took place on the first day. Athletic competition started on the second day with the chariot race and the pentathlon, an event consisting of the discus and javelin throws, standing broad jump, a 200-meter race, and wrestling. The longer footraces were held on the third day. Heavy events took place on the fourth day, which included wrestling, boxing, pancratium, and the 200-meter race in armor. Prizes—wreathes of olive branches to the winners—were distributed on the fifth day, in addition to religious celebrations, praises to Zeus, and a banquet of meat from sacrificed animals.

Every four years before the Olympic Games started, three heralds left Olympia, traveled throughout the Greek world, and declared a sacred truce in honor of Zeus. Athletes, coaches, trainers, and spectators embarked to Olympia, allowed free and unrestrained travel through regions ravaged by war, and arrived about a month before the start of the games. Athletes had to verify that they were Greek citizens and that they were not slaves or criminals. They then swore to Zeus that they had trained for at least 10 months before reaching Olympia. The final month of training, the most rigorous of the athlete's preparation, was conducted under strict supervision of judges. During this period elimination rounds were held in most events.

For the most part the ancient Olympians were wealthy aristocrats, who could afford to spend their time training for sport, could hire coaches and trainers, and owned horses and chariots. In 450 B.C.E. athletes from the lower classes began to compete in the Olympic



The ancient Olympic Games were held in honor of Zeus and included religious celebrations, banquets, and praises to Zeus.

Games and the other periodic contests. Wealthy patrons from the GREEK CITY-STATES financed the training and travel of these athletes, who represented the Greek city-states. While Olympians may have been amateurs in the sense that they did not receive material reward for their athletic achievement, the Olympic movement was a great commercial enterprise. Moreover, the Olympic Games were not open to women athletes or spectators, but women had their own athletic competition at Olympia—the Heraean Games—in honor of Hera, the sister-wife of Zeus. Held in celebration of fertility, the Heraean Games predate the Olympics, reflecting the matriarchal character of early Greek society.

The Olympic Games began to decline in the third century C.E., as the Greeks lost faith in their classical deities, in whose honor the games had originated and flourished. Names of Olympic champions were no longer officially recorded after 285 C.E. By the end of the fourth century Christian reformers demanded that all pagan temples be closed, and the religious rites associated with them ceased. Although the religious rituals associated with the Olympic Games came to an end in 393–394 C.E., the athletic competition persisted into the fifth century. In the late fifth and early sixth centuries northern invaders ravaged Olympia, destroying the temples, athletic facilities, and statues to Zeus and other heroes; the final blow to Olympia

came in 522 and 551, when two terrific earthquakes redirected the Alpheus River, turning Olympia into marshland.

See also CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON.

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ADAM R. HORNBUCKLE

Oriental Orthodox Churches

The cluster of ancient churches that were not in agreement with the councils of the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH are often referred to corporately as the Oriental Orthodox Churches. These churches include the Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Malankara, Eritrean, and Syrian churches, because these do not accept the Chalcedonian formula that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH has two natures in one person. As a result they fell out of communion with the rest of the Christian world and did not participate with the church councils after 451 C.E.

These churches often were not understood and were disparaged by Greek and Latin theologians. They were wrongly labeled in ancient times as Monophysites (“‘one-nature’ believers”), but in reality they affirm that Jesus was an inseparable union of divinity and humanity, a position not much different from the Chalcedonian formula. The word *Copt* is a derivation of the word for Egyptian. Copts considered themselves descendants of the PHARAOHS and believed that King SOLOMON had ties to their land. Their biblically rich legends say that they were converted and organized by the gospel writer and disciple of Jesus, Mark. Their Christianization is hinted at in the New Testament (Acts of the Apostles), and DIOCLETIAN’s severe persecution of Egyptian Christians (c. 300 C.E.) proves that Christianity had made great strides there.

It was in ALEXANDRIA that a wellspring of creative thinking emerged. Two of its most notable teachers were Christian, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN. Their predecessor, PHILO, was Jewish. All three were known for their religious accommodations to the

Greek conceptual world. Origen’s pupils were Heraclas (first to be called “pope” in Coptic annals) and Gregory Thaumaturgos; other Egyptians influenced by him were the Christian authorities Anthony and ATHANASIUS, as well as non-Egyptians such as JEROME, EPHREM, and the CAPPADOCIANS. The atmosphere of Alexandria was open and experimental, and many new ideas of the faith were tried out there. Alexandria was every bit the equal of such other early Christian centers as Rome, Antioch, and, later, CONSTANTINOPLE.

It was with the council of 451, convened by a pro-Roman emperor, Marcion, that Alexandria and Coptic Christianity began to part company with the Greek and Latin Churches. Egypt was the main center for theology outside Constantinople and Rome, and because of its influence throughout the Near Eastern world, the other Oriental Orthodox Churches were gradually persuaded to take sympathetic positions. They ultimately decided to reject Chalcedon as unwarranted invention. Egyptian Christians who held to the Chalcedon position were called Melkites and found fellowship with the Greek and Latin Churches, while the majority of the Egyptian people held to the older formulation and became known simply as the Copts. The civil authorities vainly tried to force change upon the bishops and the people. To this day the Copts and their Oriental Orthodox confreres bitterly remember the cleavage caused by Chalcedon.

MONASTICISM took the lead in the stability of the COPTIC CHRISTIAN CHURCH, and through the Copts, monasticism played a key role in all of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The pioneer in the movement was Anthony, who fled from the world’s attractions to follow Christ in the spiritual warfare of the desert. Eventually, Anthony’s story was told throughout the Christian world—especially in the next century by Athanasius—and scores of devotees headed for the deserts of Egypt, the Holy Land, and Syria. The ensuing monastic movement had a direct impact on Syriac Christianity and other Oriental churches. Eventually, the movement took hold in the Greek and Latin Churches as well.

As for missionary activities, the Coptic Church is known for its efforts to reach NUBIA and LIBYA. Although Ethiopia is an autonomous Oriental church, it was converted by the influence of two Syrian Christians and connected at first to the Coptic Church. Egyptian monastics are known to have spread their ideas in Mesopotamia, and the oldest continuous monastery in the world, Mar Gabriel, at TURABDIN has archaeological evidence for Coptic residents there. Popular stories circulate concerning the “Theban Legion” of Egyptian monks who

brought monasticism to Europe long before BENEDICT's monastery in Italy. Europeans flocked to the Egyptian monasteries in the fifth and sixth centuries, along with their pilgrimages to Syria's SIMEON THE STYLITE.

Because of their extensive contacts with the imperial Roman and Byzantine world, Copts incorporate a fair number of Greek words in their theology and liturgy. Even their alphabet utilizes Greek characters. However, their vocabulary is from their native Coptic language. By the reign of JUSTINIAN (565) they had a completely separate ecclesial hierarchy, spirituality, and even architecture, reflecting their native character. The Coptic faith is intensely biblical and monastic, like many of the ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches.

Its early literature centered on the Bible, the interpretations of the Bible, and the writings of Coptic holy men and women. Valuable manuscripts of holy writings go back to the second and third centuries. Thousands of papyri survive in the Egyptian desert, making it easy to detail the Coptic culture from the fifth century onward. The writings give the sense that Egypt's upper classes were well educated and piously Christian by the early sixth century. Eventually, Coptic speech and writing gave way to Arabic as the language of the conqueror. The Copts themselves became *dhimmis* ("protected people" of the state) strictly restricted and monitored by the Muslims.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; NICAIA, COUNCIL OF; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Origen

(c. 185–c. 253 C.E.) *theologian and church leader*

Origen of Alexandria represents one of the most fascinating yet controversial figures of the early church. Specific details of Origen's life are somewhat ambiguous, and we must rely largely on the efforts of the fourth-century historian EUSEBIUS. Origen was born around 185 C.E. in ALEXANDRIA and lived during one of the most intense periods of Christian persecution under the

Roman emperor Decius. His parents raised him in a Christian home so devout that his father died willingly as a martyr around 201, and he received a strong Hellenistic education. From a young age Origen taught at the catechetical school in Alexandria, reportedly succeeding CLEMENT as its head at just 18 years of age.

Origen led a lifestyle of strict ascetic discipline, earning him the nickname Adamantios, or Man of Steel. He gained a wide reputation for his extensive teaching and scholarship on biblical exegesis, doctrine, exhortation, and apologetics.

Origen encountered some difficulties, however, when Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, convened a synod that excommunicated Origen for preaching as a layman before bishops and for being ordained a priest despite his reputed self-castration. Shortly thereafter, Origen left Alexandria for Caesarea to head a school of theology. He died there around 253 as the result of imprisonment and torture inflicted upon him by Roman persecutors, leaving behind a body of work so vast that it was not all preserved.

One of Origen's greatest contributions to patristic theology consists of his biblical exegesis. Writing in both commentary and homily form, Origen interpreted almost every book of the Old and New Testaments. With his characteristic style Origen usually interpreted scripture in a line-by-line, even word-by-word manner in great detail, sometimes producing multivolume commentaries on a single biblical book, such as Genesis and the Gospel of John.

Those commentaries that have survived offer a wealth of insight and testimony to Origen's exegetical method, which influenced such great patristic figures as JEROME, AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, and BASIL THE GREAT. Origen is particularly known for his use of allegory. As Origen explains in book 4 of *On First Principles*, scripture, with its divine authorship, is capable of yielding meaning on many different levels, including the literal, moral, and spiritual plains. With the guidance of church teaching and the Holy Spirit, one can determine these levels of meaning as one grows in faith.

Origen's reputation unfortunately suffered posthumously with the Origenist controversies in the fourth through the sixth centuries. Following the COUNCIL OF NICAIA in 325, some of Origen's theological views were questioned, including the tendencies to claim that in essence the Son and the Holy Spirit are less than the Father (subordinationism) and to view resurrection in terms of soul rather than body.

While these views were undeniably unorthodox, Origen lived before the ecumenical councils that

established official church doctrine, and these controversies occurred long after his death. While Emperor JUSTINIAN anathematized Origen in 553, he continues to be commended for his positive contributions, especially biblical exegesis, which was praised by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; HELLENIZATION; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

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JODY VACCARO LEWIS

ostracism

Ostracism was a well-established practice used in classical Greece during the fifth century B.C.E. to banish public figures from the city. Created by Cleisthenes, it was used in Athens for the expulsion of Hipparchos in 488–487 B.C.E.

Ostracism represented a ritual and symbolic course of action. Far from being a judicial mechanism (no debate or speeches were allowed), ostracism was an effective weapon to attack public individuals who may have gained too much power.

The threat of ostracism was also effective at dissolving open confrontations between enemy parties. However, only a few instances of successful ostracisms have been attested, in most cases against prominent citizens from propertied families, and its actual uses were infrequent.

Each year, during the sixth *prytany* of the assembly, the people decided through a preliminary vote whether an *ostrakophoria* should be organized that year. If they agreed on that, during the eight *prytany*—that is, two months after the decision—the polling itself took place in the marketplace (agora). During that meeting, each citizen marked a potshard (*ostrakon*) with the name of a person he wished to see expelled from the polis and put it into an urn.

No list of candidates was drafted before the election. The man whose name was scratched on the most *ostraka* was exiled from Athens for 10 years, but there is controversy on the number of votes needed for this result: For some specialists a quorum of 6,000 votes was required for the procedure to have effect, while

others believe that a person had to be identified in at least 6,000 votes in order to be ostracized.

Thousands of *ostraka* have been found in different excavations, especially in the Kerameikos and the Athenian agora. Many of them were found bearing the same name (for example, Themistokles) and were apparently written by the same hand and were carefully painted. It is possible that during the two months separating the first decision and the voting, a number of public campaigns were held in order to convince people on the need of ousting a certain person and that prepared *ostraka* were distributed among voters. Contrary to legal punishments ostracism had rather mild consequences. It did not imply confiscation or loss of civic status, and in many cases evidence shows that ostracized individuals, like Kimon or Aristides, were recalled to the city before the 10-year period had expired.

The last ostracism in Athens was probably held in 416–415 B.C.E., when the demagogue Hyperbolos wanted to banish Alkibiades or Nikias from the city. Threatened by the possibility of being expelled, the two politicians managed to get rid of their common enemy, and Hyperbolos himself was ostracized. Sources indicate that the Athenian people were disgusted by the situation and that the procedure of ostracism was not implemented again. The truth is that new legal mechanisms capable of dealing with the possibility of removing undesirable politicians through lawsuits, such as the *graphe paranomon*, were put into place by this time and helped to address these issues in less unpredictable manners.

Other Greek cities such as Argos, Megara, and Miletos implemented the process of ostracism as well. In Syracuse, it was called *petalismos*, because names were written in olive trees.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES.

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EMILIANO J. BUIS

Ostrogoths and Lombards

The Ostrogoths and Lombards were Germanic barbarians who successively became rulers of post-Roman Italy. The Ostrogoths were the eastern branch of the Gothic peoples, the western being the Visigoths. They first settled in the area of the Ukraine. An early Ostrogothic king, Ermanric, was defeated and conquered by the HUNS around 375 C.E. Like other German peoples, the Ostrogoths regained their independence and entered the Roman Empire as Roman allies following the death of the Hunnish king Attila in 453. The Ostrogoths' most important king was THEODORIC, who became king in 474. After ravaging Thrace the young king was diverted westward by the Roman emperor Zeno in CONSTANTINOPLE. Zeno hoped that Theodoric would overcome ODOVACAR, a former barbarian mercenary leader who had overthrown the last Roman emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus, in 476. Theodoric quickly overcame Odovacar and treacherously murdered him.

The Ostrogothic kingdom under Theodoric was the most "civilized" of the post-Roman barbarian kingdoms in the western Mediterranean, marked by the persistence of Roman civilization and the continued acknowledgment of the rule of the Roman emperor at Constantinople. The Roman Senate continued to meet, and many senators served Theodoric's government. Like late Western Roman emperors, Theodoric's capital was at RAVENNA, not Rome. Unlike other barbarian states, the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy did not have different sets of laws for the Romans and the barbarians, although Goths tried Goths in military courts and Romans tried Romans in civilian courts. Like other barbarian states, however, Ostrogothic Italy faced the problem of religious differences. The Ostrogoths were Arian Christians, denying the equality of Christ with God the Father, while their Roman subjects were Orthodox, accepting the doctrine of the Trinity. Toward the end of his reign Theodoric adopted a harsher policy toward the Senate and leading Romans for fear that they were conspiring with the Orthodox emperor.

His grandson Athalaric succeeded Theodoric, but the real power lay with his mother, Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha. Traditional Ostrogoths believed that Amalasuntha leaned too far to the Roman side, and she lacked Theodoric's fame as a war leader. In 534 she was imprisoned and strangled by her husband, Theodahad, who took the Ostrogothic crown for himself. The Ostrogothic kingdom, however, was in the path of the Roman emperor JUSTINIAN I, who aimed at destroying the Arian barbarian powers of the Mediterranean. Proclaim-

ing themselves avengers of Amalasuntha, a Roman army under the famed general Belisarius landed in Italy in 535. Theodahad, a poor leader, was deposed in favor of General Witiges, who was captured and taken to Constantinople in 540. (The Ostrogoths offered to make Belisarius their king, but he refused.) The next Ostrogothic king to emerge, Totila, had some success and even retook Rome but was eventually defeated and killed in the Battle of Busta Gallorum in 552 by the Roman general Narses at the head of a mostly barbarian army. Soon afterward the Ostrogoths disappeared as a people.

The Roman destruction of the Ostrogoths and its accompanying devastation paved the way for the conquest of much of Italy by the much more barbaric Lombards. The Lombards had been established north of the Danube, where they came under increasing pressure from the Avars, a people originating in Central Asia. Under the leadership of their king, Alboin, the Lombards invaded northern Italy and established a kingdom with its capital at Pavia. In subsequent decades they expanded their control over the peninsula.

Unlike the Ostrogoths, however, the Lombards never captured Rome or became masters of all Italy. Their kingdom was also never as centralized as that of their predecessors. The Lombards competed with dukes and the popes for Rome, and with the Eastern Roman or Byzantine emperors for the peninsula. Outside the northern Lombard kingdom, semi-independent Lombard duchies were also established in the south, at Spoleto and Benevento. The Lombards, unlike the Ostrogoths, maintained the dual system of law for Romans and barbarians. Over the course of time, however, they converted from their original pagan and Arian religions to the Catholicism of their subjects, which ended the religious issue with the papacy but left the territorial one. The Byzantine emperors had relinquished their protection of the papacy after the fall of Ravenna to the Lombard king Aistulf in 751. However, the Lombard kingdom was ultimately destroyed by the Frankish kingdom.

The Frankish ruler Pepin the Short invaded Italy in 754, restoring to the papacy lands that the Lombards had taken but not subjugating the Lombard kingdom. He returned in 756, forcing Aistulf to acknowledge the Frank as his overlord. The final destruction of the Lombard kingdom was the work of Pepin's son and successor, Charlemagne, who in 774 made a prisoner of the last Lombard king, Desiderius, and had himself crowned with the iron crown of the Lombards. Bereft of their privileges as a ruling elite, the Lombards of the north assimilated with their one-time Italian subjects, leaving the name of Lombardy to denote a region of

northern Italy. The Normans conquered the last independent Lombard power, the duchy of Benevento, in the 11th century.

See also ARIANISM; LATE BARBARIANS.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS



paideia

Paideia is an ancient Greek system of education designed to show young people how to become an ideal citizen, to strive toward nobility of character, excellence of spirit, usefulness to society, and to exercise the body properly. Most important, it instructs one in how to be the highest form of human possible. These ideals, which may sound lofty to modern readers, were so central to Greek culture prior to 323 B.C.E. that they were a large part of what made someone a Greek. It was believed that to destroy a GREEK CITY-STATE's educational system would destroy that city's culture, and in one noteworthy case, that led directly to a city's collapse, conquest, and obliteration.

Paideia was more than just an educational system, as it reflected the very essence of Greek culture. The study of this Greek educational system is the study of ancient Greece itself. In adults as well as children, the concept of *paideia* is tied to the concept of virtue, called *arete*. According to Xenophon, renowned as a scholar, philosopher, soldier, historian, and general, the *paideia* education was "the process of educating man into his true form, the real and genuine human nature." Furthermore, the oldest definition of education (to educe, to draw out) accords with the Greek notion that the ideal true form of a person resides somewhere within that person and can be drawn out by philosophical instruction. The word *paideia* is also used in the word *encyclopedia*, which comes from two Greek words meaning a "general education." The two greatest, most powerful, and most renowned Greek city-states were

Athens and Sparta. Xenophon, steeped in Spartan culture, discussed the meaning of *paideia* in his treatise on the Spartan (Lacedaemonian) constitution. *Paideia* also permeated Athenian culture. The Ephebic Oath was sworn by an Athenian youth at the completion of his boyhood training (at about age 19) at the point when he ceased to be a boy and became a man and an Athenian citizen. The goal of Athenian *paideia* was in large part to produce citizens who could live up to each of the following points of the Ephebic Oath:

I will not disgrace my sacred arms
Nor desert my comrade, wherever I am stationed.
I will fight for things sacred
And things profane.
And both alone and with all to help me.
I will transmit my fatherland not diminished
But greater and better than before.
I will obey the ruling magistrates
Who rule reasonably
And I will observe the established laws
And whatever laws in the future
May be reasonably established.
If any person seek to overturn the laws,
Both alone and with all to help me,
I will oppose him.
I will honor the religion of my fathers.
I call to witness the Gods . . .
The borders of my fatherland,
The wheat, the barley, the vines,
And the trees of the olive and the fig.

The Ephebic Oath was designed to produce well-rounded guardians of the Athenian culture, belief system, and philosophical thought process. Note the emphasis on use of skill at arms to defend the laws, the religion, and the sacred. Other examples of Greek society's lasting attention on *paideia* abound, particularly in the principles that were inscribed on their most sacred places. For example, inscribed on the temple at Delphi, to which even the wisest of the Greeks journeyed to seek the advice of the god Phoebus Apollo, are such phrases as "know thyself" and "nothing in excess."

The Greek city-states were alike in many respects, and yet they fought with one another for many generations. It was not atypical for one Greek city to annihilate or completely enslave another city as a result of this internecine warfare. Perhaps the most powerful Greek city-state was Sparta, renowned for its powerful military, to which all male children were carefully indoctrinated from an early age. Many ancient authors note the number of nations that were saved from destruction by a single Spartan warrior. An endangered nation that appealed to Sparta for help would receive a single Spartan commander, who would successfully organize the defense into a victorious army. *Paideia* was instrumental in the success of this city over many generations during which a variety of powerful rivals were unable to overcome Sparta.

This conclusion is supported by the eventual conquest of Sparta by Argos, another Greek city. Argos did not destroy the town of Sparta, slaughter its citizens after the battle, or enslave its population. Argos compelled the Spartans to replace their own *paideia* with the *paideia* used in Argos. Never again was Sparta at the forefront of Greek military powers. Roman units, having heard of Sparta's reputation, eagerly sought a battle with the city but instead found a humble village inhabited by mostly elderly people, unable to mount a noteworthy defense. This points to the difference—between being a superpower and being an anonymous agrarian village—that *paideia* made to the Greeks.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HELLENIZATION; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

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JOSEPH R. GERBER

paleoanthropology

For three generations the Leakey family has been pioneers in the field of paleoanthropology, seeking to uncover the origins of human beings. Louis Leakey (1903–72), who was born in Kenya, started exploring remains of human ancestors in East Africa in the 1930s. Experts, according to conventional wisdom, believed that Asia had been the source of human evolution and greeted him with initial skepticism.

By the late 1940s Leakey and his wife, Mary Leakey (1913–96), had found the skull of a Miocene hominoid and went on to find fossil bones of other human ancestors. Although many of Leakey's conclusions regarding the age and classifications of his discoveries remain highly controversial, his works led the way for important new interpretations and work into the origins of hominids. In the Olduvai Gorge in northern Tanzania, Mary excavated remains of *Zinjanthropus boisei*, now known as *Australopithecus boisei*, in 1959. In 1979 she found a line of early human footprints dating back 3.6 million years, thereby showing that early human ancestors were bipedal. These and other ongoing explorations have led most experts to conclude that Africa was the evolutionary source of humankind.

Their son, Richard E. Leakey (b. 1944) and his wife, Meave G. Leakey (b. 1942), carried on work in northern Kenya on Lake Turkana where they found important skulls of *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus* and a nearly complete skeleton of "Turkana Boy," a youngster that lived some 1.6 million years ago. In 2001 Meave found a skull of *Kenyanthropus platyopsa*, a new genus and species. Their daughter, Louise N. Leakey (b. 1972), continues the family tradition and heads the Koobi Fora Research Project along Lake Turkana searching and excavating for fossils; Louise's research focuses on the evolution of early human ancestors, seeking answers to the origins of *Homo*, humankind's genus. New generations of paleoanthropologists, including Donald Johanson, Yohannes Haile-Selassie, and others, have expanded fieldwork into Ethiopia, as well as central Africa. In 1974 Johanson discovered "Lucy" an early human ancestor. Scientists now believe that human evolution dates back 6 or 7 million years with about a dozen different species of human ancestors.

The Leakeys were also ardent environmentalists and supporters of animal conservation. Louis mentored a new generation of young scholars such as Jane Goodall, Dian Fossey, and Biruté Galdikas Brindamour, who conducted groundbreaking field studies of chimpanzees, mountain gorillas, and orangutans. Similarly, Richard

became head of the Kenya Wildlife Services, championing the cause of wildlife preservation and a ban on the sale of ivory in order to preserve elephant herds, as well as serving as a member of the Kenyan parliament.

See also ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Paleolithic age

The Paleolithic age in the Pleistocene epoch of prehistory begins with the first use of manufactured tools by hominids and ends with the thaw of the last ice age (leading into the Mesolithic and the NEOLITHIC AGE with the advent of agriculture). Its exact duration varies from place to place and from hominid group to hominid group. Divided into three sections—chronologically the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic (with the Epipaleolithic following this last in place of the Mesolithic in parts of the world without major glaciation)—our hard data on the Paleolithic is scant compared to the archaeological riches of the Neolithic. Most of what we know is inferred from fossil record, amplified by genetic research and art from the Upper Paleolithic.

The term *hominid* refers to members of the Hominidae family of primates, including all humans, chimpanzees, gorillas, and orangutans. The term *human* is more loaded and more controversial than *hominid* (or *hominine* for those hominids with a capacity for language and culture). According to paleontologist Richard Leakey, *human* refers to all bipedal hominids, which includes members of the genus *Australopithecus* and the genus *Homo*.

BIPEDALISM

Bipedalism, or the ability to stand and walk upright, was a major change relative to the human ancestors and a significant alteration in structure. It was necessary for tool use, because it keeps two limbs free for other manipulation, although because of the several million year gap between bipedalism and tool use, there must have been some other initial benefit. There are two leading

theories, the first positing the ability to carry things while walking. Carrying may seem trivial at first, but consider the length of time that human children are helpless—compared to other species—and the gain to the species in being able to better protect those children.

The second theory privileges the energy efficiency of human bipedal locomotion. Although initial studies suggested that bipedalism is less efficient than quadrupedalism, this is true only when comparing bipeds to quadrupeds like cats, dogs, and horses—species that have evolved to make their quadrupedal motion as efficient as possible.

TOOL USAGE AND BRAIN SIZE

There are four stages of human prehistory, the first of which is the evolution of that first human species—the bipedal ape descendant—7 million years ago. The second is the adaptive radiation of these early humans. *Adaptive radiation* is a biological term to describe the rapid creation of new species following a radical change in environment or ability, in this case the gains of bipedalism. With the third stage, the *Homo* genus arose from this speciation with a considerable increase in brain size. *Homo erectus* dates to 2 million years ago, and its predecessor, *Homo habilis* (who some researchers would classify as an australopithecine) dates to 500,000 years before that. The final stage is the arrival of modern humans: imaginative, innovative, artistic, language-using hominines.

Not every human species is an ancestor of modern humans; in fact, on the human family tree most are cousins or uncles. The most significant to the Paleolithic age are the *Homo* species. The smaller-brained australopithecines, despite their bipedalism, lacked a significant modern human feature: the two vertical canals in the inner ear are much smaller in *Australopithecus* and prehuman hominids than in the *Homo* genus. It is thought that those canals may contribute to upright balance in bipedal locomotion, and while we know from fossilized footprints and the structure of the *Australopithecus* pelvis that he must have been bipedal, he may have been less steady on his feet. *Australopithecus* was not a toolmaker, though *Australopithecus robustus* had the manual dexterity required. Non-*Homo* hominids lacked the mental capacity to conceive of tools and manufacture them, but they probably used them opportunistically—as chimpanzees can learn to use keys, for instance. Tool use only flourished in the *Homo* genus.

Homo habilis was probably the progenitor of the genus, descended from one of the australopithecines. Although his cranial capacity—and the surmised size of

his brain—was half as large as the australopithecines', it is still less than half that of modern humans', and some researchers are reluctant to include *habilis* in the genus, preferring to see him as the last of the australopithecines. *Habilis*'s arms were unusually long—like an australopithecine's—and his hips were wider. His increased brain size was enough to master the manufacture of stone tools. Tools allowed *habilis* to rely on meat as a larger part of his diet—an enormous metabolic and evolutionary benefit. A less specialized, more flexible diet allows a species to prosper in more environments and through more climatic changes.

OLDUWAN INDUSTRY

Habilis was an Olduvai tool user. The Olduvai industry is named for the Olduvai Gorge in modern-day Tanzania. In an archaeological context an *industry* refers to a related group of artifacts and the processes directly related to them—not to the people, their other practices and behaviors, or their species. (Thus *habilis* was an Olduvai user, but Olduvai users are not by definition *Homo habilis*.) The Olduvai industry is found in eastern and southern Africa as well as Europe—where a *Homo erectus* group brought it. Olduvai tools were nearly always right-handed. Lateralization—the unequal distribution of skill and tasks between the right and left hand—developed in the *Homo* genus and possibly in *Australopithecus*. Lateralization is an evolutionary puzzle, not simply because of the question of what benefit hand specialization has, but because left-handedness has existed in a minority of the population for so long that there must be a reason for its genetic preservation.

The basic method of the Olduvai industry was to strike an appropriate stone (such as obsidian or chalcedony) with another stone, called a hammer stone, which fit easily into the hand and was sufficiently hard (such as quartz). The blow would produce flakes, and the cone of force from the blow made for easily controlled fractures to give the flakes sharp cutting edges—sharp enough to cut through animal hide or saw through tendons, the fundamental tasks of early cutting tools.

ACHEULEAN AND CLACTONIAN INDUSTRIES

The Olduvai industry developed into the Acheulean and Clactonian industries, and the groups had contact with each other. Acheulean toolmakers refined Olduvai methods by using pieces of wood and bone to trim flakes through pressure instead of repeated hammer stone strikes, allowing the creation of cutting edges nearly as sharp as modern razorblades—and for the first hand-axes, made from the sharpened core the flakes left be-

hind. While the Olduvai industry was barely advanced from opportunism, consisting in crude terms of broken rocks, the Acheulean required advanced planning and intent—the province of the larger-brained *Homo erectus*.

THE HOMO SPECIES

Of the many *Homo* species that existed, seven other than *habilis* and *sapiens* (modern humans) are worth examining:

Homo rudolfensis is attested in only one specimen, a skull estimated to be 1.9 million years old. It may be a specimen of *Homo habilis*, an ancestor, or a sibling also descended from the australopithecines, but this uncertainty demonstrates that our knowledge of the human family tree is probably full of gaps that future discoveries may fill.

Homo erectus was once believed to be the oldest member of the genus but remains significant not only because of its considerable cranial capacity but because it is responsible for much of humankind's migration. *Erectus* settled in much of Africa and Southeast Asia, spreading its tool industries (Olduvai and Acheulean). *Erectus* was probably the first species to exhibit social behavior similar to modern humans', and he may have abandoned *habilis*'s scavenging to become a full-fledged hunter-gatherer. He would not have been capable of complex speech: If he had a language, his vocal system would have limited it to simple sounds. *Erectus* is the common ancestor of *Homo floresiensis*, *Homo neanderthalensis*, and *Homo sapiens*, and a relation of some sort to *Homo ergaster*.

Homo ergaster is probably a child of *erectus*. Although some believe *ergaster* came first, he has a larger cranial capacity and generally more modern features. The fossils found with *ergaster* remains suggest that he was an Acheulean tool user and had mastered fire, perhaps using it to cook food.

Homo antecessor is among the oldest human remains found in Europe and was probably the child of *erectus* and an ancestor of both *Homo sapiens* and *Homo neanderthalensis*: It is widely believed to be either the parent of *Homo heidelbergensis* or a specimen of that species, and *sapiens* to be either its child or grandchild. *Antecessor* remains have been found with manmade cuts in the bone, which could indicate either cannibalism or interspecies predation among different *Homo* species.

Homo heidelbergensis is the parent of *Homo neanderthalensis*. Though little is known of it beyond its Acheulean tool use, it may have been the first to bury its dead, and if the genus had not already developed a capacity for language with *erectus*, *heidelbergensis* may have been the first to do so.

Homo neanderthalensis is popularly known as Neanderthal Man and lived for some 200,000 years, dying off 29,000 years ago, making it one of the last relatives of modern humans. Slightly shorter, stouter, and more barrel-chested than modern humans, *neanderthalensis* had a larger cranial capacity and probably a bigger brain. He was part of the Mousterian industry, with a heavy reliance on bone, horn, and wood implements for shaping flakes—and preferred working with wood and bone over stone. Since *neanderthalensis* lived in a cold climate and through part of the last ice age, these organic materials may have been more practical than flint and obsidian, which become brittle and splinter in cold temperatures. *Neanderthalensis* may have possessed human speech: Given the shape of his larynx and the position of the tongue, it would have been higher pitched and more nasal than the modern human voice. There's considerable evidence that he buried his dead, but whether this had any religious significance is a matter of speculation.

Until very recently *neanderthalensis* was believed to be the last living member of the *Homo* genus other than *Homo sapiens*—our only cousin or sibling. In the 21st century *Homo floresiensis* remains were discovered on the Indonesian island of Flores, where island speciation had resulted in the development of giant lizards, dwarf elephants, and other creatures of atypical size. *Floresiensis*, which died out only 12,000 years ago in the Neolithic, was a furry dwarf with long arms and small brain, at the low range of chimpanzee brain size. His cranial capacity is small enough to warrant debate about whether he qualifies as a *Homo* or *Australopithecus*, but with such a late date there can be little doubt of his *Homo* parentage through some child of *erectus*. It is too soon to predict how this will change our models of prehistoric man.

Modern humans—the species *Homo sapiens*—developed in the Middle Paleolithic period, a time also marked by the mastery of fire by human species, the evolution of *neanderthalensis*, and most likely the use of fire to smoke and preserve meat. *Homo sapiens* had a greater cranial capacity than any species other than *neanderthalensis*, and it may have been luck that preserved *sapiens* while his *neanderthalensis* cousin perished: Both were expert toolmakers, and both were well adapted to many environments. *Sapiens* developed in Africa, and there are two competing theories to explain how the species populated the rest of the world.

THE ORIGIN OF MODERN HUMANS

One theory is the “out of Africa” hypothesis, also known as the “Eden” hypothesis or single-origin hy-

pothesis, which stipulates that all *Homo sapiens* stem from a common ancestral group that began in Africa and migrated elsewhere, perhaps following the migratory patterns of *erectus* (even while displacing that ancestor species). The multiregional origin hypothesis, in contrast, proposes that different ethnic groups of *Homo sapiens* developed from different groups of *Homo erectus* and did so independently. Supporters of this hypothesis believe that, facing similar evolutionary needs, *sapiens* would be the inevitable evolutionary end of *erectus* and that no common ancestor group is needed to explain the presence of *Homo sapiens* in so many different environments. While some fossil evidence can be used in support of the multiregional hypothesis, and the discovery of *Homo floresiensis* at least demonstrates that non-*sapiens* species of the *Homo* genus persisted very late into prehistory, molecular data increasingly supports the single-origin hypothesis.

REGIONALIZATION AND LANGUAGE

During the Upper Paleolithic—about 40,000 years ago—regional cultures developed, with hunter-gatherers organizing into groups with stronger ethnic ties. Generally such groups would be composed of bands of about 20 to 25 family members, with 20 bands associating together in a loose tribe. Ethnic identity—the idea of associating with these tribal members, or a related tribe, even without direct family ties—began to develop. Bone and horn were adopted as toolmaking materials, making for better darts, spears, and harpoons; barbed fish hooks and toothed tools (like primitive saws) were developed. It was also during this last stage that humans migrated to Australia (about 50,000 years ago) and the Americas (25,000 years ago).

Language may date to the Upper Paleolithic, but researchers are at odds over the question of whether a human species with the capacity of speech could have existed without developing language. There is no evidence of language use in the Middle Paleolithic, and arguments for it depend on the biological fact that the speech organs existed and the notion that advanced tool use and hunting would not have been possible without advanced communication among members of the group.

By the Upper Paleolithic it is highly likely that language had developed. Primitive art emerges at this time: the so-called Venus figurines, the first of which (made of stone, not ceramic like the Upper Paleolithic examples) actually appear in the Middle Paleolithic. Venus figurines were small, crude figurines of women with prominent stomachs from pregnancy or obesity. They have been the subject of much speculation, particularly

in the area of prehistoric religion and magic: They may have been symbols of fertility or portraits of a mother goddess. Some researchers have used them to support a theory that early cultures were religious and/or socially matriarchal. Another figurine from the middle of the Upper Paleolithic, found in a German cave, shows a statue of a lion man similar in style to various French CAVE PAINTINGS. The craftsmanship is extremely sophisticated compared to the abstraction of the Venus figurines, with facial details and incised strokes to represent fur.

The Paleolithic ended with the coming of the ice age in those parts of the world where glaciation occurred and the coming of agriculture. The Mesolithic in glaciated areas and the Epipaleolithic in the rest of the world, transitional periods leading to the Neolithic immediately prior to “early history,” followed.

See also ANDES: NEOLITHIC; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY; RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY.

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BILL KTE'PI

Palmyra

Palmyra (City of Palms), an oasis in the northeastern desert in present-day Syria, became a trading center and stopping point on the SILK ROAD as early as the 19th century B.C.E. Its importance as a trading point rose as the SELEUCID EMPIRE declined and the Palmyrenes became middlemen in trade destined for other parts of the Roman Empire. It was made a Roman protectorate in the first century C.E. whereby residents became Roman citizens, with all its benefits, but enjoying consid-

erable local autonomy. As their wealth from trade and commerce grew, Palmyrenes built lavish temples, public monuments, and elaborate stone funerary towers for the burial of their dead.

The Palmyran ruler Odaynath defeated the Sassanids in 260 C.E. and then proclaimed himself king of kings. Soon afterward he was assassinated, perhaps on orders from his wife, Queen Zenobia. Known for her beauty and ambition, Zenobia, who claimed to have descended from Cleopatra, ruled in the name of her young son. Exceedingly ambitious, she led major military battles in her own right. By 269 she ruled virtually all of Syria and then moved to invade Egypt and parts of present-day Turkey. Declaring complete independence from Rome, she had coins minted with her own image and in 271 proclaimed her son Augustus. Rome retaliated by launching a successful military attack under Domitius Aurelianus on Palmyra in 272. Aurelianus took the city and captured Zenobia. He spared the city, leaving only a small force to maintain Roman rule. Shortly thereafter Palmyra rose in revolt, and Aurelianus retaliated by having his troops pillage and raze the city, which never recovered its former glory. Zenobia was allegedly brought back to Rome in golden chains and pensioned off to live out the rest of her days in Tiber, present-day Tivoli, in Italy.

See also NABATAEANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; SASSANID EMPIRE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Panathenaic Festival

The Panathenaic Festival (Panathenaia) was Athens's most important religious celebration and the second oldest one in the region. During the festival inhabitants of Attica (*Panathenaic* means “all-Athenian”) and other parts of the empire honored the goddess Athena Polias's birthday (who had leaped from the head of Zeus, according to myth). Since Athena was the city's protector, the whole festivity had great religious and political significance.

It was traditionally celebrated around the 28th day of Hekatombion, the first month in the Athenian calendar (roughly July), in which some other minor festivals,

such as the Kronia and the Synoikia, also took place. In accordance with tradition it was King Theseus—an Athenian hero closely related to Athena—who instituted the Panathenaia, among other cults (other sources, however, point at Erichonios as its creator). Under the archonship of Hippokleides and afterward under PEISISTRATUS (566 B.C.E.) the festival was extended to include a number of athletic competitions and musical performances. The Great Panathenaia—including these games and contests—commenced every four years. Both literary and archaeological sources concerning the content of the Great Panathenaia are abundant: To some extent the PARTHENON frieze is consecrated to the depiction of several episodes of the festival's procession, and an inscriptional catalog of prizes for the contests of the early fourth century B.C.E. has been found on the Acropolis.

The Panathenaic Games, held during the large-scale festival, included solo and group contests. The athletic competition began with individual gymnastic activities, in which participants from all over the Greek world could take part: footraces (according to their distance they were called *stadion*, *diaulos*, *dolichos*, and *hippios*), wrestling, boxing, pancratium (a mixture of both boxing and wrestling), pentathlon (which included five events: jump, *stade* race or *dromos*, discus throw, javelin throw, and wrestling), four-horse and two-horse chariot races, javelin throwing from horseback, and *apobatai* (hoplites getting on and off moving chariots). Team contests were reserved to Athenian citizens and included a mock combat with cavalry (*anthippasia*), a beauty competition among athletes (*euandria*), military dancing known as the *pyrriche*, and a regatta. In general, prizes for the winners consisted of amphoras filled with olive oil, since olive trees were especially sacred to the goddess Athena.

The festival also included poetic and musical competition, open to participants from all over Greece. There was a rhapsodic contest on recitation of Homeric texts and other epic poetry, and several prizes were offered for the best singers and players of instrumental music (on the *kithara* and *aulos*). Once PERICLES had built the Odeion, these activities are believed to have taken place there. In the evening a torch race (*lampadephoria*) was organized; the fire was brought from the altar of Eros in the Academy, and a nocturnal celebration with dances and singing (*pannychis*) followed.

The Panathenaic procession, which was organized the following day, was one of the most distinctive aspects of the festival, and its origin could perhaps date from the seventh century B.C.E. Every year a special robe (*peplos*) was woven and decorated, as a gift for Athena, by working maidens (*ergastinai*) carefully chosen from

Athenian aristocratic families. Being selected to work on the cloth was an important civic honor. The parade (*pompe*) started early at the Dipylon Gate, in the northern part of the city, and walked through the Agora to the Acropolis into the Erechtheion, to finally place the new embroidered *peplos*, dyed in saffron, on a human-scale statue of Athena Polias.

Maidens with head baskets (*kanephoroi*), the *ergastinai*, and several men from all ages and classes took part in the procession as well. Even *metics* (residents of Attica who were not properly citizens) joined the procession, serving as *skaphephoroi* and carrying offerings, such as cakes and honeycombs. However, they could not follow the whole parade up to the Acropolis, as they had to stay at the gateway, or propylaia. A large hecatomb was made afterward upon the altar of Athena, and meat from sacrificed cows and sheep was used in a ritual meal at the end of the festival. Attendance to the banquet was proportionally distributed on the basis of *demes* (local districts of Attica). As a whole the Panathenaic Festival was not only the celebration of a sacred cult but also a dynamic spectacle where the power of Athens was expressed and where the ideology of political supremacy was largely confirmed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; GYMNASIUM AND ATHLETICS; OLYMPIC GAMES.

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EMILIANO J. BUIS

Parthenon

The Parthenon was built in Athens, Greece, during the fifth century B.C.E. to honor the city's patron deity, Athena. Following the Persian War, which ended in 487 B.C.E., Athens was at the height of its power. Under the leadership of PERICLES, the Athenians used war monies to begin building the Parthenon in 448 B.C.E. Architects Ictinus and Callicrates erected the temple atop the



In the 1970s, the Greeks started restoration of the Parthenon, and created measures to protect the historic structure.

southern flank of the Acropolis, the central hill of the GREEK CITY-STATE that was used for defensive and religious purposes, in 17 short years, completing the decorations by 432 B.C.E.

Built of marble from Mount Pentelicus, the Parthenon is of post-and-lintel construction, block on block without mortar. A simple Greek temple plan comprises two back-to-back halls. The smaller inner hall (the *opisthodomos*) housed the treasury and temple rites, while the Parthenon's larger main room (the *cella*) housed the statue of the goddess Athena. The short but wide *cella* is surrounded by a continuous wall of columns (the peristyle) that supports the upper elements of the structure between the tops of the columns and the roof (the entablature) on massive horizontal beams (the architrave). The *cella* also has a large front porch (the *pronaos*). The peristyle columns are of the Doric order. Doric columns are fluted and are topped by plain square or rectangular slabs, without decorated bases. The massive Doric columns have an outward curvature in the middle. This swelling, or entasis, is an architectural refinement used to correct the optical illusion from a distance that the column is disproportionately thinner in the middle than at the top and the bottom. Eight Doric columns spread across each end of the Parthenon, with 17 along each side, making the octastyle, peripteral building the largest of all Doric temples.

A colossal polychrome ivory-and-gold cult statue of the goddess Athena Parthenos (Athena, Virgin) by sculptor Phidias (c. 490–c. 430 B.C.E.) stood in the *cella*. A two-

story colonnade (*pteron*) of Doric columns supported a wooden roof above the statue. The roof of the smaller treasury hall was supported by four square-set Ionic columns, which are thinner and more delicate in scale, have decorative bases, and display ornamental scroll capitals (volute). The architect Ictinus is credited with this innovative use of the Ionic order within the Doric order. The exterior sculptural decoration of the Parthenon consisted of the metopes, pediments, and the friezes. There were 92 metopes, rectangular panels flanked by triglyphs, which are rectangular blocks containing sculptures in very high relief, above the outer colonnade.

The pediments, triangular gables at the top of the front and back of the temple, bear figures almost in the round. The birth of Athena was placed on the east pediment, and on the west, Athena's contest with the sea god Poseidon for the Athenian lands. The figure of Dionysus and the Three Goddesses from the east pediment are considered to be some of the finest extant examples of classical Greek sculpture. The frieze, a decorative sculpted band that runs horizontally along the Parthenon's entablature for 525 feet, is found above the exterior temple walls and inside the outer colonnade. These contain low-relief sculptures, which were carved in place c. 442–438 B.C.E., of a Panathenaic procession. On the north, bas-relief horsemen are preparing to mount, water bearers carry hydra, and girls and stewards follow. In the central scene on the east side a priest and an attendant holding a *peplos*, the sacred robe presented to Athena during the Panathenaia, enact a ceremony. On either side of them, seated gods look on—Hermes, Dionysus, Demeter, and Ares on the left, and Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis on the right.

In 1806 Thomas Bruce, the seventh earl of Elgin, removed many of the Parthenon sculptures and deposited them in the British Museum. Many of the Parthenon's original sculptures, hence called the "Elgin Marbles," now reside in the Acropolis Museum, the British Museum's Duveen Gallery, and the Louvre. The Parthenon existed as a temple to Athena until the fourth century C.E. During the fifth century the cult statue of Athena was taken to CONSTANTINOPLE where it was destroyed during the Fourth Crusade. Since this time the Parthenon has been used as a Christian church and a mosque. In 1687 the southern side sustained considerable damage in an explosion due to the storage of gunpowder. In 1832 when Greece gained independence, all of the medieval and Ottoman additions were removed from the Parthenon, and it became a national historic precinct of the Greek government. After 1975 the Greeks began to restore the Acropolis, including the Parthenon, and to

create measures to protect the historic structure from tourist traffic and environmental pollution. A full-scale replica of the Parthenon was built in downtown Nashville, Tennessee, in 1897 for the Centennial Exposition, and it houses a full-scale re-creation of the polychromed *Athena Parthenos* statue by sculptor Allen LeQuire.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; CLASSICAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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ALECIA HARPER

Pataliputra

Pataliputra (now Patna) is located at the confluence of the Ganges and Son Rivers in northeastern India. It was the capital city of the MAURYAN EMPIRE c. 326–184 B.C.E., when it was perhaps the largest city in the world, and again of the GUPTA EMPIRE, 320–550 C.E. ALEXANDER THE GREAT invaded northwestern India in 326 B.C.E. The invasion had a catalytic effect in inspiring an Indian prince, Chandragupta Maurya, to form the first empire on the subcontinent. Chandragupta might have met Alexander and, taking advantage of the latter's death, drove the Greek forces out of India, subdued the tribes and states in northern India, and proclaimed himself ruler at Pataliputra, the capital of a previous local state. Chandragupta fought and then made peace with Seleucus Nicator, Alexander's successor in Asia and founder of the SELEUCID EMPIRE, who sent an ambassador named MEGASTHENES to Pataliputra. Megasthenes kept a diary of his stay in India. The original account has not survived, but segments that were quoted in other ancient works give us the only firsthand information of Pataliputra.

According to Megasthenes, a wooden wall nine miles long and a mile and a half wide surrounded Pataliputra, with 470 towers and a moat that was 900 feet wide. (Modern archaeologists have excavated some huge timbers that date to the Mauryan era.) Six five-men boards in charge of industries, trade and commerce, tax collection, foreigners, vital statistics, and public works administered

the city. Megasthenes also described Chandragupta's lavish palaces, also built of wood. Nothing remains of the palace except fragments of highly polished columns. Between 250 and 240 B.C.E., Chandragupta's grandson Emperor ASHOKA (who had converted to Buddhism) convened the Third Buddhist Council at this city. The council dealt with growing dissension within Buddhism over interpretation of GAUTAMA BUDDHA's teachings and concluded with expelling the followers of the Great Vehicle, or Mahayana Buddhism, and the completion of the TRIPITAKA, or Buddhist canons.

Pataliputra declined after the fall of the Mauryan Empire until the early fourth century C.E., when a man named Chandragupta (not related to the founder of the Mauryan Empire) unified northern India and crowned himself Great King of Kings. He also made Pataliputra the capital of his dynasty (320–c. 550 C.E.). Another foreigner, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim named FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN) who traveled widely in India between 405 and 411 C.E., provided an account of the city under the Guptas. He described a great, opulent, and largely crime-free city. Religion flourished, with Buddhist temples and priests co-existing with Hinduism. He also recounted the hospitals in the capital city where the poor received free treatment. Another Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuan Zang (Hsuan-tsang) traveled to India during the early seventh century, studying, lecturing, and visiting Buddhist sites and writing extensively about his travels. He visited Pataliputra but recorded that little remained of that once glorious city. Earthquakes in the region, the hot climate, and the wooden construction of the structures have left little for archaeologists to retrieve from a once great city.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Patriarchs, biblical

Abraham begins the discussion of the Patriarchs and, indeed, of the three modern world religions. The record

of his life is found in the Jewish scriptures and is largely reaffirmed in the New Testament of the Christians and assumed by the Qur'an. After Abraham the interpretation of the other biblical Patriarchs head in different directions, with the Jews and the Christians paying heed to Abraham's second-born son, born of his wife Sarah, and the Muslims following the line of Ishmael (Arabic: Ismail), Abraham's first-born son, born of his female slave Hagar.

The details of Abraham's life in the Jewish Bible are sometimes sketchy, sometimes biographical. Abraham came from the FERTILE CRESCENT, wandering from UR to Harran (Carrhae), in the region of EDESSA. His travels conform to known Amorite migratory patterns, and his lifestyle as a shepherd or trader also was consistent with the Mesopotamian world of the 20th–17th centuries B.C.E. He received a divine command to continue his journey farther into the far-flung corner of the Fertile Crescent, to the land of Canaan. He was promised many descendants and much land. Though the promises are repeated several times, the biblical narrative tells of Abraham's frequent trials and travails, which ultimately prevent him from realizing the fulfillment of the divine promise.

First, as Abraham waited many years for a descendant to be born, he attempted to establish his own family line by selecting his chief servant to be heir. Then, after decades of waiting, he begot a son through his wife's Egyptian servant—an ancient custom in Mesopotamia. This son was called Ishmael, and he is the one that Muslims revere as the beginning of the line leading to their prophet Muhammad. Only when Abraham had nearly reached the age of 100 did his elderly wife bear a son, whose name was Isaac, through whom the nation of ISRAEL would flourish. Though Abraham had at least one other son by another woman, no others fit into the divine promise. For Jews and for Muslims, it is only one son (either Ishmael or Isaac) upon whom the promise devolves.

Second, as the only son of the divine promise grew older, the Hebrew God ordered Abraham to make a child sacrifice to him. Abraham dutifully obeyed, and was prevented at the last minute from executing his fatal sacrificial blow. The Jewish Bible names this son as Isaac, but the Qur'an says that he was Ishmael. Both the Jewish and Islamic faiths venerate the place where the human sacrifice would have occurred (for Jews, Jerusalem; for Muslims, Hira) as a site of PILGRIMAGE or holy ground.

Third, Abraham spent his life as a pilgrim and resident alien in the land of Canaan, owning no land though his promised expanse included the territories southwest of the Euphrates all the way to the Mediterranean Sea (modern-day Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, and Palestine). When his wife died some 37 years after the birth of Isaac,

he had nowhere to bury her in this "promised land," until he negotiated for property from the local people. Though he was wealthy and respected, he died at age 175 without any land for his own burial, save his wife's tomb.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims all claim a share in Abraham's life, but historians also take into account what holy books teach about Abraham. Some of the main issues include monotheism, pilgrimage, and chosen people and lands. Out of polytheistic Mesopotamia Abraham was called to worship one transcendent divinity not connected to nature—this is monotheism. He left his Fertile Crescent home, his family, and his ethnic identity—this is pilgrimage. He maintained his unique claim to a new land and ethnic identity—that he chose. And all three of these elements are pillars of each of the "Abrahamic" religions.

Ishmael would have been the recipient of his father's favor and wealth, as the first-born. However, Isaac's jealous mother drove him and his mother out of the camp. Nonetheless, the Bible gives a generally favorable impression of him: he was father of 12 sons, who were in turn the progenitors of 12 tribes—like the Patriarch of Israel, Jacob. He was present at his father's burial. His ancestors are depicted as nomads and associated with Israel's neighbors and therefore not recipients of Abraham's divine promise. According to the New Testament, Isaac symbolizes that the divine promise is not by blood but by divine grace and sovereignty. Muslims reject this interpretation and see in the jealousy of Isaac's mother her recognition that the promise is upon Ishmael. Isaac's life was lived in the shadows of his father, Abraham, and his famous son Jacob. Only two later-life events are narrated: his marriage, arranged by his father, and his deathbed testament, manipulated by his son.

One-quarter of Genesis focuses on Jacob, and there is much material that corroborates with what is known of the second millennium B.C.E. The picture of him is not altogether flattering. He was born clutching his older brother's heel, as if he was reluctant to let him be first born. He manipulated his brother out of his inheritance, tricked his father out of his deathbed blessing, and struggled with a divine being to obtain his own ends. When he tried to barter for a wife in Mesopotamia, he tasted the bitterness of his own medicine as he was cheated out of work, wife, and time.

Through his wives Jacob had 12 sons, all of whom became leaders of the 12 tribes of Israel. Before Jacob's days ended he endured one more draught of the poison that he had brewed in his youthful days. His sons carried out a conspiracy to sell his favorite son into slavery and concealed it by blaming his disappearance on

wild animals. Only in his twilight years, after Jacob has been forced to leave the “promised land,” did he find out that his favorite son was alive. From ancient Egypt Jacob delivered his final speech, speaking of his implicit faith that he would be buried in Canaan. His speech is some of the oldest poetry in the Bible.

The favorite son, sold as a slave to Egypt, was Joseph, the final Patriarch of the Bible. Joseph’s story makes up 25 percent of Genesis, but he is rarely mentioned outside this book. Once Joseph is in Egypt he ascends to the highest office in the land, steward to the PHARAOH. From that position he is able to provide refuge for his starving family, who comes from Canaan to Egypt. Its literary role is to bring the Jewish salvation history to Egypt, where MOSES will arise and lead the people out of Egypt. Yet the story also has a religious message: Repentance and forgiveness can save even the most dysfunctional and divided family.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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MARK F. WHITTERS

patricians

The society of the Roman Republic and ROMAN EMPIRE was made up of several levels. At the top were the patrician classes of senator and equestrian. The commoner classes of plebeians, freed peoples, and slaves had fewer opportunities in life. However, these social and political classes maintained order and structure in Roman culture. They created the first socially mobile culture in history. The Roman emperor held the title of *princeps senatus* (chief senator) and could appoint new senators, preside over the Senate, and propose new legislation. The real power of the Senate was in its judicial functions, mainly its right to crown the new emperor.

Senators were considered a political class of citizen. The Senate was made up of 600 men who were either the sons of senators or Roman citizens over the age of 25 with military and administrative experience. The senate class included all men who served in the Senate and their

families. These were mostly nobles or families whose ancestors included at least one elected consul. The first male in each family elected to the position of consul was given the title *novus homo*, meaning “new man.” In order to be considered a senator a Roman citizen had to accumulate 1 million sesterces of wealth and property. Senators were granted special privileges, priority seating at sporting events and theater productions, and the right to hold the highest judicial offices. Senators wore a gold senatorial ring and a *tunica clava* with a five-inch-wide purple stripe on the right shoulder. Children of these patricians often had private tutors to educate them. They even had their own bedrooms, toys, and slaves.

Families of senators usually had two homes, one in the city for business and one in the countryside for leisure, run by slaves. These homes usually had comforts such as running water, sewage, luxury furniture, and private baths. Wealthy patricians would display gold drinking and eating vessels as well as intricate mosaics decorating the walls. They would entertain political and social guests at large banquets, often accompanied by music and dancing. Despite these privileges senators had several restrictions placed on them. Serving the republic or the empire earned them no salary. They could not personally engage in nonagricultural businesses. They were also forbidden to practice trade or bid on public contracts.

Equestrians were the lower social group among the patricians. The basis for this class was economic in nature. A citizen had to possess 400,000 sesterces of wealth during the rule of AUGUSTUS CAESAR to become an equestrian. Emperor Augustus reorganized this social class into a military class. Equestrians were the “knights” of the Roman Empire’s cavalry and were granted a “public horse” with which to defend Rome. Equestrians were either landed plebeians or the sons of senators who had not yet entered the quaestorship at 25 years of age. Citizens of this class also had special privileges that even the senators did not have: They were allowed to be merchants and commercial traders. Equestrians held civil-service jobs such as tax collector, banker, exporter, and administrator of public contracts. They displayed their rank on a white tunic with a one-inch-wide purple stripe over the right shoulder (the *angusti clavi*). Equestrians rarely became senators.

Plebeians were the lowest class of free citizens. They were the working class of Rome and the main taxpayers. Most jobs were hereditary, and they usually worked as subsistence farmers or as sharecroppers of wealthy patricians. They could also be bakers, artisans, masons, or carpenters. None of these occupations paid very well, and most plebeians struggled to provide for their family.

Plebeians usually lived in apartment homes called *insulae*. These homes were usually built of wood and were extremely susceptible to fire since running water was not available. As the *insulae* were without kitchens, families would purchase meals consisting of coarse bread, bean or pea soup, porridge, and, if the family saved enough, chicken or rabbit once a month. Plebeians lived in very unsanitary conditions: Two families often shared one-room apartments, and chamber pots were often emptied out into the street below.

There were very few ways for a plebeian to advance socially. The first was to save enough sesterces to become an equestrian. Another way to advance was to be adopted by a patrician family. Plebeians could earn equestrian titles by achieving any of the three highest military awards: *Coronae Graminea*, *Civica*, or *Aurea*. The final opportunity for social advancement was in politics. Plebeians could seek election as a tribune of the plebs. He was elected by the Assembly of the Citizens and was the only plebeian allowed to participate in Senate meetings. After a six-month term, tribunes automatically became a member of the Senate and the equestrian order.

Roman social and political classes provided the world with new concepts of citizenship. These concepts included placing limitations on the upper class as well as opportunities for the lower classes to advance themselves. They revolutionized the way the Western world looked at society.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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GEORGE DERR

Patrick

(c. 390–461 C.E.) *Christian leader*

The folklore surrounding St. Patrick is bigger than life, out of proportion to the modest historical information we have. But it is not so outlandish in comparison to the impact he had on Ireland. Patrick began his mission precisely at the time that Celtic spirituality was coming out of the shadows of the Roman Empire and the Western LATIN CHURCH. Patrick was born in Britain as Roman imperial order waned. He was kidnapped by Irish pirates at the age of 15 and sent to Ireland as a slave for six years. Most likely during this period Patrick devel-

oped a rapport with his captors and learned their native Gaelic language. Though he was born into a Christian and Romanized family, he was not particularly religious until his imprisonment. He began to pray and had some kind of religious experience, an assurance that he would be delivered. He was converted in Ireland.

He escaped from his captors, returned to his homeland, and began studies for the priesthood. It is not certain where he did his studies, but he might have traveled to GAUL where he read and wrote in Latin and learned the particulars of the monastic life. There he had another religious experience, a dream, which confirmed for him that he was to return to Ireland as a missionary. Perhaps as early as 432 C.E. the pope commissioned Patrick as bishop to spread Christianity among the Irish people. He resolutely set off for this remote and dangerous island, never to return to the Romanized world. He probably worked in the northern parts of the island, leaving the south, where there were pockets of Christianity, to the first bishop of Ireland, Palladius. He spent his time consulting and conciliating among local Irish chieftains, educating their sons, preaching among the Celtic peoples, and eventually institutionalizing the Irish church through native ordinations and the establishment of monasteries.

For more than 30 years his work was difficult and exhausting. He was not as inclined to scholarship and writing as he was to hard work and prayer. Thus, he left behind only two compositions: *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, a piece that criticizes the British military authorities for their harsh treatment of Celtic Christians, and *Confession*, an autobiographical apologia for his life and mission.

The popular stories of miracles involving snakes and shamrocks are the stuff of medieval legends. His writings mentioned above show that Patrick was a devoted and prayerful pastor of his Irish flock, yet conscious of the need to submit to the mainline Latin Church. His creeds and doctrines were most likely quite conventional. Nonetheless, he also allowed for the indigenous church to develop its own monastic forms, and Irish abbots and monasteries soon assumed their dominant position that typified Celtic spirituality. The Western Church celebrates his feast day on March 17.

See also BRENDAN THE NAVIGATOR; CELTS; MONASTICISM.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Paul

(1st century C.E.) *religious leader*

Paul has had an immense influence on Christianity in particular and Western civilization in general. Among those who were influenced by Paul are AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and John Wesley. Paul's letters, written between 51 and 59 C.E., are the most important sources of information about him. The New Testament contains 13 letters bearing his name. Of these, nine are written to churches (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians), and four are written to individuals (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon). Scholars dispute the genuineness of six of these letters (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians). Church tradition also included Hebrews among Paul's letters, but scholars today almost universally reject Paul as its author. Another important source of information about Paul is Acts of the Apostles.

Paul was born to a Jewish family in Tarsus of Cilicia (southern Turkey) around the turn of the first century C.E. In those days Tarsus was the third most important educational center in the Roman Empire, after Athens and Rome. It was also a cosmopolitan port city that became home to rich crosscurrents of cultures and ideas. Paul was a Roman citizen by birth and had at least a secondary education in Greek. According to Acts, he studied in Jerusalem under a renowned rabbi named Gamaliel. He was also a persecutor of the church. Sometime in the early 30s C.E., as he made a journey toward DAMASCUS in Syria to apprehend followers of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, he experienced a dramatic conversion when the resurrected Jesus appeared to him in a vision and told him to bring the good news of his resurrection—called “the gospel”—to the Gentiles. Paul never met Jesus in real life, and some of his contemporaries challenged his claim to be an apostle. Notwithstanding, between 50 and 60 C.E. he emerged as the most influential (albeit controversial) and widely traveled spokesperson of the gospel in primitive Christianity.

Paul became the primitive church's most successful missionary to the Gentiles. In fact, Christianity owes its basic Gentile character to Paul's mission. He conducted aggressive missionary campaigns throughout the area that is now Syria, Turkey, and Greece. The focal point of controversy in his missionary activity and several of his letters was circumcision. He rejected circumcision (along with “the works of the law”) and insisted that faith in Christ is sufficient for salvation and admission to the Christian community. Paul worked in major cit-

ies of the empire. For example, Corinth and Philippi were Roman colonies where military veterans settled with privileges. Colonies were the highest-ranking cities of the empire, each being a miniature Rome. Paul delivered his gospel to the heart of the Roman political system, hoping to spread it throughout the empire. He succeeded beyond his wildest imagination. Paul's letters abound with imagery taken from the Roman games and military. In addition, like the Roman writer CICERO, Paul selected and synthesized materials from diverse sources. This practice (called eclecticism) helped him appeal to a wide audience.

Paul was the most able theologian of the primitive church. First, he argued that humans are saved by faith in God's free grace that was revealed in the death and resurrection of his Son, Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth (known as the Christ event). Paul's second argument was that every person deserves to be treated with equality and dignity, regardless of race, social rank, or gender, because he or she is a redeemed creature of God. His third and most important argument was that Jesus Christ, as the crucified one, fulfills all the promises in the Jewish scriptures (the Old Testament). Other New Testament writers also held similar views, but only Paul was able to articulate their complex reasoning.

Paul's theology is a blend of Judaism and Hellenism. As a faithful Jew, Paul accepted the Jewish scriptures as the revelation of God. Paul quoted mostly from the Greek translation of these scriptures, the Septuagint (or LXX), which was widely used by the Greek-speaking Jews. He also made Jewish monotheism a foundational assumption of his theology. However, Paul differed from later Jewish sources mainly in his approach to the TORAH (the Law of Moses). These rabbinic sources were written at least a century after Paul and represent modifications made to Judaism after the fall of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. Paul built his theology mostly on the narrative portions of the Torah, such as the creation, Adam's fall, and Abraham's experiences. In contrast, the later rabbinic sources focused primarily on the legal portions of the Torah, such as the laws of purity.

Paul's writings also exhibit Hellenistic characteristics. He wrote in Greek, using Hellenistic rhetorical devices. Also, his moral exhortations resemble the ethical teachings of the Stoics and Cynics. Like these Hellenistic philosophical schools, Paul highlighted the importance of self-control through lists of virtues and vices and household codes of ethics (*Haustafeln*). Moreover, many scholars feel that Paul's teachings about Christ's death and resurrection resemble the myths attached to Hellenistic MYSTERY CULTS. Whatever may be the case,

Paul's immense influence ultimately came from his extensive missionary work among the Gentiles and his powerful ideas about God's transforming grace. Paul eventually went to Rome as a prisoner and died there as a martyr in the early 60s C.E. under NERO.

See also HELLENIZATION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MISHNAH; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; STOICISM; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

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P. RICHARD CHOI

Pax Romana

Pax Romana, two Latin words meaning "Roman peace," refers to the historical period between 27 B.C.E. and 180 C.E. Unlike former times, it was a long period of relative peace, although Rome still fought a number of wars against neighboring states and tribes. The arts and architecture flourished, along with commerce, the economy, and political stability.

The 200-year Pax Romana period consisted of four ages: the Augustus age (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), the Julio-Claudian dynasty age (14–69 C.E.), the Flavian dynasty age (69–96 C.E.), and the Five Good Emperors age (96–180 C.E.).

AGE OF AUGUSTUS, OR THE PRINCIPATE

In 44 B.C.E. several members of the Roman Senate assassinated one of the greatest Roman rulers, JULIUS CAESAR. This was just one month after he had declared himself dictator of the Roman world, abolishing the Roman Republic. Before his death Julius Caesar and two men, Gaius Cassius and POMPEY, had formed the First TRIUMVIRATE, which did not have official support and did not rule. Later, Octavian, who was Julius's Caesar great-nephew and adopted son, learned that Marcus Junius Brutus and Cassius, one of the members of the First Triumvirate, were guilty of assassinating Julius Caesar. Octavian, together with Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who were Caesar's principal colleagues, formed the Second Triumvirate in 43 B.C.E.

As years went by, political and personal differences grew between Antony and Octavian. Antony married Octavian's sister but then abandoned her to be with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with whom he had three children. Meanwhile, Octavian built a network of allies in Rome and spread propaganda that Antony was becoming less than Roman because of his preoccupation with Egyptian affairs and traditions. These tensions finally resulted in a military conflict decided at the Battle of Actium, where Antony was defeated.

Octavian emerged as the sole master of the Roman world. In January 27 B.C.E. Octavian appeared before the Roman Senate and laid down his military supremacy over Egypt, which created the First Settlement between him and the Senate. Augustus closed the Temple of Janus for the first time in 200 years as a sign that peace had finally returned to the empire. Besides giving him authority over the western half of the empire, the Senate also gave him the title *augustus*, an honorific title meaning majestic, and *princeps*, meaning first citizen among equals. According to the new Augustus, with his mandate, the Republic had been restored.

Augustus's main achievement was to set up an empire that was able to maintain a peace for many centuries. AUGUSTUS CAESAR initiated a public works program that gave citizens jobs and increased his popularity among the people of Rome. Since access to the provinces was essential for control, Augustus made sure that the roads were kept in repair and in some cases rebuilt. He replaced the facades of many temples and state buildings with marble, completed many buildings that had been started by Julius Caesar, and built many new buildings on his own. Among these was the Forum of Augustus, including the temple of Mars Ultor.

Augustus's interests lay in the administration and management of government. To this end he revised the layout of the city by dividing the metropolis into 14 *regiones*, or wards, with more than 250 precincts, and extended the limits of the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city). He appointed a board of *curatores* to help oversee the maintenance of public buildings, roads, and the water supply. An element that was key to his administration, as well as that of future emperors, was the development of the Praetorian Guard, the elite military unit of the ROMAN EMPIRE. It was the only legion allowed in Rome and served not only as the police force for the city of Rome but the police force for the country of Italy as well.

Augustus used religion to reorganize the state and to establish his own rule. He assumed the title of *pontifex maximus* (head priest) and revived old religious traditions like the Lupercalia festival to further associ-

ate the emperor with the state cult. He also promoted the cult of emperor as divine by building a temple to the Divine Julius. His views on morality extended to laws regarding adultery, unchastity, and bribery.

During Augustus's age the empire developed an efficient postal service, fostered free trade among the provinces, and built many bridges, aqueducts, and buildings adorned with works of art created in the classical style. Literature flourished, with writers including Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Livy all living under the emperor's patronage.

AGE OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN DYNASTY

During this age Rome reached the height of its power and wealth; it may be seen as the golden age of Roman literature and arts, but it was also a period of imperial extravagance and notoriety. The Julio-Claudians were Roman nobles with an impressive ancestry, but their fondness for the ideals and lifestyle of the old aristocracy created conflicts of interest and duty.

The dynasty is so named from the *nomina*, or family names, of its first two emperors: Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus and Tiberius Claudius Nero. Octavianus was a descendant from the *gens* Julia (the Julian family), while Tiberius was a scion of the *gens* Claudia. When Augustus died leaving no sons, his stepson Tiberius succeeded him. Tiberius's government ruled from 14 to 37 C.E. and was the first of the Julio-Claudian EMPERORS. His early years were peaceful, securing for Tiberius the power of Rome and enriching its treasury. However, with time, having been blamed for the death of his nephew Germanicus, Tiberius began a series of treason trials, executions, and persecutions against those he believed to be traitors. Tiberius entered into a state of paranoia that lasted until his death in 37 C.E.

At the time of Tiberius's death most who might have succeeded him had been brutally murdered. The logical successor (and Tiberius's own choice) was his grand-nephew, Germanicus's son Gaius (better known as Caligula) who seized power in 37. Caligula may have suffered from epilepsy and was probably insane, ordering many absurd actions. In 41 the commander of the guard Cassius Chaerea assassinated Caligula. The only member of the imperial family left to take charge was his uncle, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus.

Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, or Claudius, began his rule in 41. Unlike his uncle Tiberius or his nephew Caligula, Claudius was skilled at administering the empire's affairs. He improved the bureaucracy and led the citizenship and senatorial rolls. Claudius's main achievement was to encourage the conquest and colonization of

Britain and eastern provinces into the empire. He also ordered the construction of a winter port for Rome, at Ostia, thereby providing a place for grain from other parts of the empire to be brought in inclement weather.

Rome prospered during the reign of Claudius. He engaged in a vast program of public works, including aqueducts, canals, and the development of Ostia as the port of Rome. Claudius married his niece Agrippina the Younger, whose son Lucius Domitius Nero, better known as NERO, became his successor at only 16 years of age, after the death of Claudius in 54. At first Nero left the rule of Rome to his mother and his tutors but became more ambitious and had his mother and tutors executed. Under Nero's rule, the frontiers of the empire were successfully defended and even extended. Nero was a patron of the arts; his coins and imperial inscriptions are among the finest ever produced in Rome. After a great fire destroyed half of Rome in 64 he spent huge sums on rebuilding the city and a vast new imperial palace, the so-called Domus Aurea, or Golden House, whose architectural forms were as innovative as they were extravagant. Nero antagonized the upper class, confiscating large private estates in Italy and putting many leading figures to death. His tendency toward despotism, as well as his failure to keep the loyalty of the Roman legions, led to civil strife and opposition to his reign.

Nero committed suicide in 69, a year of civil war known as the Year of the Four Emperors, with Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian ruling as emperors in quick succession. Nero was the last emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

AGE OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

The Flavians, although a relatively short-lived dynasty, helped restore stability to a declining empire. The reforms and rule of the three FLAVIAN EMPERORS helped create a stable empire that would last well into the third century C.E. However, their background as a military dynasty led to further irrelevancy of the Senate, and the move from *princeps*, or "first citizen," to *imperator*, or "emperor," was finalized during their reign.

Seizing power at the age of 60, Vespasian became emperor in 69 C.E. Vespasian increased the number of senators from 200 to 1,000, most of the new senators coming not from Rome but from Italy and urban centers within the western provinces. Vespasian liberated Rome from the financial burdens placed upon it by Nero's excesses and the civil wars. To do this he not only increased taxes but created new forms of taxation. It was he who first commissioned the Roman Colosseum (Flavian

Amphitheater). In addition, he allotted sizable subsidies to the arts. Perhaps the most important military reform he undertook was the extension of legion recruitment from exclusively Italy to GAUL and Spain, in line with the Romanization of those areas. He ruled until 79.

After Vespasian's death, his eldest son, Titus—who had served as a general under his father—seized power in 79. He quickly proved his merit, even recalling many exiled by his father as a show of good faith. However, his short reign was marked by disaster: In 79 Mount Vesuvius erupted in POMPEII, and in 80 a fire destroyed much of Rome's population. His generosity in rebuilding after these tragedies made him very popular.

Titus died of an unknown illness and was succeeded by his younger brother, Titus Flavius Domitianus, or Domitian, in 81. After a series of catastrophes in Rome (the great fires of 64 and 80 C.E., and the civil wars of 68–69 C.E.), Domitian erected, restored, or completed more than 50 public buildings. As an administrator, Domitian soon proved to be a disaster. The economy came to a halt and then went into recession, forcing him to heavily devalue the denarius (silver currency of the Roman Empire). Taxes were raised and discontent soon followed. Domitian's greatest passions were the arts and the games. He finished the Colosseum, started by his father, and implemented the Capitoline Games in 86. Like the Olympic Games, they were to be held every four years, including athletic displays and chariot races, but they also included oratory, music, and acting competitions. He was also very fond of gladiator shows and added important innovations like female and dwarf gladiator fights.

In 85 Domitian made himself *censor perpetuus*, “censor for life,” and thus took charge of the conduct and morals of Rome. He was not much of a military figure, and his campaigns were minor at best. In 96 he was murdered in a palace coup. That same day Nerva succeeded Domitian. His reputation in the Senate aside, he kept the people of Rome happy through various measures, including donations to every resident of Rome, wild spectacles in the newly finished Colosseum, and continuing the public works projects of his father and brother. He had the good fiscal sense of his father, because although he spent lavishly, his successors came to power with a well-endowed treasury. He was murdered in 96, closing the Flavian dynasty age.

AGE OF THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS

With Domitian's death began what 18th-century historian Edward Gibbon called the Age of the Five Good Emperors, a long period that lasted from year 96 until 180 C.E. The succession was peaceful, though not dy-

nastic, and the empire was prosperous. Under the Five Good Emperors the frontiers of the empire were consolidated to the north and to the east. Under Emperor TRAJAN the empire's borders briefly achieved their maximum extension, with provinces created in Mesopotamia in 117 C.E. The bureaucracy was opened up to all social classes, trade and agriculture flourished, and there was much public building.

Although things did seem to be getting better, there were problems on the horizon. Barbarian pressures were mounting. There was a considerable decline in the slave population, and the army was no longer large enough to maintain the frontier. As a result, Emperor MARCUS AURELIUS, the last of the Five Great Emperors, spent most of his time defending the frontier and spent very little time in Rome. Following his death in 180, the imperial office passed to his 19-year-old son, another Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.

The first of the Five Good Emperors was Marcus Cocceius Nerva, also known as Nerva, who became Roman emperor in 96 and had a short ruling period until 98. He released those imprisoned for treason, banned future prosecutions for treason, restored much confiscated property, and involved the Roman Senate in his rule. He probably did so as a means to remain relatively popular (and therefore alive), but this did not completely aid him. In October 97 the Praetorian Guard laid siege to the Imperial Palace on the Palatine Hill and took Nerva hostage. Nerva then adopted Trajan, a commander of the armies on the German frontier, as his successor shortly thereafter in order to bolster his own rule.

After Nerva's death, in 98 Marcus Ulpius Traianus, or Trajan, became the second good Roman emperor. Trajan was different from other emperors, being from Seville, in Spain. During his military career Trajan had won distinction in the Parthian, German, and Dacian campaigns. He spent most of his time away from Rome in military campaigns. As a result, in 177 the Roman Empire reached its maximum territorial extent ever. His internal administration was sound, and he kept up a policy of public works across the empire. Perhaps the most ambitious military man since Julius Caesar, Trajan suffered a stroke and died in 117.

Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus, also known as HADRIAN, was Trajan's successor. Despite his excellence as a military administrator, Hadrian's reign was marked by a lack of major military conflicts. He surrendered Trajan's conquests in Mesopotamia, considering them to be indefensible. There was almost a war with Parthia around 121, but the threat was averted when Hadrian succeeded in negotiating a peace. His only military vic-

tory was obtained in Judaea when his army crushed a massive Jewish uprising in 132–135 C.E.

Hadrian's policies were defensive, the most famous of these being the massive Hadrian's Wall in Britain. The Danube and Rhine borders were strengthened with a series of mostly wooden fortifications, forts, outposts, and watchtowers, the latter improving communications and local area security. To maintain troop morale, Hadrian established intensive drill routines, and personally inspected the armies.

Hadrian also patronized the arts: Hadrian's Villa at Tibur (Tivoli) was the greatest Roman example of an Alexandrian garden. In Rome the Pantheon built by Agrippa was enriched under Hadrian and took the form in which it remains to this day. Hadrian was famous for his love relationship with a Greek youth, Antinoüs. While touring Egypt, Antinoüs mysteriously drowned in the Nile in 130. In his honor, Hadrian founded the Egyptian city of Antinopolis. Hadrian drew the whole empire into his mourning, making Antinoüs the last new god of antiquity.

Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus Pius, or Pius, followed Hadrian. His governing period spanned from 138 to 161. He built temples, theaters, and mausoleums, promoted the arts and sciences, and rewarded teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. His reign was comparatively peaceful; there were several military disturbances throughout the empire in his time, but none was serious.

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, better known as Marcus Aurelius, followed Pius and became the fifth and last of the Five Good Emperors. Aurelius was Pius's nephew and adopted son. Marcus Aurelius was almost constantly at war. Germanic tribes and others launched many raids along the long European border. Marcus Aurelius sent Verus to command the legions in the east. Verus could command the full loyalty of the troops but was also powerful enough to have little incentive to overthrow Marcus. This plan succeeded, and commander Verus remained loyal until his death on campaign in 169. Marcus Aurelius probably sent out the first of several Roman embassies to China. Aurelius died in 180. Marcus Aurelius's successor, Commodus, was a political and military outsider, as well as an extreme egotist. Many historians believe that the decline of Rome began under Commodus. For this reason Aurelius's death is often held to have been the end of the Pax Romana.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: FOUNDING; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

Peisistratus

(c. 605–527 B.C.E.) *Athenian leader*

Peisistratus (Pisistratus) was tyrant of Athens and led the drive for the unification of Attica, which enabled the city-state to achieve an eminent position in Greek history. Peisistratus was related to the reformer SOLON, whose previous administrative improvements involved ending the monopoly of power exercised by the aristocracy and the implementation of a less savage code of law. Peisistratus would ultimately build on the work of Solon and move Athens toward a state run by plural political and economic interests. He was seemingly not averse to theatrical stunts to entertain and sway the masses, from whom he appears to have received a considerable level of support. This was particularly true of the rural and poorer people, whose support he eventually rewarded with the granting of land loans.

Although political monopoly had been ended, different factions led by aristocratic families contended for power. Two in particular were influential: the Coast of Megacles and the Plain of Lycurgus. Peisistratus organized his own faction, the Hills, based on his native eastern part of Attica, and sought the support of Megacles by marrying one of his daughters. He managed briefly to unite enough lesser interests to seize power in 560 B.C.E. and govern from the Acropolis. However, this was briefly held, and his life was interspersed with periods of warfare, exile, and hardship. During exile in northern Greece, he gained control of silver mines and obtained support from factions on Naxos, in THEBES, and on the island of Euboea. This enabled him to mobilize an army with which he invaded Attica and conquered Athens, attacking while his enemy was asleep. This time his ownership of power was much lengthier, and he was able to cement his position until his death, after which his sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded him.

Peisistratus supported religion and the arts, and various cultural institutions flourished during his period of

influence. It is inaccurate to characterize Athens as being a democracy in the modern sense, but under Peisistratus some democratic elements were preserved and strengthened. The economy was also improved, and coinage was introduced during this period. His life and times are recorded in the *Histories* of HERODOTUS, which show him to be a man of resolve and resource.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES.

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JOHN WALSH

Peloponnesian War

The Peloponnesian War was a Greek conflict fought by the Peloponnesian League, led by Sparta, and the Athenian Empire. The war lasted 27 years, from 431 to 404 B.C.E., with a six-year truce in the middle, and ended with an Athenian surrender. The war involved much of the Mediterranean world, and large-scale campaigns and intense fighting took place from the coast of Asia Minor to Sicily and from the Hellespont and Thrace to Rhodes. The conflict is often viewed as an archetypal case of warfare between a commercial democracy and an agricultural aristocracy and of warfare between maritime and continental superpowers. Thucydides, an Athenian general and historian, documented the events of the conflict in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. It was, consequently, the first war in history to be recorded by an eyewitness and talented historian.

Historians posit multiple causes for the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides argued that the underlying cause of the war was Sparta's fear of growing Athenian power during the fifth century B.C.E. This perspective is supported by the well-documented rise and power of Athens in the 50 years prior to the outbreak of the war. After a coalition of Greek cities, which included both Athens and Sparta, defeated a Persian invasion of Greece, several of these states formed a more formal coalition called the Delian League in 478 B.C.E. The

purpose of the league was to enhance economic ties and establish a navy to deter further Persian aggression. Athens was afforded leadership of the league, which gave it control over the league's treasury.

Through a series of political maneuvers by Athens in the decades following the creation of the league, the coalition was transformed into an Athenian-dominated empire. After 445 B.C.E. the Athenian leader PERICLES began consolidating Athenian resources and expanded the Athenian navy to such an extent that its power was without equal in Greece. In 433 B.C.E. Pericles forged an alliance with another strong naval power, Corcyra, which was the chief rival of Sparta's ally Corinth. These actions greatly enhanced Athenian power and, conversely, weakened the power of other Greek cities, particularly those who were members of Sparta's Peloponnesian League. Athenian naval dominance allowed them to control virtually all sea trade, which threatened the supply of food from Sicily to cities in the Peloponnese, including Sparta. Furthermore, Athens boycotted cities that resisted its growing power, including Sparta's ally Megara. It was on these grounds that Corinth demanded that Sparta take up arms against the Athenian empire. The appeal was backed by Megara—nearly ruined by Pericles's economic boycott—and by Aegina, a reluctant member of the Athenian Empire.

The actual outbreak of fighting in 431 B.C.E. sprung from Sparta's desire to capitalize on a moment of Athenian weakness. The city of Potidaea, a subject member of the Athenian empire, revolted in the spring of 432 B.C.E. The rebel city held out until the winter of 430 B.C.E. and its blockade by Athens meant a constant drain on Athenian naval and military resources.

Sparta's leaders were so confident of a quick and easy victory over Athens that they refused an offer of arbitration made by Pericles. Instead, Sparta issued an ultimatum that would have practically destroyed Athens's imperial power. Pericles urged his people to refuse, and Sparta declared war.

Hostilities began in 431 B.C.E. with a Theban attack on Athens's ally, Platea, and 80 days later by a Peloponnesian invasion of Attica. Now capable of invading Attica through the Megarid, Sparta did so numerous times through 425 B.C.E. Sparta only curtailed these attacks when Athens captured a number of Spartan hoplites and held them hostage. At first, on Pericles' advice, the Athenians employed a defensive strategy, taking refuge inside the walls surrounding the city and the port of Piraeus, and limiting offensive operations to brief cavalry missions, raids into the Peloponnese, and a series of invasions of the Megarid.

However, following Pericles' death in 429 B.C.E. and the failed Mytilenean revolt in 427 B.C.E., Athens adopted a more offensive strategy. This included establishing bases on the Peloponnesian coast. Athens also attempted to force Boeotia's surrender through a pair of elaborate invasions, the second of which ended in a stunning defeat at Delium in 424 B.C.E. The Spartans marched overland to Chalcidice and, through persuasion and threats, convinced a number of Athens's allies to join the Spartan cause. Brasidas's own death in battle outside Amphipolis in 422 B.C.E. and that of the Athenian demagogue Cleon led to the conclusion of a temporary peace.

The peace was unsatisfactory to many of Sparta's allies, and the Athenian ALCIBIADES created an anti-Spartan coalition in the Peloponnese. At the Battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.E. the Spartans were victorious. With Sparta's position in the Peloponnese once more secure, Alcibiades turned elsewhere for a field in which to exercise his talents, and in 415 B.C.E. Athens sent an expedition to Sicily, where he served as one of three commanders. Historians believe it was either a preemptive strike to prevent Syracuse from conquering the island and providing military aid to the Spartan-led coalition in the Peloponnese, or simply to bolster a long-held Athenian interest in the island. Regardless, the expedition ended in disaster in 413 B.C.E. During the siege Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to face charges of sacrilege but fled to Sparta rather than stand trial.

In the meantime, mainland Greece had once more slipped into open warfare. The Athenians raided the Peloponnese, while the Spartans invaded Attica in 413 B.C.E. and seized a strategically important base at Decelea in the foothills north of Athens. However, the loss of so many Athenian ships and trained crews in Sicily changed the nature of the war. The Spartans understood that the way to defeat Athens at sea was to win control of the Hellespont and Propontis, thus choking off essential supplies to the struggling city. By 411 B.C.E. the conflict became increasingly focused on that area of Greece. Athens was hampered by internal problems, culminating in the overthrow of the democracy in June 411 B.C.E. The oligarchs who seized power were unable to reconcile the Athenian fleet at Samos to their rule, and in September they were overthrown. Initially, only a limited form of democracy was restored, but the victory near Cyzicus in 410 B.C.E. led to the restoration of the old system.

Alcibiades returned to Athens by way of Persia, and was elected once again as commander of the Athenian forces. He arrived in time to take part in the victory off Abydos and another near Cyzicus the subsequent

year. Following additional success in the north, such as the recovery of Byzantium in 408 B.C.E., Alcibiades returned to Athens in triumph in 407 B.C.E. and was awarded supreme command of the Athenian navy on the west coast of Asia Minor.

Lysander successfully attacked one of Alcibiades' subordinates while the Athenian commander was absent. The furious Athenians dismissed Alcibiades, who fled to Thrace. Lysander ultimately achieved a victory at Aegospotami in 405 B.C.E. As a result, while Athens valiantly held out until the spring of 404 B.C.E., it succumbed to economic starvation imposed by overwhelming Spartan forces and surrendered.

Ultimately, despite some daring strategies, the Peloponnesian War was a war of resources. The Spartans were victorious because Persian gold enabled them to build more ships and to purchase more mercenaries than Athens could. However, Sparta also understood from the outset that Athens, as a maritime power that depended on port trade, would have to be defeated at sea. Conversely, the Athenians do not appear to have understood that Sparta, as a land power, could only be defeated on land.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

Pericles

(495–429 B.C.E.) *Athenian politician*

Pericles was the most important statesman and politician of classical Athens. He was a son of Xanthippus, a Persian War-era general and politician, and Agariste of the prominent but allegedly cursed Alcmaeonids. The rationalist philosopher, Anaxagoras, intellectually influenced him. He was a friend of the sculptor, Phidias, to whom he entrusted supervision of the construction of the PARTHENON.

The two most important ancient sources for Pericles' life are the historian Thucydides, who admired him and focused his account in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* on Pericles' intellectual prowess and war-time record, and the moralizing and gossipy Plutarch, who wrote his *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* about 500 years later. After fathering two sons, Pericles divorced his wife to live with his brilliant and beautiful mistress, Aspasia, who, along with his friends and political allies, became the butt of often-bawdy jokes of popular comics and dramatists.

Pericles' early public career is sketchy. Plutarch says that Pericles at first feared OSTRACISM because he supposedly resembled the tyrant PEISISTRATUS and was a rich nobleman with a dicey ancestral history. As Victor Ehrenberg (*Sophocles and Pericles*) writes of classical Athens, "the theater was the polis," and it is likely that Pericles understood his native city's profoundly cultural politics. Much later Pericles supported rebuilding Athenian temples destroyed by the Persians and supported constructing the Parthenon.

Though strenuously opposed by the crafty oligarchic politician Thucydides of Alopece, an ally of Cimon, Pericles' patriotic urban renewal program continued unobstructed after 443 B.C.E., when Thucydides was ostracized. From then on, according to Plutarch, Pericles "got all Athens and all affairs pertaining to the Athenians into his own hands," more or less unopposed. It is true that Athens's material prosperity reached its peak between 454 and 431 B.C.E., when Pericles was elected to the board of 10 generals. However, Pericles' building program likely had strategic and political causes as well. Whether Pericles played a personal role in the anti-oligarchic movement led by the elusive Ephialtes is unclear, but Pericles prosecuted Cimon for bribery in 463–462 B.C.E., supported legislation to pay citizens for holding public office, and backed a law to limit citizenship to children of native-born Athenians. He may also have been inspired to support a general public works policy by observing the economic consequences of construction of the Long Walls fortification around Athens after 461 B.C.E.

Pericles stood adamantly for making Athens the predominant power in the Hellenic world. Though tactically cautious at first, he was not averse to expanding Athens's formidable naval and commercial power, as he demonstrated in punitive and trading expeditions and in his defeat of maritime rival, Samos.

Pericles' tough-minded diplomacy grew from his conviction of the superiority of Athenian cultural and civic values and institutions. Periclean strategy in the PELOPONNESIAN WAR that began in 431 B.C.E. arose directly

from previous Athenian policies toward rebellious cities of Athens's empire and from the geopolitical consequences of the Thirty Years' Peace between Athens and Sparta in 446–445 B.C.E. At that time the Athenians agreed to abjure mainland protectorates in the interest of the long-term safety and congruity of their maritime empire. As a result, Athenian security thereafter necessitated extending the Long Walls all around the city and its port at Piraeus and maintaining free navigation into the Black Sea. As Thucydides described the working of Pericles' policy, "The Athenians listened to his advice, and began to carry in their wives and children from the country, and all their household furniture, even to the woodwork of their houses which they took down." When war finally came after impassable deadlocks over Megara's commercial status and Athenian intervention in Corcyra's civil strife, Pericles probably thought he had done as much as he could to prepare for it. He could not foresee the onset of a terrible plague that soon severely afflicted the city's crowded living space and claimed Pericles' own life in 429 B.C.E.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PLATONISM.

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persecutions of the church

Church tradition speaks of 10 great persecutions, probably in imitation of the 10 plagues of MOSES. Persecutions struck a nerve among Christians, and they produced MARTYROLOGIES and legends. In reality there were diverse and localized persecutions but three widespread persecutions under Decius (249–250 C.E.), Valentinian (257–258 C.E.), and DIOCLETIAN (303–312 C.E.).

Stephen was the first martyr (c. 35 C.E.), and then James of Zebedee, and a general persecution broke out under Herod Agrippa (c. 42 C.E.). The biblical book of Revelation speaks of societal hostility against the early Christians. Rarely did this persecution come from the government; usually it was from other religious groups

(such as the Jews or the pagans). NERO (54–68) and Domitian (81–96) were known to have blamed Christians for problems of their own administration. The legal basis for these persecutions is known from the correspondence between Pliny and the emperor TRAJAN around 110: If a resident did not make offerings to the Roman gods, he or she could be executed. However, the Christians were not sought out by prosecutors, and emperors did not make it their business to conduct widespread campaigns against them. Later persecutions occurred when specific charges were filed: Polycarp of Smyrna (156), the Lyons martyrs (177), the Scillitan martyrs in CARTHAGE (180), Felicity and Perpetua (203). Nonetheless, the persecutions were sporadic and local.

The first empire-wide persecution broke out in 249, when Emperor Decius tried to restore traditional values to the Roman state. He ordered that the annual Roman sacrifices be mandatory in various cities, and that prominent Christian leaders in those places be arrested and executed. Local commissions were set up to enforce these decrees. Only Decius's death in 251 cut short the serious threat to the church. The second big persecution was initiated by Valerius in 257. Initially, the decrees seemed to be motivated by a desire for church wealth, but a year later executions and cruel forms of punishment went beyond confiscations. Valerius would condemn Christians to the mines, beat them with whips, and shave their heads as runaway slaves and criminals. Eventually, the ROMAN EMPIRE backed away from its anti-Christian position, and the church began to go public.

After 40 years of relative calm, the empire under Diocletian returned to its hostility against the church. Diocletian's major goal was to unify and rejuvenate the moribund empire, and the Christians were viewed as uncooperative. For nine years (303–312) the government pursued a program against the Christians, banning all scriptures, tearing down churches, prohibiting meetings, and stripping Christians of legal rights. At first Diocletian did not kill Christians, for he did not want martyrs, but later his deputies carried out massive executions, especially in North Africa.

When Diocletian retired in 305, persecution died out in the West but continued in the East. Later, when paganism did not revive and Christianity only grew, grudging official acceptance of Christianity was given in 311–312. The empire had little to gain by crushing the church.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CONSTANTINE THE GREAT; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana

Persepolis, literally “the City of the Persians,” was founded by DARIUS I the Great, the third king of the Achaemenid, or Persian, Empire (539–331 B.C.E.). Work on the city began around 518 B.C.E. but was not completed until about 100 years later by King ARTAXERXES I. It was conceived of as a royal city in Pars, the heartland of Persia, the central-southern province of modern-day Iran, and Darius's refuge away from the summer heat of the Mesopotamian plain. It is located just 25 miles southwest of Pasargadae, the historical capital of the Achaemenids, where the Persian Empire's founder, CYRUS II, was buried.

Unlike the other capital cities of the empire—Ecbatana, Susa, and Babylon—Persepolis was never designed to be a populous city, rather a ceremonial city. The Greek writer HERODOTUS (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.) tells us that the city was not much lived in by the kings, who moved between the other capitals. Persepolis had one key purpose and that was as a location for the celebration of the New Year festival. Even today Iran has a totally different New Year from that observed in the West, a year that begins at the equinox on March 21. In ancient Persia, as in much of the ancient Near East, the New Year was a time when the gods were especially appeased, and therefore its ceremonies were the most important of the year. At New Year, delegations from all the satrapies (or regions) of the empire would come to Persepolis not only to pay homage to the emperor, bringing tribute, but also entering into the festivities.

The ruins of the city, visible today, are filled with friezes that enact the arrival of the ambassadors from all over the empire, each one wearing national dress, and all overseen by the Immortals, the elite personal guard of the emperor. Persepolis was partially destroyed by ALEXANDER THE GREAT when he ended the Persian Empire in 331 B.C.E., and according to the Roman author Plutarch, its vast treasures were carried away on 20,000 mules and 5,000 camels. However, the remoteness of the location and its mystique have meant much of the ancient city was preserved.

Unlike Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana were working cities and capitals in their own right before the advent

of the Persian Empire. Susa is situated on the Karun River on the southeastern corner of the Mesopotamian plain, on the Iranian side of the Iran-Iraq border, where Mesopotamia touches the foothills of the Zagros Mountains. Susa was the capital of the Elamite people at the time of the Persian Empire, but the site has been occupied since at least 4000 B.C.E. Around 2000 B.C.E. the Elamites, undoubtedly setting out from Susa, destroyed the power of the city of UR, famous in the Bible as the city from which Abraham's family came.

Possibly the greatest period in the city's history was in the 13th century B.C.E. when the Elamites successfully sacked Babylon, carrying off many of its treasures to enrich Susa. However, the fortunes of war meant that Susa itself was sacked a number of times, one of the most famous of which was in 639 B.C.E. when Ashurbanipal, king of ASSYRIA, the nation so feared in the ancient world, invaded.

Susa is possibly best known as the residence of the biblical Daniel and ESTHER, who were there during the Persian era. During this period the city underwent a major building program with the construction of a citadel, moated walled city, and royal palaces. Early on in his conquests Alexander the Great received the surrender of Susa as soon as he approached the city, and he plundered much of its wealth. After Alexander, Susa became part of the SELEUCID EMPIRE and then the Parthian Empire. Its importance gradually waned and from the beginning of the 13th century C.E. little was left but crumbling ruins.

Ecbatana, modern-day Hamadan in the west of Iran, was the ancient capital of the Median people. It was strategically situated on the eastern edge of the Zagros Mountains, guarding one of three ancient passes linking the Mesopotamian plain with the lands to the east. The Greek writer Herodotus of Halicarnassus records that Deioces, the legendary first king of the Medes, founded the city. It was the capital of Media during the period of Median strength before Cyrus the Great, but it possibly acquired greater fame when Cyrus defeated the Medes in 550 B.C.E. and made Ecbatana his summer palace. Its high altitude made its summers delightfully cool in comparison to the heat of the Mesopotamian plain. Later Ecbatana became one of the capitals of the Seleucid and then Parthian Empires.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; XERXES.

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Persian invasions

The Persian Wars, or Greco-Persian Wars, were a succession of conflicts between shifting alliances of Greek states and the Persian Empire. Wars were fought for the control of strategically important territories, also determining whether Greek or Persian culture predominated in the Aegean Sea. As a result of victories at the Battles of Salamis and Marathon, the Greeks were able to resist the superior manpower and resources of the Persians. Had it been otherwise, the democratic and philosophical traditions of ancient Greece that did so much to shape the Western consciousness might have been delayed or even suppressed.

In the sixth century B.C.E. Persian kings, including CYRUS II and CAMBYSES II, expanded Persian possessions on the Anatolian coast and annexed a series of Greek colonies and island settlements. This process was intensified under DARIUS I, who acceded to the throne in 522 B.C.E. and eventually inspired the Ionian Revolt, which lasted from 500 to 494 B.C.E., during which various Persian conquests rose up and attempted to claim independence. Eventually, the revolt was crushed, but the fact that Athens had sent a small naval force in support of the rebels provided a pretext for subsequent attempted expansion of Persian rule in Europe. A Persian force landed to the northeast of Athens in 490 B.C.E. in the vicinity of Marathon. There, an Athenian force of around 10,000 troops met them, together with some of their allies. The Athenians under Miltiades found the Persians without their large cavalry force in attendance and rapidly attacked and defeated them. The Persians fled and returned to Asia Minor.

Darius was succeeded by XERXES, and he set about mobilizing a huge invasion force, made ready in 479 B.C.E. The force moved only in an unwieldy fashion, and while the Greeks were terrified of what it could achieve, they had time to prepare for its arrival. A League of Defense was created and led jointly by Athens and Sparta, with the former commanding the sea and the latter the land, in accordance with their military and logistic capabilities. In both cases the Greeks were hugely outnumbered. However, the Persians had to cope with significant supply problems, forcing their ships to keep in contact with the land force. The Spar-

tans sent their famed hoplite infantry to meet the advance of the Persians at the pass of Thermopylae. They withstood the continual Persian onslaught, aided by the narrow ground, which limited the number of Persian troops able to attack at one time. However, the Spartans were eventually defeated, according to legend because of a traitor who enabled the Persians to outflank the position and attack from behind. Realizing that defeat was inevitable, King LEONIDAS of Sparta sent most of the 7,000 Greek troops south to safety but remained to the bitter end with his Spartan troops and their Thespian allies. This is the battle that prompted Simonides to compose the monumental text “go tell the Spartans, passer by, that here, obedient to their laws, we lie.”

At the same time that Leonidas was resisting the Persian army, the Athenian navy and their allies, under THEMISTOCLES, were facing the Persian navy. It is recorded that Themistocles commanded 271 ships. The Persians dispatched 200 ships to try to lure the Athenians into battle, unsuccessfully. Instead, the Athenian ships retired to their harbor while the Persians waited outside and were largely destroyed by a powerful storm. Many Persian ships remained, and the Athenians were persuaded to abandon their city and take refuge further inland. The Persians burned Athens but, desiring to achieve a decisive victory over the Athenian army, Xerxes allowed himself to be outmaneuvered by Themistocles in deploying his fleet in the Straits of Salamis, where the more skillful Athenian sailors managed to destroy the Persian fleet at close quarters. The remnants of the Persian fleet returned to Asia Minor.

The Battle of Salamis represented the end of the second Persian invasion, with the army unsupplied and demoralized. A final victory at the Battle of Plataea ensured that the Greek mainland would be free of colonization. However, military operations continued for several decades as the Athenian-led Delian League undertook naval actions throughout the Aegean with a view to liberating Persian-held Greek colonies. These actions achieved some success and persuaded the Persians to agree to the Peace of Callias in 449 B.C.E. The Persian invasions represented genuinely significant attempts to conquer and annex Greece and to convert Greece into a satrapy of the Persian Empire.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; MARATHON, BATTLE OF.

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JOHN WALSH

Persian myth

Iranian myths do not belong to just one era but many epochs over the 12,000-year chronology. The history of myth in Iran is divided into four eras, each covering three millennia. The first quarter refers to creation as a spiritual essence in which no place or time could be felt, and the world was far from any substance or movement. However, the spiritual world manifested itself in two types of existence: one belonging to Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), the knowledgeable master, good and truthful spirit; and the other belonging to the evil spirit, Ahriman. The conflict between good and evil is prevalent in Iranian myth.

Zorwan is a god who prays to have a son with Ormazd's characteristics to create the world. At the end of the 1,000th year Zorwan doubts his prayers are working. Because of this doubt, Ormazd and Ahriman simultaneously arise in him. The former represents his patience, while the latter signifies his doubt. Zorwan promises to make the elder ruler and lord of the world. Ahriman is born first, and Zorwan, because of his promise, appoints Ahriman as the ruler for a finite part of the 9,000 remaining years. Zorwan is sure that Ormazd will triumph over Ahriman and successfully rule over the world for eternity.

In the second quarter the world turns to a material one, and the first emblems of the world's prototypes are created. Ormazd creates the six major prototypes of creation: sky, water, earth, plants, animals, and human beings. The human prototype, Kiumarsh, is mortal. He is created to help god and is called Ahlav (the holy man).

The third quarter presents a mixture of good and evil, light and darkness, and a blending between Ormazd and Ahriman's wills. Ahriman moves toward the borders of light, leaving darkness behind and becoming aware of many good creatures that Ahura Mazda has created. In competing with him he destroys his creatures and invades every prototype created by Ormazd and spoils the mundane world. This period is referred to as *gumizishn* in Pahlavi writing and signifies that both Ahriman and Ormazd are triumphant. Ormazd seeks god's help and assistance. Ormazd, employing good forces, is able to reproduce each one of

the prototypes of creation destroyed or spoiled by Ahriman. After Kiumarth's death, Ormazd reproduces the human prototype. It is said that Kiumarth's seed falls on the earth while passing away, is purified by the Sun's rays, and after 40 years turn, into Rivas, a holy plant with two stems. These stems become the first human couple, Mashya and Mashayana.

Evil forces lie in wait for the couple. The first couple tells the first lie, attributing creation to Ahriman. To punish their wrongdoing they are deprived of having children for a long time, before their reparation is accepted. At last they have seven sons and seven daughters. Each of the pairs marries and leaves for one of the seven territories or realms—according to Iranian mythology, ancient Iran was made up of seven countries. Humans expanded in number in the seven countries.

The last part of the fourth quarter deals mainly with Zoroaster. This was the 10th millennium of creation when "Good Religion" expanded and developed throughout the world. Zoroaster visits Ormazd by the Daieti River in ancient Iran and stays with him for 10 years, when Ormazd reveals the religion's mysteries to him. Zoroaster announces his prophethood, and based on the Pahlavi writings, Zoroaster is a complete human being in mazdaism (praising and worshipping Ahura Mazda).

The middle texts and the Sassanids' writings tell of the end of the world. The prophetic literature of Zoroastrians is simultaneous with the internal conflicts in the SASSANID EMPIRE, expanding during Bahram Chubin's rebellion. After the collapse of the Sassanids by the Muslim Arabs such literature is encouraged and revived. According to Sassanid texts, there are three saviors of the world. Houshidar, Houshidarmah, and Saoshyanth appear in the millennium after Zoroaster and expand good. All are miraculously born of Zoroaster's seed and are his sons. Bahram (the victorious) and Pashootan are among the most famous. Bahram is a warrior, seeking truth by coming to Iran, riding on a white elephant. He defeats cruelty and clears Iran from impurity, providing a tranquillity that had been long lost.

The middle texts report the birth of the trichotomous Saoshyanth as follows:

Zoroaster makes love with his wife three times during a three-month period, after which his wife washes in the Kiyanseh River and Zoroaster's seed is mixed with the river's water. Naryousang, the lord, leaves the seeds with Anahita to mix with that of a mother at the proper time. A 15-year-old virgin swims in the Kiyanseh River, and she becomes pregnant and gives birth to the first savior, Houshidar. At the age of 30 he meets Ormazd and learns

all the teachings of Mazdams and continues the prophethood, previously held by his father Zoroaster. Houshidar cleanses religion, destroys Ahriman's traditions, decreases famine and starvation, and helps expand the forces of good. In his reign children are born smarter, rivers become full, and plants only experience autumn every three years. Wild animals and predators disappear.

Thirty years before Houshidar's millennium ends, again a 15-year-old virgin swims in the Kiyanseh River and becomes pregnant, giving birth to Houshidarmah. Houshidarmah visits Ormazd when he is 30 years old and becomes responsible for bringing salvation to the world. The 20-day stoppage of the Sun is one of the signs of his emergence. At the beginning of his millennium plants experience autumn every six years, and all forces of evil are defeated. The thirst and hunger ghoul becomes too weak, and everybody can live on one meal a day. In the last 53 years of his millennium people become vegetarians and milk drinkers rather than flesh eaters. Medicine flourishes during this era, and life expectancy increases. However, Zahak's rebellion again unbalances good and evil in Iran. Ormazd resurrects Garshab's spirits to fight with Zahak and destroy him, and the golden years restart.

Thirty years before the end of Houshidarmah's millennium, Saoshyanth, the last creature of Ormazd, would be born miraculously of the prophet Zoroaster's seed by a virgin mother and would become the world's savior. At his revelation the Sun stays unmoved in the sky for 30 days. Saoshyanth is received warmly by Kay Xusraw who is riding on Izadwai (God of wind). Saoshyanth appreciates Kay Xusraw's bravery by destroying the idols and defeating Afrasyab and thereby making way for the reconstruction and renovation of the world. Kay Xusraw becomes king of all seven countries during the Saoshyanth's millennium, while Saoshyanth is Moubad-e-Mubadan (lord of clergies).

During Saoshyanth's millennium, which lasts 57 years, everything would be accomplished according to Gathas (Zoroaster's original teachings). He gathers an army and fights the infidelity ghoul, who then hides in a hole. Shahrivar (the guard of metals in the mundane world) pours metal into the hole to imprison the evil ghoul and send him to hell. Saoshyanth overcomes all ghouls and evil forces through his five prayers. Ahriman and his evil emblems are forgotten, and the wicked evil spirits are destroyed. The world becomes full of kindness, and happiness reigns. Ahriman's creatures—ugliness, diseases, pain, lies, and greediness—disappear and plants and trees never experience autumn; they are evergreen.

In the first 17 years of Saoshyanth's millennium, people eat plants. For 30 years they drink only water, and in

the last 10 years they have no food and are instead fed with spiritual food. The ideal world is formed, and earth is restored to its original goodness. Such a world represents the combination of all of Ormazd's potential forces and his absolute supremacy. This is how the world ends and resurrection, what man is waiting for, comes to pass, and the finite life turns into the infinite one.

See also PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA AND THE APOCRYPHA; ZOROASTRIANISM.

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FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH, MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR,
AND MEHRDAD AMIRI

Persians

See MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

Petronius

(c. 27–66 C.E.) *Roman author*

Petronius was a courtier under NERO and the most likely author of the Roman novel *Satyricon*. If he was the man identified by Tacitus as the "arbiter of elegance" who "idled into fame" by refining debauchery into a science, his full name would be Caius Petronius Arbiter, although manuscripts of the *Satyricon* give the name as Titus Petronius Niger. As proconsul in Bithynia and later as consul elect, Petronius gained a reputation as a capable administrator. However, the following portrait from Tacitus's *Annals* would lead one to think otherwise: "Petronius passed the day in sleep, the night in business and in life's pleasures. As industry brought other men to prominence, so idleness bored him to fame. He was not considered a debauchee or a profligate, as with most wastrels, but a polished artist of excess."

His vices won him admission into the circle of Nero's intimates, and the Roman emperor thought nothing elegant unless Petronius pronounced it thus. As such, he soon incurred the jealousy of Tigellinus, a rival who considered himself superior in the science of pleasure. Tigellinus engineered Petronius's fall by charging him with

friendship with Scaevinus, who had been implicated in Calpurnius Piso's conspiracy in 61 C.E. Deprived of a chance to defend himself, most of his household was imprisoned, and an order for his detention was issued.

Under such circumstances an ancient might seek consolation in philosophy, taking comfort in the permanence of the soul, much like SOCRATES in *Phaedo*. In Nero's Rome, of course, it was expected that the soon-to-be-deceased should flatter the emperor in his will. Petronius, however, lived out his final hours in a grand parody of heroic suicides in theater. Without waiting for the inevitable he had a surgeon slit his vein and then bind it up again, so as to allow time for a leisurely dinner party with friends. Rather than speculating on the afterlife, he passed the evening listening to frivolous songs and light poetry. Instead of writing a will in his final hours, Petronius supposedly detailed the abominable acts of the emperor and enumerated his catamites, whores, and innovations in perversion. This scandalous document, sealed with his ring-signet, was sent to Nero.

Some hypothesized that this last testament of Petronius was his great work the *Satyricon*, which they considered a roman à clef of Nero; however, this claim is rather unlikely. The length and sophistication of what survives of the novel bespeak sustained effort. In 1420 Poggio Bracciolini discovered a Carolingian manuscript in Cologne that aimed to preserve the poems in the *Satyricon*, excising its salacious narrative. Almost 200 years later another manuscript surfaced that had the opposite and complementary purpose: preserving the narrative. These two furnished the basis for the modern edition of the *Satyricon*.

In the *Satyricon* the protagonist, Encolpius, with his boy-lover Giton, stumbles from one misadventure of sexual excess, humiliation, and human folly to another. Petronius's dissolute world admits no place for romantic love, and sex—preferably with boys or men—results only in comedy and/or degradation. Indeed, the *Satyricon* is the very opposite of the idealized love stories found in the ancient Greek novel. Petronius is keenly interested in the attitudes and behaviors of the various social classes, realistically portraying them against a backdrop of Roman life in settings such as the rhetorical school, the brothel, and even a banquet—the so-called *Cena Trimalchionis* that detailed the menagerie of tasteless horrors on the estate of the notorious parvenu Trimalchio. This scene was a central feature of Federico Fellini's idiosyncratic film that takes its title from the novel.

Satyricon's social scope is equaled by the range of literary models it parodies, from Homer's *Odyssey* to Virgil and Lucan, not to mention tragedy, philosophy,

and even popular literature. It does not offer the reader any moral lens to enable judgment but instead offers a vision of decadent Rome without flinching from the unsavory—a work unequalled in the ancient world for its complexity, length, and unerring focus on human depravity.

See also HOMERIC EPICS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY.

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S-C KEVIN TSAI

pharaoh

Although in ancient Egypt the term *pharaoh* (great house) referred to the royal palace and was used in reference to the monarch only as an instance of metonymy, modern historians follow the biblical convention of using the term for the monarch himself. Some Egyptians of the NEW KINGDOM and later used the term the same way, but informally and never in official contexts. The first time *pharaoh* was used to refer to the monarch himself was in reference to AKHENATEN.

The pharaoh wore a double crown to symbolize his rule of both Lower Egypt (Ta-Mehu, in the north, where the Nile Delta drains into the Mediterranean) and Upper Egypt (Ta-Shemau, in the south but upstream along the Nile River). The First Dynasty unified the two kingdoms in the 31st or 32nd century B.C.E. It is not entirely clear who was the first pharaoh of a unified Egypt. No pharaonic crown has been found; pharaohs apparently were not buried with it, and there may have been one crown that was passed on from one ruler to the next.

The record of pharaohs is incomplete and often conflicting; the case of Menes is only one of several in which modern Egyptologists believe a recorded name may refer to a pharaoh we know by another name, or may only be legend. In the Intermediate Periods and the early dynasties, there are dozens of pharaohs about whom we have only fragments of names, names without further information (such as the length of their reign or when it transpired), or dubious names that do not seem to fit with the information we do have.

Many pharaohs we know according to different parts of their full title, which by the MIDDLE KINGDOM became the fivefold titulary, a system of increasingly formalized names arranged to describe the pharaoh's rule. These five names were the Horus name (also called the Banner name and the Ka name), the Nebty (or Two Ladies) name, the Golden Horus (or Gold) name, the praenomen, and the nomen.

The Horus name represented the pharaoh's divine relationship with the god Horus and was written in HIEROGLYPHICS in a pictograph of a palace, usually alongside the god in the form of a falcon. Horus names date to the OLD KINGDOM period and are frequently the only surviving name of early pharaohs, who adopted it upon ascending the throne and ceased using their birth names. In the earliest dynasties Horus was read as part of the name: Hor-Aha, had he ruled in a later time, would simply have been Aha. During the New Kingdom period Horus was often depicted wearing a double crown and appeared with a sun and a *uraeus* (a stylized cobra appearing on the pharaoh's crown).

The Nebty name became standard in the Twelfth Dynasty and was associated with the patron goddesses of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt: Wadjet (symbolized by a cobra) and Nekhbet (symbolized by a vulture). Each goddess's symbol appeared beside the name.

The significance of the Golden Horus name is somewhat less clear. It appeared beside a falcon perched above the hieroglyph for gold, and the Greek portion of the ROSETTA STONE translates as "superior to his foes." Many Egyptologists believe the name symbolizes Horus's triumph over his brother Seth, but gold's symbolic meaning as "eternity" may be equally important, and the name may reflect something about the pharaoh's wishes for the afterlife, an aspect of himself he considered immutable in any world.

At the end of the Old Kingdom most pharaohs were known only by their praenomen and nomen. Each of the names was enclosed in a cartouche, an oblong that enclosed a name to indicate its royal status. Other names were reserved for official formal purposes and record keeping. The nomen was the birth name given to the crown prince and was represented by a duck (a homonym for the word for "son") and a sun to represent Ra. "The good god" or "the lord of apparitions" was sometimes added before the nomen. The praenomen was a name chosen upon ascending the throne and usually included a reference to Ra. It often appeared along with the title "Lord of the Two Lands," another reminder of Egypt's pluralism. The full name of Thutmose I, a Nineteenth Dynasty pharaoh, was therefore Kanakht

Merymaat Khamnesretnebetaapehti Neferrenputse-anhibu Aakheperkare Thutmose, with various titles inserted between the names according to the occasion.

THE PHARAOH'S ROLE IN RELIGION

As the son of Horus (and as a result of his connection with sun deities), the pharaoh had a divinely paternal relationship with his nation: personal, disciplinary, protective, and sustaining. The pharaoh was the source not only of the land's fertility and abundance but of the maintenance of *maat*, a distinctly Egyptian concept sometimes translated as "truth" or "justice" (as the goddess Ma'at presided over both) and related to the Greek *logos*. *Maat* is perhaps best understood, as "the way things ought to be," a blueprint of a healthy and working universe in which everything is interdependent and in proper balance: Without it there would be chaos. When *maat* was in balance, the annual Nile floods would nourish the farmland, the people would have enough to eat and would not be beset by illness or plague, and Egypt would remain unconquerable. The pharaoh's responsibility was to preserve *maat* not merely through appropriate action but by being sufficiently divine, as a people ruled by a god would live in balance. The pharaohs' extraordinary and labor-intensive construction projects resulting in the Sphinx, the pyramids, and other monuments reinforced the pharaoh's importance.

The pharaoh's *ka*, a part of the soul—in ordinary people passed on from the father, for the pharaoh from his divine parent—was unique in that, perhaps like the double crown, it was passed on from one pharaoh to the next. It did not matter if the successor was the blood relative of his predecessor: As celebrated in the Opet festival of the New Kingdom, the pharaoh received his *ka* from Amun and returned it to the god in the form of ritual and offerings so that it could be strengthened and maintained for the pharaohs to come. The Opet festival was one of many which celebrated the pharaoh's relationship with his kingdom and the divine and consisted largely of ceremonies and rituals in which the public did not participate, not even to bear witness. Increasingly, especially during the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom periods, participatory religious activities were absorbed into the religiopolitical framework of Egyptian government, and the priesthood was indistinguishable from the court bureaucracy.

SIGNIFICANT PHARAOHS

Sneferu

Sneferu was the founder of the Fourth Dynasty and a prolific builder of pyramids and monuments. Under his

reign the pyramid of Huni at Meidum was completed and turned from a step pyramid into the world's first true pyramid (one with smooth sides). At the royal necropolis of Dahshur, he also built the so-called Bent Pyramid (the top of which was built at an angle 11 degrees shallower than the rest, making it appear to bend or dimple) and the Red Pyramid, so called for its exposed granite surface. All of Sneferu's pyramids show an interest in experimenting with building styles not seen under other pharaohs.

Khufu

Best known by his Greek name, Cheops, Khufu was the son of Sneferu and builder of the Great Pyramid of Giza. The only one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World that stands today, the Great Pyramid originally stood at 481 feet with a base covering 53,000 sq. miles and weighed about 6 million tons, or as much as 17 Empire State Buildings.

Khafra

A Fourth-Dynasty pharaoh, Khafra was most likely Khufu's grandson and continued in his family's tradition of building. After building a smaller pyramid at Giza, he built the Great Sphinx, a half-man/half-lion statue 260 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 65 feet tall. The lion was often a symbol of the Sun, as well as one used



Labor-intensive construction projects such as the Great Sphinx (above) reinforced the pharaoh's importance and divine status.

to represent the pharaoh during those early dynasties. *Sphinx* is a Greek name; it is unclear what the Egyptians called it and unknown whether the face of the Sphinx is meant to be that of Khafra or perhaps his father, or even Sneferu, the dynastic founder.

Pepi II

A Sixth Dynasty pharaoh whose reign began at age six and lasted for 94 years (2278–2184 B.C.E.), Pepi enjoyed the longest reign of any monarch in history. It was not a strong reign: Pepi's rule is associated with the decline of the Old Kingdom, as power, influence, prestige, and wealth shifted from the pharaoh to the nomarchs (provincial governors). It is not clear whether Merenre Nemtyemsaf II or Nitiquet succeeded Pepi.

Nitiquet

The last pharaoh of the Sixth Dynasty is believed to have been a woman named Nitiquet. Her existence is attested both by Greek historian HERODOTUS and in detail by third-century B.C.E. Egyptian historian Manetho. Manetho credits her with the third pyramid at Giza, while Herodotus describes her fratricide and subsequent suicide. Many modern Egyptologists believe that Nitiquet never existed, and that "Nitiquet" originated as a bad transliteration of the male pharaoh Netjerkare Siptah I.

Sobekneferu

Sobekneferu, on the other hand, was certainly a pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, and the first known female ruler of Egypt. She was most likely the daughter of Amenemhat III, whose son (her brother, Amenemhat IV) died without a male heir. She reigned for just less than four years, and the Twelfth Dynasty ended with her.

Akhenaten

Originally called Amenhotep IV at the beginning of his Eighteenth Dynasty reign, Akhenaten is a complicated figure. The son of Amenhotep III and Tiye, and possibly a co-regent in the last few years of his father's reign, Akhenaten was a religious heretic whose beliefs would become the central focus of his reign. He revered the obscure solar deity Aten; for Akhenaten the Aten was not simply a deity of the Sun but the solar disc itself and the properties of light responsible for sustaining life. The Aten had previously been associated with a syncretic deity, a combination of Horus, Ra, and Amun, but Akhenaten dismissed those humanoid gods in favor of the disc itself and eventually declared the Aten the only true deity. Atenism, also called the Amarna heresy, thus began as a henotheistic faith, one that

acknowledged the existence of other gods but did not worship them (an unusual stance in the ancient world). Akhenaten emphasized a personal relationship with the divine Aten over the rituals that had so dominated Egyptian spiritual life—something which modern commentators have fixated on, sometimes calling him "the first individual."

While Sigmund Freud argued that Akhenaten's monotheism inspired Judaism, there is no reasonable evidence for this, and the theory ignores the significant evidence that Jewish monotheism developed out of early henotheistic (and perhaps polytheistic) traditions that predate Akhenaten's reign. It is also unlikely that Akhenaten is either of the two pharaohs referred to in the biblical book of Exodus.

Tutankhamun

After Akhenaten's and the Amarna heresy Egypt returned to traditional worship under Tutankhamun, best known now as "King Tut." Howard Carter discovered his well-preserved tomb at the apex of Egyptology's hold on the popular imagination, in 1923, leading to urban legends of "the mummy's curse" and inspiring a new generation of tomb raiders.

Cleopatra VII

Generally referred to now simply as Cleopatra, Cleopatra VII Philopator was the last Hellenistic ruler of Egypt, the last member of the Ptolemaic dynasty that had begun when Ptolemy, a Macedonian general to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, declared himself ruler of all Egypt in the aftermath of Alexander's death. The Ptolemaic dynasty had included seven queens, all named Cleopatra (Greek for "father's glory"). All the kings were named Ptolemy. Though perhaps not technically a pharaoh, Cleopatra is significant in the discussion of Egyptian monarchic rule, not for her romances with Roman general Mark Antony and JULIUS CAESAR, but because with her suicide Egypt passed into Roman hands. While Roman rulers proclaimed themselves "Pharaoh of Egypt" from that point until the fall of the empire, there was never again a true pharaoh.

See also PTOLEMIES; PYRAMIDS OF GIZA.

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BILL KTE'PI

Pharisees

The common interpretation of the Pharisees comes to modern audiences through the speeches of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in the New Testament. There they play the role of Jesus's opponents and are almost seen in a negative light.

Their arguments with Jesus revolve around issues of religious customs, like the observance of the Sabbath day, the keeping of a special diet that is biblically approved (kosher), the physical contact with people outside their sect, and obligatory religious donations (tithing). The overall picture that the reader makes out is that the Pharisees are not so concerned for the spiritual well-being of their devotees as for preserving their own prestige and authority.

This picture is balanced with a more objective reading of the New Testament. The Gospels portray the fact that the Pharisees are zealous for correct interpretations of the scriptures and are willing to mix with the people in order to disseminate this information. The Pharisees therefore worked with the laypeople in a way that no other Jewish group, besides the followers of Jesus, cared to do. The SADDUCEES, for example, sequestered themselves in the administration of the central temple, and the monastic community called QUMRAN often epitomized the reclusive ESSENES.

Jesus and the Pharisees share many common views about religious doctrines. This is well attested by PAUL's trial defense when he cleverly notes that he is accused of believing what the Pharisees believe. In other situations Paul tells his audience that he is a Pharisee and proud of it. Many of the early church followers come from the ranks of Pharisees. When it comes to the passion and death of Jesus, the Bible generally does not give the decisive role to the Pharisees. Instead, the temple authorities (the Sadducees) and the Romans are the main perpetrators of the execution of Jesus.

On the other hand, a sanitized view of the Pharisees can be found in the writings of the rabbis. The rabbis, especially in later centuries, liked to trace their lineage to the Pharisees and, before them, to the biblical lawgivers such as MOSES and Ezra. The father of the rabbinic movement, YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, is portrayed

as the next in line to the Pharisees. The rabbis liked to imagine that their ancestral Pharisees included the likes of the legendary sages Hillel, Shammai, and Akiba. The problem is that these rabbinic tales are compiled too long after the demise of the Pharisees and hence tell more about 150–650 C.E. than 150 B.C.E.–150 C.E. The rabbinic sources, though, do show some of the same issues brought out in the New Testament, namely, diet, Sabbath, fraternizing with outsiders, and tithing, so it is fair to say that it reflects some more ancient historic realities.

JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian of the first century C.E., tells the third perspective on the Pharisees. For Josephus the Pharisees are one of the three main Jewish philosophies, including the Sadducees and the Essenes. Although Josephus admits that the Pharisees have influenced him, he is ambivalent about the Pharisees, sometimes applauding them for their influence over the people and for their moderate position between the doctrines of the other philosophies, sometimes finding fault with them due to their political meddling.

The Pharisees must be contrasted to their rivals, largely, the Sadducees and the Essenes, and likened to their later competitors, the Christians. They were in some ways a reform group who did not agree with the temple authorities, yet they did not abandon mainstream society in the form of a counterculture. Thus, they actually reached out to the Jewish towns and villages and attempted to bring their interpretation of the biblical rules to everyday life. In effect, they decentralized and democratized Jewish religion. The home and the local synagogue became parallel centers of holiness, and this measure prepared the Jews for the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.

The Pharisees also believed in some of the same doctrines that the followers of Jesus did, like the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment, heaven and hell, and a spiritual world. These ideas were truly innovative for the Palestinian world that otherwise would have been controlled by the status-quo Sadducees. The Pharisees rejected the Roman world order, optimistic that a new age was about to begin.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; MISHNAH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Philip of Macedon

(382–336 B.C.E.) *king of Macedonia*

King Philip II, expansionist ruler of Macedonia from 359 to 336 B.C.E., paved the way for his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquests. Philip was born in Pella in 382 B.C.E., the third son of King Amyntas III and his first wife, Queen Eurydice. After Amyntas died in 370 B.C.E. Macedonia disintegrated because Philip's brothers King Alexander II, assassinated in 367 B.C.E., and King Perdiccas III, who died in battle in 359 B.C.E., were unable to stop the overwhelming foreign attacks. The Thracians already possessed eastern Macedonia. THEBES, capital of Illyria, which bordered western Macedonia, occupied northwest Macedonia.

From 368 to 365 B.C.E. Philip was a political hostage in Thebes and lived in the house of Pammenes. The learned Epaminondas taught him Greek lifestyle, customs, military tactics, and diplomacy. Upon his return to Macedonia Philip helped reform the Macedonian army. Despite the reforms Macedonia suffered 4,000 casualties, Perdiccas among them, in a battle against Illyrian king Bardylas in 359 B.C.E. The energetic, diplomatic, yet ruthless Philip ascended the throne at age 21, overthrowing his nephew Amyntas IV, the infant son of Perdiccas.

Philip sought to advance in his political and military pursuits by reorganizing the Macedonian army, which was patterned after the Greek-style phalanx. His uniquely Macedonian phalanx gave each hoplite a longer, 18-foot spear called a *sarissa*. The eight to 16 rows of the phalanx moved toward the enemy, easily killing them from a distance of 20 feet. Another of Philip's innovations was the creation of a professional army with financial support that enticed enlistment. The newly organized Macedonian army instilled pride and strong loyalty toward Philip. Philip freed the northwest from the Illyrians by decisively defeating them in 358 B.C.E.

Philip used numerous marriages to cement political alliances. Among his wives were Illyrian princess Audata, Phila, and Princess Olympias of Epirus, daughter of Neoptolemus, who gave him a son, Alexander, in 356 B.C.E. Philip decided he wanted the strategically important city-state of Amphipolis returned to Macedonia and captured it in 357 B.C.E., giving him access to the forests and ownership of the gold mine of Mount Pangeus.

Philip captured the town of Crenides, which had been occupied by Thracians in 356 B.C.E., renaming it Philippi and eliminating Thrace as a threat. The Greek cities of Potidaea and Paydna were captured in 356 B.C.E. He exiled non-Macedonians and sold them into slavery.

An arrow cost Philip his right eye at the Battle for Methone in 354 B.C.E. where he defeated his enemy Argaeus. Philip was in control of Thessaly by 352 B.C.E. DEMOSTHENES delivered three speeches from 351 to 349 B.C.E. denouncing Philip. He also conquered Olynthus in 348 B.C.E. and sold the Greeks into slavery. Within a few years he defeated 34 GREEK CITY-STATES, including Stageira, the birthplace of ARISTOTLE.

In 346 B.C.E. the Thebans asked his support in their "Sacred War" with the Phocians. Philip destroyed the Phocian city at the Battle of Crocus Field. He made peace with Athens in 346 B.C.E. but six years later waged war by besieging Byzantium and Perinthus. Greek resistance emerged against the "barbarian" Philip who had ruthlessly suppressed Illyrian, Thracian, Greek, and Epirote rebellions. By 339 B.C.E. he defeated the Scythians near the Danube River and took 20,000 Scythian women and children as slaves. During this battle Philip was injured in his upper leg causing him to become permanently lame.

In order to conquer Greece Philip amassed a large Macedonian army and sent his 18-year-old son Alexander to command the left wing of the phalanx as a general. The Battle of Chaeronea was fought on August 2, 338 B.C.E. The Greeks had 35,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry on the field, opposed by 30,000 Macedonian infantry, leaving Philip outnumbered. However, with outstanding military tactics Philip defeated the Greeks. He had Macedonian garrisons built at Chalcis, Thebes, and Corinth. In 337 B.C.E. Philip organized the Greek city-states into the League of Corinth, which he headed, becoming *de facto* king of Greece.

Philip married a noblewoman, Cleopatra, niece of his general Attalus. This act caused a fissure with Alexander, who fled with his mother to Epirus, her home country. Philip and Cleopatra had a son named Caranus. In 336 B.C.E. Philip began his invasion of Persia but stayed behind to attend the wedding celebration of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus, the brother of Olympias. The Macedonian nobleman Pausanias assassinated Philip during the wedding and was immediately executed. Cleopatra and Caranus were later murdered. It was the legacy of Alexander III to destroy Persia and create the largest kingdom of antiquity. Alexander would not have been as spectacularly successful had Philip not made Macedonia a superpower.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Philo

(c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.) *philosopher and scholar*

The first-century C.E. Jewish author and philosopher Philo of ALEXANDRIA is an important figure for both Hellenistic Judaism and EARLY CHRISTIANITY. He was born around 20 B.C.E. in Alexandria into one of the wealthiest and most distinguished Jewish families. Alexandria had a thriving Jewish community and was known for its intellectual vigor. In addition to his Jewish education, therefore, Philo received schooling in the Greek custom, including the philosophy of Plato, Middle PLATONISM, NEOPLATONISM, and STOICISM, as well as Greek literature and rhetoric, all of which are evident in his work. For example, he refers to God with the Greek term *logos* when discussing the divine creation of the world. The influence of Greek traditions on Judaism in Philo's work becomes in part representative of what is generally known as Hellenistic Judaism in distinction from Palestinian Judaism and its rabbinic traditions.

While Hellenism influenced Philo, he remained a pious and loyal Jew who used his education to explain and defend Judaism and its beliefs. To this end he was very involved with the synagogues in Alexandria. His writings consist largely of philosophical, apologetic, and exegetical works. In addition to his intellectual pursuits, belonging to a prominent family ensured that Philo had public and political responsibilities as well. In a well-known incident around 39 C.E., Philo unsuccessfully led a Jewish delegation to the emperor Gaius Caligula in Rome, seeking rights for Jews, who were being severely mistreated by Alexandrians, who wished to deny Greek citizenship and its privileges to Jews. We also know that Philo traveled at least once on PILGRIMAGE to the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. He died around the year 50 C.E.

Much of Philo's work is exegetical in nature, and many individual writings include or consist entirely of commentaries on the biblical books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and DEUTERONOMY, with a special focus on the PATRIARCHS Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and the laws of MOSES. Working with the

Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures known as the Septuagint, Philo sought to demonstrate that the Jewish teachings in these books, especially Mosaic law, were compatible with and indeed were ultimately the source of the wisdom, natural law, and virtues of classical Greek philosophy. Thus, one must study divine revelation in scripture to gain knowledge of true philosophy.

Philo's exegesis is characterized by the allegorical method, which begins with the literal or historical level of meaning and then moves to the allegorical or spiritual level of meaning. Greek authors had used allegory for centuries, mainly to discover philosophical meanings in the writings of Homer, and Philo realized that it would help to uncover the higher meanings of scripture. This allegorical or spiritual meaning aids in the quest for spiritual perfection and knowledge of God, or in Philo's terms, the transcendence of the soul above the body.

With the decline of Alexandrian Jewish writings and the rise of rabbinic Judaism, ironically, Christians rather than Jews tended to read Philo. Well-educated Christians in Alexandria such as CLEMENT and ORIGEN also used allegory, and traces of Philo's influence are evident in their exegesis of Genesis, for example. Subsequent Christians like AMBROSE and JEROME either read Philo or those authors influenced by Philo. Early Christians are responsible for preserving many of Philo's works, and some even refer to Philo by the honorary status of "Philo the Bishop" or "Philo Christianus."

See also HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHERS; SOCRATES; TORAH.

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JODY VACCARO LEWIS

Phoenician colonies

Beginning with the Greek Dark Ages, *Phoinikoi* was the word used by Greeks to refer to the urban populations of the eastern Mediterranean seacoast. Phoenician cities from coastal Syria and Lebanon to the northern shore of Palestine, such as Ras al-Bassit (Poseidon), Tell Sukas (Sianu), Arwad (Arados), Tell Kazel (Sumur, Simyra), Tripolis, BYBLOS, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Ushu, Akhzib, Akko, Tell Keisan, Tell Abu Hawam, and Dor, clung to

the rocky islands, sheer cliffs, promontories, and open plains of the coastline. Inhabitants of these cities shared some degree of common ancestry and spoke a common language, also called Phoenician. The Phoenician-speaking populations were also united by numerous similarities of material culture, social organization, religious belief and practice, and economic enterprise. The Phoenicians are perhaps most famous for promulgating the 22-letter alphabet in which their documents were composed. The Phoenician alphabet is an ancestor of or inspiration for all succeeding alphabetic systems.

The Phoenician dialect of Tyre and Sidon reached its most extensive use in the Neo-Assyrian period (c. 860–600 B.C.E.). North of Syria, the Cilician region of Anatolia (modern Turkey) adopted the Tyrian-Sidonian Phoenician language and script for royal, administrative, and legal texts, generally with a parallel version in the local Luwian language, which was written in a hieroglyphic script. Westward expansion of Phoenician exploration and settlement would carry the language and script to Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean islands, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, the Balearics, and to the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula. Cádiz, ancient Gades, now in Spain, was the westernmost Phoenician city.

An eighth-century B.C.E. inscription from Castillo de Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, near Cádiz) identifies its writer as originating from Akko, suggesting that westward expansion radiated from Tyre, as traditionally held. Tyre was also the mother city of colonies on the African continent: Utica the oldest, Lixus on the Atlantic coast of West Africa the most remote, and CARTHAGE the largest and best known. Phoenician cultural influence extended south to the Sahara and sustained later Christian and Muslim Arab traditions that the indigenous population of North Africa was descended from Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The territory of contemporary Syria, Lebanon, and Israel/Palestine from Ras al-Bassit in the north to Dor in the south was called “Canaan” in ancient times, and people in the western Phoenician diaspora referred to themselves as “Canaanites.”

Phoenician material culture is readily detected by the distinctive traditions of pottery form and decoration, with bichrome decoration giving way to black-on-red and an enduring red-slipped style. Phoenician graphic and plastic arts developed Egyptian themes and later Anatolian and European and African styles, often in exquisite miniature forms on seals and amulets. Early Phoenician settlements generally lack evidence of pork consumption, but later sites under European influence show a more varied diet. Both cremation

burials and inhumation were practiced. Western loci exclusively for cremation burials of infants and children are widely interpreted as evidence of ritual infanticide. Phoenician religion was local, polytheistic, and family centered. Lineages of priests male and female conducted animal sacrifices and life cycle rituals; individual piety often combined Canaanite traditions with Egyptian magical practices.

In the Levant, distinctives of Phoenician culture weakened under Hellenistic and later Roman influence. Christianity replaced earlier beliefs in many Phoenician cities; in North Africa, the Punic (late Phoenician) language and some other cultural practices survived—largely among the Christian population—until the Arab conquests.

See also ASSYRIA; HANNIBAL; HELLENIZATION; HIEROGLYPHICS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

pilgrimage

From time immemorial religious people have believed that certain places are more sacred than other places. They have made it a practice to visit these places, believing that they can obtain special advantages in so doing. The journey to such a destination is called a pilgrimage. Archaeological remains and epigraphic evidence abound for the ancient practice of pilgrimage. Usually the destination of pilgrimage had been set apart a long time before any particular religion had chosen it. What often distinguished the site were things like natural elevation, a grove of trees, a freshwater spring, or a sheltering cave, and then in the religious narrative about the place, some divine appearance or visitation marked the location.

DELPHI AND THE GREEK GODS

Such a case in point is Delphi, the place where the usually aloof Greek god Apollo made himself known. At the foot of Greece's Mount Parnassus, wooded enough to be cool and high enough to give a commanding view of the sea below, Delphi was thought by Greeks to be the center of the Earth. Pilgrims had been coming here for centuries to drink from its sacred spring and to worship the serpent daughter of Mother Earth, Python, who was believed to live in a nearby cave.

When the INDO-EUROPEANS migrated to Greece and prevailed with their pantheon of gods, Delphi became the site where Apollo slew Python and established his summer home. They built a temple to him over the ruins of the earlier cult, and inside they erected a pockmarked stone that they said was the actual navel (*omphalos*) of the Earth. Beginning around the eighth century B.C.E. pilgrims began to flock to Delphi to seek advice from the priestess there who was known as the DELPHIC ORACLE. Other pilgrimage places sprouted up throughout the ancient world. Oracles and healing shrines (such as the Asclepion) drew thousands of tourists, devotees, and needy people, making pilgrimage something of a factor in economic prosperity and international relations. Pilgrimage sites could both keep the peace and bring prosperity and provoke religious wars and economic hard times.

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT

For the people of the Bible many of the same elements constituted the pilgrimage experience. Naturally endowed places and previous religious sites had drawing power, but more emphasized was a sense of divine visitation, or theophany. For example, the father of the 12 tribes of Israel, Jacob, had some kind of physical struggle with Israel's God on his way to Haran. This place (called Bethel, "house of God") then became a sacred place where an altar was set up and periodic worship conducted. The ARK OF THE COVENANT later became a focal point of the religion of Israel, and wherever it was, the people would go to seek divine assistance. Eventually, Jerusalem outweighed all the other pilgrimage spots, for here is where the Ark was sheltered and where Israel's God chose to dwell. As with Delphi, the pilgrimage site became the source for both unity and peace among the 12 tribes.

The pilgrim of the Jewish Bible would go to Jerusalem for the three feasts: Passover, Pentecost (Shavu'ot), and Tabernacles (Sukkot). Though not every male could fulfill this annual duty, the prominence of Jerusalem and the Temple united the people and centralized much of the common life. Even after the Temple was destroyed in 70 C.E., Jews continued to keep pilgrimage for many years and even later observed pilgrimage customs in rabbinic Judaism. The Western (Wailing) Wall of Herod's reconstructed Temple became the last vestige of the pilgrimage destination up until the present day.

CHRISTIAN AND JESUS'S PILGRIMAGE

The Christian people departed from their Jewish forebears in one respect: Pilgrimage was not a duty for them but an

advantage for spiritual growth. Christians believed that some places were "holy" and worthy of pilgrimage, but they felt that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH had already fulfilled the obligation of pilgrimage through his final journey to Jerusalem and its Temple, just before he died. Christians would imitate their savior by pilgrimage, but their motivation would be for reasons of personal piety. The church instead taught that there are two ways that a pilgrim grows devotionally: First, the pilgrim relives the life of Jesus through visiting the places where he lived. This sense is liturgical and is related to the Hebrew word connected with pilgrimage, *hag* ("keeping festival," or literally, "going in a circle"). Second, the pilgrim metaphorically demotes this temporal life and promotes the spiritual life when he or she cuts off ties to ordinary life (home and family). This sense is related to the other Hebrew words connected with pilgrimage, *gur* and *yasab* ("sojourn" and "live as a stranger").

The first sense led to an influx of pilgrims to the Holy Land in the first few centuries of the Common Era. The names of those who journeyed include such luminaries as Melito of Sardis (160), BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea (351), EGERIA (361), the DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS (fourth century), and JEROME (386), to name a few. Such pilgrims wanted to walk in the steps of Jesus, and this motivation later made the Christian Church connect its Sunday liturgies to specific events in the life of Jesus and corresponding Bible readings. It induced the liturgies to involve marches and processions, which became important in later Byzantine and Latin worship. Finally, the following of Jesus's steps persuaded CONSTANTINE THE GREAT and his mother, HELENA, to embark on a program of church and monument building that resulted in even a higher regard for the Holy Land. The second sense however became the core of asceticism and MONASTICISM. When the PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH ended with Constantine's Edict of Toleration, Christians took up such spiritual exercises to remind them that all of life is a brief pilgrimage and that the final destination is heaven. As Bernard of Clairvaux famously put it: "Your cell is Jerusalem." Ironically, when the Holy Lands were closed, due to Islamic restrictions, the monks became a new attraction for pilgrims who wanted to walk in their steps.

MUSLIM, HINDU, AND BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGES

Though Islamic pilgrimages fall outside the framework of this volume, it is necessary to point out two relevant facts. First, *hajj* is related to *hag*, and thus it is based on the same liturgical walking in the steps of religious heroes. All of the religious sites of *hajj* commemorate in ritualistic fashion key events in human salvation

history. Mecca is the site of divine, angelic, prophetic, and auspicious human activity since the beginning of creation. Second, it is clear that the high regard for Mecca is based on pre-Islamic reverence for such places as Arafat, Muzdalifah, Mina, and the Kaaba. All of these sites are connected with celestial and mountain deities.

Two other pilgrimage groups have ancient roots: the Hindus and the Buddhists. One cannot speak about Hinduism without mention of their many holy sites in the land of India. The Sanskrit word for pilgrimage place is *tirtha* (water-crossing place, or ford). This word has important historical overtones, for it explains why the ancient INDUS CIVILIZATION sites such as MOHENJO-DARO and the Harappa are also religious pilgrimage sites. The ancient Vedic scriptures cite this river and seven other Punjab “mother rivers” in northwest India.

The Hindu classics of the BHAGAVAD GITA, the MAHABHARATA and RAMAYANA, also detail places of religious veneration, including the Ganges River valley, that go back before the Common Era. The most popular site for Hindus unto this present day is Banaras, a northward bend in the Ganges River, where the largest concentration of *tirthas* are found. It is said that a devotee is certain of *moksha* (liberation) if he or she dies at Banaras. Nonetheless, the Hindu mystics have tried to deemphasize pilgrimage by saying that “the true Ganges is within.” Though Buddhists stress that nirvana (liberation) is achieved internally and outside of time, there is a history of pilgrimage in the religion. As far back as ASHOKA, the Buddhist Indian king (270–232 B.C.E.), Buddhists were erecting stupas (shrines) to attract converts. It was felt that ultimate deliverance came from within, but interest in the religion could come only from without.

Buddhist shrines tried to entice worldly people to consider religion. Ashoka’s own chronicles confirm that he made several of his own pilgrimages and sponsored the building of stupas to increase his subjects’ interest. Undoubtedly he traveled to Bodh Gaya, the place where GAUTAMA BUDDHA first achieved enlightenment (sixth century B.C.E.). This place is the most important pilgrimage site for Buddhists in India. Another important voice comes from the Chinese traveler FA XIAN (Fahsien), whose fifth-century B.C.E. journey to India testifies to the popularity of Buddhist pilgrimages.

Eventually, as Buddhism fell out of favor in India and Hinduism continued its dominance, pilgrimage sites were found in other Southeast Asian lands. As Mahayana Buddhism blossomed in China, Mount Wutai attracted many pilgrims as the place where a famous bodhisattva (angelic intermediary) figure, Manjusri, had his home. Even here, however, Buddhists built

upon the residual Daoist belief that Mount Wutai was already holy.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PATRIARCHS, BIBLICAL; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Platonism

Platonism is the philosophy or worldview of Plato, a Greek scholar who believed in a world beyond the everyday world, a world in which things were more real and vital than the world that one typically perceives with one’s senses. Plato, who lived 427–347 B.C.E., was a citizen of Athens. SOCRATES, who Plato called “the most just man of our times,” taught him. Socrates claimed that he was only wiser than others in that, “I know what I do not know.” Socrates did not write anything down; it is largely through the writings of Plato that modern readers learn about Socrates. Plato attempted to defend Socrates when he was tried and put to death, but the judges were quite biased against Socrates. Following the death of Socrates, Plato traveled the known world in search of further training, studying geometry from Euclid, mystical philosophy from the Italian schools founded by PYTHAGORAS, mathematics from the African Theodorus, and philosophy in Egypt. Eventually, he opened the Academy, outside of Athens, where he taught philosophy. Plato taught ARISTOTLE, who taught ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

IDEAS (FORMS) AND PARTICULAR INSTANCES

Central to Plato’s worldview is the reality of archetypal Ideas, often mistranslated as Forms. These Ideas are reflected in our language: A flower is an idea, but that small sunflower that one steps on is a particular instance of a flower. The fact that we have a word for flower indicates that we have an abstract, archetypal concept—an Idea of a flower. Plato says that this idea is more real because unlike the sunflower, which fades and dies, the Idea of a

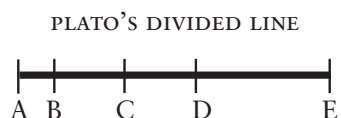
flower lives on. Plato does not say where Ideas are, but modern scholars clearly state that time and space do not apply to Ideas; as above, the Idea of a flower does not die. Though ideas are not seen in the normal way, Plato is convinced that they can be apprehended through the means of intelligence and reason.

DOCTRINE OF RECOLLECTION

In his Meno dialogue Plato has a Socrates character assert that we do not learn things so much as recollect them. The human spirit was trapped in a body and forgot everything but can remember it without outside help. Meno was skeptical of this, and in the dialogue, Socrates answers Meno's skepticism by calling over an uneducated boy. Socrates clearly demonstrates that the lad lacks all training in geometry. Socrates then sets before the slave a problem involving squares, triangles, and trying to double the size of a given square. Socrates provides no information, but keeps prodding the boy to look at the problem. The boy solves the problem easily and elegantly enough that any reader can follow the steps to the solution. Scholars call this an example of a priori knowledge—knowledge that does not come from prior experience. Plato and his Socrates character assert that all humans have an innate knowledge of geometry from before birth, which can be recollected. Modern mathematics is founded upon this doctrine, that mathematics is part in the world of archetypal Ideas and can be discovered or recalled through mathematical research.

- A square is only an Idea of a square, due to imperfections in the thickness of the lines, for example.
- The Idea of a square is based on the Idea of a line, the Idea of a right angle, etc.
- Since a human cannot see an infinitely thin line, it is assumed that such lines exist. Geometry assumes that the Ideas of squares, lines, and points exist.
- Ordinary geometry cannot exist without these basic assumptions.
- The assumptions cannot be verified.
- If the assumptions are changed, then the entire system of geometry has to change with them.
- These Ideas, called fundamental assumptions in geometry, are the most pivotal aspect of this branch of mathematics.

DIVIDED LINE



This concept of a divided line also relates to the Greek notion of the Golden Mean, or Extreme and Mean Ratio. Imagine a line, with points ABCDE.

Let the length of CE be X times longer than the length of AC. Plato declares that AC represents all entities one can comprehend with vision. For instance, a person can see a particular rose, so it is an object in AC. CE represents all things that are comprehensible through intelligence or reason. For example, the Idea of a rose is not something seen with the eyes, but rather something that is apprehended with the heart or mind. CE is longer than AC, and in this diagram, the longer something is, the clearer it is and the easier to comprehend. X is the ratio of the length of CE to the length of AC. This would mean that things apprehended with reason are X times as understandable as those comprehended with mere vision.

- Things represented in BC are the ordinary objects.
- Things represented in AB are the images of these objects. For example, reflections and shadows are images of objects that cast reflections or shadows.

Plato instructs to make sure that the length of AB is to the length of BC as AC is to CE, or $BC/AB = X = CE/AC$. This is an example of the Golden Mean. Images of objects are harder to understand: It is easier to learn to type by looking at the keyboard to see where the keys are, rather than to look at the shadow of the keyboard. Similarly, it is easier to understand all objects by looking at them rather than their images, reflections, or shadows. Now break the line CE into two parts, analogously to the division made in the visible arena:

- The lower part, CD, will represent things that are mere images of the things in DE.
- Things in CD will be comprehended by understanding, whereas things in DE will be comprehended by reason. And again, the lengths of CD and DE are such that $DE/CD = X$. In Plato's terminology, as CD is to DE, so is BC to AB.

Things in CD will be Ideas, like the Idea of a point, the Idea of the line, or the Idea of a square. To get more information about an Ideal square, a geometer draws a picture. The picture is a physical object, seen with vision, so it is in the arena represented by AC, things which are apprehended by sight. Yet one can draw the square on a piece of paper, hold it up to a mirror, and have a reflection of the drawing. Therefore, the drawing is a thing in BC, and the reflected image of the drawing is a thing in AB. This example can explain how to move up the ladder to

higher forms of comprehension. The reflection is just an image of the paper, and to better understand the square, one can turn attention not to the reflection, but to the paper on which the square is drawn. And if one goes beyond looking at the drawing of the square to considering the Idea of a square, it is considering a higher form of the concept by turning to the realm of the intelligence.

The reflection is a mere image of the physical object on which the square is drawn, because everything in category AB is a mere image of something in category BC. However, this physical object is a mere image of the Idea of a square. This teaches that just as everything in AB is an image of something in BC, everything in BC is an image of something in CD. Because of how the line is constructed, everything in CD is an image of something in DE, so things in each category are mere images of things in the category above. And just as it is easier to understand something by looking at the object itself than by looking at its image, it is always easier to understand the world by looking at a higher category. Plato claims it is still easier to comprehend the world by looking at the higher-level ideas in DE than the lower-level ideas in CD. The ideas in CD are mere images of the ideas in DE. The higher ideas in DE partake more directly of the Idea of goodness than do the Ideas in CD. The Ideas in CD are apprehended by reason.

The Ideas of points, lines, and squares are assumptions. Therefore, when reason allows humans to see beyond these assumptions in CD to the clearer and more intelligible things above it in DE, they will achieve an understanding that transcends assumptions. The process by which reason allows a vision of the clearest things in DE is the process that Socrates uses in teaching his students: the process of dialectic. Once this amazing state of seeing the thing in DE has been achieved, one can then use this new understanding to move down the line, by first creating a better assumption in CD, and then viewing the consequences of this new assumption, achieving a new and better understanding of the world.

THE ALLEGORY OF THE CAVE

Imagine a group of people born to a cave, where they are chained to stone benches so that they cannot turn around: They are forever facing one large wall of the cave. Behind them is a great bonfire, and between the chained people and the fire, a handful of people hide behind a partition like puppeteers and hold up things to make shadows on the wall at which the others stare. The chained people spend their lives looking at the shadows on the wall and trying to describe them. Thus, the chained people only experience the lowest things mentioned in the divided line

discussion—the shadows of objects. All that the chained people know about life comes from their observations of these shadows. The chained people judge one another by their skill at quickly recognizing shadows, and they dislike people who judge poorly or take a long time to recognize the shadows. Plato then describes a process of gradual philosophical awakening. Suppose a chained person breaks free, turns around, and sees both the fire and the people who make the shadows. Plato remarks that his eyes will initially be blinded by the firelight, and the things he sees will appear less real than the shadows he has spent his whole life watching.

But, over time the freed individual's eyes will adjust to the fire, and he will be able to see it and the puppets that are held up to make the shadows. Perhaps he will realize that what he has been looking at his whole life are not real things but shadows of puppets. Perhaps then the freed prisoner will ascend the long passage that leads from the underground cave to the surface. Imagine that he is compelled to do so quickly. When he arrives at the surface, the light will be too bright and will overwhelm the prisoner's eyes. At first, the prisoner will see nothing, and then perhaps he will be able to see the shadows of objects that are in the sunlight. In this upper world the shadows are images of the real objects in the sunlight; hence they are like the things represented in CD, in the discussion of the Divided Line. Plato says that in time the freed prisoner may accustom his eyes to see actual objects in the light of day and even to look at the Sun itself, and to see what the Sun is and how it moves across the sky to create the seasons. At this point the freed prisoner can begin to understand what life is and how it works, because he is contemplating the things represented in the category DE from the Divided Line discussion; he is contemplating things that can only be perceived by the true light of reason. At this point the freed prisoner becomes a philosopher. Plato notes that the freed prisoner will desire to remain in the sunlight contemplating the higher things by the light of reason, since the shadows in the cave will seem trivial to him. The newly created philosopher, understanding things by the light of reason will have no desire to discuss shadows.

Yet, Plato asserts that this is exactly what is required for society to improve: The philosopher must return to the cave. No one else understands things as they really are, since everyone else is talking about shadows of puppets, and only the philosopher who understands the nature of the world can lead the people. However, Plato notes that upon returning to the cave, the philosopher will be unaccustomed to the darkness and will at first perform poorly in the shadow-naming contests and

be unable even to see the shadows. The prisoners will laugh at the philosopher and think that his journey to the sunlight has ruined his vision. If someone else were to try to free these prisoners by showing them the fire, they would try to kill that person rather than having their vision ruined like they believe the philosopher's vision has been destroyed. Plato asserts that if the philosopher remains in the cave and becomes reacclimated to the darkness, the philosopher might be able to get others to the surface most quickly, and the philosopher might teach them to see in the shortest period of time. That art is the dialectic study of philosophy, which is how Socrates taught Plato and others.

See also GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; NEOPLATONISM; PAIDEIA.

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JOSEPH R. GERBER

polis

The polis was a city-state in ancient Greece and was a significant feature of Greek civilization. Most of Greece was controlled by a polis, and they were organized with sufficient efficiency for the central city to administer large tracts of land. The surrounding areas were dominated by agricultural activities, and any surplus was taxed by the city, which in return provided military security and housed items of ceremonial and religious importance. In many parts of Greece, small city-states existed in close proximity of one another. The study of politics began with the management of the polis.

Most GREEK CITY-STATES passed through a succession of government types, starting with a hereditary king (*vasileus*) and moving through tyrants and oligarchs, eventually becoming democracies. Not all states passed through every form of government, and the state could even revert to what might be considered an earlier form of governance. Sparta, for example, retained its kings and its rigid military government while contending with democratic Athens during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Those cities that tended to side with Athens or were influenced by it were more likely to have a democratic basis to their government. However, during the

Mycenaean period, early cities were abandoned sometime around 1100–1200 B.C.E., and the people resumed living a tribal, seminomadic lifestyle.

Under kings and the tyrants such as PEISISTRATUS, members of the polis could scarcely be called citizens since they had few recognizable rights. As tyrants gave way to oligarchs, competing political interests developed a motivation to capture increasing amounts of forms of economic production and use them to reward their own followers. This may have transformed into a continued privilege that became customary in time. Citizens in functioning democracies had the greatest degree of freedom, although Greek democracy, even in Athens, bore little resemblance to modern conceptions. Only a small group of elite males, for example, was permitted to vote. The size of the polis had to be kept comparatively small so that the democratic system could reach decisions with some efficiency. A large city would find democratic norms too unwieldy and would be more likely to resort to tyranny. During the PERSIAN INVASIONS of 490 and 480 B.C.E., Athens provided 10 generals, each of which was to command for a single day in strict rotation. Yet, as soon as the threat became imminent, the generals voted to place one man in absolute control. Plato observed that a polis should have no more members than one man could recognize.

A number of Greek commentators and philosophers wrote about the polis and its nature. ARISTOTLE considered the polis based on the household as the unit of analysis. The household consisted of an extended family, together with servants, slaves, and clients who would be capable of contributing a significant amount to the life of the polis, while the latter would provide opportunities to the household that would not be available in other governmental models. This depended on maintaining a comparatively small size for the polis, to which the household could make a noticeable contribution because increased size would have the effect of reducing the value of the household and, hence, sense of identity.

It was common for people to move to a different polis, although no doubt this was impossible or very difficult for some classes of society or women. Consequently, city-states competing for scarce human resources would have felt pressure to offer their citizens favorable living conditions. Moving to a polis was no guarantee of being able to partake of its benefits. Citizenship was variously defined but customarily required descent from at least one parent who was a citizen. There were periodic exceptions made to this rule, resulting most commonly from need inspired by warfare, famine, or other environmental disaster. In most cases the armored, spear-wielding

infantry (hoplites) on which city-states relied for defense were composed of citizens who were obliged to support themselves and their equipment. Naturalization of incoming people was a new development for the polis and increased identification of individuals with the state.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; PLATONISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Pompeii and Herculaneum

Pompeii and Herculaneum were two Roman towns destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. A community had existed at Pompeii, near present-day Naples, in proximity of the Sarnus River and the Bay of Naples since the eighth century B.C.E. Initially the ETRUSCANS, then the Samnites, and finally the Romans controlled the prosperous trading town that was colonized and known as Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum by 80 B.C.E. Mount Vesuvius, which had formed at least 17,000 years earlier, was one mile away.

Pompeii endured numerous landslides due to extensive rains. A series of earthquakes, some minor, but one particularly strong one, wreaked havoc on Pompeii in 62 C.E. and caused massive structural damage to the town and its buildings. The citizens began an extensive rebuilding process in Pompeii and used richer materials for their houses and their art. Despite some volcanic rumblings and the wells drying up, the Pompeiani had no inkling of the calamitous event to follow because Mount Vesuvius had been idle for centuries. Although a few people left the city on August 24, 79 C.E., the majority of people went about their daily business.

Around one o'clock in the afternoon Mount Vesuvius erupted and spewed 18–20 feet of ash and cinders that buried the town and asphyxiated and mummified most of the 20,000 people in Pompeii. The intense ash clouded the Sun for several days and created a tsunami in the Bay of Naples. The volcanic debris had a temperature of 1500 degrees Fahrenheit. As it flowed for two days toward Pompeii, its temperature fell to 660°F. The town, which had been a vacation resort for Rome's nobility, was completely covered by ash, although not destroyed. Some survivors claimed their possessions, but there was

no thought of restoration. Pompeii remained buried for the next 16 centuries. An excellent description of the event is found in *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*.

Although some excavations were undertaken in the 16th century, the first serious excavations at Pompeii took place under the patronage of King Charles VII of the Two Sicilies (r. 1735–59). His team withdrew numerous artifacts that were displayed in the National Museum in Naples. Then, from 1863 to 1875 more scientifically acceptable excavations under Giuseppi Fiorelli (1823–96) took place. His meticulous note taking, recording, and preservation revealed a fascinating glimpse at a Roman town. He innovated and made plaster casts of the 2,000 skeletons found in Pompeii indicating how and where they died. Some of the buildings still stand: the forum, the houses, villas, stores, bakery, baths, a huge hotel, the theaters, and amphitheater indicate a prosperous town. Numerous other excavation directors have worked on Pompeii, which was around 66 percent uncovered in 2006. Pompeii is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is visited by thousands of tourists every year. Although the Italian government has offered financial incentives to the nearly 1 million citizens in the area to relocate in case Mount Vesuvius erupts again, many modern-day Pompeiani refuse to leave.

Herculaneum, a small town between Pompeii and Naples, known as Ercolano since 1969, was decimated by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. The luxury town of approximately 5,000 inhabitants had suffered an earthquake in 63 C.E. After considerable rebuilding Herculaneum enjoyed a booming economy and was comprised of vacation villas, a number of restaurants, a market, and a mill. On August 24, 79 C.E., the town was obliterated by 75 feet of disastrous poisonous air, gases, lava ashes, small stones, and pumice that spewed from Mount Vesuvius and suffocated the inhabitants. Herculaneum was rediscovered in 1738 after a huge stash of impressive statues was found there. Excavations were carried on from 1738 to 1780, and tunnels were built to access the ruins. Major excavation occurred when some 1,500 workers uncovered Herculaneum from 1805 to 1815. Some 300 bodies were found during one excavation.

More excavations occurred during the 19th century and revealed magnificent paintings and 1,803 rolls of papyri from a library that contained the works of Demetrius, Epicurus, and other famous authors. After lengthy painstaking labor some 194 of the unrolled papyri were publicized. Although some modern chemical solutions allowed for revealing the scrolls, some unfortunately could not be interpreted. During excavations in

the 1990s more than 200 skeletons were found on the beach. The exquisite buildings, mosaics, paintings, and art indicate that Herculaneum was materially and culturally superior to Pompeii.

See also EPICUREANISM.

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Pompey

(106–48 B.C.E.) *Roman general*

The Roman statesman and general Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was given the title “the Great” by his troops in Africa in 81 B.C.E. and later by the Roman authorities. Initially an ally of JULIUS CAESAR, Pompey opposed Caesar’s march on Rome in 49 B.C.E., resulting in the civil war that ultimately saw Pompey dead and Caesar in control of Rome and its empire.

Pompey was born on September 29, 106 B.C.E., into an important Roman family. His father was a Roman general. Pompey’s family initially supported MARIUS against Sulla in a struggle for control of the Roman Republic. After the death of his father he joined Sulla, taking part in the defection against Marius. The dictator Sulla gave the young general command of an army that was sent out against supporters of Marius in Sicily and Africa. In two quick campaigns in 82–81 B.C.E., Pompey destroyed the Marians. When Marcus Lepidus became consul and tried to get rid of Sulla, Pompey crushed Lepidus’s troops. He then went to Spain to fight supporters of Marius and scored a military triumph in his conquest of Spain. With control over Spain, Transalpine Gaul (modern-day southern France), and Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy) he returned to a triumphal procession through Rome and was elected consul in 70 B.C.E.

Pompey joined forces with Marcus Licinius Crassus, his main rival, and the two became joint consuls. Pompey then made an alliance with Julius Caesar, forming the First TRIUMVIRATE with Caesar and Crassus. It was a strong political partnership, with Pompey further cementing the union by marrying Caesar’s daughter Julia. Yet,

Pompey and Caesar began to have political differences. When Crassus was killed in battle in 53 B.C.E., the triumvirate ended, leading to rioting and the burning of the senate house. The Senate called on Pompey to take over and restore law and order, and he became sole consul.

Pompey reformed the legal system, particularly as the law concerned Caesar, including an attempt to have Caesar turn over control of his armies. The increasing rift between the two led to Caesar and his troops marching on Rome. Pompey retreated south, leaving Caesar to chase after him. Caesar engaged Pompey in battle at Dyrrhachium (Durrës in modern-day Albania) where Pompey’s forces triumphed. However, at a battle in Pharsalus, in modern-day Greece, Pompey was decisively defeated. Pompey again fled and, finding no options to submission to Caesar, sought refuge with Ptolemy XIII in Egypt, whose father Pompey had helped restore to the throne. Ptolemy thought that aiding the defeated Pompey would drag Egypt into war and believed it a better option to have Pompey murdered. As he approached the Egyptian shore by boat on September 28, 48 B.C.E., Pompey was killed by an officer who had formerly served under him, allied with Ptolemy. Pompey’s head and ring were presented to Caesar soon afterward. Caesar was said to have been disgusted by this action and later deposed Ptolemy.

Pompey’s sons and supporters continued fighting Caesar for several more years but only delayed Julius Caesar’s inevitable control of the incipient ROMAN EMPIRE.

See also CATO, MARCUS PORCIUS (THE YOUNGER).

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Pontius Pilate

(first century C.E.) *Roman governor*

Pontius Pilate was a Roman prefect who governed Judaea from 26 to 37 C.E. Pilate rose to prominence in history when in about 30 C.E. he condemned JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH to be crucified. Judaeans had command over five to six auxiliary military cohorts (each consisting of 500 to 1,000 soldiers), which provided tactical support to the legion stationed in Syria. There were 25 legions (each consisting of 6,000 soldiers) in the ROMAN EMPIRE. As a governor, however, Pilate also had administrative, judicial, and fiscal responsibilities, since

the main job of a Roman governor was to ensure the uninterrupted flow of tax revenues to the Roman treasury. The Roman governors of Judaea lived in Caesarea and traveled to Jerusalem only at the major religious feasts.

The figure of Pilate is somewhat shrouded in mystery not only because so little is known about him but because the Gospels and Jewish sources are at odds with each other in their portrayals of him. The four New Testament Gospels give the impression that he was a weak figure whom the Jewish authorities manipulated into executing Jesus. According to PHILO and JOSEPHUS, however, he was a cruel and arrogant man, who, rather than being manipulated by the Jews, did much to agitate them. For example, he set up either shields or standards in Jerusalem to honor the emperor Tiberius, which triggered a bitter protest among the Jews. He also took sacred funds from the Temple treasury to build an aqueduct. When a large crowd of Jews showed up in Jerusalem to protest his action, he put down the protest with brutal violence. Pilate perpetrated these and other acts of provocation fully aware that they would offend Jewish sensitivities. So, the question is how to account for the two disparate pictures of Pilate in the Gospels and the Jewish sources. Three basic theories have been advanced to solve this problem.

According to the first theory, the reason Pilate suddenly changed his behavior at the trial of Jesus was that his enormously powerful patron, Sejanus, commander of the Roman Praetorian Guard (a cohort providing armed protection to the emperor and his family), had been executed in 31 C.E., and Pilate felt the need to alter his conduct toward the Jewish authorities, whom his earlier actions had offended. However, the historical evidence behind this neat theory is ambiguous at best. For example, the coins struck by Pilate before 31 C.E. do not carry images that were particularly offensive to the Jews. If Pilate had indeed wanted to offend Jewish sensibilities in the years preceding the death of Sejanus, he would certainly have put more offensive images on the coins, such as those of Roman deities.

According to the second theory, the Gospel writers falsified the historical facts to put the blame on the Jews in hopes of appeasing Rome. The problem with this theory is that the Jewish sources may be just as biased as the Gospels. According to the third theory, rather than being manipulated by the Jewish authorities, Pilate, ever a cunning and cruel bargainer, was exploiting the occasion to manipulate the crowds and the Jewish authorities into pledging their allegiance to the Caesar. It appears, however, that the change in Pilate's behavior must have been due at least in part also to the extraordinary presence and demeanor of Jesus, which, according to the Gospels,

had power to disarm and overwhelm his opponents. According to later Christian traditions, Pilate, having been impressed by Jesus, eventually converted to Christianity.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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P. RICHARD CHOI

pre-Socratic philosophy

The pre-Socratics were Greek philosophers who speculated about the nature of the world for more than 150 years before SOCRATES flourished. Their philosophizing about nature sought answers to questions that were metaphysical and scientific, although these disciplines were not then separated. The metaphysical questions asked by the pre-Socratics were inquiries into the ultimate nature of everything. Their questions included What is the beginning (*arche*) or source of all things? What is reality and what is only appearance? What is everything made of? Is it one "stuff" or many "stuffs?" This last question is now called the problem of "the one and the many." Other problems addressed by the pre-Socratics included the nature of change, of being, of becoming, and quantity.

The great importance of the pre-Socratics lies in their speculative use of reason without reference to myths, authorities, religion, popular opinion, or other sources of knowledge. They used reason to supply answers about the metaphysical nature of the universe. In doing so they initiated a great philosophical conversation that applies human reason to the quest to understand everything. The pre-Socratics were a varied group of thinkers, but all were Greeks. They lived and worked in widely scattered locations. Most of their writings were lost in antiquity. Fragments, along with *testimonia* (what was reported by other writers as direct quotations or as summaries of their thought), have survived that give a general picture of their thought. The first school of the pre-Socratics was the Ionian school. These Ionian Greeks produced the Milesian school and two independent philosophers.

MILESIAN SCHOOL

The first Greek philosopher, according to ARISTOTLE, was Thales (c. 624–545 B.C.E.). He was counted as one of the legendary Seven Sages and the founder of the

Milesian school. His *POLIS* (city-state), Miletus, was located on the southwestern coast of what is now Turkey. Thales is noted for predicting an eclipse of the Sun in 585 B.C.E. More important, he explained why the eclipse would occur, saying that it would occur when the Moon passed between the Sun and the Earth. The Moon would consequently block the rays of the Sun and would cast its shadow on the Earth until it moved on in its orbit around the Earth. This explanation was a naturalistic explanation. It did not rely on the religious mythopoeic explanations of gods, demons, or other spiritual forces that abounded in the beliefs of that time. This explanation is counted as the beginning of Western philosophy. It served as a corrective to the poetic views of Homer, HESIOD, and other Greek poets.

Thales, in a search for the ultimate unity of the cosmos, pondered the question What is everything made of? His answer was water. This seemed to be a plausible answer because much of the surface of the Earth is covered with water; water comes in solid, liquid, and gaseous states, and water is the basis of life on Earth. However, the answer, while wrong, is valuable because it can be “falsified.” Answers to questions that can neither be proven as true or false have little value. Those that can be falsified shut the door to further research in that area and direct inquiry to other areas.

Thales’s immediate follower was Anaximander (c. 610–545 B.C.E.), the second member of the Milesian school. Anaximander speculated that the basic “stuff” of the cosmos was not water. Instead, he reasoned it was an odorless, colorless, weightless substance that he called “the boundless” (*aperion*). His thought was that *aperion* was the *arche*, or source of all things, and it was infinite in supply. His answer also initiated “philosophical criticism” because it was a reasoned analysis of the speculations of Thales. For Anaximander all particular things such as earth, air, fire, and water had been spun out of the whirling mass of the boundless. These particulars were in constant warfare with each other. This viewpoint presented a primitive form of the idea of evolution.

However, his view of “evolution” was cyclical. He argued that the continual change in the cosmos was part of a cycle of creation and destruction. By adding time to his speculative ideas he was able to express a cyclical view of history. In addition, by using reasoning about the unseen ultimate nature of the cosmos he introduced a primitive rationalist method.

Anaximenes (c. 560–28 B.C.E.) was the third member of the Milesian school. He was a younger contemporary of Anaximander. He rejected the speculation of Anaxi-

mander that *aperion* is the basic stuff of the universe. He reasoned that the answer is of limited use because there is too little that can be known about a stuff that is “unbounded.” Agreeing with Anaximander that the basic stuff should be eternal, unlimited, and at the same time a singular “stuff,” and using the criterion of clarity, Anaximenes declared that all things are derived from air. When this assertion is compared to the gaseous state of the universe immediately after the “big bang,” when all matter everywhere was stripped to protons, his answer can be viewed as surprisingly modern.

INDEPENDENT IONIAN PHILOSOPHERS

The first of the independent Ionian philosophers was Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. c. 500 B.C.E.). He is known as the philosopher of flux because he asserted that everything is changing and that the only thing that does not change is change itself. He is famous for the saying “I can step into a river once, but I cannot step into the same river twice.” This means that the basic characteristic of the cosmos is “becoming.” Everything is constantly becoming something else. Heraclitus taught that the basic “stuff” is fire. He went beyond physical fire to argue that the fire was a divine reason, or *logos*, that was constantly in motion. He used the metaphor of law courts to include a moral vision to his philosophy. The cosmos is constantly changing, but there is a pattern such that “justice” (*dike*) seeks to establish a balance. Constantly, if there is an “offense” it must be balanced. This vision of the world was to greatly influence ADAM SMITH’s vision of the “harmony” (*harmonia* or *concordia*) of the marketplace that is controlled by an “invisible hand.”

Xenophanes (c. 560–470 B.C.E.) of Colophon (located 40 miles north of Miletus) is included among the Ionians, but Aristotle placed him among the Eleatics. He lived for a time in Sicily and at Elea, where he may have founded Eleatic philosophy. Xenophanes’ contribution to philosophy was a radical critique of popular Greek religion, specifically the works of Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and Hesiod (*Theogony*). The Greeks were polytheists with the Olympian gods serving as the public state gods. For Xenophanes the Olympian gods lacked moral inspiration and were shameful. His critique began the philosophy of religion. Xenophanes was neither an atheist nor an agnostic but believed in one god that was greater than any other and who was utterly different. He also accepted the common ancient belief that order was the sign of intelligence that ultimately was divine.

All of the Ionian pre-Socratic philosophers were materialistic monists. As metaphysical monists their

claim was that the basic “stuff” of the cosmos was a single material substance (*monism*).

PYTHAGORAS

PYTHAGORAS (c. 570–495 B.C.E.) was a monist, but in contrast to the materialism of the Ionians, he was an idealist (or immaterialist). Pythagoras is classified as a member of the Italian school of pre-Socratic philosophers. According to legend, one day Pythagoras walked by the blacksmith’s shop and heard the tones of different hammers beating on the anvil. He went home and worked with notes produced by different lengths of string. From his experiments he concluded that the basic stuff of the universe is numbers. It was in effect a discovery of quantity—every physical thing in the cosmos has quantity associated with it.

Pythagoras organized a school that was more of a mathematical cult, open to both men and women. The Pythagorean school flourished, and eventually the Pythagoreans took control of several city-states. The greatest success of Pythagoras in mathematics was the Pythagorean formula ($A^2 + B^2 = C^2$). The formula says that the sum of the squares of the lengths of the sides of a right-angled triangle is equal to the square of its hypotenuse. All went well until it was discovered that if sides A and B of a triangle were equal in length, then the resulting square root would be an “irrational” number. When news of hypotenuses with irrational numbers leaked out of the inner circle of Pythagoreans, it meant that the Pythagorean belief that everything could be rationally comprehended by mathematics was flawed. The natives rose up in revolt and attacked the Pythagoreans. In the violent turmoil Pythagoras fled for his life, but coming upon a bean field he stopped and would not cross it because he believed that beans were sinful. He was soon caught and killed, but the teachings of the Pythagorean school lived on.

ELEATIC SCHOOL

The city-state of Elea, south of Naples on the western Italian peninsula, was the home of the Eleatic school of pre-Socratics. The first of these was Parmenides, whose method was rationalistic. He challenged the claim of Heraclitus that everything was in flux. For Parmenides (515–c. 450 B.C.E.) the basic “stuff” of the cosmos is being. Everything that exists “is.” It has the property of “is-ness” because it “exists.” This is in contrast to not being or “no-thingness” (nothingness). For Parmenides change was an illusion. If a thing exists then it “is,” and if it “is,” then it cannot both be and not be at the same time by somehow being and then changing to become something else. Parmenides’ argument is a radical affirmation of

being. As a rationalist, Parmenides argued for “the Way of Truth” and rejected “the Way of Opinion.”

The second of the Eleatics was Zeno of Elea (c. 470 B.C.E.). He is famous for paradoxes he posed to demonstrate that change is an illusion. Some of his paradoxes are about the experience of motion. They seek to demonstrate that belief in motion entraps those who believe in motion as a form of change into an impossible contradiction. His paradoxes included “The Stadium,” “The Runner,” “The Race between Achilles and the Tortoise” and “The Arrow.” The goal of each paradox was to lead opponents into a *reductio ad absurdum* in which motion was seen as a confused condition of life.

The Pluralists are those pre-Socratic philosophers who claimed that the basic stuff of the cosmos were many. This school includes two independent thinkers, most notably Empedocles and Anaxagoras. Empedocles (c. 495–435 B.C.E.) flourished in Sicily. Ancient legend says that he ended his life by jumping into the crater of Mount Etna. For Empedocles the basic “stuff” of the universe is plural. Specifically everything is made of earth, air, fire, and water. Aristotle agreed with his views and spread them widely. “On Nature” and “Purifications” are two poems by Empedocles and are the longest surviving works of the pre-Socratics.

The thought of Parmenides influenced Empedocles in several ways. For both men reality was a complete *plenum*. There is, in their view, a plenitude of being in the cosmos so that there are no gaps where there is “nothing.” They also agreed that nothing comes into existence nor goes out of existence. Nor do things move in empty space. Empedocles is reported by the ancients as having found fossils in the high mountains of Sicily. He concluded that life began in the sea. His poem “On Nature” presents a proto-evolutionary view of the development of the world in which the four elements of the universe—earth, air, fire, and water—are combined and destroyed by the forces of love and strife. For Empedocles random combinations create the world cycle. However, he also believed that there was a god of the process. He held it to be a flashing sacred mind that influenced the cosmos with rapid thought of its divine mind.

Anaxagoras (c. 500–428 B.C.E.) was from Clazomenae in Asia Minor. He taught in Athens and for a short time taught Socrates. Questionable sources say that he was convicted of teaching impiety by declaring that the Sun was a red-hot rock. Unlike Socrates, who would be executed some year later on a similar charge of impiety, Anaxagoras was exiled from Athens because of the intervention of PERICLES, his former student. Anaxagoras reworked the thought of Empedocles. He rejected the

idea that the four basic elements are earth, air, fire, and water, which combine and disintegrate due to the forces of love and strife. Instead, he asserted that there was an infinite variety of minute “seeds” that are the basis for all of the variety of things in the world. Moreover, many new combinations of the seeds create the myriad objects in the world because of the actions of an orderly divine mind, or *nous* in Greek.

ATOMISTS

The final school of Pluralists was the Atomists: Leucippus (c. fifth century B.C.E.) of Elea or Miletus, and Democritus (c. 460–370 B.C.E.) of Abdera. Little is known of Leucippus, who may have studied with Zeno. It is believed that Democritus studied with Leucippus, and scholars believe that their teachings were essentially the same. Democritus taught that if he took a rock or some material and crushed it until it was no longer cut-able, then he would have “a-tome.” The Greek word *tome* means “to cut,” and the prefix *a-* means “un-.” The result of the cutting of a thing to its uncut-able state would be an *atomos*, or in the plural, *atomoi*. Modern atoms are taken from this ancient idea but are qualitatively different. Democritus was a pluralist. For him there were in the cosmos a myriad of different *atomoi*. Some were small and smooth like small ball bearings, others were sticky like Velcro, while others were rough with hooks, or others very tiny and dissipated quickly like perfume.

For Democritus even the gods were made of atoms moving in the vortex of the cosmos, which appeared to the ancients as the Milky Way. Two implications of this materialist pluralism were a denial of the eternity of the gods and the denial of punishment in an afterlife. For Democritus material things in the cosmos had been created by the myriad *atomoi* combining as they moved in the vortex. The “furniture” of the cosmos (which for the Greeks included everything that is) was the result of accidental “makings” caused by the bumping together and the separation of the myriad different *atomoi*, which produced and by separating destroyed the world.

Furthermore, the *atomoi* moved in empty space that was not “nothing” as Parmenides had taught, but a “no-thing” in empty space. In this way Democritus distinguished between a void in which there are no material bodies and nothingness, which is the total absence of space and any body as well. The implications were that souls were atoms that quickly dissipated and that the gods would go in their turn as well. Hence, there would be no eternal survival of the soul and no judgment in a life to come. At the end of the era of the pre-Socratics no solution had been found that was a

conclusive analysis of the nature of the cosmos. Their work would be utilized by both Plato and Aristotle in their struggles against the Sophists.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PLATONISM; SOPHISM.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

prophets

Both Jewish and Christian traditions regard the Bible as a divinely inspired book in and through which God reveals to human beings what they could not know of themselves. This revelation came chiefly through the prophets, privileged men and women to whom and through whom God spoke. Because of their access to this revelation they carried great authority and at times exercised as decisive an influence on the course of Israel's history as did the kings and rulers.

THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY IN ISRAEL

The first person referred to as a prophet is Abraham, the Patriarch of Israel, and prophets appear throughout the history narrated by the writers of the Bible. However, the prophets are not a uniform phenomenon; they differ greatly in their manner of prophesying, in their role among the people of Israel, and in the significance accorded them by the biblical writers.

The origin of prophecy among the Israelites is obscure. Although both Abraham and MOSES are referred to as prophets, because of their role as intermediaries between God and Israel, prophet is only one of the many titles given them in the Bible, and they are not commonly called prophets. Generations later, a few figures are referred

to as prophets in the very early days of Israel's settlement in Canaan (such as Deborah and an unnamed prophet in the book of JUDGES), but prophets as a distinct religious phenomenon first appear clearly with Samuel, the great leader of Israel. Samuel was a judge in Israel, that is, a ruler or political leader of the people, but he became a judge because he received revelation from God, by which he was able to establish his leadership. Here we see clearly for the first time the most distinctive trait of the prophets—the capacity to receive revelation from God, to receive the word of the Lord and make it known.

But Samuel was not the only prophet in Israel at that time. The biblical book of Samuel also refers to “bands of prophets” whose nature and role is very obscure. These prophets gathered in groups under a master and engaged in “ecstatic” religious worship. But in spite of great academic interest in the nature and identity of these bands of prophets, little is known of them. Immediately after the time of Samuel, Nathan and Gad appear as prophets, not as leaders or rulers themselves, as Abraham, Moses, Deborah, and Samuel had been, but rather are attached to the court of King DAVID as advisers. They gave their counsel not only in religious matters but in military and political concerns as well. The advice they give is not always presented as the word of the Lord, but they were valued as advisers because what they said was not simply their advice but rather revelation of God's will.

In the period after David's kingship the prophets become increasingly important in the life of Israel. They appear frequently in the histories known as Kings and Chronicles and are often involved in conflict with the rulers over religious matters or in the conflicts between rulers. Their authority derives from their privileged access to the word of the Lord, that is, the knowledge of what God is doing or is going to do, and the encounters between prophets and kings or between prophets were often tense and dramatic. The outstanding figures of this period are Elijah and Elisha, of whom many stories of miraculous activity are recorded and who were deeply involved in the political conflicts of their time. Like Samuel, Elijah and Elisha are closely associated with the obscure bands of prophets, sometimes referred to as “the sons of the prophets.” Both Elijah and Elisha were engaged in conflict with rulers of Israel (such as AHAB) over religious matters.

These rulers sought to introduce in Israel various forms of Canaanite worship, and Elijah and Elisha used their prophetic authority to oppose replacement of the worship of Israel's God with worship of other gods. In the history told by the writers of the Bible this

clash with idolatry was the classic struggle of many of the later prophets.

The words and deeds of all of these earlier prophets are accessible to us through writings that took shape long after the times of the prophets. Possibly these accounts are based on writings preserved and passed on by the bands of prophets, but if so we now have only the much later written accounts. But in the period just before the invasions of both the northern and southern kingdoms (ISRAEL AND JUDAH) by the Assyrians and the Babylonians, prophets appeared whose words were recorded more extensively and are passed on in the books referred to as “the later prophets,” or “the writing prophets,” that is, the books from Isaiah to Malachi, each bearing the name of an individual prophet. These books are sometimes referred to as the “major prophets”—the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel—and the “minor prophets”—the books of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Although the dates and circumstances in which these prophets appeared are in many cases difficult to determine precisely, their activities focus on the great crises that led to the overthrow of both the northern kingdom (Israel) and the southern kingdom (Judah). The work of the earliest of these writing prophets is usually dated about the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. (750 B.C.E.). Most of their prophecy is directed toward Israel, warning that failure to remain faithful to Israel's God will result in personal and national catastrophe. But there are also collections of sayings directed to other nations, often promising retribution for having opposed the nation of Israel.

In the end the Assyrians conquered the northern kingdom (c. 721 B.C.E.), and later the Babylonians conquered the southern kingdom (the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.). The prophets who witnessed these events interpreted them as punishment of Israel for idolatry and failure to keep the law that God had given. The dates of some of the prophetic books are disputed, but the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah at least were written in the period after the Babylonian conquest. The tone and message of these books is dramatically different from that of the prophets who were active before the great crisis.

These later prophets bring messages of hope and consolation for the survivors of the national disaster. After the time of the restoration of Jerusalem in the fifth century B.C.E. no great prophets appear, and it is common to say that prophecy ceased in Israel. However, the existence or absence of prophecy during this later period is a matter of debate.

The preaching and teaching of the prophets covered a wide range of concerns and varied from prophet to prophet and through time. The activity and pronouncements of the earliest prophets often dealt with political concerns because for them the life of the nation of Israel was very much the concern of Israel's God. They also were deeply involved with the monotheism of Israel as it was being shaped in its earliest stages. As time went on these themes remained important, but the prophets' concerns broadened. The teaching of the prophets covered these major themes: true worship of God and avoidance of idolatry; obedience to the TORAH, both personally and in the conduct of government; interpretation of historical events as God's action; the expectation of a future glorious kingdom for Israel; concern for the welfare of the poor and helpless; and God's dealing with neighboring nations, especially as a consequence of how they treated Israel.

TRUE AND FALSE PROPHECY

The prophets claimed that they were speaking on behalf of God, and that bold claim led naturally to the question of how one determined whether the claim was true or false. Prophets also disagreed with one another and at times had sharp confrontations, each claiming that he had the word of the Lord and that his opponent was either deceived or a deceiver. Some simple tests for determining the genuineness of prophecy are presented in the Jewish Bible; and the prophet Jeremiah, in his conflict with the prophet Hananiah, introduces an interesting criterion (Jer. 28:8–9), but these tests are difficult to apply, and conflict between prophets was common.

CHRISTIAN PROPHETS

While it is clear that there were people considered prophets in the times of the early church (cf. Acts 21:9, 10, 1 Cor. 12–14), the primary interest of the writers of the New Testament was in the Jewish Bible prophets and what they said as it applied to JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Very little of what the early Christians prophets said is recorded, and they did not play the dominant role their counterparts played in the Jewish Bible history. Very little is said of Christian prophets after the time of the New Testament, in fact, so little that until recently it was widely thought that Christian prophets disappeared after the first century C.E. However, in 1873 a manuscript was discovered in CONSTANTINOPLE that turned out to be very significant for the study of Christian origins. This manuscript, the *Didache* as it is now called, appeared to demonstrate the activity of Christian prophets in the early decades of

the second century and sparked a renewed interest in the phenomenon of Christian prophecy. Scholarly and popular interest in the topic has produced a flood of books and articles since the middle of the 20th century, but while much has been learned about the presence and activity of prophets in EARLY CHRISTIANITY, there is little consensus about the nature of early Christian prophecy.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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BRUCE T. YOCUM

Psalms

The book of Psalms is actually a collection of five books, each of which ends with a note of praise. It is found in the JEWISH BIBLE or Old Testament. Known as “the book of praises” in Jewish tradition, almost every composition in it is suffused with praise, culminates in praise, or anticipates offering praise to the national deity of Israel. A doxology closes book 1 (Psalms 1–41), book 2 (Psalms 42–72), book 3 (Psalms 73–89), and book 4 (Psalms 90–106). Several psalms of praise close book 5 (Psalms 107–150). In the Psalms the chief calling of God is to respond to the needs of his creatures. The chief calling of his creatures is to offer him praise and spread abroad his greatness.

MULTIPLE ORIGINS

Psalms manuscripts recovered from the caves of QUMRAN demonstrate that the book of Psalms as passed on to posterity by rabbinic Judaism is not identical in content and arrangement to psalms collections in existence before the standardization of the biblical text of the second half of the first century C.E. For example, 11QPsa, dated c. 50 C.E., contains compositions previously unknown, psalms appended to the standardized collection in Greek and Syriac but absent from the Masoretic Psalter, and many of the psalms in books 4 and 5 of the Masoretic Psalter (used by rabbinic Judaism) but not in the same order. The existence of once separate collections is also evidenced by the

inclusion of the same psalm in more than one collection (for example Psalm 14 is the same as Psalm 53). Psalms 42–83 evidence the complexity of the compositional history of the Psalter, in which a generic term for God (Elohim) takes the place of the name of the deity (Yahweh).

As elsewhere in ancient Hebrew poetry, semantic, prosodic, syntactic, morphological, and sonic parallelisms recur across verses, lines, and groups of lines in the psalms and give the psalms their characteristic stamp. A common rhetorical style and vocabulary and similar forms of expression mark the psalms. They share a common understanding of the obligating relationship that binds deity to a nation and king and a common set of expectations regarding the role of the king, the role of the temple, the conduct of war, and the logical precedence of acts of justice relative to acts of piety. Many of these understandings and expectations are reflected in hymns and prayers of other ancient Near Eastern literatures. In a few cases it can be shown that a psalm closely follows a non-Israelite model that originally involved a deity other than Yahweh. Examples are Psalms 20, 29, and 104.

PSALMS FOR DAVID AND SOLOMON

Comments were added to the headings of some psalms so as to situate them in the life of DAVID as known from other sources. Psalm 18 is a unique example because it is found with minor variations in 2 Samuel 22 as an inset in the narrative of David's life. Psalms unlikely to have been intended for use by a Davidide were labeled as "for" David or "for" SOLOMON because they were designed to be recited to the king by another (20, 21, 72), because they seem apt in the king's mouth (124, 127, 131, and 133), or because they make reference to him (122). Psalms 73–89, book 3 of the Psalter, present themselves as another collection of psalms meant for the Davidide king and the Temple singers. Psalms 74 and 79 are the first psalms in the Psalter that clearly date to a time after the destruction of the First Temple, the time of the exile of the sixth century B.C.E.

Psalms 90–150, books 4 and 5 of the Psalter, include a few psalms for the Davidide king from First Temple times (101, 108–110, 138–145), but themes, language, and theology suggest a date in early Second Temple times (late sixth–fifth century B.C.E.) for the majority of the psalms in them. A date for the hymns to Yahweh's kingship (93, 95–99) is suggested by a superscript to 96 in the ancient Greek translation: "when the house [Temple] was being rebuilt after captivity." They are prefaced by prayer and prophecy attributed to MOSES (90, 91) and an introductory hymn of praise (92). Psalms 102, 105–107, and 137 are clearly postexilic. Psalms 111–

117 and 145–150 are collections of psalms that begin and end with *Hallelujah*, meaning "Praise Yah(weh)!" Psalms 120–134 is a collection of "songs of ascent" of diverse origins intended to be sung by pilgrims as they approached the Temple in festival seasons.

As alluded to above, the "I" of many of the psalms is plausibly understood to be that of the Davidide king. The relationship of national deity to king is very close and is fraught with privileges and obligations. See Psalms 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 60, 72, 89, 101, 108, 110, 132, and 144. Yahweh is bound by oath to the king who rules in Jerusalem, and Mount Zion in Jerusalem is Yahweh's earthly seat. Zion as the seat of Yahweh's earthly presence is celebrated in several psalms (46, 48, 76, 84, 87, and 122). The end of the Davidic dynasty, the destruction of Jerusalem and Temple, and the consequent experience of exile and national humiliation are the theme of other psalms (74, 79, 89, 102, 105–107, 137, 147, and 149). Precisely from the point of view of many psalms it might appear that history had dealt a mortal blow to Israel's faith.

EXILE AND COMMUNAL PRAYER

But the theological resources of Israelite faith overcame these devastating events. The tradition of communal prayer in times of national humiliation was not dependent on the "I" of the king. See Psalms 44, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 89, 94, 106, 123, 126, and 137, where the "I" behind the "we" is either a Temple singer or a common worshipper who identifies with the whole community (cf. Lamentations 1–5). A single hymn celebrating the kingship of Yahweh is preserved from the First Temple period (47). In the psalm collection whose contents derive largely from the Second Temple period (90–150), hymns celebrating Yahweh as king and judge of all the earth, God of gods, and shepherd and redeemer of Israel are copious and occupy key positions (Psalms 93–100, 135, 136, and 146–150). An earthly king has no role in these psalms. Yahweh remains great in Zion, but now the roles of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel are celebrated (Psalm 99).

Hope of a restoration of the Davidic dynasty is not dead (note Psalm 132 among the songs of ascent), but a theology and piety develop in which a Davidic hope is not central. See Psalms 146 and 147, which build on 145 and a long tradition of understanding the locus of the divine presence on Earth as a place of refuge for the poor and needy. That understanding is now disjoined from the concept of the king as God's viceroy (contrast Psalm 72). The community as a whole is now implied to be God's viceroy on Earth.

The impact on culture of the thought and poetry of the psalms is almost immeasurable and extends well beyond the realm of religion narrowly defined to include literature, music, drama, law, civil religion, and statecraft wherever Judaism and Christianity are or have been potent cultural factors. The role of the psalms in Jewish and Christian liturgy and in the personal piety of believers is pervasive. The recitation of Psalms 113–118 and 145–150 in Jewish liturgical practice is very ancient. Many other psalms were added from the beginning of the Islamic period on for daily or Sabbath use. In the daily and Sunday readings of Catholic and more ecumenical practice, some 130 of the 150 psalms appear once or more every three years, following traditions hallowed by use in the monastic movements of the Middle Ages and before. The impact on culture of the thought and poetry of the psalms is almost immeasurable and extends well beyond the realm of religion narrowly defined to include literature, music, drama, law, civil religion, and statecraft wherever Judaism and Christianity are or have been potent cultural factors.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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JOHN HOBBS

Pseudepigrapha and the Apocrypha

The Pseudepigrapha refer to Jewish writings that are not included in the Jewish scriptures. These writings are often promulgated under the assumed pen names of famous biblical heroes. They were composed before or at the time of the New Testament, so they help to explain the background to the New Testament. Biblical books that did not come into the Jewish scriptures but are in the Greek (Septuagint) Bible are called the Apocrypha—and also called by Catholic and Orthodox Christians "Deuteroca-

nonical." The New Testament Apocrypha refer to the books written by Christians (often under pen names) that are not accepted into the Bible, though they are written after the New Testament and help to explain the development of church teachings. In short there are three types of literature considered here, and they have varying degrees of authority and relationship with the Bible.

The Pseudepigrapha can be divided into two categories according to the parts of the ancient world from which they emerged. The first is of Palestinian origin, and the second is of Hellenistic Jewish origin. Within both categories are several types of literature, such as poetry, testament, and apocalypse. Among the Palestinian writings are the Odes of Solomon, perhaps of the late first century C.E., a collection of psalms and prayers, supposedly penned by King SOLOMON, that speak about the messianic kingdom of God. A testament is a type of literature that is based on a deathbed statement by a biblical hero. A couple of examples of this type are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, consisting of Jacob's last words to his sons; and the Testament of Job that JOB supposedly delivered to his second wife and his two daughters before he died. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs probably goes back to the second century B.C.E., with later interpolations that appeared perhaps 200 years later. The Testament of Job may go back to a strict Jewish sect of 100 B.C.E.

By far the most important composition is the book of Enoch, an apocalyptic work found in the QUMRAN caves as well as in other ancient caches. There are five sections of Enoch: the first consists of future judgment, even of the angels; the second is called the "Similitudes," and it deals with future judgment and the messianic hope; the third is an astronomical book for the calendar; the fourth deals with past history, including the primordial deluge; the fifth, called the "Apocalypse of Weeks," is a collection of apocalyptic and miscellaneous material. Enoch may have had some degree of authority among sects of Jews before the birth of Jesus and thus was read like a book of the Bible. Two important apocalypses are worth mentioning: the Apocalypse of Ezra (or 4 Ezra) and the Apocalypse of Baruch (or 2 Baruch). Both of these works have to do with the malaise of the Jews after the debacle of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and probably were written before 100 C.E. They offer consolation to Jews who feel that history has no purpose and tell of the coming age of fulfillment.

Among the many Hellenistic Jewish works, space allows only a discussion of the Sibylline Oracles. These imitate the Greek oracles that operated in the Mediterranean

Greco-Roman world, such as the DELPHIC ORACLE. Written around 140 C.E. they lay out a structure of history, the coming of a Jewish messiah, and the judgment of the nations. The Pseudepigrapha are written after the voices of prophecy had ended and before the New Testament and hence are often referred to as intertestamental literature. They are filled with apocalyptic revelations that are supposed to fortify Jewish resolve to endure the hardships of the Greco-Roman world. Often they speak of a transcendent messiah-like figure and a future age of fulfillment for the Jewish people, and these ideas are somewhat different from those of biblical prophecy. Yet, even though they are not books of the Bible, the New Testament often adopted their language and concepts.

Apocrypha means “hidden things” and refers to materials that show an otherwise unknown side of the Bible. The Apocrypha, or deuterocanonical writings, are biblical for many Christians. They are books and parts of biblical books that are in the Bible that Greek-speaking Jews used, yet they are not in the Bible that Jews eventually accepted as the official text. There are 12 or more books or parts of books that were not in the official text. Protestant Christians follow the official text, but many of the Apocrypha have been found among the ancient manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, bolstering the argument that even the Jews of Palestine must have known and used the Apocrypha. These books include 1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Daniel, Additions to ESTHER, BARUCH, Sirach, and Wisdom, and the books of the MACCABEES.

The New Testament Apocrypha include Christian-inspired works that are modeled on New Testament books. The most important of these materials are “gospels,” because they give a perspective on the four Gospels of the Bible. Some are fragmentary gospels gleaned from the writings of the fathers of the church (such as the Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of the Nazoreans, and Gospel of the Ebionites); others are recently discovered from such places as Nag Hammadi and Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. Many of these latter gospels show an unfamiliar, perhaps Gnostic, JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, and the date of their writing often cannot be determined. They show the life of Jesus in formats emphasizing such things as his childhood, his sayings, and his afterlife dialogues.

Other apocryphal gospels are discounted because they do not exist in ancient manuscripts, but they may have some claim for early roots. These include the Protevangelium of James, the Gospel of Thomas, the Apocryphon of James, and the Gospel of Peter. Nongospel apocryphal writings are less helpful for New Testament studies, including the pseudo-Pauline letters, the “acts”

of various apostles, and various apocalypses. Many of these types of writings show definite late and Gnostic tendencies. Whether these apocryphal materials reflect the “true beliefs” of the early church or affected the New Testament is unknown. Some of the strongest voices asserting the authenticity of these writings minimize the later Gnostic influences in the very areas where such texts have been found. The New Testament Apocrypha of these areas might be Gnostic editions or perhaps complete Gnostic fabrications.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY; MESSIANISM; PROPHETS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Ptolemies

One of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquests in the eastern Mediterranean was Egypt. On Alexander's death his empire broke up for lack of a suitable designated successor. Ptolemy (367–283 B.C.E.), a trusted general under Alexander, had counseled that the empire be divided into a series of satrapies, each under the control of a leading general. The alternative, he believed, would be anarchy or warfare between the Macedonians. Ptolemy took control of Egypt, establishing a dynasty of Ptolemies that lasted for nearly 300 years until the death of Cleopatra VII, who died in 30 B.C.E., after which Egypt was incorporated as a province of the Roman Empire.

Ptolemy I took the name of Soter and set about establishing a formidable, independent Hellenistic state. He improved methods of administration and captured territories, adding to ARABIA and LIBYA, which were already within the satrapy of Egypt. These territories included Cyprus and parts of Cyrenaica and Syria. Ptolemy was drawn into warfare with Perdiccas in Asia Minor as one of the DIADOCHI to Alexander. During the subsequent reallocation of satrapies, Antipater of Macedon was named as regent of Alexander's empire, and Ptolemy strengthened his possessions by marrying Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater. Further wars among the successors brought mixed fortunes, but Ptolemy was never seriously threatened with losing his core Egyptian territories. By presenting himself as an Egyptian ruler in appearance

and style of rule, Ptolemy gained support from the Egyptian people that lasted, by and large, throughout the length of the dynasty. Even so, Ptolemaic Egypt retained a distinctive Macedonian Greek nature.

A total of 15 Ptolemies were named, although only 14 reigned since Ptolemy VII was not able to take the throne. Seven of these Ptolemies were in fact named Cleopatra, and these 11 women reigned as regents while their sons or brothers were too young to rule. The prominence of female rulers was unprecedented in Western antiquity and would be surprising even in the 21st century. The second Ptolemy, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 B.C.E.) introduced the practice of sibling marriage when he took his sister as his wife; she became Arsinoe II. This shocked the Greeks but was considered appropriate for an Egyptian monarch. She was widely regarded as the power behind the throne, and while her influence was almost certainly less than that, her example does show the importance of women in the administration of the Ptolemaic state. Her likeness appeared on official coinage, and she benefited from monarch worship cults.

The Ptolemies improved administration by the introduction of advanced taxation regimes, together with measures to prevent extortion by corrupt tax collectors. A great deal of industry came under state control, and the fertile Nile delta lands and overseas possessions were used to provide security and a measure of shared prosperity for the Egyptian people. A census was conducted under Ptolemy II Philadelphus that itemized all sources of water and other resources and was used to plan for agricultural innovations and improvements. Irrigation was greatly increased and the newly fertile lands were used for the settlement of migrant Greeks. They in turn contributed to the growth of ALEXANDRIA, which grew into a formidable example of Greco-Egyptian intellectual endeavor. It held a monopoly on papyrus throughout much of the Mediterranean and controlled trade in goods from the east.

Throughout the third century B.C.E., external dangers to the Ptolemaic empire came from successor states to the east, together with occasional resurgent GREEK CITY-STATES. These wars were generally fought outside Egypt on overseas possessions; however, internal revolts developed following the Battle of Raphia (217 B.C.E.), fought in Palestine and resulting in a victory for the Ptolemaic side against the Seleucids. Ptolemy's army contained large contingents of native Egyptians, and it appears that their success emboldened them into believing that a native could once again lead Egypt. Uprisings in the upper Nile region continued for years but did not seriously threaten the Ptolemaic state. A greater threat was arising in the western Mediterranean as the Roman Republic became

increasingly influential. Romans had long coveted the riches of Egypt, particularly the wheat that would eventually feed Roman citizens and sustain the empire.

The Ptolemaic empire gradually declined to Egypt and Cyprus. It was not until JULIUS CAESAR pursued POMPEY to Egypt after the latter's defeat in the civil war that a concerted effort was made to bring Egypt under Roman military control. Ptolemy Cleopatra VII became the lover of Julius Caesar in an attempt to retain Egyptian independence. After Caesar's assassination Cleopatra contracted a relationship with Mark Antony, chief loyalist of Caesar, and when Octavian and his allies at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. defeated him, she committed suicide, and Rome took control. Although both the preceding pharaohs and the succeeding Romans are better known in popular culture, the Ptolemies were no less influential in shaping the ancient world.

See also MIDDLE KINGDOM, EGYPT; NEW KINGDOM, EGYPT; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT.

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JOHN WALSH

Punic Wars

See HANNIBAL; ROMAN EMPIRE.

pyramids of Giza

The pyramids on the Giza Plateau of Egypt were erected as royal tombs in the 26th century B.C.E. The Great Pyramid, largest of three major structures, housed the remains of the PHARAOH Khufu (Cheops), while the other two were built for Khufu's son Khafra and grandson Menkaure. One of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—and the only one still standing—the Great Pyramid was the tallest human-made building on earth until 1885, when the Washington Monument was completed. The pyramid stands 481 feet high. Experts estimate that its original 2.3 million blocks of limestone and granite, quarried from

a site southeast of the pyramid, weighed an average of 2.5 tons each. These blocks were moved over a series of ramps up to 164 feet wide to the construction site.

All of the pyramids at Giza were built during the Fourth Dynasty of the OLD KINGDOM. Several factors combined to make the switch of labor from agriculture to building feasible. Egypt faced no strong foreign threats; its only military efforts were raids on weaker states. Better administration and collection of taxes and a favorable trading position allowed Khufu to trade royal land for labor from the nobility. The first king of that dynasty, Sneferu, built the Bent Pyramid and Red Pyramid, south of Seqqara at Dahshur. Khufu, his son, reigned from 2589 to 2566 B.C.E. Khufu's vizier (and cousin), Hemiunu, who was also the son of Sneferu's vizier, oversaw the building of the pyramid complex and was buried in the western cemetery of the complex.

Archaeologists are certain now that neither the Great Pyramid nor other edifices in Giza were built by slave labor. Up to 40,000 workers toiled for 10 to 15 years during Khufu's reign to erect the pyramid as well as the temples, causeways, and other tombs that lined the Giza Plateau. Three smaller pyramids for wives of Khufu were constructed on the east, exactly one-fifth

the scale of Khufu's. Khufu was buried in his pyramid in the King's Chamber, which was reached through ascending corridors and the Grand Gallery. Only his red granite sarcophagus remains; grave robbers took his body and personal effects centuries ago. Khufu was followed by two sons: Djedefe, who was buried in his unfinished pyramid at Abu Rawash, and Khafra, who ruled Egypt from 2558 to 2532 B.C.E. Khafra's son Menkaure ruled from 2532 to 2503 B.C.E.

Both Khafra and Menkaure built pyramids at Giza, and those, along with the Great Pyramid, dominate the site. Khafra's pyramid looks almost as large as his father's because it was built on higher ground; it reaches 471 feet high. Khafra's complex includes the Great Sphinx, a unique statue close to the causeway, with an early sun temple in front of it.

The pyramids at Giza are surrounded by smaller, stone *mastabas* of family members, officials, and priests. Often, these were gifts of the pharaoh and built by the same artisans that erected the pyramids. Giza is unique in that these *mastabas* are arranged in grids, like city blocks with streets running by them.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.



The pyramids of Giza served as royal tombs, with the Great Pyramid, the largest, housing the remains of the pharaoh Khufu. One of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—and the only one still standing—the Great Pyramid was the tallest human-made building on Earth.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Pyrrhus

(318–272 B.C.E.) *king of Epirus*

Pyrrhus (the Greek word for “fiery red”) was the pugilistic king of the Hellenistic kingdom of Epirus from 306 to 301 B.C.E. and again from 297 to 272 B.C.E. His costly but successful military tactics against Macedonia and Rome gave rise to the phrase *Pyrrhic victory*. Primary sources for his life include *The Life of Pyrrhus* by the Greek historian Plutarch, the *Periochae* by the Roman historian Livy, and the *History of the Samnite War* by Appian of ALEXANDRIA. Born the son of Epirot king Aeacides and a Greek named Phthia, the daughter of a hero in the Greek war of liberation against the Macedonians, Pyrrhus spent his first two years in the royal court of Epirus. When Aeacides was deposed by his subjects and his adherents executed, Pyrrhus was smuggled out of the country and taken to safety to the court of King Glaucias of Illyria, who reluctantly agreed to raise Pyrrhus with his own children. When Pyrrhus was 12 (306 B.C.E.), Glaucias invaded Epirus and restored Pyrrhus to its throne.

Hated by his Molossian subjects, Pyrrhus’s first reign came to an end as a result of a coup that occurred while he was attending the wedding of a son of Glaucias. The revolutionaries, led by Cassander, plundered Pyrrhus’s property and invited Neoptolemus II to be king in 302 B.C.E. Pyrrhus took refuge with his sister’s husband, Demetrius—son of Antigonos, the king of Asia. After Antigonos and Demetrius lost the Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.E.), Ptolemy I of Egypt took Pyrrhus hostage. This seemingly inhospitable situation proved fruitful for Pyrrhus, who impressed Ptolemy with his strength and courage at hunting parties and worked his charm on Berenice, Ptolemy’s wife, leading her to permit Pyrrhus to marry Antigone, her daughter from a previous marriage. In 297 B.C.E. Ptolemy financed a new coup in Epirus and sent Pyrrhus back to his homeland with an army of mercenaries, where he reclaimed the throne through a series of shrewd political dealings. Announcing that he would share power with Neoptolemus, Pyrrhus first became leader of the Epirote confederacy and

then duped his people into believing that his colleague had committed treason, finally killing Neoptolemus at a banquet to assume the kingship. Pyrrhus now acted as Ptolemy’s watchdog in Europe, guarding Egyptian interests against archrival Cassander of Macedonia.

When Cassander died, he left his throne to his son Philip IV, who died within two months. Consequently, Cassander’s other two sons, the elder Antipater and the younger Alexander, unsuccessfully attempted to divide the kingdom. When hostility between the brothers erupted, Antipater sent Alexander into exile, with Alexander fleeing to Pyrrhus. In exchange for invading Macedonia in 294 B.C.E. and securing a balance of power between the two brothers, Pyrrhus received more territory in the northwestern parts of Greece. When Demetrius, Pyrrhus’s erstwhile friend and ally, killed Alexander and took over Macedonia, the relationship between the two rulers grew bitter and soon broke out into war in 291 B.C.E. Pyrrhus defeated Pantauchus, one of Demetrius’s generals, and then invaded Macedonia in search of plunder. For a brief period Demetrius became dangerously ill, and Pyrrhus came close to capturing the whole of Macedonia. Once Demetrius had recovered enough to take the field, Pyrrhus made a hasty retreat back to Epirus.

This retreat was short lived, as Pyrrhus, with the help of King Lysimachus of Thrace, invaded Macedonia in 288 B.C.E. when the Macedonians revolted against Demetrius. In 287 B.C.E. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus were recognized as co-regents of Macedonia, with the river Axios as border between the former’s western and the latter’s eastern regions. Two years later Pyrrhus was forced to resign his Macedonian lands to Lysimachus. Temporarily resigned to Epirus, the warrior king next turned his attention to conquering Roman territories.

In 281 B.C.E. the citizens of Tarentum came under attack from Rome and turned to Pyrrhus for help. Pyrrhus sent more than 3,000 soldiers and his adviser Cineas, followed by a fleet and 20 elephants, 3,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, 2,000 archers, and 500 slingers. Upon arriving at Tarentum, Pyrrhus assembled his forces and imposed a more disciplined way of life upon the inhabitants. Setting out from there, Pyrrhus defeated the Roman army in a battle on the banks of the river Siris. He proceeded to march toward Rome, but when he learned that the Romans had raised more troops, he sent Cineas to make peace with the Romans.

Although initially inclined to accept Cineas’s proposals, an impassioned speech by Appius Claudius convinced the Senate to reply that Pyrrhus leave Italy without a treaty or alliance. Unwilling to accede to the Senate’s wishes, Pyrrhus embarked on the infamous Battle of

Asculum (279 B.C.E.), where he won at the devastating price of 4,000 casualties.

It was on this occasion that Pyrrhus remarked, “Another such victory and I shall be ruined,” resulting in the term *Pyrrhic victory* for a victory obtained at too great a cost. At this juncture the Sicilians sought Pyrrhus’s aid against the Carthaginians, thus giving him an excuse to leave Italy. Pyrrhus campaigned in Sicily for two years, but the Sicilians came to hate him because of his execution of Thoenon, one of their leading citizens, on suspicion of treason. Pyrrhus then returned to Italy, where he was defeated at Beneventum in 275 B.C.E. Three years later the Peloponnesian ruler Cleonymus invited Pyrrhus to intervene in his struggle with the Spartan king Areus. Notwithstanding his army of 25,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 24 elephants, Pyrrhus was unable to capture Sparta. Attacked en route by the Spartans at Argos, Pyrrhus and his forces took to street fighting, in which a tile hurled from a roof by an Argive woman stunned Pyrrhus. While he was partly unconscious, one of Areus’s men recognized him and killed him.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PTOLEMIES; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

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KIRK R. MACGREGOR

Pythagoras

(fl. 530 B.C.E.) *Greek philosopher*

Pythagoras was a Greek thinker and contributor to PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY who was born on the isle of Samos. He fled tyranny to establish a school in southern Italy at Croton, which contained both scientific and mystical streams of thought. Pythagoras achieved influence at Croton for a period, but this eventually waned, and he retired, perhaps fleeing elsewhere. It appears that Pythagoras wrote nothing himself—or at least nothing that has survived—and his disciples and subsequent followers, the Pythagoreans, ascribed their own ideas to their master out

of respect. Assessing his contribution accurately is subject to speculation; however, the enormous and unusual levels of respect shown to him by his followers suggest that his personal contribution was significant. Re-creation of his life and times is assisted by fragmentary mentions in the works of Plato and ARISTOTLE and hints that he may have visited or studied with Anaximander and Thales.

The contribution of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans is divided between the religious and the scientific, the latter is better known today, especially the theorem and its impact on musical theory. Pythagorean geometry featured the specification of the hypotenuse to identify the lengths of the sides of right-angled triangles, although this was probably not the first statement of the proposition. The use of ratios to explain the mathematical relationships underlying the structure of music have also been very influential. The underlying concept was that it was relationships between the ratios of the first four integers (known as the Decad), which gave rise to the melodic intervals. A series of 10 opposite pairs, or dualities, was established, both of which were necessary for existence. One half of these pairs were “limited” and the other half “unlimited,” and together they connected all the many points that constituted the universe. Eventually, this gave rise to the concept of the music of the spheres, in which complex numerical relationships existed, which regulated the movements and natures of all physical phenomena according to moral principles.

In religious or spiritual terms, Pythagoreans led a rather ascetic life that stressed moral principles underlying the nature of the universe and the transmigration of the soul—that is, reincarnation—that all people would undergo on numerous occasions, not always taking human form. His disciples followed strict dietary guidelines and may have avoided making animal sacrifices, an important feature of Greek religious practices at the time, as part of their commitment to a vegetarian way of life. In any case the Pythagoreans excited compassion and sympathy rather than dislike or contempt.

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JOHN WALSH



Qin (Ch'in) dynasty

The Qin state was founded in 897 B.C.E. during the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY; it became an important state in contention for leadership in unifying China in the mid-fourth century B.C.E. The Qin lasted only 15 years as a national dynasty between 221 and 206 B.C.E. but left a lasting impact for inaugurating the imperial era in Chinese history. The rise of Qin paralleled that of Zhou almost 1,000 years earlier. Both were frontier states toughened by wars against barbarian tribes, and both were far from the refined court. It was located in the northwest frontier in modern Gansu (Kansu) Province west of the Wei River, protected from enemies in the east by mountains and gorges. It first gained national attention in 770 B.C.E. when Duke Xiang (Hsiang) of Qin provided protection for the Zhou court against the Rong (Jung) barbarians as it moved from Hao to the eastern capital at LUOYANG (LOYANG). After the 600s B.C.E. Qin moved its capital several times, finally to Xianyang (Hsienyang) close to Hao and the modern city Xi'an (Sian) in 350 B.C.E.

Qin led China in developing an extensive irrigation system that made its rich soil productive. When Qin conquered Sichuan (Szechuan) in the upper Yangtze Valley its engineers built an intricate water control and irrigation system in the rich Chendu (Chengtu) Plain, which is still operating now. A surplus of food allowed it to divert manpower to the army when Qin embarked on campaigns to conquer its rivals. Qin was also open to employing talented people, regardless of their ori-

gin. In 356 B.C.E. it appointed a man from the state of Wei, named Shang Yang (better known as Lord Shang), chief minister. He served until 338 B.C.E. and developed a political philosophy called LEGALISM that his successors Han Fei and Li Si (Li Ssu) continued. Their reforms included the abolition of feudalism, bringing land under central government control, administered by bureaucrats appointed and promoted on merit. Serfdom ended, making tillers tax-paying owners of their land on the assumption that free people worked and fought harder. Therefore, hard-working farmers and disciplined soldiers were esteemed, and merchants and scholars were suspected as unproductive and perhaps subversive. Legalists emphasized law to uphold the state's power and promulgated severe laws, uniformly applied, to encourage good conduct and deter wrongdoing. These measures made Qin the strongest among the states during the late Warring States era.

In 256 B.C.E. Qin destroyed the Zhou ruling house. Its final drive for unification began in 246 B.C.E. when a young man born in 259 B.C.E. mounted the throne as King Zheng (Cheng). At first his mother and a former merchant, chief minister Lu Buwei (Lu Pu-wei) acted as regents. He ruled alone after 238 B.C.E., with Li Si as chief minister; together they completed the defeat of all rival states and established a unified empire called the Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.E. King Zheng became Qin Shihuangdi (Ch'in Shih Huang-ti), which translates as "first emperor of the Qin." He was so confident that China (our name for the country derives from *Ch'in*) would be governed by his family for all time that he ruled that his



Thousands of terra-cotta soldiers were buried with Emperor Qin, who died in 210 B.C.E. Life-sized terra-cotta figures of warriors and horses were arranged in battle formations and are said to have distinct facial features, as if each one were modeled on a real figure.

descendants would only need a numeral to distinguish them, for example, as the second emperor.

The first emperor and Li Si were responsible for changing the course of China. They extended many of Qin state's reforms to the whole country, abolishing feudalism and organizing the empire into a number of commanderies (provinces) and subdividing them into counties. This system persists to the present. No office except that of the ruling house would be hereditary, and all officials would be appointed by the central government and promoted or demoted on merit. All serfs were freed. Standardization was their watchword and was applied to the width of roads, weights and measures, laws, coinage, and even the written script. Thought was also controlled.

Only Legalism could be taught, all other philosophies were banned, and all books except technical ones and the history of the house of Qin were to be burned (only one copy of all banned books were to be kept in the imperial library, accessible to officials alone). The emperor had 460 scholars buried alive for opposing him and had his

eldest son, the crown prince, banished to duty along the GREAT WALL OF CHINA for having defended them.

The first emperor also embarked on massive construction projects. He ordered General MENG TIAN (MENG T' IEN) to connect existing walls into one Great Wall to guard against the XIONGU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads. A network of roads were built to facilitate troop movements, likewise a system of canals to connect the lower Yangtze Valley with Guangzhou (Canton) in the south to transport troops and supplies for their conquest of southern China and present-day northern Vietnam. Xianyang became a grand capital with sumptuous palaces and residences, and outside the city a massive mausoleum was built as his resting place.

The first emperor died suddenly in 210 B.C.E., and his will designated the exiled crown prince as successor. However, Li Si and chief eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) changed the will, ordered the crown prince and Meng Tian to commit suicide (which they did) and installed a weakling younger prince as second emperor. Zhao Gao then had both Li Si and the second emperor killed

and installed another prince on the throne. Soon spontaneous rebellions were everywhere, and by 206 B.C.E. the Qin dynasty was gone. The Qin state unified China and briefly ruled as a national dynasty. Its rise was due largely to Legalism; its fall discredited Legalism forever. Although the dynasty was short lived, it inaugurated the imperial era in Chinese history, and many of its reforms would remain.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Qumran

The Dead Sea Scrolls have rightly been called the most important manuscript discovery of the 20th century. In 1946 Bedouin shepherds were grazing their flocks near a place called Wadi Qumran. (*Wadi* is the Arabic word for “dry river bed.”) One of these shepherds, named Jum’a Muhammad Khalil, threw a stone into a cave that was later named Cave 1. Having heard the sound of shattering pottery, he fled in fear. Another shepherd returned to the cave at a later time and discovered that the cave contained several jars, one of which was filled with ancient scrolls. It was not clear to the Bedouin shepherds at that time that these scrolls were ancient Jewish scrolls, written in Hebrew, dating at least one millennium earlier than the oldest copy of the JEWISH BIBLE.

One of these scrolls was a copy of the biblical book of Isaiah. The other two scrolls were not previously known texts: a copy of the Rule of the Community of the Scrolls (the Community Rule, also known as the Manual of Discipline) and a commentary on the biblical prophetic book of Habakkuk. Once it became clear to scholars what the scrolls were, a team of archaeologists set out to explore other caves in the area to see if they could locate more hidden scrolls. A total of 11 caves near Wadi Qumran were identified, yielding more than 900 manuscripts of varying condition, many extremely fragmentary. Scholars have dated these texts to approximately 250 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. by comparing the handwriting in these scrolls with other known styles of ancient handwriting. The study of handwriting styles

and their relative dating is called paleography. These dates have been consistent with dates achieved by other means such as carbon-14 dating.

The largest quantity of scrolls (and the most fragmentary ones of all) comes from Cave 4. This cave is clearly visible from the ancient ruins of a settlement that had been known to archaeologists as early as 1850. It is referred to today by its modern Arabic name, Khirbet Qumran. Scholars believe that it was destroyed during the Roman occupation of Israel sometime during the first century C.E. Various scholarly theories were proposed concerning the original purpose of the site: a Roman villa (a type of summer home), a military fortress, or a sectarian settlement. Many find the sectarian settlement theory to be the most compelling identification for the ruins. Adjacent to the ruins are the remains of a cemetery.

A major question for scholars is the relationship between the caves and the Qumran ruins. In the beginning the nearby caves could not be identified with certainty with the settlement because very little material evidence existed to link the two together. While both the scrolls and the settlement are dated to approximately the same time period, no scrolls were found in the settlement. The strongest material evidence linking the scrolls to the settlement is the pottery. The pottery that contained these manuscripts in the caves matches the pottery that was found in the settlement. Another link between the scrolls and the settlement is their strong interest in purity concerns. References to purity and the ritual use of water in the Dead Sea Scrolls correspond with the large number of plastered reservoirs found throughout the settlement. Some scholars, however, would like to keep open the possibility that the close proximity between the caves and the settlement ruins was entirely accidental. Such scholars hold the view that the library found in the caves at Qumran was brought by people fleeing Jerusalem and concealed there for safekeeping.

The Dead Sea Scrolls contained a great variety of writings and provide a rare glimpse of the Jewish scriptures before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. A significant number of the texts were identified as biblical books from the Jewish Hebrew scriptures. The most popular book is PSALMS, with 36 copies, DEUTERONOMY is second with 29 copies, and Isaiah is third with 21 copies. Almost every book of the Bible has been identified among the scrolls and fragments at least once with the exception of the book of ESTHER. It is possible that the Community of the Scrolls would not have preserved the book of Esther. Another category of writings that is well represented among the

scrolls is the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA. While these writings would not have been considered scriptural texts, they would have been known and read by many different Jewish groups during that time.

The scrolls also yielded various sectarian writings (manuscripts of texts that seemed to be unique to the sect of Judaism responsible for the Qumran library). These texts include legal texts, such as the Temple Scroll (11QT) and Some Works of the Law (4QMMT); specialized texts such as the previously mentioned Community Rule (1QS), the War Scroll (1QM), and the Pesharim (commentaries on various biblical prophetic texts); and the Thanksgiving Hymns Scroll (1QH). Scholars knew one text from this group of sectarian writings previously as the Damascus Document. This interesting text was first discovered in 1896 by Solomon Schechter of Cambridge University who came across copies of this text from a repository for old unusable sacred texts in Cairo, Egypt. With the help of ultraviolet and infrared photography, scholars are able to read scroll fragments that are extremely damaged and inscrutable to the naked eye.

Although there are other theories, many scholars are convinced that the Dead Sea Scrolls and the community at Qumran should be identified with a Jewish sect that has long since died out known as the ESSENES. The

Dead Sea Scrolls have opened a window into a time and place that would later see the rise of two great world religions, rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. While the Community of the Scrolls is probably not the precursor to either of these groups, the scrolls themselves make an important contribution to our overall understanding of the context from which these other religious movements emerged.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JOHN THE BAPTIST; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; PROPHETS.

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ANGELA KIM HARKINS



Ramayana

The *Ramayana* (Romance of Rama) is the shorter of two great epic poems from ancient India. It was originally written in SANSKRIT in the tradition of the VEDAS as an account of the lives of the gods. The poem tells a story of court intrigue, romance, and the struggle for good over evil. It is shorter than the *MAHABHARATA* (Great Bharata dynasty), the other great epic poem of India. Some of the followers of the *Ramayana* date its origin to 880,000 B.C.E. While its exact origins are lost in Indian antiquity, the *Ramayana* is today attributed to the poet Valmiki. Most scholars believe that it was written in the third century B.C.E. The *Ramayana* has been redacted several times, leading to several versions. These are divided into five, six, or seven books. The *Ramayana* contains 24,000 couplets. The verses are called *sloka* (two-line verses, each of 16 syllables), in Sanskrit. They have a complex meter called *anustup*. The verses are grouped into individual chapters called *sargas*, which are grouped into books called *kandas*. The name *kanda* is taken from the internode stem of sugarcane. It suggests that each phase of the story is connected to the next phase.

The *Srimad Valmiki Ramayana* version is arranged into six books. The first book is the *Bala Kanda* (Book of youth, 77 chapters). The second book is the *Ayodhya Kanda* (Book of Ayodhya, 119 chapters). The third book is the *Aranya Kanda* (Book of the forest, 75 chapters). The fourth book is the *Kishkindha Kanda* (Book of the empire of holy monkeys, 67 chapters). The fifth book is

the *Sundara Kanda* (Book of beauty, 68 chapters). The sixth book is the *Yuddha Kanda* (Book of war, 131 chapters). The *Ramayana* is included in the great collection of Hindu books that were remembered, or *smriti*. These are different from the *shuruti*, which are books that were heard. Books in the *shuruti* category include the Vedas. The *Ramayana* is known also as the *Adi Kavya*, which means the “original poem,” and is certainly one of the oldest, if not the first, epic poem produced in India.

The *Ramayana* tells the story of the history of Rama, who was a king from a line descending from the sun god Surya. With his wife, Sita, he ruled an earthly kingdom. In some versions the beginning is the birth of Rama in the kingdom of Ayodhya; in others the beginning is Rama’s wooing of Sita, daughter of King Janaka. He wins her hand by being the only suitor able to bend the mighty bow of Siva (Shiva) at a bridegroom tournament. In yet other versions the *Ramayana* begins when Prince Rama is chosen as the heir of his father, King Dasartha of Ayodha. However, King Dasartha’s wife, Kaikeyi, pleads for the appointing of another son, Bharata, to be made king instead. King Dasartha reluctantly agrees, and Rama is exiled from his kingdom. He goes into the forest for 14 years with his beautiful wife, Sita, and his half brother Laksmana.

In the forest Rama meets the demoness Surpanakha, who falls in love with him. He refuses her advances while Laksmana wounds her. She flees to the island kingdom of Lanka, where her brother, also a demon (*raksasa*), Ravana rules. Surpanakha tells Ravana of the beauty of Sita. Desiring Sita for himself, Ravana decides to take

her. He disguises himself as a holy man and finds her in the forest. He kidnaps Sita and carries her off to his palace at Lanka. He tries to have his way with her, but she refuses and remains loyal to Rama. Grief stricken, Sita mourns in Ravana's garden, as Rama and Laksmana search for her. Eventually, they meet Surgriva, the monkey king, who agrees to help. The monkey general Hanuman searches for Sita. He finds Sita and shows her Rama's ring to prove that he is Rama's messenger. However, Ravana catches Hanuman and sets his tail on fire. In the excitement the monkey escapes and sets fire to the island of Lanka.

Rama and Laksmana attack Lanka, aided by the monkey army led by Hanuman. After a long siege Rama kills Ravana and regains Sita. However, Rama makes Sita prove her virtue by putting her to a test of fire. She undergoes the test successfully, proving her chastity. Rama, however, later abandons her after public opinion will not accept her. She goes to the ashram of the sage Valmiki, to whom she tells her story. There she bears twin sons—Lava and Kusa. When they are grown they are united with their father, Rama. Rama and Sita are often pictured as the ideal couple for their devotion to *charma* in the quest for victory over evil. The *Ramayana* greatly influenced Indian poetry, establishing the *sloka* meter that developed in later Sanskrit poetry.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Ramses I

(d. c. 1290 B.C.E.) Egyptian pharaoh

Though often overshadowed by his successors, Ramses (Rameses, Ramesses) I is a significant PHARAOH from Egypt's NEW KINGDOM period and the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The son of a noble family, the future pharaoh (then called Paramessu) served with Horemheb when both were soldiers, and when Horemheb became pharaoh he made Paramessu his vizier and the high priest

of Amun. In this latter role Paramessu was responsible for finalizing the restoration of the old religion in the wake of the Amarna heresy propagated by AKHENATEN a generation earlier. As vizier, his titles also included—reflecting his military background—Controller of the Nile Mouth, Charioteer of His Majesty, the Pharaoh's Envoy to Every Foreign Land, Royal Scribe, Master of Horse, Commander of the Fortress, and General of the Lord of the Two Lands.

When the heirless Horemheb made Ramses first his co-regent and then his successor as pharaoh (1295 B.C.E.), Paramessu adopted the praenomen (royal name) of Menpehtyre (established by the strength of Ra) and the nomen (personal name) Ramses (Ra bore him). Ramses's pharaonic names, his position as high priest, and his devotion to the sun gods displaced by Akhenaten's Atenism, all point to his commitment to traditional Egyptian religion, which had formed a key part of domestic policy in the last years of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In a sense Ramses's religious restoration cleared away the vestiges of the Amarna period in order to prepare Egypt for the clean slate of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Ramses's reign was brief—only two years, with his son Seti I as co-regent—and important largely because it ushered in the Nineteenth Dynasty, one marked by prosperity and reconquest under the rule of Ramses's successors.

Ramses's mummy enjoys at least as much fame as the pharaoh. Sometime in the mid-19th century Ramses's tomb was looted, his mummy stolen, and—though it may have passed through several hands in the interim—sold in 1860 to a “freaks of nature” museum in Niagara Falls, New York, where it was displayed with other mummies and Egyptiana alongside preserved animals and frontier memorabilia. Neither the thieves nor the museum's curator were aware of the mummy's identity. Eventually, the museum's Egyptian collection was purchased in 1999 by the Carlos Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, and the mummy was radiocarbon-dated by researchers at Emory University. Further scans and other computer-assisted techniques, along with a physical resemblance to the mummies of Seti I and RAMSES II (Ramses I's grandson), made the identification of the mummy as that of Ramses I almost certain. The mummy was returned to Egypt in 2003.

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BILL KTE'PI

Ramses II

(c. 1303–1213 B.C.E.) *Egyptian pharaoh*

Also known as Ramses the Great, Ramses (Rameses, Rameses) II was the most significant Egyptian PHARAOH of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the son of Seti I and grandson of dynastic founder RAMSES I. Ramses II is believed to have reigned for 66 years and two months, assuming the throne on May 31, 1279 B.C.E. He is thought to have died in the summer of 1213 B.C.E.; giving him a probable birthdate of 1303 B.C.E. It is likely that Ramses II was born during or before his grandfather's reign as pharaoh. Although many Egyptologists have proposed co-regency between Ramses II and his father, the evidence is scant at best.

The importance of Ramses II's reign to the Nineteenth Dynasty cannot be understated: He ruled as pharaoh longer than the seven other Nineteenth-Dynasty pharaohs combined and his reign was marked by the dynasty's most important military campaigns. His lengthy reign made him a formidable figure, as he saw foreign monarchs come and go. He engaged commanders in battle who had grown up hearing of his exploits. This was a factor in his dealings with the HITTITES—his opponents in the second Battle of Kadesh, fought at the Orontes River in modern Syria. Egypt had been gradually pushed away from this region during the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties and particularly during the Amarna period when AKHENATEN was more concerned with internal and religious matters than the expansion or restoration of Egyptian occupation. Ramses's father and grandfather had both resumed the campaign to regain the lands around Kadesh, with Ramses II accompanying his father to at least one such battle.

In 1274 B.C.E., the fourth year of Ramses's reign, he engaged King Muwatalli's Hittite forces in the second Battle of Kadesh. The largest chariot battle in history, the battle involved some 5,000 chariots and nearly twice as many foot soldiers. The battle ended in a stalemate, as neither force was able to overpower the other. Ramses was almost captured but was rescued by the sudden arrival of troops from Amurru, the land of the Amorites, former Hittite subjects who had defected to Egypt. Rather than acknowledge the stalemate, each side declared they had been victorious, as they had avoided defeat. Various Egyptian-Hittite conflicts continued over the next two decades, mostly over contested territory. Murshili III, who fled to Egypt when his uncle ousted him from power and assumed the throne as Hattushili II, succeeded Muwatalli. Hattushili demanded the extradition of Murshili, who remained in Egypt planning a coup; Ramses, though caring little over Hittite internal affairs, refused. But rather than allow the



Due in part to the length of his reign, Ramses II had more statues sculpted of him than did any other pharaoh.

situation to escalate into full-blown war—and remembering the stalemate of Kadesh—the two parties settled their disagreements with a treaty in 1258 B.C.E. Though Murshili has disappeared from history, the treaty established rules of extradition and borders that both rulers acknowledged, gave Amurru and Kadesh to the Hittites along with access to Egypt's Phoenician harbors, and allowed the Egyptians northern passage as far as UGARIT, a privilege lost for more than 100 years. This was not only the first extradition agreement between nations but also the earliest known international peace treaty. Both Hittite and Egyptian copies survive; an enlargement of the Hittite version hangs in the United Nations.

Like many pharaohs, Ramses was fond of self-aggrandizement. He claimed to be the son both of Seti I and the god Amun, the sort of claim common in the OLD KINGDOM but rare for NEW KINGDOM pharaohs. Thanks in part to the length of his reign, no pharaoh built more temples or erected more obelisks. No pharaoh had so many statues sculpted of him, both before and after his death. No other pharaoh save Amenhotep III had a wife who was worshipped during her lifetime: Nefertari had temples erected to her and was an important member of the pharaoh's retinue. Legend claims that Ramses had dozens of wives and 100 children, but it is likely that his family was more reasonably numbered.

Ramses the Great presided over an expanding Egypt that prospered without radical changes. Modern scientific examination has shown that the pharaoh was physically unusual as well: He was a redhead, an uncommon trait among Egyptians, and though his hair grayed in old age, the hair on his mummy remains red,

died either before death or by the priests who prepared him for the afterlife. Merneptah, his 14th son, succeeded him: His older sons had predeceased him, and even Merneptah was 60 years old when he took the throne. Unlike many pharaohs whose names were forgotten until the advent of Egyptology, Ramses was remembered as Ozymandias (a corrupted HELLENIZATION of Usermaatre, his praenomen), a figure who fascinated scholars for centuries.

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BILL KTE'PI

Ravenna

The settlement of Ravenna may date from the Villanovan period of Italy, the earliest Iron Age culture of central and northern Italy. The fact that Ravenna began as a settlement on a lagoon, like Venice, may indicate even earlier habitation than the Villanovan era. Many European prehistoric settlements were groups of houses built on stilts in the middle of lagoons for purposes of defense against marauding tribes. Such lagoon or lake settlements date from the Bronze Age, some 4,500 years ago. Simon Adams writes, in *Castles and Forts*, “most of these villages were built on the shores of lakes or by rivers—often located on small islands that could easily be fortified. A group of around 20 rectangular houses stood on stilts to cope with seasonal flooding.”

Not much attention was paid to Ravenna, as the city did not threaten Rome, and the legions were needed to consolidate Roman power in Italy and elsewhere. In the first century B.C.E. Rome became involved in the civil wars that would end with the fall of the Republic to JULIUS CAESAR. Ravenna became accepted as part of the Republic in 89 B.C.E., and in 49 B.C.E. gained historical importance as the city from which Caesar marched to “cross the Rubicon” in the drive for power that would

ultimately make him dictator for life. He did not live long to enjoy it—in March 45 B.C.E. he was killed in the Roman Senate, at the foot of the statue of his great rival, POMPEY.

Caesar's great-nephew Octavian, who would rule as Emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), realized the importance of Ravenna to Roman control of the Adriatic Sea. He established a military harbor for the Roman fleet at nearby Classe, in part to patrol against pirates. Pirates in the second and first centuries B.C.E. had become a major threat to Roman commerce in the Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean Seas.

With the onset of conflict with Persia in the East, Ravenna became the Roman gateway to Asia. Emperor TRAJAN (98–117 C.E.) built an aqueduct to ensure a supply of freshwater for this strategic city. During the fourth century C.E., the ROMAN EMPIRE came constantly under the assault of barbarian tribes. The imperial capital was moved from Rome to Milan and finally to Ravenna by Emperor Honorius—the ruler of the western half of the empire—in 402 C.E. Honorius did so because it was easily defended from its location on the lagoon. In 409 Honorius's wisdom soon proved correct. When Alaric, king of the Visigoths, marched to sack Rome, he bypassed Ravenna. In 476 the German warlord ODOVACAR of the Heruli tribe finally brought an end to the Roman Empire in the West by deposing the emperor Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Roman emperor, Zeno, recognized the rule of Odovacar but later sent THEODORIC to reconquer Italy for the empire. After the death of Odovacar in 493 Theodoric effectively carved out his own kingdom, with Ravenna at its center.

Eastern Roman emperor JUSTINIAN I, aided greatly by his consort, Theodosia, aimed at nothing less than the total reconquest of Italy for the empire. His invasion began in 535, and he largely achieved his goal. Ravenna became the center of the restored Roman Empire in northern Italy in 539. The area was considered of prime military importance because it provided the Eastern empire not only with a strategic center in Italy but also with a major base on the Adriatic for the navy. And, as in the days of Trajan, the Danube remained of great importance as a frontier against the barbarians. For this strategic reason Ravenna became the administrative focus for an imperial exarchate, or military colony, in much of northern Italy. The exarchate was formed under Emperor Maurice (582–602), largely to combat the incursions of the Lombards, who had invaded Italy in 568 from what is today's Austria. The military force commanded by the exarch at Ravenna became known as the *Exercitus Ravennae* and came to

include many Italians, in addition to soldiers from the Byzantine army. However, during a period of fighting the Lombards, the Muslim conquest erupted from what is now Saudi Arabia. Inspired by the teachings of the prophet Muhammad, the Muslims overran the Holy Land. Between 674 and 678 the Muslims even besieged Byzantium, before finally being driven away. The result in Italy was a drastic loss of Byzantine power. In 726 the citizens of Ravenna defeated an expeditionary force sent by Emperor Leo III to reimpose strong Byzantine rule. The area was gradually diminished under almost constant pressure from the Lombards. In about 750 the Lombards finally conquered Ravenna. The Byzantines, faced with Persian and barbarian invasions, could not keep their hold on Italy, even when supported by their powerful navy, whose oared warships, or *dromonds*, were the most powerful battle ships of their day.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; OSTROGOTHS AND LOMBARDS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Red Eyebrow Rebellion

The Red Eyebrows were a rebel group formed in China in 18 C.E. against the regime of the usurper WANG MANG that helped defeat him, resulting in the restoration of the HAN DYNASTY. The year 9 C.E. saw the Wang family reach the zenith of power. The family had climbed to power due to the marriage of one of its daughters to the future emperor Yuan of the Han dynasty. She bore him a son, who became emperor. As mother and then grandmother of emperors, she wielded enormous power, appointing her brothers to key government positions and after the death of her brothers appointing her nephew Wang Mang regent for a young emperor. In 9 C.E. Wang Mang deposed the child emperor and ascended the throne, founding the Xin (Hsin) dynasty. *Xin* means “new.” Wang embarked on an ambitious

program of reforms that included the nationalization of land, price fixing, and changes to the taxation system. Some of the reforms could not be carried out; all were widely unpopular. Natural disasters exacerbated Wang's problems; they included a shift in the course of the Yellow River in the Great Plain, which trapped large numbers of people in the Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula between the two branches of the river.

Famine followed, creating numerous peasant revolts. One was called the Red Eyebrow Rebellion, from the rebel practice of staining their foreheads red as a distinguishing mark. Since red was also the color of the deposed Han dynasty, perhaps the illiterate rebels were identifying themselves with the imperial house. However, the Red Eyebrow movement was without religious identity or political ideology; its members were desperately poor people seeking food. No significant leader emerged among them, and they remained a poorly organized motley army. The inability of Wang Mang's army to defeat the Red Eyebrows gave hope to surviving members of the Liu family of the deposed Han dynasty, who also rose against Wang. In 23 C.E. a descendant of the founding emperor of the Han was proclaimed emperor. Troops of the new Han emperor and the Red Eyebrows then marched on the capital city CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), where Wang Mang was captured and executed.

Civil war continued between different claimants of the Han throne, while the Red Eyebrows also proclaimed a descendant of the Liu clan, whom they had kidnapped, as emperor. The Red Eyebrows were incapable of setting up a government, appointing mostly illiterate men as ministers, and merely sacked and looted Chang'an when they captured it for the second time in 25 C.E. and then abandoned it the next year when they had consumed all its food. They were finally defeated in 27 C.E. by the army of the newly proclaimed GUANGWU (Kuang-wu) emperor, founder of the newly established Eastern, or Later, Han dynasty, surrendered to him, and disappeared from history. The Red Eyebrow rebels, though incapable of forming a government and governing, nevertheless played a key role in bringing down the rule of Wang Mang and the restoration of the Han dynasty.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

religious inclinations, prehistory

Deductions about the religious beliefs and practices of prehistoric people rest largely on archaeological evidence. Grave goods and burial practices, carved figures, cave paintings, and designs on potshards may be the only scraps left of a rich and intricate cosmogony. Graves dating back more than 50,000 years indicate that burials were deliberate, which by itself may imply belief in an afterlife. Whether bodies were interred to trap ghosts, show respect, or facilitate travel to another world is not known. The bodies of several Neanderthals buried in the Zagros Mountains of Iraq between 40,000 and 70,000 years ago were positioned and possibly buried with herbs and flowers. Other Neanderthal sites in Europe feature stacked bones of cave bears. In France, Neanderthal bodies were sprinkled with red ocher and buried with tools. A lump of red ocher showing intentional scraping was found near burials in the Qafzeh Cave in Israel and is believed to be 90,000 years old. Alignment of the body with the Sun might have had ritual importance. Red ocher may have represented blood or rebirth; grave goods including food, tools, and shell ornaments may have been stored for use in the afterlife or as status symbols. Modern interpretations of CAVE PAINTINGS, such as paintings some 17,000 years old at Lascaux, France, may have had great ritual and religious meaning but cannot be accurately interpreted today.

Ethnographic studies of tribal people in the recent past may shed light on the beliefs of ancient humans, but comparisons can also be misleading. Mircea Eliade saw parallels between the shamanism and trances of 20th-century hunters and pastoralists and those of the PALEOLITHIC AGE implied in their art and artifacts. Eliade, a historian of religion, posited that the difference between tribal and modern people is the perception of the entire world and time itself as a reflection of a sacred cosmos. Within this view he linked early hunters, animism, and blood sacrifices to later aggressive military conquests. The growth of agriculture gave rise to new creation myths and a strong link between women, food, and ritual. Women controlled reproduction; lunar phases, seasonal renewals, and harvests all reflected feminine power. By the time cities emerged in the NEOLITHIC AGE religious statuary emphasized femininity and linked it with death and rebirth. Crones are often paired with birds of prey, and men with bulls or horned animals. Dancing and feasting have ritualized meanings, and masks are used in ceremonies.

The evidence of early beliefs are also fragmentary in that only a miniscule part of people's art and iconog-

raphy survived at all and only through fortuitous accidents. By 3000 B.C.E. the writings of Sumer, Egypt, and other lands describe a hierarchy of deities and formulas for their worship. Some of these formulas may have been handed down orally for centuries or millennia; others may have been new and innovative.

See also ANDES, NEOLITHIC; FOOD GATHERERS AND PRODUCERS, PREHISTORY; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Roman Empire

The Roman Empire was the largest in the ancient world and at its height controlled the land around the Mediterranean and most of continental Europe, with the exception of modern-day Germany, Denmark, and Russia. The incipient Roman Empire led to the demise of the Roman Republic and the accession of Octavian (better known by his posthumous title AUGUSTUS CAESAR).

THE PUNIC WARS

The first lands occupied by the Romans were in the Italian peninsula. From the days of the creation of the Roman Republic with the expulsion of the Tarquin dynasty in 510 B.C.E., the Romans had started attacking and ruling lands held by rival cities in central Italy. Rome's being sacked by the Gauls in 390 B.C.E. significantly weakened it in the eyes of many. It rebuilt its military strength, and its defeat of CARTHAGE in the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.) led to Rome gaining a foothold in Sicily. From 241 until 218 B.C.E. the Romans conquered Sardinia, Corcyra (modern-day Corfu), and Lombardy (northeastern Italy). During the Second Punic War, when HANNIBAL invaded the Italian peninsula in 218 B.C.E., the Romans were able to stop his attack on Rome, but their hold over the Italian peninsula was tenuous. Hannibal exploited this by forming alliances with the Gauls in northern Italy (Cisalpine GAUL) and also with predominantly Greek cities in the south, such as Capua and Tarentum.

When Hannibal was recalled to North Africa to defend Carthage and defeated at the Battle of Zama in 202

B.C.E., the Romans expanded their landholdings, taking many areas that had sheltered Hannibal during his 15 years in the Italian peninsula. The defeat of Hannibal also gave them the confidence to attack and conquer other lands, initially parts of Spain, and then attack Syria in 191 B.C.E.

This came about over tensions between Rome and the SELEUCID EMPIRE, with Rome declaring war in 192 B.C.E. and attacking in the following year. Ptolemy V of Egypt allied himself with Rome against his neighbor. A Roman fleet commanded by Gaius Livius destroyed the Seleucid navy off the coast of Greece in 191 B.C.E. and again in the following year at Eurymedon where Hannibal was helping the Seleucids in his first (and last) naval battle. At the same time a large Roman army advanced into Asia Minor and in December 190 B.C.E., at the Battle of Magnesia, destroyed the Syrians. In an agreement signed at Apameax, the Romans returned most of the land they had taken, only retaining the islands of Cephallonia and Zacynthus (modern-day Zante).

During the conflict of the Third Macedonian War (172–167 B.C.E.), the Romans defeated the Macedonians at the Battle of Pydna on June 22, 168 B.C.E. The following year the Romans took over Macedonian lands and divided them into four republics under Roman protection, establishing a protectorate over most of the Greek peninsula. Over the next 40 years the Seleucid Empire fell apart, and the power vacuum was exploited by Rome.

However, before the Romans were able to conquer the eastern Mediterranean, they had to deal with Carthage in the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.E.). With the Romans preoccupied in North Africa, rebellions broke out on the Iberian Peninsula. Sparta, a city allied to Rome, was also attacked. The Romans responded by sending soldiers to Spain and defeating the Lusitanians. They sent an army to help Sparta, which resulted in the annexation of Greece. By 146 B.C.E., Rome was in control of all of the Italian peninsula, modern-day Tunisia, modern-day Spain and Portugal, and the Greek peninsula.

JUGURTHINE AND MITHRIDATIC WARS

From 112 to 106 B.C.E. the Romans fought the Jugurthine War, sending soldiers back to North Africa and eventually capturing the Numidian king Jugurtha. The Cimbri and other Germanic tribes from modern-day Switzerland then moved into southern Gaul, destroyed a Roman army of 80,000 at the Battle of Arausio, and slaughtered 40,000 Roman noncombatants. This led to war in Gaul, culminating with the Battle of Vercellae. The Roman commander MARIUS destroyed the Cimbri at the Battle

of Vercellae, killing an estimated 140,000 tribesmen and their families and capturing another 60,000.

Although the Roman Empire had control over much of the Mediterranean and Rome became the wealthiest city in the region, problems were brewing in the Italian peninsula with the Social War (91–88 B.C.E.). Some cities on the peninsula were angered that their people were discriminated against for not being Roman citizens. The Romans, with difficulty, overcame their opponents; the Roman soldiers had not shown the same brutality as they had in Gaul and other places. As the Seleucid Empire faltered, the Romans sought to expand into Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey).

This coincided with the emergence of Mithridates VI of Pontus, who was intent on capturing Bithynia and Cappadocia. The Roman commander and politician Sulla defeated the army of Pontus at the Battle of Chaeronea in 86 B.C.E. and the Battle of Orchomenus in the following year. He then returned to the Italian peninsula for the Roman civil war in which Sulla had himself proclaimed dictator, later returning to Asia Minor in the Second Mithridatic War (83–81 B.C.E.). The Third Mithridatic War (75–65 B.C.E.) saw the Romans under Lucullus defeat the army of Pontus at the Battle of Cabira in 72 B.C.E., essentially removing them as a threat to the Roman Empire in the East.

THE GALLIC WARS

With no further threat from the eastern Mediterranean, the Romans turned their attention to Spain. JULIUS CAESAR fought there 61–60 B.C.E., taking the Iberian Peninsula firmly under Roman control. From 58 to 51 B.C.E. Caesar waged the GALLIC WARS, and the Gauls were defeated in a number of large battles culminating in the Battle of Alesia in 52 B.C.E. At this battle a massive Gallic force was annihilated while trying to relieve the Gallic chief VERCINGETORIX in Alesia, and Gaul was brought under Roman rule. For the next 20 years there were large numbers of Roman civil wars with, initially, Caesar fighting and defeating POMPEY; Mark Antony and Octavian defeating Brutus; and then Octavian defeating Mark Antony. Control of the empire was split into three sections, with Octavian controlling the Italian peninsula, Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, Dalmatia, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. Mark Antony was in control of Greece and Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus. The third member of the TRIUMVIRATE, Lepidus, was in control of North Africa west of Cyrenaica. The final defeat of Mark Antony saw Octavian invade and capture Egypt and establish Roman rule there.

AUGUSTUS CAESAR

Octavian never used the title *emperor* or the name *Augustus*—both were added to him posthumously. However, he is recognized by historians as being the first Roman emperor, Augustus Caesar, and hence the Roman Empire officially dates from his rule, which began in 31 B.C.E. and ended with his death in 14 C.E.

Initially, Roman governors were politicians, eager to advance their political career by proving administrative ability. Octavian reformed the system by raising gubernatorial salaries and making appointments longer to encourage governors to become more familiar with the areas they controlled. It also allowed some governors to mount challenges to central authority. Under a governor procurators were made responsible for raising revenue and for day-to-day administrative matters. The most famous procurator was PONTIUS PILATE, procurator of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumea from 26 to 36 C.E.

At the accession of Augustus the Roman Empire covered the entire Italian peninsula, Istria (in modern-day Slovenia and Croatia), the Greek peninsula, western Asia Minor, Syria, Cyrenaica (in modern-day Libya), the area around Carthage (modern-day Tunisia), the Iberian Peninsula (modern-day Spain and Portugal), Transalpine Gaul (modern-day France, Belgium, parts of western Germany, and southern Holland), and the islands of the Mediterranean (the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Malta, Crete, the Ionian and Dodecanese Islands, and Cyprus). It also had protectorates over the rest of Asia Minor, Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula and southern Palestine, the eastern part of modern-day LIBYA, and Numidia (modern-day eastern Algeria).

Because of its immense size Octavian devoted much of his time and energies to maintaining, rather than enlarging, the territory under the control of Rome. There was conflict along the frontier with Germany, with a massive Roman loss at the Battle of the Teutoberg Forest in September or October 9 C.E. Although the Romans sent in forces to avenge the loss, they held back from a full-scale invasion of Germany, which Octavian judged would be a disaster. He was a cautious ruler, as was his adopted son and successor Tiberius (r. 14–37 C.E.).

CALIGULA, NERO, VESPASIAN, TITUS, AND DOMITIAN

After Tiberius the emperor Caligula (r. 37–41 C.E.) saw no advances in the empire, but Caligula's uncle and successor, Claudius (r. 41–54), invaded Britain under Aulus Plautius. Some British tribes chose to oppose the Romans, while others supported them. Under the next emperor, NERO (r. 54–68), there was trouble with the Parthians,

and a revolt broke out in 61 in Britain, led by BOUDICCA of the Iceni tribe. She was eventually defeated, but her rebellion put an end to Roman plans to send an expeditionary force to Ireland. Nero was overthrown in 68, and his three successors had brief rules before being overthrown. The Roman army in Judaea, flushed with its victory—including sacking Jerusalem and the burning of the Jewish Temple—returned to Rome with their commander, Vespasian, at their head. He became emperor, to be followed by his sons Titus and Domitian.

The rule of Vespasian (r. 68–79), Titus (r. 79–81), and Domitian (r. 81–96) saw a period of some internal peace in the Italian peninsula and a gradual expansion of some parts of the Roman Empire. The Romans eventually controlled all of England, Wales, and southern Scotland. In central Europe parts of southern Germany were added to the Roman Empire, which had come to include the whole of the coast of northern Africa. Domitian's assassination caused many to expect another Roman civil war, but the accession of Marcus Cocceius Nerva ensured that this did not occur. He nominated his son Marcus Ulpis Trajanus to succeed him.

TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

The emperor TRAJAN (r. 98–117) extended the empire further, in large part due to the Dacian Wars (101–107) in which Roman armies attacked the Dacian king Decebalus, a powerful force in east-central Europe (modern-day Romania). With cruelty unparalleled since Caesar's invasion of Gaul, the Romans pushed their frontier to the Carpathian Mountains and the river Dniester. After that Trajan added Arabia Petrea (modern-day Sinai and nearby regions) to the Roman Empire. Next Trajan waged war against the Parthians, with Osroes, king of Parthia, having placed a “puppet” ruler on the throne of Armenia. The Romans felt this violated a long-standing treaty with the Parthians, and Trajan, aged 60, attacked and captured Armenia and Mesopotamia, taking over the remainder of the former Seleucid Empire, which the Romans had attacked 200 years earlier. This gave the Romans access to the Persian Gulf.

Trajan's successor, Publius Aelius Hadrianus (r. 117–138), or HADRIAN, decided to consolidate Roman rule over recently conquered areas and is best known for building a wall along the English-Scottish border, known as Hadrian's Wall. Making peace with the Parthians, he gave up land east of the Euphrates and crushed a revolt in Mauretania and the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Judaea. This was the last large-scale Jewish revolt against the Romans and was destroyed with massive repercussions in Judaea.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed. Jews were subsequently banned from entering Jerusalem.

PIUS, MARCUS AURELIUS, AND COMMODUS

Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161) succeeded Trajan, initiating a “forward movement,” pushing Roman rule back into southern Scotland and building the Antonine Wall, which stretched from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth. This meant that Hadrian’s Wall was no longer a barrier, and it briefly fell into disuse until the Romans discovered that they were unable to control southern Scotland. The Antonine Wall was abandoned in favor of Hadrian’s Wall. The empire was approaching its greatest extent. At this point, the only places added to the empire were parts of Mesopotamia, which had been given to Parthia by Hadrian, and parts of Media (modern-day Iran). Of the next Roman emperors some are well known, but most had only a minor role in the history of the Roman Empire. MARCUS AURELIUS (r. 161–180) was known for his philosophical teachings encapsulating what many saw as the “golden age” of the Roman Empire; and Commodus (r. 180–193), for his brutality, decadence, misrule, and vanity. The reign of Commodus led to infighting in the imperial court, with subsequent emperors becoming worried that regional commanders were becoming too powerful. In response they only gave them as many troops as were necessary. This in turn led to troop shortages in some areas and worry of invasion.

TRADE AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Roman Empire was a trading empire as well as a military empire, and Roman money was widely recognized throughout the region, and beyond. Latin became the language of the educated elite of the entire empire and of government officials and soldiers who settled in various parts of the empire. Gradually, Greek began to supplant Latin in the eastern Mediterranean, and it became the language of business and commerce in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Surviving tombstones show that many Romans came from distant lands. Goods were traded extensively—Rome had to import large amounts of corn and wheat to feed its growing population. Ideas also traveled throughout the Roman Empire. Initially these were connected with the *PAX ROMANA*—the Roman legal system. Under Antoninus Pius, Roman citizenship was extended in much of the eastern Mediterranean, and Roman citizens had to be tried in a Roman court, leading to Roman law becoming the standard in the eastern part of the empire. The Romans encouraged the spread of learning, philosophy, and religion. Christianity and the belief in Mithras

rapidly spread to all corners of the empire, with archaeological evidence for both religions stretching from Spain to northern England and to the Middle East. Since the founding of Rome, the citizenry had traded with other empires. Roman goods found their way to the KUSHAN EMPIRE in southern Pakistan and Afghanistan. The SOGDIAN, in Central Asia (modern-day Uzbekistan), traded with both the Romans and the Chinese, and Roman coins have been found in archaeological sites in some parts of the Far East.

DIOCLETIAN, CONSTANTINE, AND THEODOSIUS

DIOCLETIAN (r. 284–305) was an administrator rather than a soldier, even though he came from an army background, and sought to erode the influence of the army on politics. When news was received in Rome that there was an uprising or an attack on the Romans, Diocletian complained that he needed a deputy who could dispatch armies efficiently but not want to claim the throne. In 286 he appointed an Illyrian called Maximian, the son of a peasant farmer. Maximian was posted to Milan, where he could respond to attacks in the West, especially along the frontier with Germany. Diocletian then moved to Nicomedia, in modern-day Turkey, where he would supervise the empire and respond to attacks from Parthia or Persia. Although the empire remained undivided, there were definite lines of demarcation. These would manifest themselves years later in the division of the Roman Empire. Diocletian, however, is probably best known for his persecution of the Christians. Soon after he abdicated, Christianity would become an important part of the Roman administration.

The emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (r. 306–337) provided a unity to the empire, and his mother, HELENA, greatly influenced her son in Christian ideas. However, under THEODOSIUS I (r. 379–395) many felt that the western part of the empire was becoming a liability, with the eastern part being far more prosperous. As a result, in 395 the Roman Empire split to form the Western Roman Empire, with Rome as its capital, and the Eastern Roman Empire, with its capital at Byzantium (modern-day Istanbul). Only 15 years after this split the Western Roman Empire suffered a major shock when Visigoths invaded the Italian peninsula and sacked Rome. The capital had been briefly moved to RAVENNA, but the psychological damage was done. Rome was retaken from the Visigoths, and authorities called back Roman legions guarding other parts of the western empire, withdrawing soldiers from Britain and the German frontier, to try to defend the Italian peninsula. In 476 the last Roman emperor of the West, ODOVACAR, the leader of the

Ostrogoths, deposed Romulus Augustulus. The eastern empire continued as the Byzantine Empire, although gradually lost much territory.

The Roman Empire was founded on military glory, but its legacy was much more broad. Roman roads connected many cities and towns, most of which are still inhabited, and archaeological digs uncovered the remains of Roman walls, buildings, and lifestyle. Roman aqueducts can be seen in many parts of the former empire, with Roman plumbing and sewage disposal being unmatched in western Europe until the Italian Renaissance. The Roman system of law is still followed by many parts of the former Roman Empire, and many other Roman customs survive.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Roman golden and silver ages

The Roman golden and silver ages represent the periods of Latin literature from the career of CICERO (106–43 B.C.E.) to the death of AUGUSTUS CAESAR (14 C.E.) and from the beginning of Tiberius's reign as Roman emperor (14 C.E.) to the close of HADRIAN's reign (138 C.E.), respectively. The golden age has been so named by classical scholars because the greatest authors of the Roman Empire, including Lucretius (99–55 B.C.E.), Catullus (84–54 B.C.E.), JULIUS CAESAR (100–44 B.C.E.), Cicero, Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.), and Ovid (43 B.C.E.–18 C.E.), flourished during this time. Politically, the golden age saw the final overthrow of the senatorial Republic (Latin: *res publica*) and the inauguration of a single monarch over the Roman state.

Depending on the date of composition, therefore, its literature reflects one of three distinct themes: public oratory, characteristic of the speeches of Roman senators; an uncontrollable anxiety stemming from the political unrest and civil wars between the assassination of Julius Caesar (44 B.C.E.) and the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.); or the peace indicative of the reign of Augustus, which was undergirded by EPICUREANISM.

While the silver age was surpassed by the magnificence of the preceding century, a considerable corpus of masterpieces were generated during this era by such authors as SENECA (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.), Lucan (39–65 C.E.), Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.), Quintilian (35–95 C.E.), Statius (45–96 C.E.), Martial (40–104 C.E.), Tacitus (55–120 C.E.), Juvenal (60–130 C.E.), and Suetonius (69–140 C.E.). Exerting a powerful influence on this age was the contemporary educational system based on letters and rhetoric, which inspired prospective writers with the treasures of Greek and Latin literature and systematically trained them in the art of declamation, influencing their proficiency in figures of speech, exclamations, apostrophes, interrogations, and an assortment of other literary devices.

GOLDEN AGE AUTHORS

Little is known about Lucretius besides the years when he lived. His purpose of his didactic poem *De Rerum Natura* (On the nature of things) was to convert the Roman aristocrat Memmius to Epicureanism. According to Lucretius's interpretation, the aim of this philosophy was to reveal how to obtain peace of mind (Greek: *ajtaraxiva*) in difficult times. Based on his conviction that the world is made up of random combinations of atoms moving in a void, which yield all physical objects and (via the motions of the finer atoms of the soul) all mental processes and emotions, Lucretius argued that such combinations eventually separate, spelling the mortality of the material world and the soul. Consequently, *De Rerum* maintains that only the atoms and the void in which they move are eternal. This worldview led Lucretius to the anti-supernatural results that the gods either do not exist or take no interest in human affairs and that religion is a malicious facade. The poem concludes with two practical applications—"live in secret" and "keep out of politics"—which purportedly point the way to true pleasure and the coveted "peace of mind."

In contrast to Lucretius, a great deal is known about Catullus from the many autobiographical passages in his poetry. Spending much of his life in Rome, Catullus thrived in a sophisticated literary circle that admired and imitated the Greek poetry of ALEXANDRIA. He then fell in love with a woman he styled as "Lesbia," who was almost certainly Clodia, the wife of a Roman aristocrat and sister of Julius Caesar's supporter and agent. She became the protagonist in Catullus's personal LYRIC POETRY of the heart, which borrowed and modified Greek meters.

Catullus took the epigram, typically used for tombstone and monument inscription and trivial brief poetry, and transformed it into a vehicle for the expression

of deep personal meaning. Upon being spurned by Lesbia, Catullus left Rome and took a junior staff position under the governor of Bithynia, where he abandoned love poetry in favor of poems that clandestinely slung invective at his political adversaries. Classical scholars regard these complex and learned works as treasures of taste and scholarship.

Corresponding to the brilliance of Roman poetry during the golden age was comparable achievement in prose. Julius Caesar's lucid and powerful commentaries on the Gallic and civil wars, *De Bello Gallico* and *De Bello Civili*, serve as benchmarks for their genre. The era's leading prose writer was Cicero, a prolific orator, who, after amassing a reputation as a bold and highly competent lawyer by successfully defending Sextus Roscius from murder charges, embarked on a political career in Rome. Beginning with his election to the quaestorship in 75 B.C.E., Cicero rose through the ranks to the office of praetor in 66 B.C.E. and, despite his status as a *novus homo* (a "new man," or a candidate whose family had no precedent in holding office), to the highest position of consul in 63 B.C.E.

In the decade following his consulship Cicero played a less active role in politics and fashioned prose writings of a peaceful style, including treatises on rhetoric and philosophical discourses on friendship and old age. However, Cicero returned briefly to the political scene after Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C.E., vehemently attacking Caesar's would-be successor, Mark Antony, in a series of speeches known as the "Philippics." This would ultimately lead to Cicero's demise, as Antony quickly joined ranks in the Second TRIUMVIRATE with Lepidus and Octavian and decreed the statesman's beheading, carried out on December 7, 43 B.C.E.

Virgil, recognized as the foremost of all Latin poets both during his lifetime and by modern scholarly assessment, split most of his time between Rome and Naples, in the latter of which he served as charter member of a literary circle under the patronage of Maecenas, the adviser of Augustus. Virgil's first work, the *Bucolics*, or *Eclogues*, consists of 10 short poems in a pastoral style, emulating the third-century B.C.E. Greek poet Theocritus, which depict both imaginary country scenes and contemporary events such as the loss and restoration of his own farm at Andes. Their charm and elegance immediately established Virgil as a poetic genius, and Maecenas encouraged Virgil to compose something more worthy of his talent.

In response he wrote his most artistic work, the *Georgics*, a poem in four books pertaining to the growing and nurturing of trees, vines, and olives, the breed-

ing of cattle and horses, and bee-keeping. Classical scholars regard its grammar and style as the optimal use of the Latin language and its meter as the perfection of Latin hexameter.

Augustus then suggested that Virgil create a national epic linking TROY and the heroic age with the foundation of Rome and the family to which Julius Caesar and Augustus belonged. This 12-volume work, the *AENEID*, stands as Virgil's most enduring masterpiece and recounts the exploits of a Trojan prince named Aeneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, who was destined to be the ancestor of Romulus, the legendary ancestor of Caesar and first founder of the Roman race. A paradigm of balance, this epic harmonized the desire for peace with traditional respect for military honor. Virgil's compatriot Horace continued in this lyric tradition through his mastery of the ode, ingeniously converting Greek meters into Latin and choosing his words with great precision and care.

Mirroring Virgil's grand poetic success in prose was Livy, reputed as one of Rome's most eminent historians. Raised in the north Italian region of Patavium, known for its strict ethical conservatism, Livy shared Augustus's concern over the moral decline that plagued Roman society. Aiming to remedy this problem, Livy composed his monumental 142-volume history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita* (From the founding of the city, or *History of Rome*), the narratives of which were intended to depict the glory days of a virtuous past as a model for present and future generations. Livy's work furnished an accurate account of what his fellow Romans believed about the moral standards, faith, and virtue of their predecessors.

Through a dynamic blend of myth and fact, *Ab Urbe Condita* displays Livy's consummate narrative ability and his staunchly patriotic goal of authenticating the courage and high ethical character of the Roman people and their heroes even in the midst of catastrophe. A seemingly conflicting purpose was pursued by Ovid, whose elegies on love were thought to be so counterproductive to Augustus's reform of Roman morals that the emperor exiled him to Tomis on the Black Sea, where he remained until his death. Among his most renowned poems are the *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), a handbook on seduction and sexual pleasure, and the *Heroides* (Heroines), imaginary letters from heroines of Greek legend to lovers or husbands who had abandoned them. His greatest work, the 15-volume *Metamorphoses*, lay in the domain of religion and depicted the miraculous transformations in Greek mythology. Ovid is remembered not only as a graceful poetical craftsman but also as the master of the elegiac couplet, a form that he perfected beyond the scope of any other Roman poet.

SILVER AGE AUTHORS

An eminent neo-Stoic philosopher, Seneca earned fame as an author of philosophical treatises and as tutor to the infamous Roman emperor NERO (r. 54–68 C.E.). Seneca attempted to impart his conviction that the neo-Stoic worldview provided the best practical guide to conduct and filled the void of the soul. He contended that spiritual satisfaction came through turning away from the world, through contempt for worldly goods, the duty of self-examination, the joys of conversion (which he defined as the sign of grace to see one's faults), and the call to enlighten others. Seneca's corpus includes at least 152 treatises on subjects as varied as geography, physics, natural history, biography, and ethics. His nephew Lucan was a celebrated poet in Nero's court who, in his *Pharsalia*, drew upon the epic tradition in his vivid depiction of major battles in the Roman civil war.

Lucan's animated style featured drama and rhetoric often at the expense of historical accuracy. In 62 C.E. Nero began to be influenced by younger, power-hungry advisers, who exhorted him to shake off his mentor, Seneca. Cognizant that he might be slain, Seneca made an impassioned speech before Nero, where he defended his loyalty and contribution to the emperor's education and submitted his request to retire. Nero denied the request and, three years later, discovered that Lucan was part of Piso's conspiracy to overthrow him, which provided him a convenient excuse to eliminate his teacher. Nero charged Seneca with complicity in the plot and ordered the suicide of both Seneca and Lucan.

The prose of the first century C.E. encompasses a number of significant didactic authors. Pliny the Elder was an indefatigable scholar who composed the monumental 37-volume encyclopedia on the physical and social sciences, the *Naturalis Historia* (Natural history). Sponsored by the emperor Titus, its subjects ranged from ancient physics, Pliny's cosmography in relation to God, geography, human physiology, zoology, and botany to mineralogy and metallurgy in the fine arts. An invaluable source, the *Naturalis Historia* stands as the fullest application of Aristotelian categories to the sphere of scientific knowledge.

Equally prominent in the literary domain was the educator Quintilian; his *Institutio Oratoria* (Institute of oratory) constitutes an authoritative manual to the theory and practice of rhetoric. Believing that to educate a speaker was to mold a Roman lady or gentleman, Quintilian emphasized the importance of character building in the pedagogical process, centered on PLATO's four cardinal virtues of justice, wisdom, courage, and moderation.

Following in the tradition of Virgil, Statius is famous for his *Thebiad*, an epic that pushes each feature of his forerunner's style to the extreme. This tribute to Thebian mythology, recounting the story of Oedipus and the legends of Amphion, Cadmus, and Dirce, relies upon the tragedies of AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES, and Antimachus as primary sources. Perhaps Statius's paramount contribution to the silver age was his approach to literature as performance, or exhibition of talent, where each work would comprise a series of virtuoso pieces intended to evoke admiration from its audience. Such a tendency moves toward the independence of the parts of a work and away from the concord of the whole.

Harkening back to the golden age in the manner of Statius, Martial enhanced the epigram style from its previous development under Catullus by overlaying it with a polished and multifaceted verse in which he conveyed sharp wit toward current events. He crafted poems of genuine feeling, in which he discusses his poverty, social endeavors, the true enjoyment of life, and the positive relations that could exist between humane masters and their slaves. With his brief tales in verse Martial paints a stirring portrait of ancient Rome in dazzling tones that make the ancient city seem near the modern world.

Writers of the silver age, notwithstanding their biases, penned largely accurate reports of their time and followed standards of verification that would not be bettered until the critical biographies of seventh-century C.E. Irish monastic scholars. The leader of this movement was Tacitus, acknowledged by classical scholars as the greatest historian of ancient Rome, who lived through the reigns of more than a half-dozen Roman emperors and preserved many of their memoirs. He is best known for two works, the *Annals* and the *Histories*, the former covering the period from Augustus's death to that of Nero (14–68 C.E.), and the latter beginning after Nero's death and proceeding to that of Domitian in 96 C.E.

The *Annals* are best remembered for accounts of Tiberius's closed and suspicious character in the capital, and the control of the weak emperor Claudius by the powerful freedman Narcissus, causing Nero to be placed on the throne and the fire of Rome. This work also contains a reference to the crucifixion of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in Judaea under PONTIUS PILATE and the origin and imperial persecution of the early Christian movement. The most memorable scenes in the *Histories* revolve around the years 69–70 C.E., from the reign of Galba to the close of the Jewish War. Tacitus provides striking insight on the struggle between Otho, who murdered Galba, and Vitellius for the title of emperor and on the military campaigns waged by Vespasian against Vitell-

lius in Rome and Titus against the Pharisaic, Essene, and Zealot forces in Jerusalem. Tacitus's mastery of the Latin language can be summarized in terms of brevity, variety, and poetic color. His repertoire contains modified meanings to terms, neologisms (new words which he invented from previously existing ones), innovative extensions of idiom, and asymmetry of expression. Less prominent but also distinguished among Roman historians is Suetonius, who oversaw the imperial archives and public libraries as secretary under TRAJAN. He carefully integrated the sources under his disposal in his *De Vita Caesarum* (On the life of the Caesars), a collection of 12 biographies on the emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian. This work is remarkable for its rejection of a strict chronological ordering in favor of a loose one, only concerned that each successive Caesar follows one another.

Juvenal was one of the world's greatest satirists. His disillusionment stemmed largely from his failure to procure a political appointment after completing the requisite military training. When he saw foreigners succeeding through corruption where he was ignored, he published a lampoon attacking the influence of court favorites in making promotions. Outraged at being convicted by the truth, in 96 C.E. Domitian confiscated his property and banished him to a remote frontier in Egypt. After living for a brief spell in poverty, he launched himself in writing the *Satires*, his most popular poems, out of infurcation from his maltreatment and the injustices prevalent to Roman politics. His satirical pieces are matchless for his synthesis of journalistic precision, descriptive clarity, oratorical persuasion, dramatic characterization, and linguistic command into a multifaceted poetic unity.

Parallel with the administrative triumphs of imperial Rome and its services to Western civilization, the Roman golden and silver ages fostered artistic production of enduring quality, thought commensurate to the achievement of the times, and a captivating depiction of life. Their authors' practical interest in learning of an encyclopedic sort showed the academic discontent with social amenities and empty rhetoric and consequent quest for an all-encompassing and systematic worldview. Displaying mastery of virtually every literary genre, the classics created during these periods disclose a full spectrum of emotion and an engaging reflection with political, legal, and academic institutions. These works bear a universal relevance to all times and places and have offered renewed pleasure and fascination throughout the ages.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY.

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KIRK R. MACGREGOR

Roman historians

In the mid-fifth century B.C.E., when the great Greek historian Herodotus settled in the Athenian colony of Thurii in southern Italy, Rome had not yet consolidated its control over the peninsula. The struggle with the declining but still powerful ETRUSCANS was ongoing. The GAULS, a Celtic people of the north, sacked Rome in 390 B.C.E. The Punic Wars concluded in the second century B.C.E., after which Rome would assert its dominance across the Mediterranean basin.

Early Roman historians did not look to Herodotus as a guide, at least not directly. They were largely uninterested in geography and ethnology, unlike Herodotus, considered the Father of History. Their emphasis was on politics, and the cultural influence of Greece remained profound. The first great historian of Rome was not Roman, nor did he write in Latin; he was Greek and employed that language. Polybius (202–120 B.C.E.) believed that Rome's power derived from its institutions, most notably its constitution. Aristotelian political theories and Thucydides' histories influenced Polybius greatly. Polybius lacked his forerunner's political acumen, but his call for archival research shaped future historiography. Polybius would serve as a touchstone of later Roman historians, including Livy.

Prior to Livy, Roman historiography followed a pattern seen in early Greece. The earliest "documentarians" of Rome were epic poets. These poet-historians tapped directly into Greek mythology. Gnaeus Naevius (270–201 B.C.E.) traced Rome's origins back to Aeneas, the Trojan prince, as did Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.E.). Naevius and Ennius wrote in Greek, despite their Roman citizenship. The oldest extant fragment of Latin

poetry is a translation of Homer's *Odyssey*. The first Roman prose historian was Q. Fabius Pictor, but his task was accomplished in Greek. Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.E.), known as Cato the Elder, was the first Roman who wrote Roman history in Latin prose. Like Fabius before him, Cato was a politician. He was, however, of plebeian origin, a fact that would produce his excoriations of aristocratic families. Fabius and Cato were typical of what became the model of Roman historians. They were politicians possessing access to official archives and also gave thematic importance to moralistic patriotism. That tone became typical of Roman history writing.

The annalists merit mention, especially as they later served as resources for Livy. Annalists recorded the events that took place in a given year, as well as the names of the ruling magistrates. They made no attempt to provide a true narrative of historical events, much less an interpretative one. L. Coelius Antipater, Valerius Antias, and Q. Claudius Quadrigarius were active in the second and first centuries B.C.E. and were the most noteworthy of the era. One exception to the dry chronicle generally offered was M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.E.). Comparisons have been made between his work and that of modern-day cultural historians. As a contemporary of Varro, Sallust, a retired army general, was more typical. His vision would encourage the notion that moral laxity had led to Roman decline. Sallust's particular emphasis created a myth of Rome's fall well before the occurrence of the actual event.

Livy (Titus Livius) was born in Patavium (modern Padua) in Cisalpine GAUL, in either 64 or 59 B.C.E. He would ultimately die there, in either 7 or 12 C.E. He moved to Rome at the age of 30. There, he wrote his voluminous *Ab Urbe Condita* (*History of Rome*). The original work covered some 744 years of history in 142 books. Only 35 of these actually survive, covering the periods from 753 to 243 and from 210 to 167 B.C.E. Livy was the first professional historian, devoting himself full time to his endeavors. He diverged from the Roman model in that he was not a politician; however, he firmly believed in the idea and symbol of Rome. Livy admits to basing his account on the myths that circulated.

He wrote of events that took place more than 500 years prior to his writing about them. To accomplish this he synthesized all six versions of the annalists, as well as assorted poems and legends. He was particularly indebted to Asinius Pollio and Valerius of Antium. Some have argued that Livy should be regarded more as a novelist and less as a historian.

There are many references to the supernatural in Livy's work, though he was dismissive of the phenomena on occasion. He attributed these references to popular superstitions and rumor exaggerated in times of crisis. To omit them from his work, however, would have erased a vital aspect of Roman history. The flight patterns of birds, the alignment of animal entrails, these required and dictated specific actions on the part of the political, military, and priestly elites. Heated debates have taken place over whether Livy was a full-fledged Stoic. His alleged STOICISM might well explain the systematic inclusion of auguries in his work. As represented by CICERO, Roman Stoicism accepted the supernatural as a near commonplace, woven into the fabric of everyday life. Not all of antiquity accepted such matters outright; the Epicureans and the Sceptics firmly rejected auguries. Some have dismissed Livy as a mythographer, a dramatically gifted craftsman of literary prose. But epigraphy and archaeological discoveries have proven him to be more accurate than was once imagined. His range was certainly wider in scope than Sallust's, or even that of Tacitus.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–c. 117 C.E.) originated in either Cisalpine Gaul or Narbonese Gaul (southern France). His father was a procurator of Lower Germany and affiliated with the army along the Rhine river basin. In 77 C.E. he married into the family of a consul. From there his path to the Senate was paved. As a historian, his best-known work is *Germania*, or *On the Origin and Land of the Germans*. It provides a window into the early history of the tribes along the frontier. As these groups would later play a key role in both the collapse of Rome and the dawn of a European civilization, the contribution of Tacitus is invaluable. Tacitus also studied rhetoric in Rome and enjoyed success as a public speaker. His work *Historiae* (c. 109 C.E.) examines Rome from 68 to 96 C.E. Though only portions remain extant, his account of the civil wars of this period is a masterful exploration of both the chaos and irrationality of the era. Composed later, the *Annals* cover the era beginning in 14 C.E. Tacitus is praised for his qualities as a writer and a historian and set new standards for the extent and scope of archival investigations.

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus was born around the year 70 C.E. to a knightly family of North Africa. Moving to Rome, Suetonius was a teacher of literature, as well as a lawyer. Between 110 and 112 C.E. he began to hold a variety of imperial posts. He was responsible for the epistolary of HADRIAN but was dismissed for impoliteness directed at the empress Sabina. His books the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, which survives only in fragments, and

the *Lives of the Caesars*, from JULIUS CAESAR to NERO, entirely extant, are his most important works. Some of the more salacious scenes have earned Suetonius a reputation as a shallow tabloid reporter of antiquity, but his capacities for research and observation were formidable. His habit of including, within the body of his text, source materials in their original Greek or Latin has furnished a treasure trove to posterity. It is from Suetonius that Julius Caesar's famous declaration upon crossing the Rubicon, "The die is cast," derives. Contemporary scholarship has tended to downplay the role any one person can have as an agent of historical change. Yet the importance of biographers, such as Suetonius, to provide a coherent snapshot of a given historical period by emphasizing the life and importance of the individual, has endured.

See also ARISTOTLE; EPICUREANISM; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; HOMERIC EPICS; ROMAN POETRY; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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R. O'BRIAN CARTER

Roman pantheon and myth

Roman religious belief evolved over time. Many of the well-known gods, goddesses, and heroes of Rome were adopted from other cultures and civilizations. Greek mythology, with its focus on gods with humanlike characteristics, greatly influenced later Roman mythology. What we know about early Roman mythology comes from archaeological findings, artwork, and writers such as Marcus Terentius Varro, Virgil, and Ovid. Roman myth borrowed greatly from the Greeks, replacing Greek deities with Roman names, creating a hybrid Greco-Roman mythology.

Only after Rome came into contact with Greece during the sixth century B.C.E. did Roman gods and goddesses assume human qualities. Early Romans envisioned their deities as powers that demanded appease-

ment. *Pax deorum*, or "peace of the gods," was the ultimate goal of early Roman religious practices. Romans believed that through ritual, worship, and public festivals their gods would ensure continued prosperity for the community. Early Roman deities controlled aspects of everyday life. Romans worshipped two classes of gods. The major deities, or *di indigetes*, were the original gods of the Roman state. Lesser gods, the *di novensides*, were adopted later when the need for a specific power was warranted.

While the personalities of the deities were unimportant to early Romans, the attributes of the gods and goddesses were important. The heads of the earliest Roman pantheon were Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Janus, and Vesta. Jupiter, the head of the gods, brought life-giving rain for the crops and provided protection to Romans engaged in military activities outside their own borders. Mars was originally the god of fertility and vegetation but later became associated with activities of young men and especially war. The month March was named for the Roman god Mars because of his association with spring and fertility. Quirinus, the patron god of the military in times of peace, was often worshipped in conjunction with Mars. Janus, associated with new beginnings, was depicted as a two-faced god who presided over all that was double-edged. January takes its name from this god because the month represents a time for looking backward and also forward to the future. His double-gated temple in the Forum was said to have kept its doors closed only in times of peace. Consequently, the doors of the temple rarely closed.

Vesta, goddess of the hearth fire, held a special status in the Roman pantheon. Vestal virgins, or virgins who took a 30-year vow of chastity, served as Vesta's priestesses. Vesta's priestesses attained a larger role in Roman society than other women. They were often consulted in matters of state and were entrusted with sensitive documents, such as wills and treaties. After 30 years of chastity, vestal virgins could marry if they so wished. Other deities represented the agrarian and warlike culture of the Romans. The Lares, a purely Roman invention of house guardians, protected the fields and the home. Saturn governed the sowing of seed. He was celebrated in the Saturnalia Festival (December 17–23), during which masters and slaves exchanged roles. Ceres protected the growth of grain, Pomona governed fruit, and Consus presided over the harvest.

As Rome conquered its neighbors, foreign gods and goddesses were added to the Roman pantheon. Conquered peoples were encouraged to continue the worship of native gods. Combined with an ever-increasing

influx of new territories and foreigners visiting the city, Rome experienced the largest cultural diffusion of the time. Consequently, Rome became religiously diverse. Divinities such as Minerva, Venus, Diana, Hercules, and Mithras, along with other lesser deities, were added to the Roman pantheon. Cults appeared in Rome that worshipped deities from as far away as Egypt. The worship of Isis, for example, became popular in Rome. The Roman practice of accepting the gods of its conquered peoples allowed for greater control in the territories. It also gave Rome a comprehensive mythology, most of which was borrowed or adapted to fit earlier deities.

Though the Romans did not provide a well-defined mythology for their gods or for the creation of the world, they did create an elaborate mythology for the founding of Rome. Early myths concerning Rome's founding were created with bits of historical fact mixed with mythical retellings. Tales of Rome's first kings were almost completely mythical in nature. Most of Roman myth concerns the first seven kings to rule Rome. The earliest myth about the founding of Rome was based on Rome's first king, Romulus. According to the myth, Rhea Silvia the only daughter of Numitor, the king of Alba Longa, was destined to become a vestal virgin. Instead, she was raped by the god Mars. She bore twins, Romulus and Remus, who were cast into the Tiber River. To ensure that his sons would survive, Mars sent a she-wolf to care for the twins. Eventually, a shepherd named Faustulus discovered Romulus and Remus, and he raised them as shepherds.

The twins eventually set out to found their own city. A dispute arose between them, and Romulus murdered Remus. Romulus ruled Rome, and the city flourished. However, the city lacked enough women. Romulus solved the problem by kidnapping some Sabine women. The kidnapped women saved the city from war by claiming they were happier with their newfound husbands. After a reign of 40 years Romulus ascended to the heavens to become the war god Quirinus. Borrowing from the Greeks, later renditions of the Romulus and Remus myth trace the lineage of Romulus and Remus back to the surviving prince of TROY, Aeneas.

The original Roman pantheon and myth is often obscured by the later Greco-Roman mythology. Romans were deeply religious but being a practical people lacked the imagination to create a myriad of personalities to compliment their deities. As Rome came into contact with other cultures, their mythology was enhanced. The Romans adopted the heroes and deities of others, borrowing the elaborate myths and humanlike personalities that accompanied them.

MAJOR ROMAN DEITIES

Apollo	God of the sun and music
Bacchus	God of wine and intoxication
Ceres	Mother Goddess, earth
Cupid (Amor)	God of love
Diana	Moon goddess, protector of animals and virginity
Fortuna	Goddess of luck and good fortune
Janus	God of gates, doorways, and new beginnings
Juno	Queen of gods, protector of women and childbirth
Jupiter	King of gods, lightning, storms, protector of military pursuits and oaths
Maia	Goddess of earth, plains, and growth
Mars	God of war, fertility, spring, and farming
Mercury	God of wind, messenger of the gods
Minerva	Goddess of wisdom, arts and crafts, and war
Neptune	God of watering and the sea
Pluto	King of the underworld
Proserpine	Queen of the underworld
Quirinus	God of defense, war, and the state
Saturn	God of agriculture, sowing of the seed
Uranus	God of the heavens
Venus	Goddess of sexual love and beauty
Vesta	Goddess of hearth and ceremonial fire
Vulcan	God of fire and forges

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY; ROME: FOUNDING.

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MARK AARON BOND

Roman poetry

The Greeks had a strong belief in the importance of poetry, and the Romans continued this with a large number of poets, some of whom wrote short poems and others, like Virgil, composed massive epics such as the *AENEID*. Other famous Roman poets include Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal.

Roman poetry borrowed the style of the Greeks; however, it surpassed that style. A significant number of the poets were actually Greek, and many were influenced by visits to Greece. In addition to Greek mythological themes, Roman poets used poetry to express their love and anxieties, philosophical positions, and the telling or retelling of historical epics, especially the early years of Rome, with the story of Aeneas a recurring theme.

There were some very early Roman poets, but few details survive except that they recorded the early history of Rome, later used by historians and poets. After the victory of Rome in the First Punic War in 241 B.C.E., there was considerable interest in Roman history, encouraging many to write about the early triumphs and disasters that Rome had faced. The first to make use of this enthusiasm was Lucius Livius Andronicus from Taranto, in southern Italy. Taranto was a largely Greek city, and it sided with HANNIBAL for four years during the Second Punic War. One of the tasks Andronicus undertook was the translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin. From the fragments that have survived, scholars believe that the translation was not accurate with some parts of the text expanded. The next poet was Cornelius Naevius (c. 270–c. 199 B.C.E.), who wrote epic poems and plays, although only fragments have survived. He started the trend of linking Rome with TROY through Aeneas, and therefore contrasting it with CARTHAGE, established by Queen Dido, who met Aeneas on his way from Troy to Italy. This interest was to reach a peak with Virgil.

The next well-known Roman poets were Ennius and Lucilius. The former was born in Calabria in 239 B.C.E. and although Greek by birth became a Roman subject, serving in the Roman army. In 204 B.C.E. he came to the attention of the quaestor Cato who invited him to Rome. There he started writing poetry, continuing his military career. In 189 B.C.E. he accompanied Marcus Fulvius Nobilior in his campaign in Greece. When Nobilior returned to Rome in triumph, Ennius took part in the parade through the city.

Nobilior's son then ensured that Ennius became a Roman citizen. Before his death in 169 B.C.E. Ennius composed an epic poem called the *Annales* which told the history of Rome from its founding by Aeneas through its creation until the second century B.C.E. It was well known during the "golden age" of Roman literature, ensuring that Ennius would become known as the Father of Roman poetry. Only a few fragments of the poems by Ennius have survived to the present day. Lucilius, the second early Roman poet, was a satirist who lived from 180 B.C.E. until 102 when he died at Naples. As with Ennius, he was a great influence on later poets such as Horace,

Persius, and Juvenal, and as with Ennius, only a few of his poems survive.

In the age of CICERO, in the mid-first century B.C.E., Titus Lucretius Carus (94–55 B.C.E.) was a major poet who wrote *De Rerum Natura*, a philosophical poem in hexameters. The poem, written to Gaius Memmius, a politician, who was subsequently persecuted for corruption and forced to flee to Athens, consisted of about 7,400 lines. Unlike his predecessors, Lucretius, in his poem, deals with the metaphysical premise of being an Epicurean and that nothing comes out of nothing. Gradually his other poems define the nature of motion, atoms, the human soul, and the system of belief in gods. His own life was subject to some accounts by fellow Epicureans who allege that Lucretius was driven mad by a love potion resulting in his suicide.

Living at the same time as Lucretius, although about 10 years younger, Gaius Valerius Catullus was from Verona and spent most of his life in Rome. He served under Gaius Memmius, the man who inspired Lucretius, but for most of his life with no direct involvement in politics. Catullus died at about the age of 30, and some 114 of his poems survive. Some are general but others describe Catullus and his falling in love with a married woman he called Lesbia. As many of his poems are autobiographical, it has been possible to deduce much about his life, and the Greek Hellenistic influences on it and his literature. The theme of love is explored in a later Roman poet, Sextus Aurelius Propertius, who was born in Assisi in about 51 B.C.E. He gave up a promising legal career to become an important elegiac poet, becoming a friend of both Virgil and Ovid.

Probably the most famous Roman poet was Publius Vergilius Maro, better known as Virgil. Born in 70 B.C.E., he lived until 19 B.C.E., during which time he wrote a number of poems, the best known being the *Aeneid*. Virgil was immensely influenced by the political events of his teenage years, which saw the rise of Caesar, the war with Mark Antony, and the emergence of Octavian. It was the dispute between Mark Antony and Octavian that influenced Virgil's *Eclogues*, which were written c. 39–38 B.C.E. Virgil followed with his *Georgics*, which are dated at 29 B.C.E., partly as they mention the Battle of Actium that had taken place two years earlier. Virgil's *Aeneid*, in the tradition of Ennius, gave a historical account, in verse form, of Aeneas and the founding of what became the Roman Empire. The *Aeneid* is of epic length and, as with his other poems, written in hexameters. Virgil finished the poem in 19 B.C.E., planning to travel for three years in Greece and Turkey, during which time he would revise it. When in Athens, at the start of his trip,

obvious connection between the burials and the remains of the huts. Nearby, in ancient Rome, the Lapis Niger, made from black marble, is said to have been the sanctuary marking the place where the Romulus was buried, although some scholars express doubts.

If the “house of Romulus” was possibly the oldest building, some of the decorations in the temple of Vesta are said to trace their origins back even further, to Aeneas. It has been claimed that some of the “pledges” displayed at the temple had been brought by Aeneas from TROY. The “cradle of Rome” is also said to have dated from before the time of Aeneas, with the Roman poet Virgil writing that the Arcadians met both Hercules and Aeneas at the site that was to become the main residential area during the Roman Republic.

The second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius (r. 717–673 B.C.E.), constructed the Regia during his reign. This “royal house” was his residence, which included the House of the Vestal Virgins, later becoming the residence of the *pontifex maximus* but was twice damaged by fire during the Roman Republic. During the reign of the third king, Tullus Hostilius (r. 673–641 B.C.E.), there is a reference to a temple of Jupiter on the summit of Mount Alba. It was probably during his reign or that of the next king, Ancus Marcius (r. 641–616 B.C.E.), that the Temple of Vesta was built, with the vestal virgins moving from the Regia to this purpose-built temple that incorporated pieces brought from Troy by Aeneas. He was also involved in fortifying the Janiculum, the bridge over the river Tiber.

Tarquinius Priscus (r. 616–579 B.C.E.), the fifth king, was the first to hold the Roman Games. To this end he had cleared a patch of ground that became the venue for sporting events. Many years later it was expanded but had to move to make way for the construction of the famous Circus Maximus. The new fields were more formally laid out in the second century B.C.E., showing the influence of the Greeks, and they were subsequently enlarged by JULIUS CAESAR. Tarquinius Priscus also drained some ground that was to become the location of the Roman Forum, which rapidly developed into the focal point in Rome for politics and business. It stretched from the Capitoline Hill to the Palatine Hill and became known as the Forum Romanum. Within it were many temples, and several basilicas were later added. The sixth king, Tullus Servius (r. 579–534 B.C.E.), was responsible for expanding the size of the city to include the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline Hills. This saw an enlargement of the city walls and further building work. During this period it has been estimated that the population of Rome was about 80,000. The overthrow of the last king of Rome, Tar-



The Romans were famous for their road-building skills; most roads were made from cobblestones.

quinius Superbus (534–510 B.C.E.), involved the battle at a bridge over the river Tiber with Horatius and two companions holding off the ETRUSCANS, while Romans were able to destroy the bridge.

In 509 B.C.E. the Roman Republic came into being, and a number of early buildings date from soon after the establishment of the Republic. The population at that time is estimated at 120,000–130,000. The most important of these was the Capitol, or Capitulum. It was the main temple to the God Jupiter, gaining its name from its location at the summit of the Mons Capitolinus. Over time the building was richly decorated and served as a central location in Rome that could be defended in time of invasion. Indeed in 390 B.C.E. when the Gauls sacked the rest of the city of Rome, Romans managed to hold out in the Capitol.

The other important project from the early years of the Republic was the Temple of the Dioscuri. At the Battle of the Lake Regillus in 499 B.C.E., during which the Romans defeated the Latins, two mysterious horsemen appeared and were said to have been responsible for the Roman victory. These became associated, in the public imagination, with the legendary Pollux and Castor, known as the Dioscuri, and a temple to them was built soon afterward. It was restored during the reign of the emperor Tiberius, and three Corinthian pillars of the temple still survive. In about 497 B.C.E. the temple of Saturn was built to serve as the state treasury and records office for the Roman Republic.

Rome had always had problems with water, and there were a number of wells throughout the city and, later, fountains, such as the Fountain of Juturna. The

water in the Fountain of Juturna was said to have medicinal properties. It was named after Juturna, the sister of the Dioscuri. Many Romans received their water from this fountain before the construction of Aqua Appia, the first aqueduct into Rome, built in 312 B.C.E. After the Roman victory at Antium in 338 B.C.E., the Comitium, a circular area with stepped-seats for people to sit and listen, was built and served as a center for political discussions during much of the Roman Republic. Bronze figureheads from ships captured at the battle were used to decorate some of the structure. With Rome's growing population, a second aqueduct, Aqua Anio Vetus, was built in 272–269 B. C. E. At this time the population of Rome was said to be between 290,000 and 380,000.

In 204 B.C.E., the Temple of Magna Mater was built in part in celebration for the victory of Rome over CARTHAGE in the Second Punic War. The temple was finally completed in 191 B.C.E. and provided a place to worship Cybele, the "Great Mother." Soon afterward, in 170 B.C.E., work began on the Basilica Julia, which was organized by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the GRACCHI brothers. It was restored by the emperor Diocletian but was destroyed in subsequent sackings of Rome. In 144–140 B. C. E. the praetor Quintus Marcus Rex built a third aqueduct, Aqua Marcia, bringing more water into Rome. Soon afterward, in 125 B. C. E., the Aqua Tepula was built. By this time the population of Rome was estimated at 400,000 people.

Although the period of the Roman revolution saw big changes in the use of buildings in Rome, there were not many new building projects within the city, although the Gracchi did attempt major civil engineering projects, including roads and the provision of freshwater into Rome. When the Comitium in central Rome was demolished, the Imperial Rostra was built on the site and was inaugurated by Mark Antony in either 45 or early 44 B.C.E., just prior to the assassination of Julius Caesar. It was later modified by AUGUSTUS CAESAR, possibly to remove parts of the design credited to Mark Antony. Julius Caesar felt the existing forum was too small and had the Forum Julium (also known as the Forum Caesaris) built, providing more room for the conduct of public business. However, it was in the old forum that the body of Julius Caesar himself was cremated, prior to being interred in what became the Temple of the Divine Julius. Augustus was also involved in the construction of the Temple of Apollo and the paving of the Forum in about 9 B.C.E. The population of Rome during the reign of Augustus has been estimated as being more than 4 million persons. Of these, a relatively high proportion would have been slaves. However, the figure shows the dramatic increase

in the population during the Roman revolution and the period that immediately followed it.

The Romans were well known for their road-building skills, and the roads into and from Rome were heavily used, with many having roadside graves alongside them. Most roads were made from cobblestones, but there were often stones cut to allow the easy use of carts and wagons. There were five more aqueducts built to bring freshwater to Rome: the Aqua Julia (built in 33 B.C.E.), the Aqua Virgo (19 B.C.E.), the Aqua Alsietina (2 B.C.E.), the Aqua Claudia (52 C.E.), and the Aqua Anio Novus (52 C.E.). The great fire of Rome, which broke out on July 18, 64 C.E., during the reign of the emperor NERO destroyed many buildings in Rome, and Christians became the scapegoats for the disaster. However, Nero was able to rebuild, making the new structures better able to withstand fires. He also had a massive Domus Aurea (Golden House) built in an extravagant fashion, which caused much consternation. A massive bronze statue of Nero, 120 feet high, was placed in the atrium of the Domus Aurea, which dominated the site of what became the Temple of Venus. The next major works constructed were the Temple of Vespasian and, subsequently, the Arch of Titus, dedicated to the emperor, Vespasian and his son Titus.

The major civil-engineering project during this period was undoubtedly the Colosseum, built in the 70s C.E., with work starting in 72 C.E. when Vespasian initiated the project. It occupied some of the site of Nero's Domus Aurea and was completed in 80 C.E. during the reign of Titus and then enlarged during the reign of the next emperor, Domitian. It remains one of the marvels of civil engineering and one of the most recognizable images of ancient Rome. The Colosseum was 510 feet in diameter, and 157 feet high, with 80 arches on three levels. The arena was 280 feet by 175 feet and covered in sand to allow for naval combat reenactments. The emperor Domitian started work on yet another forum, but it was not completed and dedicated until the reign of the emperor Nerva and as a result is known as the Forum Nervae. The fifth and last of the forums in Rome was the Forum Trajani, built by the emperor Trajan. Within it Trajan's Column (98 feet high), finished in 113 C.E. and topped by a statue of a bird, later replaced by a statue of Trajan and many years later by a statue of St. Peter. On the column there are friezes showing Trajan's victories against the Dacians.

The next large temple construction was that of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, erected in 141 C.E. by the Senate of Emperor Antoninus Pius in memory of his late wife, Faustina. Twenty years later when the em-

peror died, his name was added to the dedication. In the eighth century it was transformed into the Church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. After a long period of steady construction work in Rome SEPTIMUS SEVERUS became emperor in 193 C.E. In 203 C.E. he began work on a massive stone structure that became known as the Arch of Septimus Severus, dedicated to his memory after his death in 211 C.E. It was completed by Caracalla who is best remembered for the massive baths structures he built for Roman citizens. These baths cover 33 acres, with the main building being 750 feet long and 380 feet wide and could accommodate approximately 1,600 bathers at a time. In 308 C.E. the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine was built, and work began on the Temple of Romulus in the following year. Mention should also be made of the Church of St. Croce built by HELENA, the mother of the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. It was to house many holy relics that Helena brought back from the Holy Land including the True Cross, a piece of wood that was believed to have been part of the cross used to crucify JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. As more Romans embraced Christianity, a number of temples were converted into churches, and others were destroyed.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Rome: decline and fall

The deposition of the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476 C.E. by the Gothic chief ODOVACAR marks the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the subsequent transition from classic antiquity to the Middle Ages. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus was a chronological benchmark that was conventionally established by later commentators to schematize complex historical events. Contemporary chroniclers took little notice of the fate of Romulus Augustulus. In a seminal article Arnaldo Momigliano referred to it as “the noiseless fall of an empire.” Chroniclers and laypeople alike had been far more traumatized by the Roman defeat at Adrianople (near Istanbul) in 378 C.E. in the East, the worst since Cannae, when HANNIBAL seriously threat-

ened to overrun Rome, or by the Sack of Rome in 410 C.E. in the West. By the late fifth century C.E. barbarians had built their kingdoms within the imperial borders, most emperors were figureheads, and the imperial institutions had already crumbled.

Instead of a “fall,” it would thus be more appropriate to speak of a steady decline, with episodic recoveries, beginning with the successor of HADRIAN (117–138 C.E.). The next emperor, the celebrated MARCUS AURELIUS (163–180), had to confront the first wave of invasions from the north, which were barely contained in northern Italy, while a catastrophic epidemic of plague visited the empire, and the traditional Eastern enemy, the Parthians, took advantage of the Roman weakness to launch a large-scale offensive campaign in the Middle East. The killing of his despotic and capricious son, emperor Commodus, in 193, marked the beginning of a long period of instability for the empire, which was ruled by very few capable men, who were mainly usurpers. Most of the emperors died a violent death, and the legions of GAUL time and again rebelled against Rome, while various remote provinces gained increased autonomy and sought to become independent.

It was only in 284 that DIOCLETIAN, a former slave from Illyria, restored order by enacting a series of important administrative, economic, and military reforms. When he died in 305, several aspirants to the throne set off a civil war that lasted for almost two decades, until CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, in 323, managed to defeat all opponents. He moved the capital to Byzantium (now Istanbul, in Turkey), which was rechristened CONSTANTINOPLE so that the empire’s center shifted from West to East. Constantine took on the functions and prerogatives of an Oriental despot, reformed the army, and authorized the Christian cult, personally attending the COUNCIL OF NICAIA in 325, which established the principles and dogmas of Christian orthodoxy. He died in 337, and his son Constantine II in 353 defeated another civil war for his succession. Meanwhile, pressure on the eastern and northern frontiers was mounting, as the cohesion of the empire weakened.

In 378 the Goths destroyed the entire eastern Roman army at Adrianople, and emperor Valens fell on the battlefield. His successor, THEODOSIUS I, was the last great emperor to rule over the whole of the empire. Upon his death in 395 the empire was definitively split into the Western and the Eastern Roman Empires, governed by Theodosius’s heirs Honorius and Arcadius. While the eastern part withstood the Germanic and Hunnish invasions, the western part, which was the most coveted, rapidly collapsed. In 476 Odovacar sent the imperial insignia

to Constantinople and ruled Italy on behalf of the Eastern Roman emperor. In Gaul, Spain, Britannia, and Africa, various Roman/Germanic kingdoms were founded; some, like the kingdom of the Franks, would play a central role throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

MIGRATIONS OF SLAVIC AND GERMANIC PEOPLES

The fall of the ROMAN EMPIRE calls for a multicausal explanation. AUGUSTUS CAESAR's major accomplishment had been the creation of a sociopolitical entity that functioned smoothly for a couple of centuries. This prolonged period of peace and relative affluence generated a widespread sentiment of self-righteousness and invincibility. Many Romans believed that they lived in the best of all possible worlds, one that was immutable and unchallengeable (the so-called *Roma aeterna*). This presumption was seriously undermined toward the middle of the second century C.E., when Slavic and Germanic populations, moving from present Hungary, crossed the Roman fortified frontier (the *limes*), reaching northwestern Italy. This dramatic event had huge psychological repercussions. It not only shattered the feeling of safety and security of the Roman population; it also inflicted a terrible wound to the Roman model of civilization, a wound that, it turned out, could not be completely healed.

This moral crisis was aggravated by a pestilence that brought about a demographic collapse and the breakdown of the economy, which was heavily committed to crop production. The ensuing decrease of tax revenues forced the administration to levy new taxes to maintain the taxation yield. Unfortunately, such measures depressed the economy, while the inflation rate reached intolerable levels. The outcome was a disastrous economic crisis, the bankruptcy of small and middle-size rural businesses, and the pauperization of thousands of farmers, who in many cases turned into the serfs of rich landowners.

Central governments increased public spending, instituted primitive forms of welfare assistance, pegged prices, and fought inflation, but the concentration of wealth and political influence in the hands of local landowning dynasties called *potentes* (5 percent of the population controlled all the wealth of the empire) caused the evaporation of trust in the public institutions—no longer seen as protective and motivating—the erosion of civic spirit, and the progressive decline of Roman towns and cities, which were the backbone of the empire.

The lack of significant technological innovation, especially in agriculture, sapped the strength of Roman

society and forced thousands of farmers to live barely above subsistence. Simultaneously, Diocletian's imperial reforms reduced the prospects of upward mobility, crystallized power relations, and prevented the formation of a new class of enterprising modernizers who could have imposed radical changes in Roman society. Finally, the sustained rise of inflation triggered the transition from a monetary economy, based on coins (the denarius)—which had greatly contributed to preserving the unity of the empire—to barter and to a natural economy. The late empire was a winter of discontent and instability, generally provoked by unscrupulous military leaders, who proclaimed themselves to be the saviors of the glory of Rome, even though their plans involved insubordination, civil war, and the carnage of Romans and Germanic allies. The decline of the late empire should be credited, to a large extent, to the internecine fighting of the military, as civil institutions (like the Senate and the consul) lost their functions and influence.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Meanwhile, a struggle ensued between Christian loyalists, those who sought a compromise with the heathen rulers, and Christian fundamentalists, those who were not prepared to sacrifice their autonomy and orthodoxy in exchange for social integration and a greater influence on the administration of public affairs. In the third century C.E., Christian loyalists gained a substantial victory. Christians remained the only powerful, efficient, and cohesive organization of the empire and a constant challenge to the heathen leadership.

The authorities soon realized that the fabric of Roman society could not be purged from Christianity without causing the final collapse of Roman institutions. This is the reason why Roman emperors, starting with Constantine, reached a series of agreements with Christian loyalists, which ultimately led to the amalgamation of "Romanity" and Christianity in 391, when Christianity was proclaimed the official religion of the state in return for its unstinting support of the Roman system. As a consequence of the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, the church would take over most of the secular functions of the state.

By the end of the fourth century, for all its weaknesses, the empire was still immense, stretching from the Middle East to Caledonia (today's Scotland) and from North Africa to the Black Sea. While the center of the European Union is the Atlantic Ocean, which features some of the world's most heavily trafficked sea routes, Roman economy revolved around the Mediterranean basin. Romans never attempted to conquer regions

that lay too far from the Mediterranean Sea (*Mare Nostrum*) and the Black Sea, the only exception being Britain, which was rich in mineral deposits. Conversely, the large central European rivers (Rhine, Danube) that traverse the core of the European Union marked the Roman frontier, the outpost of civilization. The Romans had created a huge commercial network across the Mediterranean, planting vineyards and olive groves, building villas, harbors, and market towns. Merchant ships crossed the sea to supply Rome, a megalopolis of more than a million inhabitants.

We now call that period “Lower Empire,” evoking the idea of the unstoppable decadence of Rome, plagued by corruption, moral decay, and theological disquisitions. But the two most serious plights were the disloyalty of generals and the poverty of barbarians. Troops were more faithful to their generals than to the emperors, and they often acclaimed their leaders as the only emperors worthy of their recognition. Such usurpations generally led to civil wars and widespread political instability. Barbarians looted frontier provinces and requested the payment of tributes in exchange for peace.

The empire had survived thanks to capable and tyrannical emperors-generals like Aurelianus, Diocletian, and Constantine. They had introduced conscription, doubled taxation, strengthened the bureaucracy and the secret police, and to stifle social protest promulgated extremely severe laws against desertion, tax evasion, and political dissent (even an unfavorable premonition about the emperor’s life could cost a fortune-teller his life). They incarnated the notion of the “Oriental despot” and militarized Roman society, but their recipe, a combination of pragmatism, far-sightedness, and callousness, momentarily saved the unity of the empire and helped the economy to recover. The cost they paid was enormous: the alienation of the population from the political establishment.

The Roman Empire, a multicultural and multiethnic society, was undergoing a thorough transformation from a pagan to an essentially Christian community. Constantine issued the *EDICT OF MILAN* in 313, which granted religious freedom to all his subjects and empowered the Christian Church. Like his successors, he hoped that Christianity, with its vitality and fervor, would generate a unity of purpose that Roman secular institutions could no longer guarantee.

THE BARBARIAN HORDES

Various Germanic tribes and populations had been converted and were gradually changing their customs and

mores. They were “Romanizing” themselves. Paradoxically, the beginning of the end for the Roman Empire was in part the result of the peaceful Gothic resettlement in the Balkans. At the time Flavius Valentinianus, a brilliant general, had become emperor (364), and one month after his accession to power he had appointed his brother Flavius Valens as the eastern emperor, keeping the western portion for himself. Valens was not a military man, but he did his best to gain the favor of his subjects by fighting corruption, reducing taxation, and building a new aqueduct. However, people never took a liking to him, in part because he was a religious fundamentalist when conciliatory tones would have been far more advisable.

Valens had to confront a usurper, Procopius, who had seized control of Constantinople while Valens’s army was marching toward the eastern front. Traditionally accustomed to attach far more importance to bloodlines than to state legislation, the Goths backed Procopius because he was a relative of Constantine, an emperor with whom they had signed important agreements. However, when the Gothic reinforcements arrived, the insurrection was nipped in the bud, and all were enslaved. Valens then ordered savage retaliatory attacks that brought the Goths to their knees in 369 but did not exterminate them. Roman emperors were expected to display benevolence and generosity toward a defeated enemy. A significant testimony of this tradition is provided by the orations dedicated to Valens by two heathen rhetoricians during the campaigns against the Goths that would result in the military and political disaster of Adrianople, in 378.

The contrast between the merciless conduct of warfare and the political pragmatism of Roman bureaucrats and legislators, who pressed for economic sanctions and compulsory recruitment of young Goths to be used as cannon fodder in the Middle East, and the humanitarian and progressive slogans of the elite, intent on incorporating their northern neighbors into Roman society, was truly noteworthy. Themistius, a senator and a philosopher, stated that just as the Romans strove to protect endangered species of animals in Africa and Asia, so the emperor should be praised for not annihilating the Goths in 369, who are human beings, like the Romans. This oration, like several others, as for instance those delivered by Libanius, encapsulates the universalistic and civilizing thrust of late Roman imperialism. Roman generals probably envisioned genocidal schemes, but they were unpalatable for a political leadership that offered security and literacy in return for loyalty, recruits, and tax money. Rome was to set an example for all other peoples.

When the HUNS, a fierce nomadic population whose existence had never been recorded in Roman history, pushed the frightened Goths southward, the gap existing between humanitarian rhetoric and Realpolitik became obvious. Thousands of starving Gothic refugees, fleeing from a cruel enemy, reached the riverbanks of the Danube and pleaded for acceptance within the Roman borders. The emperor's counselors saw a huge opportunity: The Goths would be allotted less fertile lands, and many of them would join the army and exempt an equal number of Roman citizens from military service. They were transported across the river and immigration officers attempted to record their names in order to plan their resettlement. But the sheer number of refugees and the confusion were so huge that they realized the futility of such an operation.

They opted to take advantage of the situation by accepting bribes and selecting slaves for their own villas. Meanwhile, other tribes had been informed that the border was open and the mass of refugees kept growing until the alarmed Roman functionaries decided that the maximum quota had been reached and left thousands of furious Goths on the other side of the Danube. Worse still, refugee camps were flooded with people who did not receive enough supplies because the commanding officers sold the provisions that had been destined to the refugees on the black market. When they were finally escorted to relocation areas by the frontier garrisons, thousands of Goths who had been overlooked crossed the river clandestinely.

THE BATTLE OF ADRIANOPOLE

Panic ensued amid the Roman population, and the proud and desperate Gothic immigrants could no longer tolerate their debasement and destitution. A seemingly unstoppable process led to war and to the Battle of Adrianople (378), where up to 40,000 Romans were killed, together with emperor Valens, who chose not to wait for reinforcements sent by the western emperor because he desperately needed a decisive victory to shore up his position. AMBROSE, bishop of Milan, and one of the fathers of the Catholic Church, called this battle "the end of all humanity, the end of the world," while the most famous contemporary Roman chronicler, Ammianus Marcellinus, commented as follows: "Never, except in the battle of Cannae, had there been so destructive a slaughter recorded in our annals." After Adrianople, Rome lost its superpower status and was no longer able to keep the barbarians in check by purely military means.

More and more Goths and Huns were absorbed by the Roman legions or engaged as mercenaries, and the

Roman population felt increasingly insecure and threatened by their presence. Commentators lamented that Emperor Theodosius I had allowed too many barbarians, parvenus with their hands still covered with Roman blood, to reach the highest ranks of the army. How could Romans tolerate the arrogance of those barbarians who dressed like Romans and spoke Latin only when they met Romans, and spent the rest of the time speaking their own language and deriding Roman customs?

It is undeniable that someone like Alaric—a nobleman who served for various years as a commander of Gothic mercenaries in the Roman army and, after Theodosius's death, was elected king of the Visigoths, only to sack Rome in 410—confirmed this impression. But there were also loyal and brilliant generals like Flavius Stilicho, the son of a Vandal, who repeatedly defeated Alaric before 410 and could have deferred Rome's ultimate humiliation if the antibarbarian party in Rome had not resolved to have him executed for treason, together with the families of those tribesmen serving in the Roman army who subsequently could only defect to Alaric. Some of the most successful and loyal champions of Romanity were barbarian generals, who thought, spoke, and acted like Romans, or mixed-blood generals like Stilicho and Aetius, "the last Roman," who was the son of a Schythian and became the most powerful man in the Western Roman Empire. Emperor Valentinian III assassinated him in 454. This prompted Sidonius Apollinaris (430–489) to declare: "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who has cut off his right hand with his left."

Aetius's well-deserved fame arose from his untiring effort to keep the empire together, with the help of various barbarian tribes and, above all else, from the strategic victory he secured for the Roman-Gothic-Frankish-Christian alliance against Attila's Huns and their allies at the Catalaunian Fields (451) near Chalons-en-Champagne, the last major victory of the western empire.

This was the last, short-lived attempt to reunify the Roman Empire. After Justinian's death the eastern Byzantine Empire, which for a century continued to claim sovereignty over the West, although to no avail, became increasingly Hellenized and greatly influenced the development of eastern European cultures, while barbarian and western Romans lay the foundations of western European civilization.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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STEFANO FAIT

Rome: founding

Numerous stories have been drafted of the origins of Rome, mostly crossed with mythological and literary elements. Historical sources include epigraphic evidence, narrations from Greek or Roman historians, and various archaeological findings. According to legend, Aeneas disembarked in Italic shores, his son Ascanius founded Alba Longa, and their successors ruled the city for centuries (a different version omits the succession of Alban kings and considers Romulus to be Aeneas's grandson).

Not willing to share his power, it is said that one of Aeneas's descendants, Amulius, dethroned and expelled his brother Numitor. He killed his lineage as well, with the exception of his daughter Rhea Silvia, who was introduced into the cult of the goddess Vesta to ensure her eternal virginity. Haunted by her beauty, the god Mars possessed her while she was asleep, and the vestal priestess gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus. Instead of killing them, an enraged king Amulius decided to put both children in a cradle on the banks of the Tiber River for them to die. The god Tiberinus protected the cradle as it was carried downstream, and Romulus and Remus were safely placed on the river's shore. A she-wolf nursed them with her milk. After discovering their true origin, the brothers went back to Alba Longa to take revenge on Amulius and to reinstall their grandfather Numitor in power.

They did not stay there for a long time; accompanied by a group of men, they walked to found a new city in the hills of the Tiber. It was necessary to decide who would be considered the founder and where the city would be placed, so they agreed that he who would see a greater number of birds would be the winner of the dispute: Remus saw six vultures on the Aventine, and Romulus spotted 12 over the Palatine. The ritual ceremony was then organized: Two white oxen began digging a ditch, which symbolized the walls. Anyone

who crossed the limits of the city had to be put to death, so when Remus leaped across the trench, implying that the new city would be easily breached, Romulus had to kill him in sacrifice, in an event dated in 753 B.C.E.

If archaeological evidence is considered, some aspects of the legend may be true. From a scientific point of view, it is possible to affirm that 2,000 years before JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH several tribes arrived in Italy from central Europe. They headed southward and founded the city of Villanova, perhaps near Bologna. The city gave name to the civilization that is believed nowadays to be in the origin of Umbrians, Sabines, and Latins. They founded various villages in the regions extending from the Tiber to Naples, and Alba Longa seems to have been the biggest one. The explorers who several years later founded the city of Rome, some miles to the south, apparently came from that primitive urban center. Some strategic advantages of the chosen spot included the closeness to the sea—but at the same time a relative distance that prevented pirate attacks—an easily navigable river, and hills that could serve as natural protection. It was precisely on one of those hills, the Palatine, that the first inhabitants of the village settled, according to the evidence discovered.

See also ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH; ROMAN EMPIRE.

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SILVANA A. GAETA

Rome: government

As Rome developed into a veritable power on the Italian peninsula and later throughout Europe, so too did the famous Roman Republic, based around the Roman Senate. But Rome's first governmental system was monarchical. The Roman king had absolute power, referred to by ancient Romans as *imperium*. He served as the creator and enforcer of laws, the leader of the military, the head of the judiciary, and as the chief priest among his people. Even in the beginning, however, the Roman monarch was limited by a constitution. The Roman

monarchy was patriarchal, like the Roman society. The king had supreme power over his “family” but was also responsible for their welfare. A weak senate and assembly advised the king and had the power to approve the appointment of a king. In many ways the Senate, made up of wealthy and respected Roman leaders and elders, known as patricians, acted in a fashion similar to the U.S. Supreme Court; they judged the constitutionality and correctness of the king’s actions but rarely acted against his wishes. The Assembly, on the other hand, was made up of male citizens of Rome whose parents were native Romans. It was the institution that represented the majority of the population, known as plebeians, and granted absolute authority to the king. In the sixth century B.C.E. the Roman monarchs were ETRUSCANS from a powerful empire based in northern Italy who briefly controlled Rome. When an Etruscan prince from the ruling family, known as the Tarquins, raped the wife of a prominent patrician, Rome rebelled and expelled the Etruscans. The reign of the Roman Republic began following the expulsion. Two consuls inherited monarchial power, patricians elected to serve as head of state for one year.

Although the consuls held imperium, they were severely limited by annual reelection, by the ability to veto the actions of the other consul, and by an empowered Roman Senate. These constraints caused conservative governance, which proved harmful during extended military conflicts, leading to the creation of proconsuls who were consuls permitted by the Senate to extend their term of office. Below the consuls were financial officers known as quaestors, military officers known as praetors, and accounting officers, known as censors.

Even though imperium was separated by different branches of Roman government, it was concentrated in the hands of patricians. In response to this reality, the plebeians struggled to gain political power and equality. In 450 B.C.E., the Law of Twelve Tables resulted from the class struggle, codifying Roman law. By 445 B.C.E. plebeians gained the right to marry a patrician and in 367 B.C.E. gained the right to run for the consulship and other positions, leading to the Licinian-Sextian Laws, which required one consul to be plebeian. JULIUS CAESAR’s assumption of power led to the establishment of the Roman emperors, known as the *princeps*, in 44 B.C.E. For the following half-millennium, Roman emperors controlled a vast European and Mediterranean empire, which slowly eroded. In an attempt to prevent the collapse, Emperor DIOCLETIAN split the empire in two and based it in Rome and

CONSTANTINOPLE in 285 B.C.E., ultimately leading to a full split in 395 B.C.E. and Rome’s fall in 476 B.C.E.

SEE ALSO POLIS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Rosetta Stone

The Rosetta Stone was discovered by French soldiers during the Napoleonic conquest and occupation of Egypt (1798–1801). With the same inscription in HIEROGLYPHICS, demotic (a later form of ancient Egyptian), and Greek, the text is a 196 B.C.E. commemoration to Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The French savants (intellectuals) that Napoleon had brought with him to study all aspects of Egypt and its society, recognized the stone’s importance as possibly providing vital keys to decoding and translating ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, but they were forced to give it, along with a large number of other ancient Egyptian artifacts, to the British after the French were militarily defeated by British forces.

The British ultimately placed the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum in London, where it is still displayed along with a vast number of other ancient Egyptian artifacts. The French scholar Jean-François Champollion used the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone to decipher names and other hieroglyphic pictographs and letters. Beating out a number of rivals to be the first to decipher hieroglyphic texts, Champollion’s work led to subsequent translations of hieroglyphic texts and to a fuller understanding of ancient Egyptian history and society and was a major contribution in the field of Egyptology.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PTOLEMIES.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Sadducees

The popular conception of the Sadducees is a “straw man” set up in parallel with the PHARISEES. The Sadducees disappeared after the Romans invaded Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple (70 C.E.). They left no written records, much less apologia. Historians relate negative reports from the antagonists of the Sadducees. Based on such evidence it is difficult to conjure up an accurate image of them. There are three main firsthand witnesses to consider. JOSEPHUS calls the Sadducees one of the main Jewish “philosophies,” by which he means an intellectual school. But Josephus is clearly less than happy with them in comparison to the other main Jewish philosophies, the Pharisees and ESSENES. The Sadducees reject the immortality of the soul, emphasize free will over fate, and generally dissent from traditions and customs. He identifies them as aristocratic in their interests and contrarian in their disposition—in contrast to the more popular Pharisees and idealistic Essenes. Many historians associate the Sadducees with the priests of the Jewish Temple because Josephus says that they supported the high priest’s family against King Herod. Then historians go one step further and maintain that the Sadducees collaborated with the Roman overlords.

The second witness comes from the Bible. The New Testament offers a slightly different, but better known, picture: The Sadducees can scarcely be differentiated from the Pharisees, and thus Christians often assume that they collaborated with the Pharisees. In the popular mind the Sadducees and Pharisees form a common

front against JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. The New Testament says that the Sadducees do not believe in a resurrection of the dead, an afterlife reward or punishment, and an invisible spirit-filled universe. They are located in Jerusalem and active in the Temple, perhaps as priests, and members of the centralized ruling council called the Sanhedrin. Because Romans would have insisted on dealing with ethnic authorities, the likely assumption is that the Sadducees were collaborators.

The rabbis, as the third witness, distinguish the Sadducees as opponents to the Pharisees. They make the Sadducees the foils for their own “correct” positions, since they conjure up for themselves a Pharisaical background. Specifically, the rabbis would have readers believe that Pharisees and Sadducees disagree on purity issues, the role of civil rulers, temple ritual, and Sabbath observance customs, all of which are of vital concern to rabbinic Judaism. Like Josephus and the New Testament, the TALMUD says that they do not believe in the resurrection of the dead.

The Sadducees’ teachings were conservative. Fathers of the church such as ORIGEN believed that the Sadducees rejected divine inspiration outside of the TORAH (the first five books of the Bible), but this is something of an exaggeration. Nonetheless, the sources agree that the Sadducees were suspicious of later Jewish ideas of a final judgment, heaven and hell, and heavenly beings—and these ideas are not found in the early books of the Bible. They are temple-based and so would most likely be suspicious of efforts to spiritualize or decentralize the religion.

They possibly were more pro-Roman because they wanted to keep the temple cult operating and protect

their privileged position. Most likely they were among the most active in the conspiracy against Jesus. Since some Pharisees are identified as priests, and some priests cannot be identified as Sadducees, Sadducees should not simply be exclusively seen as part of the priestly clan, nor can all high priests be seen as Sadducees.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); JEWISH REVOLTS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Sakyas

The Sakya kingdom of early northern India is renowned as the homeland of GAUTAMA BUDDHA. It should be distinguished from the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism that is associated with Vajrayana Buddhism. Sakya is identified as a territory on the borders of Nepal and India and had a capital at Kapilavatthu, from which Gautama Buddha's mother traveled on foot on a visit to her parents and, on the way, gave birth to the Buddha in a park called Lumbini. The Sakyas have been identified with a clan and also with the nomadic people better known as the Scythians. The Scythians were present during ALEXANDER THE GREAT's invasion of India and inflicted the only defeat upon the Macedonian as he sought to cross the river. The Scythians eventually moved westward and established an empire that stretched as far as eastern Europe during the period of the early Roman Empire.

The MAHABHARATA records the Kiratas as rulers of eastern Nepal, and there were other tribes Tibeto-Burman in nature. The ARYAN INVASIONS of India represented an influx of peoples who created numerous small states that existed in a state of conflict but also represented increased opportunities for trade. In response a confederation of tribes began to congregate in the Tarai region at the far extremity of the Ganges Plain. Among the Tarai Confederacy was the Sakya clan. This confederacy continued in different forms until the arrival of King ASHOKA (r. 268–231 B.C.E.), who consolidated the MAURYAN EMPIRE into which Nepal was subsumed.

See also THERAVEDA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JOHN WALSH

San and Khoi tribes

The San and Khoi (or Khoi-Khoi) tribes are among the first identifiable tribes in southern Africa. The San, considered southern Africa's indigenous population, were later displaced by the Khoi-Khoi in a struggle for survival in one of the planet's most unforgiving regions. In earlier accounts the two groups have been generally known as the Bushmen and represent one of humankind's most enduring adaptations to a severe climate. Both the San and the Khoi-Khoi, called in some accounts the Khoisan, were adept hunters with their small bows and were able to make poisons strong enough to kill the largest prey, much as the Jivaro tribe in Brazil concocted the deadly *curare*. They would gain the name "pygmy" because of their small stature. However, while the San were often hunter-gatherers, the Khoi-Khoi also raised livestock. The Bushmen over the centuries would find refuge in the Kalahari Desert, where few foes would dare to follow them.

However, around the 11th century C.E. the Bantu people began their historic migration into southern Africa from the north. Speaking a different language from the San and Khoi-Khoi and organized into tribal units, the Bantu would change the entire face of southern Africa. The Bantu would give rise to the Zulu nation that, under Shaka in the early 19th century, would control much of what is now the Republic of South Africa. CAVE PAINTINGS in the Sahara show hunting scenes, perhaps painted by the Bantu there, from over 2,000 years ago.

When the Dutch settled what became known as Cape Town in 1652, the life of the San, Khoi-Khoi, and Bantu inhabitants was changed forever. Although first intended as a trading station for the vast Dutch East India Company (the Netherlands then rivaled England as the greatest European maritime power), the Dutch in Cape Town, on the Cape of Good Hope, soon desired to colonize southern Africa. Inevitably, they followed the logic of conquest: To gain the land they desired, they pushed off the indigenous African inhabitants. Called Hottentots by the Dutch, the San and Khoi-Khoi rapidly were reduced to the status of virtual slaves, while the hardiest followed their ancient custom of fleeing into the deserts. In a brutal attempt at ethnic cleansing the Dutch launched a campaign to virtually exterminate the tribes to gain room for their own farms and

cattle. Despite colonization the Bushmen still thrive in the Kalahari Desert.

See also AFRICAN CITY-STATES; AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Sanskrit

Sanskrit is an ancient Indo-Aryan language that has for thousands of years become associated with religious teachings and beliefs, notably Hindu and Buddhist forms of thought. Its earliest use is associated with the migrating Aryan peoples who settled in north India and Iran and from whom several families of languages descended in various forms. *Aryan* means “noble” in Sanskrit. The long history of its use and the fact that so many religious and philosophical concepts are expressed in the language means it has become almost impossible to separate consideration of the language from the content it has most commonly been used to convey. Sanskrit remains an important language in religious expression in the modern world, although it is not spoken widely otherwise. Some religious experts and scholars are able to communicate in Sanskrit.

VEDIC AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Vedic Sanskrit is the oldest form of the language and was used to explain the VEDAS (knowledge) that framed the first known forms of Indian religious expression. Vedic literature includes the Samhitas, which are four collections of texts: the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, and the Rig-Veda. The last three of these consist of verse forms used by priests in ritual chants. However, the *Yajur-Veda* may be divided into two parts, one of which—the Black, or Krishna, Yajur-Veda—contains both ritual verses (mantras) associated with sacrifice, as well as explanatory Brahmana, which detail meanings for mythological terms and concepts and also the derivations of some words. These works predate Buddhism and have been dated to c. 1000 B.C.E.

As the VEDIC AGE continued, more literature was written in Sanskrit that was of a nonsacred nature. Panini, the earliest known writer about Sanskrit and its structure, considered the nonsacred forms of communi-

cation to be *bhasa*. Meanwhile, sacred texts included a growing number of sutras, or apophthegms. The Chan-da texts and particularly the Brahmanas represent the foundations of the Brahmanical practices that spread across India and later Southeast Asia. The sacred Vedic Sanskrit texts were considered by Hindu believers to be in a mystical way at one with the universe and uncreated even by the divine gods. Since the language was universal and immortal, it follows that words expressed by it should be treated with respect, and it was particularly fitting for certain types of thoughts and concepts. Nevertheless, the language was also used for mundane and even profane communication. The fact that no definitive single script has been used for the language is an indication that meaning drift between different groups of Sanskrit speakers took place.

Subsequent development of the language meant that it became polished or crafted—more versatile for literary expression. Two of the great literary epics, the *RAMAYANA* and the *MAHABHARATA*, were created in this phase of epic or classical Sanskrit. The *Mahabharata* details at some length the struggle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, together with a large amount of additional religiomythical material. Contained within the *Mahabharata* is the BHAGAVAD GITA, which is an extended treatise on religious and human duties and forms a central strand of Hindu thought.

The *Ramayana* concerns the romance of Rama and was compiled according to tradition by the poet Valmiki c. 300 B.C.E. In the *Ramayana*, Prince Rama and his companions are instructed in virtue and duty and then suffer the loss of the prince’s wife, Sita, to the demon king of Lanka. Sita is ultimately recovered with the assistance of the monkey god Hanuman, but her trials continue, as Sita is made to demonstrate her fidelity to Rama, which she resents. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* constitute a basis of poetic expression and intellectual exploration that greatly expanded the mental vocabulary and reference material of all those people able to understand and converse in Sanskrit. To these were added a variety of dramatic and poetical works (*nataka* and *kavya*), together with narrative works. The language evolved considerably over the centuries, and this is evident in changes to pronunciation, word choice, and grammar.

Sanskrit was also used to create technical, philosophical, grammatical, and other scientific texts that were widely used throughout ancient and medieval Asia. It was used for Buddhist works in India and Sri Lanka, and these spread to mainland Southeast Asia where the language is known as Pali and formed the basis for educated discourse, as well as influencing the development of local

languages. Chinese monks and pilgrims traveled to India in search of Buddhist texts to translate into Chinese, and they formed an important medium through which Sanskrit-expressed ideas entered into the Chinese world and its intellectual tradition. Sanskrit is also the language through which early Jainist thought is expressed.

SANSKRIT IN THE COMMON ERA

Sanskrit moved from being a spoken language to one that was better known for its use in sacred rituals and written literature. The great Buddhist king ASHOKA, for example, followed GAUTAMA BUDDHA's teaching to use vernacular languages to spread religious teachings. Although religious and philosophical texts used Sanskrit, government-produced monuments and pronouncements employed other languages (Indo-Aryan) until the early centuries of the Common Era. A parallel development was for commentators to insist that only correct pronunciation in Sanskrit should be permitted and that this could only be achieved by studying the methods of the past. Sanskrit became separated from the masses, who were excluded from learning and mastering the language. Grammarians distinguished between words of Sanskrit origin and words influenced by Sanskrit. Sanskrit witnessed the importation of words from other languages, especially those necessary to describe new concepts or proper nouns.

Sanskrit also spread as a result of political and military change. The expansion of first the Persian Empire and subsequently the entry into northern India of ALEXANDER THE GREAT provided conduits through which the language could spread to the West. Contact with the Arab world in later centuries was also important in the transmission of cosmology and mathematics.

Sanskrit epics had tremendous influence on cultural and artistic production throughout India and Indian-influenced societies. Some works, including the retelling of part of the *Mahabharata* by Nannaya Bhatta (1100–60 C.E.), took as their subject well-known tales of the past and brought them into contemporary focus both through the contrast between the heroic milieu and that familiar with the audience, and also by presenting existing characters with new encounters and events to face. This has begun a tradition of inventive mixing of the past and present that has led to a burgeoning form of popular culture in both oral and written forms. Some critics maintain that the use of Sanskrit has been a tool by which the central Indian state has sought to oppress local traditions and cultures. Sanskrit studies became popular in Europe in the early modern period both as a subject of scholarly inquiry and also as a source of spir-

itual sustenance. Its popularity has waxed and waned with interest in Eastern philosophies.

STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE

Sanskrit has come most commonly to be expressed through the Devanagari script, although this is a comparatively modern invention. Sanskrit has a complex and highly mannerized structure, resulting from its origins as a deliberately created language. There are three genders and three numbers, with 10 types of verbs, eight cases, and 10 noun declensions. There are a variety of voiced and unvoiced aspirated sounds in the language and the retroflex sound that has been introduced and distinguishes Indian languages from the Indo-European family. The language is highly inflected and numerous suffixes, for example, govern different shades of meaning and emphasis. Expressions of time in verb tenses are also complex and contain various types of meaning embedded within them.

See also ARYAN INVASION; BUDDHISM IN CHINA; JAINISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Sappho

(fl. early 6th century B.C.E.) *Greek poet*

Sappho is one of the most important of the lyric poets of the ancient Greek world. She probably lived from the middle part of the seventh through the early part of the sixth centuries B.C.E. Though the exact date of her birth and death are unknown, it is fairly certain that she was born in the city of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, which is located in the eastern Aegean Sea near Turkey. She came from a noble family. Her father's name was Skamandronymos, her mother's Kleiss, and her husband's Kerkylas. She had a daughter named Kleiss and either two or three brothers. Around the year 600

B.C.E., she, along with the other nobility on Lesbos, were forced into exile to the island of Sicily when a middle-class tyranny, led by Myrsilos, took control of Lesbos. Eventually, she was able to return. Some argue that she taught at a school for young women, others that she was simply at the center of a local poetry clique.

Her reputation was great in the ancient world; Plato, about 200 years after her death, called her the “tenth Muse,” referring to the nine Greek goddesses who were the patrons of the arts and sciences and who were the source of inspiration and artistic excellence. Little of her work has survived, but what has is highly praised in the modern world and still has the power to move people.

LYRIC POETRY in the ancient Greek world refers, first of all, to the fact that a lyre originally accompanied the poetry. Unlike our modern conception of the lyric, Greek lyric poetry fit into at least two major categories: choral ode and monody. The monody is closest to our modern conception of the lyric, that is, a short, personal poem expressing intense emotion. This was the type of poetry that Sappho wrote. She created the Sapphic stanza and may have been the first to accompany her poems with a harp.

She is known to have written between seven and nine books of poetry, with the last being a book of wedding songs. Her poems are often favorably mentioned in ancient writing (in fact, the ancient world erected at least one statue to her), but during the Byzantine era, Pope Gregory Nazianzus, in 382 C.E., had most of them destroyed. In 1073 Pope Gregory VII likely burned any of the books that still survived. The problem, from the Catholic Church’s perspective, was that Sappho was likely bisexual, and much of her poetry was erotic and concerned with love between women.

Unlike much of the Greek poetry before her, most of Sappho’s poetry is personal, not social. The worlds of beauty, personal relationships, and love are the typical topics of her poems. Unfortunately, all that is left are mostly scraps, sometimes a line, sometimes a stanza, and in only one or two cases, a complete poem. They come to us as quotes in the writings of authors from antiquity and in strips of papyrus used to wrap mummies in Egypt. The most recent discovery of her poems was in 2004 in papyrus wrappings from a mummy and was combined with a previous fragment, also written on papyrus and found in 1922, resulting in a new, nearly complete 12-line poem. This particular poem is about growing old and is a type of *carpe diem* addressed to a group of girls. The Egyptians copied it about 300 years after her death. The 2004 wrappings also contained two other new fragments.

A typical remnant of her poetry is the three lines often titled “The Blast of Love”: “Like a mountain whirlwind / punishing the oak trees, / love shattered my heart.” One of her other likely complete poem is called “A Prayer to Aphrodite.” It is generally presented as a seven-stanza poem and ends by asking the goddess to “labor for my [Sappho’s] mad heart.” Despite the scarcity of surviving poetry, she has influenced English-speaking writers as diverse as Philip Spencer and Ezra Pound, as well as many writers in other languages. She continues to have the power to fascinate and delight, and her poetry—as fragmentary as it is—is still worth reading.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

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WILLIAM P. TOTH

Sargon of Akkad

(2334–2279 B.C.E.) *king of Sumer and Akkad*

Sargon of Akkad was the first Mesopotamian ruler to control both southern and northern Babylonia thus becoming the king of SUMER and AKKAD and inaugurating the Akkadian Empire. He established his capital at the newly founded site of Akkad in northern Babylonia; its exact location is unknown but perhaps near modern Baghdad.

Two things can be known from his name, which means “the legitimate king”: This was not his birth name, and he was probably a usurper. One legend names him as the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, king of Kish. He started the practice of maintaining a standing army, which allowed him to campaign from eastern Turkey to western Iran. While he fought battles in these areas, it is unclear if he sought and maintained permanent control everywhere he fought, or if he conquered some areas just for the plunder. In many areas he was content to have the local rulers continue as governors so long as they pledged allegiance to Sargon, providing him with taxes and acknowledging him as the “legitimate king.” It is known that he received tribute from EBLA in northern Syria and ELAM in western Iran.

In later literature he was seen as a good and triumphant king, in contrast to Naram-Sin, who was usually incompetent and disrespectful to the gods. In the

“Sargon Legend” his mother, a priestess not allowed to have children, abandons him in a basket in the Euphrates in order to hide his birth. From this humble beginning, Sargon establishes himself as the king of the first Mesopotamian empire. The “King of Battle” is another tale that tells of how Sargon traveled to Purushkhanda in central Turkey in order to save the merchants there who were being oppressed. After defeating the king of the city, Nur-Daggal, the local ruler is allowed to continue to govern as long as he acknowledges Sargon as king. The version of the story that we have comes from 1,000 years after Sargon’s reign and shows the difficulty we have in reconstructing Sargon’s reign with texts that are not contemporaneous. Because of all the successes of this king, Sargon’s name was adopted by a Neo-Assyrian king of the eighth century B.C.E.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; MOSES.

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JAMES ROAMES

Sassanid Empire

The Sassanid Empire was the last pre-Islamic Iranian dynasty that ruled over a large part of western Asia. Following the Achaemenid dynasty, the Sassanids are considered one of the most powerful and famous Iranian dynasties that positively influenced the evolution of Iranian nationality and culture during their 400-year sovereignty (224–651 C.E.). The dynastic name, Sassanid or Sassanian, is derived from Sasan, said to have been father or grandfather of Ardashir I, also called Artaxerxes.

ARTAXERXES

Founder of the Sassanid dynasty, Artaxerxes was first appointed as the governor of Darabgard because of his firm familial relationship with the local royal families of Fars. He took advantage of the weakness of the Parthian (Arsacide) kings and expanded his realm. Having achieved a successful supremacy over Fars, he conquered Isfahan and Kirman and won a face-to-face battle with Arsacid Artabanus V, the last Parthian king, defeating and killing him in 224 C.E., leading to the invasion of Ctesiphon, the Parthian’s capital, in 226. He was crowned as the “king of kings of Iran,” according to the fire temple of Anahita at Istakhr.

He expanded his kingdom by conquering the east of Persia, invading Sistan, Khurasan, Marw, Khwarazm, and Balkh. Kushan’s kings, who ruled over Punjab and Kabul, sent envoys to announce their obedience to him. To expand his territory Artaxerxes moved toward the west and was involved in a war with the Roman Empire in 228, in which he defeated the Romans several times. Through these wars he invaded Carrhae and Nisibis and then conquered Arminiya and annexed it to Persia.

Following Artaxerxes, 34 Sassanid kings ruled over Persia. Amalgamation of clerical institutions with the monarchy provided the Sassanid monarchs a divine legitimacy, which led to the interference of Zoroastrian priests in the social and political affairs of the country, especially when less powerful kings were ruling. This mix of state and Zoroastrian religion threatened the lives of followers of other religions when religious and biased kings ruled the country.

SHAPUR I

During the reign of Shapur I, ARMENIA, which had gone undisciplined, was brought under control. Gordian III, the Roman emperor who had attacked Nisibis and Mesopotamia, was defeated and killed, while his successor, Philip the Arab, established peace with Shapur in return for submitting a heavy indemnity to Shapur, as well as a free hand in Armenia. In a war between Rome and Persia near EDESSA, the Roman army was defeated, and Valerian was taken captive. The event increased the Sassanids’ self-confidence and dignity. Shapur used tens of thousands of captives to advance economic development of his empire. The fall of the KUSHAN EMPIRE by Shapur was one of the most influential events of his kingdom, because it caused the civilized world to be divided between the two empires of Persia and Rome. This new Persia was no longer a partner with Rome but a more powerful rival.

HURMUZ I, BAHRAM I, BAHRAM II, AND BAHRAM III

Shapur’s successor, Hurmuz I (272–273) was called “brave” for his courageous actions in wars with Rome and Armenia. By allowing the freedom of various religions and limiting the power of clergies and nobles, he followed his father’s lead. These activities brought him an early dismissal from the throne. In Manichaean literature Hurmuz has been mentioned as the “good king.”

Following Hurmuz I, his brother Bahram I (273–276) took the throne. In his reign the policy of tolerance toward non-Zoroastrians was discontinued. Limiting other religions, the clergies of the time gained more

king of Perse-Armenia, rebelled. Bahram IV defeated him and made his brother (Bahramshapur/Vramshapuh) king of Perse-Armenia. Another significant event during his reign was the formal division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western parts (395), which was apparently one of the outcomes of THEODOSIUS I's death, who was killed by his own son. Bahram IV was killed in a violent attack, possibly by a conspiracy of the nobles, which led to a rebellion in his army.

Yazdadjird I (399–420) was most likely a brother of Bahram IV and was to some extent successful in limiting the power of nobles in his court, though he was enthroned by them as a pawn. He was called “delight of the state” and “Rameshtras” meaning “peace-seeker” on his coins.

Tolerating other religions and their followers, Yazdadjird I was not welcomed by the strict Zoroastrian priests, who had labeled him as a “sinner.” However, he imposed his power rather than endanger the stability and independence of his monarchy. Yazdadjird was not able to escape the nobles’ violence and was killed in a conspiracy.

BAHRAM V AND FIRUZ I

Attempting to exclude the son of Yazdadjird from succession, nobles enthroned a descendant of Ardashir I, Khosrow, but he later abdicated, and Bahram seized the throne as Bahram V (420–438). Bahram V was the son of Yazdadjird I. Bahram V had been raised at al-Hira by al-Mundhirhir of Lakhm.

Early in his reign Bahram V defeated an invasion of Hayatila Hephthalites in the northeast of Iran and killed their king. In the west of Iran the wars with the Byzantines ended (422) with a 100-year peace treaty between Byzantines and Iran, providing security and religious freedom of Zoroastrians in Byzantium and freedom for Christians in the Sassanid state. Bahram V was a comfort-seeking man and apparently was not concerned with the interference of clergy in his affairs. He was fond of hunting and is said to have died after falling into a swamp while hunting.

The growing interest in Christianity in Armenia created negativity, and to prevent independence Armenia was invaded, and many Christians were killed. The death of Yazdadjird II was followed by a civil war between his sons. His wife, Dinak, as the “queen of queens,” ruled over the country in Ctesiphon for a short time, until her son Hurmuz III (457–459) took the throne; however, the king’s brother Firuz, who was supported by the nobles and priests, defeated and killed Hurmuz and seized power.

A major problem during the reign of Firuz I (459–484) was a seven-year-long famine and drought. Trying to control and manage the country, Firuz remitted taxes and distributed stores of corn and even imported more corn. Following famine and starvation, the country was involved in a war with Hephthalites. In about 469 Firuz was captured and lost Harat to them, agreed to pay tribute, and left his son Kubadh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a poll tax over his entire state to provide his ransom.

Firuz fulfilled his promises, but the Hephthalites did not release Kubadh. Firuz waged war and was killed. The Hephthalites captured many areas in Iran, but Zarmehr, known as Sukhra, one of the great nobles of the state, prevented their advance toward the center of the country. In 484 Zarmehr and other nobles enthroned Balash, Firuz’s brother (484–488), who established peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute. Balash was a kind and just king as mentioned in Christian and Armenian documents, but having an empty treasury, he was not able to control the state and provide stability, even though he encouraged agriculture to improve economic conditions in Iran. In 488 he was deposed by the nobles and priests, who enthroned Kubadh I (487–531) the son of Firuz.

KUBADH I AND KHOSROW I

The early years of Kubadh I’s reign were accompanied by growth of the Mazdakites in Iran. The Mazdak revolution was mainly a reaction toward the increasing power of aristocrats, religious nobles, and the pressure imposed on ordinary people as productive sectors of society and as taxpayers. Mazdak believed that the world was covered in dark, and a resurrection was required to help the light overcome the “darkness.” Accordingly, human beings, who are equally born, should share wealth. It is likely that Mazdak’s philosophy was the first egalitarian and socialistic idea. The competition between the monarchy and clerical institutions caused Mazdak’s thoughts to flourish and spread in the Persian Empire.

Kubadh I, with popular support against the nobles and priests, allied with the movement and their leader, Mazdak. The nobles and priests who found the ongoing situation against their own interests, deposed and imprisoned Kubadh and enthroned his brother, Djamasp. Kubadh escaped prison with the help of his wife and one of his generals and took refuge among the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. In the second phase of his reign Kubadh gradually changed his policies toward Mazdakites and tried to attract the priests’ and nobles’ support. In spite of

the Mazdakites' announcement of Kawus as the crown prince, Kubadh appointed his younger son Khosrow, who successively executed the Mazdakite heads and settled the dispute. Kubadh became involved in a 10-year war with the Hephthalites (503–513) and defeated them so heavily that they were never a threat to Iran's territory again. He defeated the Byzantines in two wars; the first one in 503 at the reign of Anastase and the other in 531 at the reign of JUSTINIAN I.

KHOSROW I (531–579) was remembered as Anushirwan (of immortal soul) and became the subject of legends. He was recorded in history as the most powerful and knowledgeable king of the Sassanids. He led Iran toward a flourishing period. Although he was cruel with Mazdakites at the beginning, in his governing policies he followed Mazdak's socialism and prevented cruelty from the nobles. Properties that had been taken by force were returned to their former owners. The nobles kept their status but lost their power. He tried to satisfy the poor and afterward was entitled as "dadgar," meaning "fair." He implemented a tax reform that paid for his expanded governing system.

At the beginning of his reign he accepted the peace treaty proposed by the Byzantine emperor, Justinian I, and tried to reconstruct the state, especially the destruction left by Mazdakite rebels. With a well-equipped army he revived Sassanid power. A new class of militant landlords was created, and the military was trained and paid regularly so that the army could be a continual power. Kharsaw, who found Byzantine growth and power a threat to Iran, invaded Byzantium and occupied many cities in that state. The Byzantines were obliged to pay tribute and sign a 50-year treaty accepting the expenses for the common defense of the Caucasus passes. Khusraw I destroyed the Hephthalites through an accord with the western Turks and divided Hephthalite territory between the Sassanids and the Turks. At the end of his reign Khosrow occupied YEMEN and annexed it to Iran, expanding Sassanid territory up the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea.

HURMUZ IV, BAHRAM VI, AND KHOSROW PARWIZ

Khosrow Anushirwan was succeeded by his son Hurmuz IV (579). He was remembered as "Turkzad" meaning "born as a Turk" since his mother was connected to the kings of western TURKS. The conflict between the crown and the nobles resurfaced in his reign. Hurmuz IV is said to have favored common people against the nobles, possibly as a basis of support for his crown. The

Zoroastrian clergy were dissatisfied with Hurmuz IV's tolerance toward other religions and turned against him. Ongoing peace negotiations with Byzantium were progressively impeded by Hurmuz IV, and war broke out again, although there was no clear victor.

At the same time the king of Turks invaded the eastern borders of Iran. Bahram Chubin of the Mihran family, one of the Parthian princes, fought heavily with the Turks and defeated them at Harat, killing their king. Hurmuz IV, afraid of Bahram Chubin's fame and wisdom, sent him immediately to Georgia to fight with the Byzantines, where he was defeated. Jealous of Bahram's popularity, Hurmuz IV disgraced him on the pretext that he held back war booty, provoking Bahram to rebel. Groups of nobles and the military supported Bahram Chubin, and the first steps for the collapse of Hurmuz IV's throne were taken. The rebel forces, including Hurmuz IV's brothers-in-law, dethroned Hurmuz IV, enthroning his son Khosrow. Hurmuz IV was killed. Bahram Chubin, who had more widespread objectives, did not recognize Khosrow's monarchy and attacked Ctesiphon and defeated Khosrow and his uncles. Bahram Chubin entered the capital in 590 and took the throne as Bahram VI (590–591), with upper-class support.

Khosrow, who was later named Khosrow Parwiz (the triumphant) sought help from the Byzantine emperor Maurice. Maurice sent two armies accompanied by his own daughter, Maria, who married Khosrow. Khosrow then defeated Bahram in 591, and he fled to the Turks, where he was killed in the next year. Bahram never was able to obtain legitimacy among the nobles since he did not belong to a royal family. Khosrow Parwiz took preventive measures by selecting his own guards from the Byzantine army and eliminated rival sources of power. His lenient treatment of Christians might have been influenced by the fact that both of his wives (Maria and Shirin) were Christian.

In 602 Maurice was dethroned and killed. His son fled to Iran, and Khosrow recognized him as the new Caesar. Supporting the young Caesar to take over by posing as Maurice's avenger, Khosrow found an opportunity to regain territories ceded to the Byzantines. Khosrow started the last and greatest of Sassanid-Byzantine wars, which lasted about 20 years (604–624). Between 604 and 610 Sassanid armies conquered Armenia, Mesopotamia, and many cities in Syria. Consequently, Byzantium could not control other parts of the empire as firmly as before. Khosrow Parwiz arrested and killed Noman-b-Mundhar, the king of Hira. This unwise violence later proved to be very costly, because Khosrow destroyed the wall between Iran and the Arabs of the

desert. During wars between Iran and Rome, Heraclius found his way to the throne in Byzantine following a revolt; however, he was not able to overcome the chaotic situation. The vigorous Sassanid army conquered Antioch and Damascus (613), and Shahrbaraz, the Sassanid commander, joined by 26,000 messianic Jews, conquered Jerusalem. He burned the churches of the city and deported 35,000 captives to Ctesiphon, the Sassanid capital, along with the patriarch of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross. Then Shahrbaraz invaded ALEXANDRIA (619) and the rest of Egypt.

Another Iranian commander, Shahin, also conquered Asia Minor. Sassanid territory was at this point comparable to Persia of the Achaemenids. Khosrow's victories, especially conquering Egypt, which was a major source of food for CONSTANTINOPLE, forced Heraclius to move his capital to CARTHAGE, an ancient city on the coast of North Africa near Tunis. Using the property and treasurers of the churches, the Roman army was again well equipped and able to defend Rome against Iran.

In this phase of the war the Byzantine army, enjoying an effective navy, crossed the Black Sea and took the war to the Asian arena. In 622 Heraclius invaded Armenia and Adharbaydjan in 626. The Byzantines allied with the Khazars north of the Caucasus. Heraclius advanced into the Mesopotamia plains and descended into the Tigris Valley, where he defeated Sassanid forces at NINEVEH. Khosrow fled to Ctesiphon, leaving Dastagered, his royal palace and animal preserve, for Heraclius to capture in 627.

Although weakened, Khosrow obstinately rejected the peace proposal suggested by Heraclius. At the same time he killed and imprisoned many people, including some of his own army officers. Furious at his behavior and rejection of the peace proposal, in 628 a group of generals and high-ranking officials entered the capital and revolted against him, captured and imprisoned Khosrow, and proclaimed his son Kubadh II as king.

They later asked Kubadh to execute Khosrow. In the ancient history of Iran Khosrow is famous for his luxurious lifestyle. Some experts believe that his interest in such a lifestyle promoted and expanded fine arts, music, and architecture in his reign. After the execution of Khosrow Parwiz, the Sassanid dynasty lost its power and started to collapse.

YAZDADJIRD III

During the four-year period between Khursaw's execution and the enthroning of Yazdadjird III, the last king of the Sassanids (628–632), more than 10 people took power and claimed to be king, none of them exceeding

two months in their reign. The real and absolute governors were the priests and nobles to whom the kings were nothing but a pawn. Shiruya, Khosrow's son, who was enthroned and entitled as Kubadh Firuz (victorious), did not reign more than eight months. He started peace talks with Heraclius and accepted the peace proposal, being aware of Iran's political instability.

Shahrbaraz, the most famous Sassanid general, broke with Khosrow II by the end of his reign and refused to abdicate his provinces, Egypt and Syria. In the summer of 629 he negotiated with Heraclius on his own and left Syria and Egypt. Kubadh II remitted taxes for three years and released many prisoners, in an effort to be unlike his father, Khosrow, but to stabilize his reign and kingdom he killed all of his adult brothers. Leaving only sisters and children, he created subsequent dynastic problems.

Kubadh was succeeded by Ardashir III, just a child (628); Sharbaraz was dissatisfied with the chaotic situation and revolted and killed Ardashir III and made himself king. He reigned for only 42 days before being killed by his own guards.

This was followed by a dynastic crisis, with 11 rulers taking the throne in two years. Khosrow III, who had made himself king in the eastern lands of the Sassanid Empire, was killed, and Jawanshir's reign was also brief. Since none of Khosrow Parwiz's sons were alive, his daughter Buran (who was Kubadh II's wife) was enthroned by the support of the nobles in 630. She struck coins, built bridges, and completed peace negotiations with the Byzantines before being deposed in 631. Her successors were Firuz II, Adhar Midukht, Hurmuz V, and Khosrow IV. At the end of 632 a grandson of Khosrow II, Yazdadjird III (632–651) was proclaimed king. He was the last Sassanid monarch.

The Sassanid position in the Arabian Peninsula had already been weakened by widespread revolts. Arab Muslims formed their own alliances and Sassanid governors acknowledged the prophet Muhammad and converted to Islam. The Muslim forces claimed "equality" and "justice" and promised a "better life" for people and were respected and received warmly in the frontiers and even the capital.

Yazdadjird III, who hoped to reinvigorate his army, fled to Marw and was killed in 652 by a rogue who coveted his elegant clothes and jewelry. Yazdadjird III's death put an end to the Sassanid monarchy in its known frontiers. His son Firuz took refuge in Tang China and was permitted to establish a fire temple.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WARS; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

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MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR AND FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH

Saul

(c. 1020 B.C.E.) *first king of Israel*

The story of Saul is the story of how ISRAEL received its monarchy. It is a tragic story because Saul represents the acceptance of a line of kings, yet the biblical commentary makes known that this new form of government represents a rejection of direct divine government represented by PATRIARCHS, JUDGES, and PROPHETS. It is doubly sad for Saul because he is the divinely conceded choice for the first king, yet he is by the end of his life the divinely rejected king, displaced by a new divine choice, DAVID. For David (c. 1000 B.C.E.) there is good evidence of his existence, but for Saul all that historians have is the biblical narrative.

Saul's story is told in 1 Samuel 8–31. The text speaks of public dissatisfaction with Israel's lack of the centralized and continued authority that other nations have because of their kings. The main motivating factor is that Israel is disunited in the face of many neighboring hostile nations. The age of the charismatic Judges was over. Samuel as popular leader is the bridge figure between the era of leadership by the Judges and leadership by kings. He is the last remaining judge of his day—also a prophet—and he seeks to find someone who can facilitate the unity and security of Israel. Samuel's choice, Saul, seems like a natural candidate for kingship: He is physically head and shoulders above his compatriots, meek in judgments, courageous in battle, and magnanimous in victory. This first phase of Saul's career as king stunningly accomplished, Samuel, who has dominated the first part of the book of 1 Samuel, now exits the scene.

However, once Saul is on his own, the unraveling of his kingdom begins. Three times he specifically ignores or rejects a royal mandate given to him by Samuel, and three times Samuel reappears in the text to reject Saul's decisions. What is interesting is that Saul does what kings of other nations around Israel do: He wins battles, gives terms of surrender, and presides at national celebrations, but what Samuel faults him for revolves around specifically religious obligations. He should have not presided at a religious sacrifice,

he should have slaughtered the enemy king Agag as a sacred vow, and he should not consult with witches: These are actions that Samuel as prophet finds such fault with that he announces the divine rejection of Saul. Now the divine choice would find another and more unlikely candidate, one who put religious devotion above the human expectations for kings. That new choice would be David, “a man after God's heart.” The rest of Saul's story is intertwined with his rival and erstwhile page David. He fights a civil war with David and chases him out of his kingdom into the land of Israel's enemies, the Philistines. The sense of inescapable Greek tragedy envelopes the last phase of his life, as popular opinion, many of his family members, and even his own sanity often desert him. At the end of his troubled life he is surrounded in battle by the Philistines and commits suicide. Yet, the narrative of his life does not end in complete darkness. The people whom he had gallantly rescued at the beginning of his reign risk their lives to retrieve his body from the victorious enemies. And David, his rival, grieves his tragic death, lifting up an elegy of praise for his fallen “hero” at the national funeral.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

scribes

Scribes were key to the administrative and legislative aspects of many societies after the creation of writing and fulfilled numerous functions other than simply record keeping. Very often scribes were instrumental in creating and maintaining the legal, economic, and religious aspects of a culture. In many cultures scribes were a ruling class, and those who possessed literacy maintained a monopoly of knowledge over the largely illiterate agrarian and working-class members of society. In cultures where only a small amount of the population was literate, or even had no concept of symbolic representation, scribal culture was also closely associated with ritual and religion, and in many cases scribes were responsible for the codification of writing, religion, and law. The role of the scribe became important in castes or administrative classes within societies that helped develop and demonstrate the importance of symbolic forms and helped

develop more sophisticated methods of notation. These cases in the West led to the development of the alphabet and in the East to the codification of the Chinese language. Scribes were also extremely important in political structures, and many theorists link scribal culture to the expansion and political solidification of many civilizations.

MESOPOTAMIA

Mesopotamia was the birthplace of writing and civilization, and as a result, scribes were extremely important as key administrators who maintained administrative and economic offices and also aided in the development of literature, religion, and historical documents. Scribes in Mesopotamia were trained early, in schools known as Tablet Houses, which were associated with important temples.

Scribes were initially not as vital in the FERTILE CRESCENT, growing in importance when the Akkadians settled among Sumerians c. sixth millennium B.C.E. and became the dominant culture in 2350 B.C.E. Their scribes undertook a more systematic notation of the language, retaining the Sumerian ideograms, reading them in their own language, and creating a syllabary based on the Akkadian language.

The Akkadians used writing as something akin to a grid for comprehending and ordering the way in which the world worked. The systems of codified law are also attributed to the influence of scribal culture, and the Sumerian codes, while not the first, were the basis of legal codes for the following 1,000 years. Scribes effectively maintained a monopoly of knowledge where literacy was restricted to a relative few who were trained from birth to belong to the administrative class. Scribal culture was also key in the diffusion of written systems for record keeping and codifying religion that spread throughout the region, particularly to Egypt and other surrounding kingdoms.

EGYPT

Scribes were extremely important to Egyptian culture, and it is generally thought that writing appeared c. 3150 B.C.E. in Egypt, two centuries after it appeared in SUMER. Scribes in Egypt used papyrus and as a result of its relatively perishable nature compared to the clay tablets used by the Sumerians for their CUNEIFORM writing, much of early Egyptian work has vanished. There is evidence that Egyptian scribal culture helped develop writing systems and HIEROGLYPHICS. In doing this they created a writing system that used phonetics and signs to represent consonants, which, unlike the Sumerian system, helped avoid ambiguity.

There was even a god of writing and of scribes, Thoth, who was considered a tricky god, and the written word was endowed with power where names had hidden meaning. Hieroglyphs were considered, not representations, but living realities that aided in religious ritual and funerals. Hence, scribes were heavily involved in ritual and the organization of Egyptian culture and politics. Egyptian scribes may have been among the earliest in history, and Sumerian writing could be derived from Egyptian writing.

CHINA

Writing developed independently in China. Earliest surviving examples of Chinese writing date to the 14th century B.C.E., found on bovine scapula bones and tortoise shells used for divination in Yin, the last capital of the SHANG DYNASTY. Already advanced, the writing system consisted of ideograms, pictograms, and logograms that evolved into modern Chinese writing. Short written inscriptions were also cast into Shang ritual bronze objects, which became long texts detailing political and military events after the establishment of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY c. 122 B.C.E. Bamboo and wood slips and silk fabrics were also probably used as early writing materials but have not survived.

The earliest surviving Chinese writings were the works of priests/diviners who asked questions of the supernatural on behalf of kings and recorded the answers and outcomes. During the Zhou dynasty the diviners became scribes and historians charged with the task of keeping accurate records. Paper was invented in China around the beginning of the Common Era. The growing size and complexity of the Chinese state and society resulted in a trend that gradually systematized and simplified Chinese script. Written Chinese was adopted as the basis of written Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese.

JUDAISM

Known as the people of the book, Judaic culture enjoyed a much higher level of literacy than most cultures, as most of the Judaic tribes were encouraged to read in order to fulfill their religious duties. By the seventh or sixth century B.C.E. scribes became central to religious practice, codified under David when scribes served under a minister in the king's court and wrote and copied official texts, such as those inserted later into the book of David. Priestly scribes were leaders of the dispersed communities in Babylon who kept records of what had been left behind during the Diaspora. Scribes helped the king keep order and levy taxes, and as time went on the importance

of scribes in Judaic culture increased to the point where scribes became key to the political life of the Judeans.

The scribal figure was often connected with the idea of wisdom and read and commented on the TORAH in synagogue, becoming the primary interpreters of Jewish law. They also played an essential part in the courts and were indispensable in administering and diplomacy. SOLOMON may have been a scribe king who annotated a mass of texts, commentaries, and translations. As time went on, scribes became associated with Talmudic scholarship, and some scribes wrote copious commentaries, which were only cast in definitive form in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.

Scribal culture was extremely important in the development of ancient civilizations, and they not only developed systems of writing that allowed the passage of knowledge down through history but also helped to codify the languages of various cultures and were extremely influential in most societies in governmental, administrative, religious, and economic aspects of state.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

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BRIAN COGAN

Sea Peoples

At the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennia B.C.E. Egypt was beset by a series of invasions. Diverse groups whom the Egyptians associated with "the north" and the Mediterranean Sea carried out these invasions. The most distinguishable groups were the Denyen, Ekwesh, Lukka, Peleset, Shardana, Shekelesh, Teresh, and Weshesh. It is from Egyptian records

that these ethnic groups have come to be designated as Sea Peoples. All came to Egypt from the Aegean region or Cyprus, though individual origins of the separate peoples have been ascribed to regions extending from Sardinia to Syria.

The main sources for information about the Sea Peoples are inscriptions of the Egyptian kings Merneptah and Ramses III, who defeated respectively a Libyan invasion in which some of the Sea Peoples served as mercenaries (1220 B.C.E.) and a direct assault of Sea Peoples on Egypt (1186 B.C.E.). Reliefs at Medinet Habu illustrate the victory of Ramses III over all enemies including the Sea Peoples in highly symbolic representation. For the Philistine community, major sources consist of Assyrian inscriptions, biblical narratives, and archaeological excavations. Numerous minor references associated with the Sea Peoples have been proposed from throughout the Mediterranean.

In the 13th century B.C.E. the most influential civilizations in the eastern Mediterranean (the Egyptian, the HITTITES, the culture of MYCENAE) collapsed. The Sea Peoples, already existing as raiders, traders, and pirates in the region of the Aegean Sea, became major threats to the coasts of these former political powers. The Hittite and Mycenaean Empires disappeared as much due to internal conflict as to the incursion of Sea Peoples, but Egypt survived. Reconstructions of the demise of these powers all include Sea Peoples, but the extent to which these seafarers influenced the actual collapse varies from the catastrophic theory of mass invasion with military conquest, to the opportunistic theory with settlement following the rise of political vacuums.

Successful at colonizing the southern coast of Asia Minor, some Sea Peoples moved down the Levantine coast to form settlements stretching from Asia Minor to Egypt. Established cities that attempted to slow or stop this activity, such as UGARIT, might have been overrun by these invaders; however, most settlement may well have come about by infiltration from other communities. Skilled at sailing and fighting, many of the Sea Peoples turned to mercenary service. Egypt itself had made use of mercenary Shardana even as the Hittite Empire had employed the Lukka when these two empires fought each other. When the Libyans and Meshwesh allied to attack Egypt, they hired Shardana, Shekelesh, and Ekwesh for their unsuccessful invasion. Under their own command 34 years later the massed Sea Peoples attacked Egypt from the Mediterranean Sea by ship and from their communities to the northeast by land. Entire families came with the invaders intending to settle the Nile Delta in line with the Levant. Instead, the invaders

were decisively defeated by the Egyptians, resulting in large numbers of both dead and captured, which ends the story of the Sea Peoples.

In the Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs the Sea Peoples are depicted with unique features and costumes reflecting the diverse cultures now included in the blanket term *Sea People*. However, the ships associated with the invasion are all of a kind, with prows and sterns shaped into the form of a stylized bird's head. Square sails provide the propulsion, and there is a crow's nest for observation. The vessels resemble ships of the early Phoenician trading variety, save that no oars are represented. The warriors wear various styles of short kilts, neckbands, and some form of breast covering. Headdresses are of two major kinds: horned helmets and feathered, flanged "top hats." Spears, swords, and shields are the standard weapons displayed. In the Egyptian depiction the Sea Peoples are both chaotic in their attack before the orderly Egyptian archers and defeated and captured even as they fight; these depictions are a form of Egyptian propaganda.

At the conclusion of Ramses III's defeat of the Sea Peoples, the Peleset and their allies were driven from Egypt proper into the Mediterranean coastal area north-east of the Egyptian border where they were thenceforth known as Philistines. Their warrior culture settled down to a sedentary life around five central cities: Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gath, and Gaza. After expanding their territorial control westward to the hill country, the Philistines took up agriculture, modest manufacturing, metallurgy, and trade, for which their location was ideal. Egypt to the south, the Phoenician cities to the north, and the Mediterranean to the west allowed them to become the market center for the state of Judah to their east. The cities remained autonomous and independent until the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, who invaded Philistia in 734 B.C.E. and subjugated the region. The end of the Philistines is generally accepted to come with the disappearance of the region in 604 B.C.E. into NEBUCHADNEZZAR II's Neo-Babylonian Empire.

Archaeological excavations at Philistine sites confirm material and religious connections to the Aegean and to Cyprus. Pottery resembling Mycenaean ware continued to be manufactured along with the distinctive Philistine "beer mugs" even as pottery construction adapted from the indigenous population was produced. Evidence of trade or migration related to Anatolia and Syria also appears at the sites. By the time of the incorporation of the Philistine cities into the Neo-Babylonian Empire the culture had been assimilated into regional traditions.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; PHARAOH.

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LOWELL HANDY

Second Sophistic

The philosophical school of SOPHISM, which first flourished in fifth-century B.C.E. Athens, underwent a revival in the second century C.E., and for a brief period it attained a measure of intellectual fashionableness. Although the political center of the Western world moved from Greece to Rome, the new capital did not feel the need to enforce its status as the center of the intellectual world. Instead, many Romans were happy to accept the importation of new ideas and religious systems, from whichever part of their burgeoning empire they should arise. Within this generally liberal atmosphere, Greek and especially Athenian systems of thought held a special place.

Greek was likely to be the language of intellectual discussion among the educated urban elite, and familiarity with the works of the past was an essential part of refinement and statesmanship. A revival in interest in Greek learning was ushered in by the emperor HADRIAN in the second century C.E., and this inspired the growth of a set of professional teachers who came to be labeled Sophist and to be members of the Atticist school—that is, to be from Attica, or Athens. Unlike the original Sophists, the later teachers focused entirely on the techniques of rhetoric and ability to argue so as to win an argument. Their methods had no ethical or truth-seeking element and were, therefore, susceptible to the criticism of sophism that it was amoral and improper for a person of good faith to use.

Those whose writings have been preserved and who have been associated with this movement include the historians Dio Cassius and Herodian, Maximus, Aelius Aristides, and Polemon of Athens. Polemon managed a successful school of rhetoric at Smyrna and was highly regarded by the emperors TRAJAN, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. According to legend, Polemon had himself buried alive at the age of 56 to escape the misery of chronic gout. Since most extant works of this group are

concerned mostly with substantive matters rather than in the practice of sophistry as a deliberate technique, there is no specific body of work that commemorates the Second Sophistic movement.

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JOHN WALSH

Seleucid Empire

The Seleucid Empire (312–63 B.C.E.) was the largest of the Hellenistic states that emerged from the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Seleucus I (c. 358–281 B.C.E.), one of Alexander's generals, founded the Seleucid Empire in 312. Seleucus, who took the title *Nicator*, or "victor," was the most successful combatant in the bloody and protracted wars of the *DIADOCHI*. The empire he founded stretched from the Middle East and Asia Minor to BACTRIA in Central Asia. Seleucus initially claimed the Macedonian conquests in India as well but was forced to abandon them to CHANDRAGUPTA II around 305 B.C.E. Seleucus was later killed by Ptolemy Keraunos, a member of the ruling Egyptian dynasty.

The Seleucid dynasty drew from both Greco-Macedonian and Near Eastern traditions of rule. The Seleucid monarch was theoretically not identified with a particular people, but in practice, was Greek in culture. Greeks and Macedonians constituted the vast majority of the kingdom's governing elite, known as the king's friends. The Seleucids claimed a particularly strong relationship with the Greek god Apollo but also patronized the traditional religion of Babylon and presented themselves as rulers in the Mesopotamian and Persian traditions. Like other Hellenistic rulers, they claimed divinity.

The original capital of the empire was Seleucia on the Tigris, but it finally settled at Antioch in Syria. The empire's vast size made complete centralization impossible. Drawing from the Persian Achaemenid political tradition of dividing the empire into satrapies, the early Seleucids divided their empire into large administrative districts mostly assigned to members of the royal family.

Another disadvantage of the size of the Seleucid Empire was that it faced problems on several frontiers,

making it difficult for Seleucid kings to follow consistent foreign and military policies. After Seleucus the Seleucids lost much of their direct control over Iran and Bactria. Around the middle of the third century B.C.E. a new Greek kingdom arose in Bactria, while Iran fell to the Iranian Parthians. Antiochus III (r. 223–187 B.C.E.), known as Megas or "the Great," reasserted Seleucid overlordship in this area in the late third century B.C.E., but his success proved short lived. In Asia Minor the Seleucids lost territories to invading Gauls and to a secession that led to the foundation of the independent Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamum, which would become a perpetual rival.

The Egyptian PTOLEMIES challenged Seleucid leadership in the Hellenistic Middle East. Antiochus expelled the Ptolemies from Palestine and Phoenicia, a long-standing area of contention between the two dynasties, after the Battle of the Panium in 200 B.C.E. However, the most fatal rival of Seleucia was the rising power of the Mediterranean, the Roman Republic. Antiochus came into conflict with the Romans when he sought to expand into Asia Minor and Greece. After two defeats Antiochus agreed to the Peace of Apamea in 188 B.C.E., withdrawing from Europe and western Asia Minor and disbanding his navy and elephant force.

After Antiochus the Seleucid Empire was caught between the Romans in the west and the Parthians in the east. The empire also faced a major internal challenge from the population of Judaea. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (r. 175–163 B.C.E.) was an avid promoter of Hellenic culture and of his royal cult. These policies provoked a revolt of the Jews, led by the MACCABEES, who eventually managed to establish Judaea as an independent kingdom. Antiochus IV was also forced into a humiliating withdrawal from Egypt, which he had reduced to a Seleucid satellite, when the Roman Senate sent an emissary demanding that he leave. The fact that Antiochus agreed to withdraw when faced merely by a representative of the Senate, not a Roman army, was particularly humiliating.

Antiochus died attempting to restore Seleucid power in the east. His death was followed by more defeats and turmoil within the Seleucid house between the descendants of Antiochus IV and his brother and royal predecessor, Seleucus IV Philopator (r. 187–175 B.C.E.). Mithridates I of Parthia took Babylon in 142 B.C.E. and captured the Seleucid ruler Demetrius II *Nicator* (r. 145–138, 129–126 B.C.E.) in 138 B.C.E. There was a partial Seleucid recovery under Demetrius's brother Antiochus VII when he advanced far into Parthian territory, but he was killed in battle in 129 B.C.E. The wife of both Demetrius and Antiochus, Cleopatra Thea from

the Ptolemaic family, was the only Seleucid woman to rule under her own authority (r. 125–121 B.C.E.). Seleucid power dwindled to Syria while the last Seleucids fought bitterly among themselves. Tigranes of Armenia briefly conquered the late Seleucid state, and finally the Roman general POMPEY in 64 B.C.E. reduced Syria to a Roman province. The last Seleucid, Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (r. 69–64 B.C.E.) was murdered shortly thereafter.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

Seneca

(3 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) Roman philosopher and statesman

Lucius Annaeus Seneca's father, Marcus Annaeus Seneca (Seneca the Elder, c. 55 B.C.E.–39 C.E.), was an imperial procurator. He so mastered public speaking and debate that he became an authority on rhetoric. Marcus Annaeus had two other sons besides Lucius Annaeus Seneca. The eldest was Junius Annaeus Gallio, who as governor of Achaia declined to exercise jurisdiction over PAUL (Acts 18:11–17). Marcus Annaeus's third son Annaeus Mela was an important financier and the father of Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) the poet. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (Seneca the Younger) was born the middle son at Corduba, Iberia (modern Córdoba, Spain). He became the leading Roman intellectual of his day and a successful orator, lawyer, tragedian, Stoic philosopher, statesman, and wealthy financier.

Seneca the Younger studied the Greek poets and playwrights and law in his youth. He was also attracted to the mysticism associated with Pythagorean philosophy. Later in life he adopted STOICISM. As a young man, Seneca served in the Roman administration of Egypt under Tiberius (16–31 C.E.) where he gained experience as an administrator and financier. He also acquired a taste for natural philosophy, studying geology, marine life, and meteorology. After 31 C.E. Seneca went to Rome to train as a Roman lawyer. There he distinguished himself with brilliant legal oratory, causing the emperor Caligula to threaten his life. He was accused of having illicit relations with Julia Livilla, sister of Caligula. The reason

for the accusation is not clear but the notorious Valeria Messalina (c. 22–48 C.E.) may have been involved as an opponent of the potential wealth and power of Seneca.

Seneca went into exile on Corsica, and while there he wrote numerous works, including tragedies, poems, and essays. In 49 C.E. Seneca was appointed a praetor by the Senate and recalled to Rome by the empress Agrippina to serve as the tutor of her son, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. Then aged 12, he would become emperor NERO after the poisoning death of the emperor Claudius in 54 C.E. During the first five years of the reign of Nero both Seneca and Burrus, a Roman army officer, aided the management of the public affairs of Rome. They were able to restrain Nero and Agrippina. Neither one actually held office but were able to influence public affairs to the benefit of the empire. Nero eventually listened to the more demagogic of his courtiers who encouraged his murderous impulses. They also sowed suspicion in Nero's mind about Seneca and Burrus.

In 58 C.E. Seneca was the target of political attacks by a number of people, including Publius Suillius Rufus, on an array of charges from sleeping with the emperor's mother to introducing Nero to pederasty to abuse of power. However, the most serious charge was the contrast between Seneca's philosophical teachings and his political practice. Using his position with Nero, Seneca was able to gain fame and wealth. During the early years of Nero's reign Seneca and Burrus were almost as powerful as Nero. Eventually, Marcus Suillius Nerullinus charged Seneca with hypocrisy for denouncing tyranny while tutoring a tyrant. He also charged that there was no philosophy in the world that showed how to gain the immense wealth held by Seneca or that justified Seneca's opulent spending.

In 62 C.E. Burrus died under suspicious circumstances, which broke Seneca's power. To escape Nero he retired with the emperor's permission, and in the three remaining years of his life he wrote on philosophy, including *Epistulae Morales to Lucilius the Younger*. He traveled a good deal with his second wife, Paulina, and rarely visited Rome. In 65 C.E. the conspiracy against Nero conducted by Caius Calpurnius Piso, and others, implicated Seneca. Nero ordered Seneca to commit suicide, which he did.

Seneca's death is described in the works of Tacitus, and his surviving literary works include 12 philosophic essays. His essay *Consolationes* (*On Consolation*) expressed his grief at the loss of sons. His essay *De Clementia*, addressed to Nero, commends mercy in a ruler. His *De vita beata* and *De Otio* discuss living as a Stoic sage. Seneca's surviving meteorological essay

was, as was his work on scientific questions in *Naturalis Quaestiones*, inspired by the Stoic philosophy of Poseidonius. Nine of Seneca's plays have survived. They are tragedies that express the Stoic belief that disaster comes when passion destroys reason. They were greatly influenced by the plays of EURIPIDES, AESCHYLUS, and SOPHOCLES. Of Seneca's letters 124 have survived. His surviving satire, *Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii* (*The Pumpkinification of the Divine Claudius*) ridicules the deification of the emperor Claudius.

See also PYTHAGORAS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Septimius Severus

(146–211 C.E.) Roman emperor

Septimius Severus was founder of the African dynasty of Roman emperors. He came from a family of Roman citizens who had served as imperial bureaucrats in northern Africa. He found favor with the emperor MARCUS AURELIUS and served in many high provincial positions.

Under Emperor Commodus, Septimius Severus was appointed the legate of the fourth legion in 191 C.E., stationed on the Euphrates. He disdained traditional Roman ways and saw himself as a soldier and ruler of the East, becoming immersed in the religion and culture. He married a member of a priestly family of Emesa and solidified his influence over the politics of the eastern provinces. When his own soldiers killed Emperor Pertinax in 193, Severus was proclaimed emperor by his own legions of the East and by the Danube legions. Some scholars speculate that support for Severus in both the East and West make it clear that he was a part of the conspiracy to overthrow Pertinax, but there is no concrete proof.

Severus believed his destiny to rule the empire was found in careful study of the positions of the stars in the heavens. He strengthened his control over the empire by

executing the prefect of the infamous Praetorian Guard and put his trust in barbarian troops over the Roman legions under his control. Granting of land and money to troops showed his preference for the barbarians, as well as giving Roman women in marriage to barbarian officers and displaying their likeness on new coins. The Roman soldiers in the Praetorian Guard were replaced by barbarian troops from the outlying districts of the empire.

Although he had the support of many legions in the East and south of the Danube, Severus had trouble taking control of the whole empire and spent many years fighting battles against regional generals in Britain, GAUL, and Mesopotamia. Not every opponent was a rival for the title of Caesar; many simply did not want Septimius Severus to rule the empire. After defeating every opponent, Severus shook the social circles of Rome by granting the right of every common soldier to enter the equestrian order and serve in the Roman Senate. This incensed the Roman gentry, but Severus suffered no repercussions from his actions.

He began the fifth persecution of Christians and made it a crime against the state to convert to Judaism or Christianity. Saints Perpetua and Felicity, highly revered by the church, were martyred during this persecution. Severus traveled to Britain in 208, trying to restore order to the province and gain support for a vigorous military program.

While there, he restored HADRIAN's Wall and ensured the protection of the province from the barbarian Picts to the north. He gave control over the outlying province to his sons and died amid a family feud for control of the area.

See also DRUIDS AND PICTS; MARTYROLOGIES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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RUSSELL JAMES

Servant Songs of Isaiah

The Servant Songs refers to a group of texts found in the biblical book of Isaiah. These passages center upon someone known as the Servant of the Lord. This person or character is commissioned by the God of the Bible to carry out a mission in relation to the nation of ISRAEL.

There are at least four such blocs in the book of Isaiah that have been identified as Servant Songs: 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12. All these blocs are found in the latter half of Isaiah, often called “Second Isaiah.” Bible scholars beginning with Bernhard Duhm (1892) isolated these passages and suggested that they could be separated from the rest of the book without changing the literary development of the surrounding material. Together these passages appeared to tell their own story and theology. At the same time they do not necessarily form a clear-cut literary unit as though together they form a complete book. Almost all Bible scholars now accept the existence of the Servant songs. In addition to the four blocs, some scholars also think that some of the surrounding material of Isaiah has been adjusted to accommodate the songs. Thus, 42:5–9; 49:7–13; 50:10–11 respond to each of the first three songs. The last Servant Song, the longest and most poignant, might serve as a fitting conclusion to all the other songs and responses.

The first song features the “Lord” of Israel as the speaker. The Lord has chosen the Servant and given the Spirit so that he can bring “judgment” to the nations that oppose Israel. The Servant will accomplish the task without violence. The Servant delivers the second song. He says that he is chosen to restore Israel and to be a light for the nations surrounding Israel. The third song also has the Servant for the speaker. He is a teacher who encounters opposition, but God will grant success and accomplish the divine plan through the Servant. The fourth song is the longest and most eloquent and elevated of the songs. The speaker is not identified. The Servant has died, but the death has accomplished something for “the many,” a Semitic way of saying human beings. The Servant had been popularly regarded as guilty of wrongdoing, but he will be vindicated and raised up by God. Sometimes it is regarded as the climax of the Servant Songs. The lines of the fourth song are the most frequently cited passage of the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament.

If the songs can be put together into a progression of action, they tell of the Servant’s career, that is, his calling, activities, popular rejection, death, and vindication. The level of misunderstanding, opposition, and hostility is so great that often Jews and Christians refer to the person as the “Suffering Servant.” In the ancient world someone who was a servant was not always an abject slave or menial laborer. Often the servant would publicly represent the master and carry authority of the master, so the Servant might be a dignified or important person for the writer of Isaiah. At the same time the servant’s fate would reflect on the master, so the treat-

ment of the Servant in these songs suggests the relationship between Israel and Israel’s God.

The problem is determining who Isaiah considers to be the Servant. Readers often find several candidates: Israel as a nation, a collective body within Israel (“the remnant”), the community surrounding the writer of the songs (“Isaiah’s disciples”), or a specific person (MOSES, DAVID, Cyrus). Jews are traditionally sympathetic to the corporate Servant identity; while Christians normally find in Jesus the “Suffering Servant.” It is also possible that Servant may be an idealized Israel as represented in an idealized person, thus adopting a composite among the above options and appealing to traditional Jews and Christians.

Christians find in the Servant Songs a messianic image of Jesus Christ (e.g., Acts 8:32–35). JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH himself may have seen himself as the fulfillment of these passages (see Mark 8:31; 9:30–32; 10:33–34). Christians see in the Servant an explanation for Jesus’s expiatory suffering, that is, he was commissioned by God to bear the sins of the people. Thus, Christianity teaches that suffering has a positive value and that it is not simply a punishment for sin. On the other hand, the apostle PAUL also adapts the image of the Servant to his own life and mission among the Diaspora Jews and non-Jews (Acts 13:47; Gal. 1:15; Rom. 15, 21). Paul’s use shows how Christians and Jews can agree on what the Servant image represents: an insight into the way that the biblical God interacts with humanity in the realm of suffering, judgment, and salvation.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERO-DOXIES); MESSIANISM.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Shang dynasty

The Shang is the first truly historic Chinese dynasty (c. 1766–1122 B.C.E.). It is also called the Yin, after its last capital city, where the last 12 kings ruled c. 1395–1122 B.C.E. Traditional accounts of the Shang came under doubt until the discovery of inscribed oracle bones unearthed near a modern town called ANYANG in present-day Henan (Honan) Province in 1900. Systematic digging at Anyang beginning in 1928 revealed an

extensive city and more than 100,000 oracle bones; the writing on some of them is the oldest deciphered from which later written Chinese evolved. Numerous sites excavated since show that by the mid-third millennium B.C.E. an interrelated culture had spread over a wide area in China. However, the core of Shang civilization lay across northern China from the western edge of the Yellow River valley to the coast in Shandong (Shantung) Province, with the core region in modern Henan.

Tang (T'ang) the Successful founded the dynasty, overthrowing the last tyrant king of the XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY, named Jie (Chieh, c. 1766 B.C.E.). According to tradition, Tang established his capital at Ao or Xiao (Hsiao). The dynastic name Shang derived from the name of its sacred city, near Shangjiu (Shang-ch'iu) in eastern Henan. Ruins beneath the present city, called Zhengzhou (Chengchow), correspond to early Shang in time. Shang kings moved their capital five times, the last capital being Yin, which gave its name to the last phase of the dynasty. Although a Shang-era city wall has been uncovered at Zhengzhou, which would be consistent with the site being a capital city, the absence so far of contemporary written records or royal tombs there preclude definite identification of this and other sites as the various dynastic capitals. The fact that later Shang-era remains in Zhengzhou were of poorer quality than the earlier layer suggests the moving of the capital to other locations. It is not clear why the capital moved five times, exhaustion of tin mines near to each capital could have been a motive because the Shang was a Bronze Age culture. Bronze was power in ancient China, and tin is a key alloy in bronze.

THE SHANG CAPITAL AT ANYANG

Mature Shang civilization excavated at Anyang shows that Yin was divided into several sections totaling over 16 sq. miles. The royal palace complex had a huge tamped earth platform above a drainage system, on which there were placed regularly spaced stone or bronze bases that once supported timber pillars. The palaces and ritual buildings once had walls of wattle-and-daub construction. Smaller houses nearby presumably served for storage or to accommodate other persons. There were also bronze foundries, stone and jade workshops, pottery kilns, and living quarters for workmen. The royal cemetery consisted of 11 large graves, each for the 11 kings who ruled from Yin, excluding the last one, who died in his burning city and did not get a kingly burial; they are surrounded by more than 1,000 smaller graves. The large graves are square or oblong and had ramps that led to the burial chamber 30 feet

underground. Although all had been looted, it is apparent that they were richly furnished with objects to serve the owner in the next life. Besides objects, dogs, horses, chariots, and human sacrificial victims also accompanied the grave owner to the next world.

Archaeologists estimate that it required 7,000 working days to excavate each of the large graves. In 1976 the intact tomb of Lady Fu, a wife of the powerful king Wuding (Wu-ting) was excavated. It contained more than 1,600 precious objects of jade, bone, ivory, bronze, and other materials and sacrificial victims. Buildings once stood atop the underground graves where rituals were held for the dead, but they have long perished. Beyond the city core at Yin and other sites were the semisubterranean dwellings of farmers. There was no city wall around Anyang, but a wall of pounded earth 30 feet high, 65–100 feet wide, and 4.5 miles long protected Ao. Archaeologists estimated that it took 12 years for 10,000 workmen, each working for 330 days a year, to complete the task. This suggests that the Shang government was rich in human and material resources.

ORACLE BONES

The use of tortoiseshells and scapula bones of bovines for divination was peculiar to China. They were used during the Neolithic, Xia (Hsia) dynasty, and early Shang, but only during the Yin phase of the Shang dynasty was writing found on the oracle bones. Shang kings consulted the high god, called Shangdi (Shang-ti), and their ancestors very frequently for advice on many subjects, including the weather, crop conditions, war and peace, the rulers' health, their wives' pregnancy, and hunting.

The usual formula specified the date, the diviner's name, the king's name, and the question, all written down on the bone. Then a heated bronze rod was inserted into an indentation predrilled into the bone, causing cracks, which contained the answer, also written down, and often the actual outcome. The used oracle bones had holes drilled on top through which cords were threaded to bind them together.

Bundles of them must have been stored, thus their preservation. The oracle bone inscriptions are the oldest deciphered Chinese writing. They were already sophisticated and therefore must have gone through a long evolutionary process. They contain symbols that are pictographs, ideographs, and logographs, all characteristic of later written Chinese. The oracle bone inscriptions contain the names of all 30 rulers of the dynasty, proving the traditional accounts correct. They give data on natural phenomena such as eclipses and comets, which

help date the events. They also include the names of many officials but without details of their functions.

The oracle bone inscriptions make clear that a king ruled the Shang state, with the throne passing among men of the royal clan that varied from one brother to another and between father and son. The kings had multiple wives, some like Lady Hao, a wife of king Wuding, was very powerful, commanding troops and managing her own estates. Royal wives came from other clans than the royal one. Officials bearing different titles assisted the king, and they were probably aristocrats, but we do not know their functions. Many oracle bones discuss the king waging wars with 1,000 to 5,000 troops against neighboring “barbarians.” The leaders rode to war in chariots drawn by two or four horses, wielding bronze weapons, leading infantrymen. The main weapons were bronze dagger-axes, swords, compound bows, and arrows with bronze tips. When not warring, Shang kings and nobles hunted for sport and probably for meat; many oracles dealt with hunting and big game.

METALWARE AND CRAFTS

While bronze was used for weapons and chariot fittings, the largest use of bronze was to make ritual vessels used in sacrifices to gods and ancestors. The earliest Chinese metalware dates to approximately 2000 B.C.E., and many of the early forms have their prototype in potteryware. By late Shang the bronze smiths’ works had reached the highest form of artistry and technological progress. Vessels of complex form and decorated with intricate geometric patterns and animal masks weighing up to 1,500 pounds were made by the piece mold method. They differed from the lost wax method used by metalsmiths in the ancient West. Short inscriptions were also cast into many bronze vessels that bear the personal or clan name of the owner and that clearly designated the pieces for ritual use. More than 30 different shaped vessels of different sizes were produced for the storage, cooking, serving, and consumption of food and alcohol in ceremonies that honored gods and ancestors. Those pieces that survived were buried with the dead. Jades were used as luxury items such as ornaments and also used in rituals. Shang craftspeople also excelled in making a high fired pottery that approached stoneware, in using the sap of a lac tree to make lacquerware, and in making silk fabrics. No Shang silks have survived but there are imprints of silk fabric in bronzes that were once wrapped in them.

FARMING

Farming continued along the lines developed since the NEOLITHIC AGE, using the same stone and wooden

tools, for bronze was too precious for ordinary use. The principal grains of north China were various forms of millet, followed by wheat. Animals provided protein, hides, bones, and antlers. Dogs, pigs, cattle, water buffalo, sheep, and horses were domesticated, used for meat, as draft animals, and in ritual sacrifices. Many different kinds of fowl were raised, as were fish for food, and turtles for shells used in divination. Hunting of wild animals provided sport and food. Several kinds of fermented alcoholic beverages were drunk in rituals and feasting; they were made from millet. Archaeologists have found a site that was possibly used for manufacturing alcohol. The many bronze objects for serving and drinking alcohol testify to the frequency of its use. The founding fathers of the successor ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY accused the last Shang king of many crimes and vices, among them were excessive drinking and warned their people against drunkenness.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Shang dynasty was directly descended from the Neolithic cultures of northern China and was centered along present-day Henan Province. The unity of conception of Shang art and the unique and independently derived writing system define the Shang people and civilization as distinctive. In its fully mature phase, called the Yin, it headed many states that bore variants of the same culture and were less powerful and sophisticated than Yin. Shang was a complex and highly organized society, headed by a king, who was supported by his officials, artisans, and farmers. It is uncertain who the sacrificial victims were, whether they were enslaved prisoners of war or retainers who accompanied their superiors in death. The agricultural economy did not seem sophisticated enough to require the labor of slaves.

See also WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Shintoism

Believed to be an indigenous religion of Japan, Shintoism (or Shinto) involved the worshipping of *kami* and

prescribed shrine rituals as a way of showing respect and devotion. The term was not in use until the 19th century. Shinto is the religious structure that provides definition and a framework in which the practitioner can navigate the worship of specific *kami*. Shintoism is also believed to encompass the indigenous animistic beliefs of the Japanese and was an attempt to formalize different types of beliefs into a cohesive structure. The word *kami* is the collective term used to describe the representation of what can be referred to as beings (or deities) found within such things as mountains and rivers. Deceased persons are sometimes able to become *kami*; however, this is a rare occurrence. The written characters that make the word *Shinto* consist of two *kanji*, the first being *shin* (meaning “god” but also translated as “*kami*”) and the second being *tao* (meaning “path”). The literal translation means “way of the gods.” It is believed that the Yamato imperial court systematically deployed *kami* worship as a religious system during the third century C.E.

Shinto is widely recognized as an essentially Japanese religious system, having come into existence during the animistic Jomon Period (12,000 to 400 B.C.E.) and practiced by rural rice-cultivating peoples from the Yayoi Period (400 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.). Before the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which saw Shinto becoming the sanctioned religion, there were three distinct forms of Shinto, or more appropriately, *kami* worship: These were Rural, Shrine, and Imperial Shinto. Before the intervention of the imperial state *kami* worship was, at best, disorganized and highly individualistic. From the fifth century C.E. Shinto practices amalgamated with Mahayana Buddhist and Confucian theology. Shinto’s amalgamation with Buddhism and the ritualistic nature of Buddhist practices contributed to its remarkable integration into all levels of society, from the imperial family to the rural population. It is believed that the naming of the religion occurred as a way of distinguishing it from Buddhism and Confucianism.

Rural *kami* worship was often referred to as folk Shinto. In order to ensure prosperous crops and a harmonious village life *kami* would be worshipped through rituals designed to appeal to or appease the deities. Each region in Japan was thought to have different rituals concerning the *kami* in their area, and each ritual was defined by the type of *kami* worshipped (such as rice cultivation and fish farming), hence different regions in Japan would have had entirely different and diverse systems of worship. As agricultural developments increased and society underwent social and political change, ritual was increasingly employed to ensure a balance between the deities (*kami*) and the people. As



Shinto is a Japanese religious system that began before the historic era in Japan.

society modernized so did the need for a codified structure of religion and religious practices.

Shrine Shinto and imperial Shinto are similar in that they were dependent upon *kami* worship as ritual. During the beginnings of the imperial state an official network of shrines was established, and through imperial decrees and ritualized (and state-controlled) prayers (*norito*) the *kami* system was formalized. Chinese influences and concepts of deities during the Yamato court, such as *ama-tsu-kami* (heavenly deities), also contributed to the continual construction of Shintoism. The majority of information obtained from primary sources concerning Shinto comes from those written during the Yamato court era. The construction of *ritsuryo* law (Japanese imperial law) focused particularly on shrine rituals that meant that many indigenous rituals or practices had not been written down. Imperial Shinto practices are more likely to have survived in historical record, as imperial households commissioned such records.

One such practice is the continual use of clerical titles denoting Shinto priests and practitioners in relation to their duties at various shrines. The highest-ranking priest or priestess in Japan is referred to as Saishu and is affiliated with the Grand Shrine of Ise. A member of the imperial family most often holds this position. The lowest-ranking Shinto priest is the Toya, a part-time layperson chosen from village members to enter the shrine for a specific amount of time. Women were originally allowed to hold ceremonial positions within Shinto; however, as the religion underwent a

metamorphosis from a rural-based practice to an imperial one they were increasingly relegated to positions that entailed less power, as assistants to the male members of the priesthood.

The oldest known texts in which Shinto practices appear is the 712 C.E. *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters) and the 720 C.E. *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan). Both texts make mention of the belief that two *kami* (Izanami and Izanagi) created Japan. Izanami gives birth to a *kami* of fire but dies in the process and resides in a place called Yomi no Kuni (Land of Darkness). Izanagi is shocked to witness Izanami in such a place and returns to the living, stopping on the way to wash himself of his visit to Yomi no Kuni. The stories indicate an early belief in death as a pollution of the living and are thought to have guided the creation and formulation of other Shinto practices. The chronicles also legitimized the rule of Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko by ascribing him the name *hatsu-kuni-shirasu sumera-mikoto* (First Emperor to Rule the Realm). The emperor initiated a state-sponsored adoption of *kami* worship that included all members of the royal family and the elite ruling members of society. Before this, *kami* worship lay in the hands of the local rulers and was based more upon shamanistic principles than ritualized worship.

Kami were, and still are, found in prominent and often strategic locations throughout Japan. The original underlying foundation of Shinto is the worship of *kami* to ensure prosperity, health, and an abundance of food and supplies. The Yamato court focused on the Mount Miwa *kami* called Omononushi, which appeared in the form of a snake and was the subject of agricultural ritual. The area was fertile and consistently provided sustenance for the population, thus the *kami* was considered powerful. Strategic sites such as the opening of a sea route also had important *kami* associated with them, such as Sumiyoshi, the *kami* of Naniwazu (Osaka). However, while *kami* tied to the environment were viewed as important, the Yamato court also worshipped *kami* spirits found in ritual objects and objects such as ceremonial weapons. This type of worship became centralized in court life as it pointed toward the power of the court and enabled the transference of power through an object (for example, *kami* spirits embodied within a ceremonial sword) that was readily visible.

Shinto became a structured religious system by the systematic integration of *kami* worship into early imperial Japanese law and society. It is an indigenous religion that has also absorbed Buddhist and some Confucian rituals and philosophies. Shintoism is notoriously difficult to define, especially in light of the fact that the rituals associated with the religion were often fluid in

their approach and highly interchangeable depending on the circumstances of offering.

See also JOMON CULTURE; THERAVEDA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM; YAMATO CLAN AND STATE; YAYOI CULTURE.

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SAMAYA L. SUKHA

Silk Road

A German explorer of western China and Central Asia coined the name *Silk Road* at the end of the 19th century. It describes a route of international commerce that linked China and Rome, exchanging many luxuries by camel caravans, most important of them China's coveted silks. Seres, which means the "land of silk," probably referring to China, was first mentioned in Greek accounts in the sixth century B.C.E.; some Chinese silk fabrics must have been traded to western lands in early times. During the early HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) China appeased the powerful nomads called the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) by regularly giving them large quantities of silk, silver, and food. The Xiongnu traded some of the silk with other peoples. Seeking to end the Xiongnu's threat to China and their stranglehold of Chinese exports, Emperor Wu launched huge military expeditions against them beginning in 134 B.C.E., ending in the surrender of some Xiongnu tribes and the flight of others.

The overland route covered was more than 4,000 miles. No caravan traveled the entire route; rather it was a series of journeys in a network of trading centers where buyers and sellers converged. The trans-Asian route began in China's capitals LUOYANG (LOYANG) or CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an); proceeded westward to China's frontier city DUNHUANG (TUN-HUANG), where the route split into two, skirting the Taklamakan Desert; then converged at Kashgar (at China's present western

frontier) on to Tashkent and Bukhara in Central Asia, where one branch split southeastward across Afghanistan to the Indian subcontinent and another westward through Merv in Iran (ancient Parthia) to Baghdad in Iraq, Antioch or Tyre on the eastern Mediterranean coast, thence by sea to Rome. For much of the journey merchants were protected by the power of China and Rome under the Pax Sinica and PAX ROMANA. States and cities along the way benefited from charging of taxes and dues. When they became too burdensome, as happened with the Iranians, the trading countries sought to open new routes. Thus, in the first century C.E. a sea route was opened that linked the southern Chinese port Guangzhou (Canton), across the Strait of Malacca and Bay of Bengal to India, then through the Persian Gulf or Red Sea to the Roman East to the Mediterranean. After the fall of the Han dynasty and the Western Roman Empire, the Tang (T'ang) dynasty in China and the Byzantine Empire continued the trading relations.

In addition to silk, other textiles, metals, gems, glass, horses, and spices were important items of trade. The road was also important for introducing new crops and food items across cultures and for exchange of technological innovations, for example, ground glass lenses from India and paper from China. Finally, it was the route of missionaries and pilgrims that brought Buddhism from India to Central Asia and China and, less important, Nestorian Christianity, Judaism, and Manichaeism from the Roman East and Iran to East Asia. Marco Polo from Venice traveled via the Silk Road to China in the late 13th century, bringing tales of the fabled East to Europe. The Silk Road was finally eclipsed when Europeans discovered a sea route to Asia via Africa after 1498.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'EN).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien)

(145–87 B.C.E.) *Chinese historian*

The prestige of history as a field worthy of study and historical writing as an honored pursuit were strongly rooted in Chinese intellectual life from earliest antiquity. The

HAN DYNASTY had the distinction of producing the earliest and most important major historical work. It is titled the *Shiji* (*Shih-chi*), or *Records of the Historian*. It was the work of two men, Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an), who died in 110 B.C.E., and his more famous son, Sima Qian (145–87 B.C.E.). The monumental work totaled 130 chapters and more than half a million words. The father-and-son team successively held the title Lord Grand Astrologer in the Han government. The title suggests that in antiquity the role of historian was closely associated with astronomical affairs and divination. With their deep knowledge historians were also accepted from antiquity as mentors and teachers of rulers. Such ideals were endorsed and encouraged by CONFUCIUS and Confucians who held a deep sense of history and honored memories of the past. Confucians believed that to understand humanity, one had to study history. Two of the five CONFUCIAN CLASSICS, the *Book of History* (*Shujing*) and the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* (*Qunghu*), are works of history.

Sima Dan began a project to write a complete history of the world, as the Chinese knew it, from the beginning down to his own time. Although the feudal states during the preimperial period had kept their historical records, the unification of China by the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY and the following Han dynasty required a national history. Sima Dan's position gave him access to government archives, but he died long before he could complete the task. According to Sima Qian, his father: "Grasped my hand [when on his death bed] and said weeping: 'Our ancestors were Grand Historians for the house of Chou . . . Will this tradition end with me? If you in turn become Grand Historian, you must continue the work of our ancestors . . . Now filial piety begins with the serving of your parents; next you must serve your sovereign; and finally you must make something of yourself, that your name may go down through the ages to the glory of your father and mother . . . Now the House of Han has arisen and all the world is united under one rule. I have been Grand Historian, and yet I have failed to make a record of all the enlightened rulers and wise lords, the faithful ministers and gentlemen who were ready to die for duty. I am fearful that the historical materials will be neglected and lost. You must remember and think of this!'"

Sima Qian received an excellent education. He traveled widely throughout China and knew of local traditions and men who had participated in the great events of the day. He carried on his father's legacy, completing his monumental work, especially considering the tragic circumstances in his later life. He had taken the unpopular stand of defending a general who had surrendered to the nomads called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) for which he was

sentenced to death in absentia. This infuriated Emperor Wu (HAN WUDI), who condemned him to be castrated. Although a fine would have been accepted as substitution, Sima Qian did not have the required sum and refused to accept help from his friends. Thus, he suffered the humiliating punishment but lived to complete his work.

The *Shiji* is a multifaceted masterpiece of organization. It is divided into five sections as follows:

1. Basic Annals (12 chapters): the account of principal events from the legendary YELLOW EMPEROR down to the reign of Emperor Wu.
2. Chronological Tables (10 chapters): tables of dates for important events, holders of government positions from the establishment of the Han to that date, and genealogical information of ruling families down to his time.
3. Treatises or Monographs (eight chapters): essays devoted to history and important subjects, for example, music, economics, the calendar, astronomy, rites, and the Yellow River and canals.
4. Hereditary Houses (30 chapters): detailed accounts and collective biographies of earlier feudal families.
5. Biographies (70 chapters): lives of famous or interesting people, including good and evil officials, historians, philosophers, politicians, rogues, rebels, assassins, imperial favorites, merchants, and foreign lands and peoples, including aboriginal tribes, some lumped together as groups, others receiving individual chapters. This section ended with a biography of his father, Sima Dan, an outline of his own career, and his motives and methods in writing the work

Sima Qian's format became the standard and was copied by authors of subsequent dynastic histories that chronicled imperial China. They are unsurpassed in the world for their detail and order. This work is also notable for its elegance of style, emulated but never equaled by later historians. In addition, the work is a model of objectivity, with quotations from firsthand sources. In the first century C.E., another family of great historians, surnamed Ban (Pan), would write another great work of historiography called the *Hanshu* (*Han Shu*, or *Book of Han*). Begun by BAN BIAO (PAN PIAO), 32–92 C.E., it was completed by his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku) and daughter Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao). These two monumental works mark the Han dynasty as the era of great historians who set the standard for later generations.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Simeon the Stylite

(392–459 C.E.) *religious leader*

St. Simeon Stylites was a famous Byzantine ascetic. Many devout Christians in Byzantine society were convinced that the way to higher religious experience and demonstration of faith came through the mortification of the flesh or by depriving themselves of all earthly pleasures. These ascetics often entered monasteries or became cavedwellers, devoting their lives to fasting and praying in their search for god through privation.

As a means of demonstrating his religious devotion Simeon began sitting on top of a 10-foot pillar in a remote area outside the city of Aleppo in northern Syria. Over the next 30-plus years he increased the pillar's height to almost 50 feet. He added to his suffering by wearing an iron collar; he was tied to the pillar, and food was brought up by a basket on a rope. Simeon preached to the crowds who, as his fame spread, made PILGRIMAGES to see and hear the famous ascetic. Like most Byzantine ascetics, Simeon was a confirmed misogynist, who yelled and threw things at women pilgrims.

His fame created something of a fad for pillar sitting in the GREEK CHURCH in the Middle East: More than 200 other people took up Simeon's lifestyle over the next 1,500 years. Pillar mounting became a common tourist attraction throughout the whole region. Whenever many pilgrims gathered, inns had to be built, religious goods were manufactured, and books were written and sold. Mystics like Simeon and their devotees from as far as the corners of Europe stimulated spiritual—and financial—revival. Simeon was ultimately canonized.

A mere 50 years after Simeon's death, the Byzantine emperor Zeno had a large octagonal church and monastery complex constructed around the pillar. The sanctuary was the largest in the Christian world, surpassed only by the HAGIA SOPHIA in CONSTANTINOPLE more than two generations later. Every attempt of Simeon to escape this world's grasp by climbing higher on his pillar had failed: His death had brought only more of the same attention and following. The "stylite" movement of Simeon was the last big revival of

Byzantine Christianity in the Middle East before the advance of ISLAM.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; MARTYROLOGIES; MONASTICISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Sinai, Mount

Judaism and Christianity regard Mount Sinai (also called Mount Horeb) as the place where their common spiritual ancestors entered into a unique and exclusive relationship with the supreme deity. The name of the ancestral group was “the children of Israel”; the name of the deity was given as *yhwh*, not pronounced by religious Jews and often transliterated as *Yahweh* or *Jehovah* in versions of the Jewish Bible. (Traditionally, the term used for the deity’s name is *the Lord*.) The relationship between the two parties, the Lord and ISRAEL, was formalized into an abiding covenant with 10 main planks, called the Ten Commandments.

The Jewish Bible tells the story of MOSES first encountering the Lord on Mt. Sinai in the form of a burning bush. Years later Moses returned with a throng of refugees who had escaped from Egypt. They stayed for a year or so, during which time the Lord appeared on the mount in an awesome way, revealed the terms of the covenant, and inscribed the Ten Commandments on stone tablets. The ARK OF THE COVENANT was then carefully built as a portable shrine to transport the stone tablets. Sinai also served as the place where Israel raised up institutional community leaders, both priests and judges.

From these various literary contexts, especially in the TORAH, scholars have been able to sketch out how Mt. Sinai functioned for early Israel. Sinai served as a place that symbolized the people’s remarkable solidarity and focused on their religious obligations. Sinai also symbolizes the place where the Lord lived or came from and thus perhaps was a destination for PILGRIMAGE in the early days of Israel.

However, as Israel became more ensconced in Canaan and in political stability, pilgrimage to Mt. Sinai became rare. “Mt. Zion” (Jerusalem) replaced Mt. Sinai as the center of cultic attention.

Where is Mount Sinai? Today Sinai refers to the whole peninsula or triangle of desert land between Israel and Egypt, surrounded by the waters of the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Mediterranean Sea. In the south of this region is Jebel Musa, “the mountain of Moses” (7,497 feet), the place popularly associated with Mt. Sinai. In the shadow of this mountain is the ancient monastery of St. Catherine, which JUSTINIAN I built because he considered that this was the location of the burning bush. Many ancient pilgrims, such as EGERIA, testify to Jebel Musa as the site of Mt. Sinai.

However, alternative sites have been proposed, with varying degrees of persuasiveness. Among them is Har Karkom—also in the Sinai region—and various hills in Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Har Karkom comes closest to the geographical location described in the Jewish Bible, but archaeological excavations there show that it was venerated as a religious center only in the third millennium B.C.E., long before Moses is thought to have lived. The heights of Saudi Arabia and Jordan have some indirect support from early Jewish scriptures and inconclusive references in the writings of PHILO, PAUL, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, and JEROME, as well as archaeological remains that date to the time of Moses.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Six Schools of classical Hindu philosophy

The Six Schools are part of the Sutra Period in the development of Hinduism. Beginning in the 200s C.E. several schools wrote systematic treatises. Their speculations developed into the basic philosophical systems that were classics in modern times. Their speculations saw philosophy as something to be lived rather than simply as a vehicle for understanding or for social reform. The historical development of the schools is difficult to construct because Indian intellectuals were not particularly concerned with chronology, consequently records have been lost or were never kept.

Originally most of the schools of HINDU PHILOSOPHY were nontheistic, or naturalistic, meaning they did not use stories or beliefs about the gods, goddesses,

theistic tendencies into a system. He taught that the soul (atman) is an aspect of the impersonal Absolute (Brahman) from which everything in the cosmos has come. The result is that the world is an illusion (*maya*) that tricks people into believing that the world is real. He taught that by means of knowledge obtained by identification with the Absolute, the soul might find release.

Shankara's argument is nondualistic because he claims that ultimate reality (Brahman) and temporal reality are of the same essence. He opined that *moksha* (liberation) arises from the knowledge that Brahman and atman are one. Shankara's system is called Advaita (nondualism) Vedanta. Its implications for Hinduism were great. The inferences that arise from his nondualism are that the world is an illusion (*maya*). Furthermore, the practice of bhakti is devotion to an illusion. For those who achieve the liberation of understanding from the Advaita system the ultimate implication is that there is only one Brahman and all else including dharma, gods, rituals, scripture, and devotional practices are illusions.

Later Vedanta philosophers rejected his radical nondualism. Ramanuja (c. 1017–1137 C.E.) was a member of the Vedanta tradition who wrote commentaries that moved devotion to a mode or avatar of Brahman back to the center of spiritual belief and practice. His system is called Vaishnavites (qualified nondualism). This system allowed for worship of Vishnu. In the 1200s C.E. the Vaishnavite theologian Madhva taught dualism in the Davait (dualist) Vedanta school. A little earlier Ramanuja (1100s C.E.) took a middle qualified nondualistic position between Madhva and Shankara. This meant that there was a real difference between the Brahman and the individual self that worshipped. This theology aided the development of bhakti movements in south India. It allowed for a tension between identity with the divine power (*abheda*) and individuality (*bheda*) to create *bhedaabheda*.

The Samkhya ("knowledge" or "wisdom") school taught "evolutionary dualism." It is probably the oldest of the Hindu philosophical systems. It is believed by some to have been founded by Kapila after 100 B.C.E. References in the Svetasvatara Upanishad and the Bhagavad Gita are considered to be references to the philosophy in its preliterate form. One of its important ideas was *prakrti* (matter).

Another important idea was *purusha* (consciousness). Both *prakrti* and *purusha* are words in the *MAHABHARATA*, suggesting that these ideas are at least as old as the *Mahabharata*. The opposition of *prakrti* and *purusha* was basic. Individual souls were infinite and discrete, so

salvation occurred when the soul recovered its original purity, completely purged from matter.

The Samkhya school taught that *prakrti* is composed of three *gunas* ("strands" or "ropes"). The *sattva* ("reality" or "illumination") rope is the psychological rope that produces happiness. The *raja* ("foulness" or "corrupt activity") rope leads to pain. The *tama* ("darkness" or "unilluminated") rope leads to darkness of mind or ignorance. The Yoga (disciplined meditation) school of philosophy is usually paired with the Samkhya school. It developed and practiced the disciplines necessary to achieve liberation from karma in accordance with Samkhya philosophy. The yogi (practitioner of yoga) applying the Samkhya metaphysics used ascetic meditation disciplines and a strict moral code to purge himself or herself of *prakrti*. Eventually, the Samkhya, Yoga, and Vedanta schools adapted their philosophy so that it served as a base for their theistic system.

See also ARYAN INVASION.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Socrates

(c. 470–399 B.C.E.) *Greek philosopher*

Socrates is one of the three greatest philosophers of Greek classical thought and, together with ARISTOTLE and Plato, helped to provide the foundations of Western thought. Socrates was the first of this triumvirate, although he did not produce any written records of his beliefs. A number of issues concerning his beliefs remain controversial, and there is still doubt about the reasons for his death and whether he could or should have sought to escape his fate.

Socrates was born in Athens a decade after the Battle of Salamis signaled the end of the Persian attempts to conquer Greece. Consequently, he was born into a society that was coming to terms with its physical independence and matching that with intellectual independence, although that had been expressed by what are now called the pre-Socratics in terms mostly of vague metaphysics and religious speculation. The main event during his lifetime was the PELOPONNESIAN WAR fought between Athens and Sparta, which was also seen as a struggle between personal independence and the militarization of society. The ultimate defeat of militarism did not occur until the long and perilously difficult years of warfare had passed, with the coarsening of public life and morals that accompanied the war.

Socrates was at the forefront of public life in Athens. Xenophon describes him as being part of the circle of PERICLES and the other prominent leaders of Athenian society. It is also possible that he worked for a period with Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras, who is reputed to be the first Athenian philosopher. He also may have been familiar with the subjects of geometry and astronomy. Notwithstanding these advantages in society, it is believed that the later part of his life was lived in poverty, as he is so depicted in a play by ARISTOPHANES. Socrates spent most of his working life teaching and practicing philosophy, and he has been depicted as a man so captured by the world of the mind that he could be found unmoving like a statue, completely rapt in thought.



Socrates chose to self-administer the fatal hemlock that killed him and ensured that all his domestic duties were completed.

He married Xanthippe comparatively late in his life and had three children with her, who survived him when he was arrested by the state on charges of corrupting the youth of Athens and not worshipping the gods of the city. He was brought to trial and condemned to death. Socrates chose to swallow the hemlock that killed him even though it is likely that he could have escaped from confinement had he so desired. However, Socrates believed it was his duty to continue to serve the state and so acquiesced in the process.

SOCRATIC BELIEFS

It is from Aristotle and, especially, Plato that understanding of Socrates' beliefs may be found. Aristotle's main commentary is contained in *Metaphysics*, while Plato created a number of dialogues in which Socrates was supposed to have been a participant, notably in *Crito* and *Phaedo*, while his *Apology of Socrates* claims to be a set of speeches the philosopher made at his trial in making a case for his vindication. Both Aristotle and Plato report that one of his main philosophical methods is the use of syllogism in the effort to ascertain what a thing is. Socrates was concerned with the application of reason in the search for the true nature of humanity and of society, which was quite a different body of knowledge from that which occupied PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.

The syllogism is a technique that requires the pupil to question personal beliefs through answering the questions of the teacher. The pupil must first state a position in respect of some ethical concern, which is one that cannot be settled by an immediate objective test and is subjective. Socrates then poses supplementary questions that the pupil is required to answer by either an affirmative or a negative response. Socrates guides the dialogue until the pupil is obliged to come to the opposite of his or her original statement. Socrates uses this technique both as a philosophical tool, with which he develops knowledge by adding premises to those already existing and thereby developing the argument, while also claiming that he had no real knowledge of any sort, which could be demonstrated by the same method. This technique can be used by the skilled questioner to demonstrate the opposite of any moral position and comes close to the accusation made against the early Sophists that they would use debating technique merely to advance their own interests rather than in the pursuit of truth.

Socrates tried to bypass this accusation by claiming that he never taught anybody anything and that his technique merely pursued the answers to genuine questions, and that it was beyond his control (or even inter-

est) what those answers ultimately turned out to be. Socrates left himself open to accusations of impropriety by this method, and he was condemned by a number of people who supported the concept of immutable truths or moral guidelines for a variety of reasons. But this form of inductive reasoning is at the heart of the beginning of the scientific approach, which was subsequently used by Aristotle to start the classification of existing knowledge. The word Socrates used for the opposing premise used in constructing a syllogism was *irony*, and this concept has survived to the modern day as meaning an action that contradicts the words used to describe it.

Despite the complaints made about Socrates, he believed he was a staunch defender of the concept of absolute morality. He considered this the center of the soul's quest for truth and virtue, a quest on which the great majority of people had scarcely embarked. Only through a rigorous application of reason could there be any kind of understanding of true morality, which is that which also provides the greatest level of pleasure to the soul, the soul being identical with the individual. He rejected the existing religious concept that held the soul separate from the individual. Consequently, what is good for the soul is also good for the body. This leads to a connection with hedonism, which became more fully expressed through the work of Epicurus and his followers.

However, Socrates was more concerned to show that the pleasure a person derives from life and to some extent the value of a person's life depends on the soul's ability to understand true goodness. Only true goodness brings happiness, according to Socrates, because any activity that is not inspired by the quest for goodness will bring unintended unhappiness or misfortune to the individual, the surrounding people, or society as a whole. For this reason Socrates opposed early innovations with the concept of democracy since the majority of people were not to be trusted to be motivated by true goodness but, instead, false and probably unexamined desires. This should not really be construed as elitism since Socrates believed that the elite of society was no more likely to be properly educated in morality than anyone else. However, he would have maintained that he was the only person in Athens suited for rule, and that the optimum arrangement would have seen him installed as a tyrant like PEISISTRATUS.

THE LEGACY OF SOCRATES

As one of the seminal thinkers of Western philosophy, Socrates's legacy has been enormous. Perhaps his most influential legacy was one of the earliest—the distinction

between idea or concept and reality that was to become such an important part of Plato's thought. Socrates was also influential in the development of the educational system. He opposed the utilitarianism of the early Sophists and their tuition that was aimed at educating people and empowering them into achieving a better type of life. Instead, he believed that since virtue was the true goal of humanity but could not be taught, the proper type of education should center on the rigorous and personal search for reality. This led to a debate as to the purpose of education in society that has persisted until the present day. However, the Socratic idea that it is possible to lead the mind to profound truths without previous knowledge of the background to those truths is no longer widely supported in academic institutions. Instead the Western tradition features the mastery of content as well as the ability to guide the mind to the truths behind or beyond that content.

Socrates has also been considered a founding father of science and of agnosticism, although these attributions depend on contested ideas of exactly what he originally said and believed. It is perhaps in his trial and death that Socrates remains most central to the Western imagination. Some have conflated the charges of corrupting the youth of Athens with homosexual activities with his followers, which would have been a common enough activity at the time. He has been viewed as both foolish pederast and heroic supporter of the truth in an age of religious persecution and the suppression of freedom of speech. Existing Athenian popular sources referring to Socrates are mostly those found in satirical plays in which he is lumped together with Sophists as a kind of disreputable wordsmith with questionable hygiene habits. This representation clashes noticeably with the striking and compelling personality of Plato's descriptions.

His legendary status as defender of personal liberty has been buttressed by the notion that he would have been able to escape from confinement in Athens had he so desired. That he chose to stay and administer to himself the fatal poison renders him something of a martyr. According to Plato's account, at the moment of his death, Socrates was concerned with ensuring that all his remaining domestic duties and chores were complete.

See also EPICUREANISM; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; SOPHISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Soga clan

The Soga became the most powerful ruling clan in the early Japanese Yamato state between the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. The origins of the Soga clan are unclear, but they claimed to be descended from the Katsuragi clan leader who survived the purge of emperor Yûryaku in the fifth century C.E. Some scholars believe that the Soga were an immigrant family from the Korean peninsula. They moved to the Soga region of the Yamato state in central Japan and formed alliances with immigrants from the Korean kingdoms, providing scribal and managerial technical skills. The Soga clan's rise to power began with Soga no Iname, the head of the clan and the first Soga to hold the position of grand minister. He was victorious in the policy debates of 540 C.E. and married two of his daughters to Emperor Kimmei. However, neither of Iname's grandsons became heir to the throne.

The next Soga clan head, Soga no Umako, also grand minister, succeeded in marrying one of his daughters to Kimmei's son, King Bidatsu, and the couple produced a son who was one of three candidates for the throne. The Soga candidate was eventually enthroned as emperor Yômei after fierce military battles between the Soga clan and their rivals, the Mononobe, who also supplied a male heir to the throne through a Mononobe woman. Yômei took another daughter of Soga no Iname to be his queen, and the two produced the famous prince Shôtoku Taishi. The victory was short lived however when Yômei fell ill, and fighting between the Soga and Mononobe resurfaced. Again the Soga were victorious, and another male offspring of a Soga woman became the sovereign King Sushun. Once the main line of the Mononobe was massacred in 587 the Soga dominated court affairs.

Despite Sushun's connection to the Soga, rumors spread that Sushun would betray his uncle Umako, so Umako had him assassinated and Sushun's consort, SUIKO, became empress. Suiko ruled alongside her son and regent, Shôtoku, during a time when the Soga clan heads Emishi and his son Iruka attempted to assert Soga dominance by levying taxes and trying to expand their

lands. Suiko, despite being a part of the Soga, refused requests to expand Soga lands. Iruka even killed Prince Shôtoku's son. Histories of the time criticize the Soga for trying to become monarchs. The most tyrannical of the Soga patriarchs, Iruka, was assassinated in 645 in a palace coup that effectively ended the Soga rule.

The significance of the Soga dynasty was their importation of culture, government, and religion from China and Korea and their influence in domestic politics through marriage arrangements and intrafamilial assassination. The Soga supported Buddhism over other forms of court-related native religions, creating several large Buddhist temples, statues, and bells that attested to their power in the physical and spiritual realms. This support for Buddhism further antagonized other clans, who often held key religious-political positions.

See also YAMATO CLAN AND STATE.

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MICHAEL WERT

Sogdians

Sogdiana was the meeting point of Asia and Central Asia before 100 B.C.E. The Sogdiana area encompassed modern-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and was also called Transoxiana. The use of the word *Sogdiana* was an attempt to distinguish surrounding BACTRIA from Transoxiana, and the provincial Persian terminology has persisted in modern historical literature. *Sogdiana* was a collective term to describe the various principalities within its area. Positioned alongside the SILK ROAD, it is where Greco-Roman, Indian, and Persian culture collided. The major cities of Sogdiana—Samar-kand (Samarqand), Bukhârâ, and Pendzhikent (Penjikent, Panjikand)—enjoyed the fruits of trade that came with their positioning along the Silk Road and played an important part in establishing and maintaining trade relationships between Asia and Central Asia.

Merchants and trade caravans traversed the Silk Road during the early first century B.C.E. Contrary to popular belief, the Silk Road was actually a network of roads that crossed from China into Europe. It was at least 2,000 years old by the time the Chinese had set up

satellite towns along specific routes to facilitate trade and commerce. Some cities were the creation of such trade and were in existence from the Bronze Age.

Inscriptions dating to the reign of King DARIUS I (522–486 B.C.E.) refer to the Sogdian area as Sugudu or Sughuda (in Persian), and the whole region was under the patronage of the Achaemenids for some time. Each province functioned much like a separate state, with its own political, economic, and even social systems. Greek and Latin manuscripts speak of a “Land of the Thousand Cities,” roughly located in the area surrounding Bactria, and in 329 B.C.E. ALEXANDER THE GREAT overthrew the area, placing it under the control of his extended empire. Later, Transoxiana experienced various political changes due to a wave of strategic invasions led by nomadic tribes. The KUSHAN EMPIRE (an offshoot of a Chinese nomadic tribe called the YUEZHI [YUEH-CHIH]) established a state that encompassed the Transoxiana area, however Sassanians overthrew them in 300 C.E. The SASSANID EMPIRE is believed to have been partly responsible for the reformation of Sogdiana (politically, economically, and socially) and hence contributed to its rise among the trading cities along the Silk Road. Sogdian cities endured various foreign rulers such as the Samanids, who had their capitals at Samarkand and Bukhârâ, and the Mongols from 1219 to 1369 C.E. under Genghis (Chinggis) Khan and Tamurlane (Timur).

The area was a melting pot of religion and culture. Major religions included Buddhism, Manichaeism, ZOROASTRIANISM, DAOISM (TAOISM), and Nestorian Christianity, and all were tolerated by the Sogdians. Different ethnic and religious groups were free to worship any god until Islam became the dominant religion. From around the seventh century C.E. Islam strongly permeated the Sogdian area and as a consequence the area is renowned for its Islamic architecture and for the urbanization of the surrounding areas for irrigation, housing, and farming. The inhabitants were skilled linguists as they often acted as translators to the Chinese with whom they traded and delivered Buddhist scrolls. The spoken language of Sogdiana was primarily an Iranian dialect (Sogdian); however, due to the mixture of nationalities other languages as diverse as Tajik (Persian as spoken by Tajik ethnic groups of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), Mongolian, Greek, and Chinese were widely used. Indo-European languages spread quite quickly as the popularity of the trade route grew, and the numbers in the trading cities increased substantially. Written language was highly evolved. Sogdian script was derived from Aramaean script and was used to communicate business deals (among other things) between the trading cities along the Silk Road.

The Sogdian cities first participated in intracountry trade with China around 140 B.C.E. The great Chinese diplomat ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH’IEN) established commercial trade with the Sogdiana area as well as other parts of Central Asia. The Silk Road is thought to have originated from CHANG’AN (Ch’ang-an), a prosperous and thriving Chinese city whose markets sold silk, glassware, perfumes, and various spices. It is from this city that Asian traders journeyed to the west, passing such cities as Samarkand, Bukhârâ, and Pendzhikent.

Due to the wealth attained by commerce the cities of Samarkand, Bukhârâ, and Pendzhikent all had internal palaces, surrounded by housing, independent shops, and bazaars. Most bazaar spaces could accommodate more than 2,000 people. The inclusion of palaces pointed toward the existence of a sophisticated social network and hierarchy. Sections of the cities were transformed into market gardens that produced food for the city inhabitants, as well as providing a surplus for close intra-city trade. Most cities of sizable proportions were heavily fortified, its citizens protected by the walls of the city. The cities also had their own citadels outside of the city that offered added protection to inhabitants and wandering traders. Each city, though it encouraged trade, could be self-reliant when required. The Sogdian region was an area that traditionally had a strong Turkish and Iranian presence, politically, economically, and socially.

The trade routes between some cities were in heavy use, especially that between Samarkand and Bukhârâ, which was referred to as the Royal Road, or Golden Road. The area was famed for the production of artwork and architecture, and Sogdiana artisans were in high demand along the Silk Road. Pendzhikent and Bukhârâ were known along the route for their frescoes and murals, and Bukhârâ was believed to have functioned more as a city of artisans and scholars than as a commercial trading city, such as Samarkand. Bukhârâ was also infamously known for its trade in Turkish slaves, who were often used as city laborers or transported to Baghdad for use by the courts. Despite an emphasis on artworks by Bukhârâ artisans, Samarkand and Bukhârâ were seen as the two major trading towns in the Sogdian area. This perhaps contributed to the small size of Pendzhikent in relation to Samarkand and Bukhârâ.

Samarkand is one of the oldest known inhabited cities in the world. The original city was called Afrasiab (Samarkand expanded and outgrew the old city) and may have been Marakand or Marakanda, the Greek name given by Alexander the Great and his forces. It functioned as the eastern administrative region for the Achaemenid empire and functioned as the commercial



An 1860s photograph of residents near tea stalls in Samarkand, one of the oldest known inhabited cities in the world.

center of the Sogdian region. It was also named the capital of Mongolian rule in Central Asia by Tamurlane. The city had an eclectic and diverse history of rulers, having experienced mild domination by the Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, and Turkish empires. Though each empire had acted as an overlord of sorts, Samarkand, Pendzhikent, and Bukhârâ were able to maintain some degree of independence (much like a state would function within a country) and thus continued to flourish due to the influx of trade and the different social and cultural customs of the merchants.

Samarkand was considered the epicenter of trade in Sogdiana; the local traders had established a mint and produced their own coinage. The city was known for trading lustrous textiles and gilded ware (silver and gold). It had established profitable commercial trading ties with China to the extent that Samarkand traders lived in China and had established a trading embassy of sorts. Samarkand was also known for its military prowess and for the breeding of military grade horses.

Similarly, Pendzhikent was a highly organized and economically stable city. It was located southwest of Samarkand, overlooking the valley, and was the smallest of the satellite capitals. Pendzhikent acted as a capital of the local area before Samarkand rose in popularity and is believed to have been established around 500 B.C.E. It experienced a prominent role in the region during the seventh to eighth centuries C.E., mainly due to the trade and commerce brought into the region by the Silk Road.

The city was quite wealthy and had a well-established and famous bazaar that indicated a constant influx of traders and merchants had passed through. The city was used by the Hephthalites (an Iranian tribe believed to have ancestry with the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) of Central Asia) as a capital, then also by Persian invaders aiming to control the lucrative region.

Bukhârâ had strong ties with Samarkand and once functioned as a capital for the Samanids. The word *Bukhârâ* is thought to mean “favored place” in ancient Sogdian, or it is thought to refer to a Buddhist word *vihara*, meaning “place of learning.” Persian sources (verbal and written histories such as *Tarikh-i Bukhara*) speak of a city in the area after Alexander had established his sovereignty. It was already an established crafts center in 709 B.C.E. Archaeological sites have been uncovered that point toward the city being somewhat active during Kushan rule. A female, Khatun, ruled Bukhârâ on behalf of her son Bukhar Khudah Tughshada sometime before 670 B.C.E. Persian sources confirmed her existence when their invading forces came into contact with Sogdiana.

The Samanids were interested in trading with Europe, and coinage from Bukhârâ has been located as far north as Scandinavia. This points toward a sophisticated commerce culture, something that the three cities are well known for in their own right. The Sogdian cities enjoyed a relatively long period of influence in the area and even managed to survive numerous political, religious, and social changes. Samarkand, Bukhara, and Pendzhikent contributed greatly to commerce between Asia and Central Asia, even extending as far as the northern tip of Europe. They disseminated learning, in the form of manuscripts and scrolls, cultural exchange, and political and social tolerance.

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Solomon

(10th century B.C.E.) *king and religious leader*

The life of Solomon enters like a fairy tale into religious and political traditions, stretching from his life to the times of JUSTINIAN I and Muhammad some 1,600 years later. Israel became a political power and military empire never again achieved in its history when Solomon presided as king from 962 to 922 B.C.E. His reign brought unmatched prestige and prosperity to his people and civilization. On the other hand, Solomon also represents a life of precipitous moral decline. The traditions that claim his authorship or inspiration mark a man who squandered his inheritance and ended up in dissolution and lechery. As the Jewish Bible might paraphrase the lesson, it was the best of times for Israel as a nation of might, the worst of times for Solomon as a man of character.

He was born as the son of King DAVID, also called Jedidiah (the Lord's beloved). He was the son of Bathsheba, the woman whom David scandalously took while her husband was away fighting David's wars. Bathsheba's first son by David died in infancy, and perhaps Solomon was the second. After a period of court intrigue his mother succeeded in obtaining David's choice of Solomon as his successor. His 40 years as king were marked by a burst of public works. His most famous effort was the construction of the Temple, confirming Jerusalem as the religious center of the kingdom. Its beauty and its size were so touted by its pilgrims that it was eventually considered, like the DELPHIC ORACLE for the Greeks, as the center of the world. Solomon's successors made the Temple a symbol of unity and hope in their less glorious times.

Other building projects that Solomon began or oversaw were the fortification of major cities around his territory. A whole host of fortresses and military stations went up in the desert to the south, protecting the flank of Israel against marauders coming from Egypt or the Arab lands. Strategic cities like Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer became food storage cities to serve as refuges against invading armies from the north and northeast. They also prospered because they were on important trade routes. Archaeological investigations confirm a

higher standard of living for these times. Israel most likely served as a hub for trade coming from such places as Sheba (YEMEN) in the south, Phoenicia (Lebanon) in the north, and in Aramaea (Syria and Turkey) in the northwest. The Jewish Bible speaks of rulers of these lands paying homage to Solomon and of Solomon being involved with an extensive trade in horses, chariots, and timber. Remarkably, his kingdom invested in seafaring, something that ancient Israel invariably shied away from. The endeavor ended in failure, and Israel never tried again.

The moralizers who wrote about Solomon's kingdom were not reticent to speak about his character. Solomon was supposedly endowed with divine wisdom in a dream shortly after he assumed the kingship. Then two women came to him and claimed the same child as their own. As proof of his wisdom he discerned who the true mother was by a test. The legendary queen of Sheba also came to him seeking advice from the young king and went away marveling about his magnificence. Solomon's name was associated with poetry, songs, scientific investigations, and even the occult; the Jewish Bible says that Solomon's wisdom "surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt" (1 Kings 3).

Nonetheless, Solomon's writers then describe his downfall: womanizing. He acquired 700 full wives and 300 concubines. No doubt many of these were for political alliances with foreign peoples—in fact his son and successor, Rehoboam, was born from an Ammonite woman, and Solomon is recorded as building a special home for PHARAOH's daughter.

Nonetheless, the judgment of his biographers is negative. The foreign women brought their foreign gods, and the king compromised his exclusive devotion to the Lord. Internal opposition emerged as Solomon's projects required more and more taxation and national resources. One critic, Jeroboam, later became an insurrectionist and self-appointed king of the northern tribes (called Israel or Samaria), who seceded from the southern tribes (called Judah). External opposition also challenged Israel's temporary control of the region.

Among the many uplifting works attributed to him are the book of Proverbs and several psalms. The Songs of Solomon and Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) probably reflect darker days in Solomon's life when he was carried away by hedonism, materialism, and cynicism. Other works associated with him are not part of the Jewish Bible canon but are viewed as possibly divinely inspired: the Psalms of Solomon and Testament of Solomon. He seems to have been a role model for such later "good"



A blacksmith, sitting on a stool next to the throne of Solomon, is thought to be a usurper. The man explains to Solomon that the Temple could not have been built without tools made by blacksmiths (ironworkers), whereupon Solomon grants him a seat of honor.

kings of Judah as HEZEKIAH and JOSIAH. Even Byzantine emperor Justinian claimed that his famous church, the HAGIA SOPHIA, made him the Solomon of his day. In later history Solomon is cited as a heroic figure by the major religious traditions. JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH cites him as a wise man, and the Gospel of Matthew lists him as an ancestor of Jesus. Rabbinic Jews add to his lore their various tales, and the fathers of the church add to the lore surrounding him. Islam finds in him a good statesman and governor, and even the Ethiopian Christians of the ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCH claim him as a full ethnic ancestor.

See also ARAMAEANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PILGRIMAGE; PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA AND THE APOCRYPHA; WISDOM LITERATURE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Solon

(c. 635–559 B.C.E.) Greek politician

Solon was an important leader and lawmaker of ancient Athens, who brought political reform and stability to the region in the sixth century B.C.E. One of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, he also wrote poetry that still exists and demonstrates his philosophy. Some of the sayings attributed to him are, "I grow old learning something new each day," and "Speech mirrors action." Solon, son of Execestides, was born to a noble family. Athens at that time followed laws laid down by Draco—laws so cruel that the word *draconian* still connotes harsh and pitiless treatment. All power rested with the aristocrats; the poor became poorer and were often imprisoned for debt. Violent rebellion was a constant threat.

Not yet a center of culture or learning, Athens suffered several losses as it battled with a smaller city, Megara, over control of the island of Salamis. Solon returned to Athens after years of travel and trading and led the Athenians to victory against Megara c. 600 B.C.E. In six years he was elected archon, or chief magistrate, and

given unusual power. The city—or at least, the all-male, wealthy electorate—knew it faced a crisis. Plutarch says Solon was empowered as a lawmaker by the rich because he was wealthy and by the poor because he was honest. Solon warned that enslavement and oppression would lead to civil war, destroying rich and poor alike, and avoided it with the power he was given.

Solon cancelled all debts and mortgages, enabling the poor to keep their farms and allowing those who had fled indebtedness to return. Families who had been sold into slavery to pay off debts were brought home as well. To further safeguard the economy, Solon restricted food exports, standardized weights and measures, offered citizenship to craftsmen who settled in Athens, obligated children to support their aged parents, and ordered parents to provide for their children's futures with either land or training. Solon reclassified Athenian society so that taxes and duties were fairly distributed and created the Council of Four Hundred, a legislative body that would debate issues prior to a populace vote.

Solon repealed the death sentence that Draco had assigned to trivial crimes so that only manslaughter and murder received such punishment. Some of his laws were innovative, such as the one that stripped a citizen of his rights if he did not join a side during a civil war. Presumably, Solon saw danger in the inaction and apathy of citizens. Solon's laws were written on wooden tablets, mounted on display panels in public, and all citizens swore obedience to them.

Solon was urged to assume absolute authority and become a tyrant—at that time, an acceptable role. He refused and left Athens for 10 years. Popular legend tells that he met with the wealthy King Croesus and Aesop, the teller of fables. Solon learned of Atlantis during a trip to Egypt and wrote part of the story in his old age. He did not complete the work, but a distant relative, Plato, took up the story in his dialogues some 200 years later.

Returning to Athens, Solon found the people had split into factions. He took on the role of adviser and peacemaker. Eventually, his own cousin, Peisistratus, became a tyrant. Solon spoke against him without fear of reprisal and urged the people of Athens to throw off tyranny and servitude. When they did not, Solon retired to write and died in 559 B.C.E.

See also *ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY*; *GREEK CITY-STATES*.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

sophism

The development of thought and society in the democratic Athens of the fifth century B.C.E. and the increasing sophistication of society inspired and benefited a class of peripatetic philosopher-teachers who became known as the Sophists. There were numerous Sophists practicing their profession, and around 30 of them are particularly well known, including Protagoras, Isocrates, Gorgias, and Thrasymachus. Their teachings included not just speculation as to the nature and substance of the universe but also rhetoric and the art of life and politics. The education they offered was, therefore, a practical one and suited to contemporary life in Athenian society. Subsequent philosophers such as SOCRATES and Plato established permanent schools, and their education was more focused on the search for truth. Adherents of these later schools used the term *sophist* as a term of abuse to imply that the method of sophism deliberately failed to engage with the truth and used philosophical methods falsely to win arguments in an underhanded way. However, in the fifth century B.C.E. the term was not assigned to any one particular school of thought.

Perhaps the greatest of the Sophists was Protagoras of Abdera, who was active in approximately 450–440 B.C.E. He traveled from city to city teaching for pay. His particular area of expertise was in the practice of *arete*, which involves the development of political and rhetorical skill. He believed that because there was a subjective, human element involved in every judgment or decision, it was impossible to reach ultimate truth about any external phenomenon. Opposing statements could be made about anything, for example, the existence of the gods, without any means of determining what was true because of the imperfection of the human mind (or the shortness of life) and the complexity of issues involved. He observed: “Man is the measure of all things, of the existence of the things that are and the non-existence of the things that are not.” In other words, final or ultimate truth could not be known.

His fellow Sophist Gorgias, meanwhile, argued (perhaps satirically) that nothing exists, or if it does exist it cannot be known, or if it could be known it could not be communicated to anyone else. These forms of arguments were in opposition to the Eleatic school, which was then

flourishing in the southern Italian colony of Elea and was best represented by the thought of Parmenides and his pupil Zeno. Eleaticism featured the monistic belief that thought, expression, and existence all coalesced into being. The Sophists found this to be of little practical value in the Athens of PERICLES, where they mostly congregated and where the limits of personal influence were being extended for those not of noble birth. Exactly to what extent individual doctrines can be ascribed to individual Sophists is difficult to ascertain because knowledge of those teachings is mediated by the writings of Plato, whose dialogues feature debates between Sophists and more modern thinkers such as SOCRATES but whose audience would have been expected to know in some detail what individual Sophists taught and does not itemize those beliefs in detail. Other sources of early Sophist thought include the "Exhortation to Philosophy" by Iamblichus (third century C.E.) and the "Dissoi Logoi" of Sextus Empiricus (third century C.E.).

A particular use of antilogic employed by Sophists was the opposition of custom and nature. Possibly employing a line of thought that had been developed earlier, Sophists aimed to contrast the existing laws of society with the higher laws of nature, either because laws were not sufficiently rigorous to deal with the nature of humanity or, more commonly, to free people from unwanted restrictions.

This form of political discourse represented a feature that could be characterized as an attack on public morals, and so Socratic thinkers claimed it. A number of Sophists were brought to trial for impious teaching, not least because their ideas challenged the existing social order. Critias, for example, taught that the gods were invented by the powerful elites of society to intimidate and help tyrannize the rest of society. Prodicus suggested a sociological approach to the development of the gods of Olympus, while Protagoras, as has been shown, refused to accept that the existence of the gods could ever be known.

The Sophists were important as part of the development of education, politics, and philosophy. They represented an early example of the professional educator and the political tutor, one who tempered in his students the desire to succeed with the importance of virtue.

See also PLATONISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Sophocles

(496–406 B.C.E.) *Greek dramatist*

Sophocles was one of a trilogy of great Athenian tragic dramatists, along with AESCHYLUS and EURIPIDES. Sophocles was the greatest of these dramatists and was the most decorated of the three at theatrical festivals. Sophocles was born into a comparatively wealthy family. His father was an armor-maker who lived in Colonus, a small village close to Athens. Sophocles received a high level of education and was a golden youth, noted for his athletic abilities and personal beauty. At the age of 16 he had the honor of leading the formal celebrations in praise of the naval victory over the Persians at Salamis, which helped end the threat of the invasion of Greece.

He was also an actor in the earlier part of his life and received some fame and recognition. However, he abandoned acting in favor of civic and religious duties, in addition to his writing. He served as a *strategos* on three occasions, when he was elected as one of 10 Athenian officials placed in charge of military affairs. He was later elected a *proboulos*, which was one of 10 officials charged with overseeing the finances of the city. He also gave the oration at the funeral of Euripides, in the same year in which he himself later died. These achievements indicate that he was not only a popular individual who recognized the duties laid upon the privileged of Athens but also one trusted to enact important roles.

Sophocles wrote more than 120 plays, although only seven still exist in complete form. The most notable of these works is *Oedipus the King* (*Oedipus Rex*). However, Sophocles is perhaps better appreciated as an innovator of the theater rather than for the quality of his individual works. At the beginning of his career the Athenian stage was a somewhat inflexible and formalized institution, but as a result of Sophocles' innovations it became a place where dramatic tension and characterization could be more deftly manipulated. Perhaps his most important innovation was to introduce a third actor. Previously, only two actors were able to act onstage at one time, although it was possible for those actors to take other roles.

The third actor allowed a great deal more flexibility in the nature of the action and in the possible interactions between the characters. Sophocles was skilled in

creating characters with terse but powerful strokes that were capable of impelling themselves toward an inevitable doom through the possession of innate tragic flaws. This conception of tragedy was documented by ARISTOTLE and formed the basis of Western tragic drama. Other Sophoclean innovations include the expansion of the chorus and the intensification of the action through focusing on the resolution of the plot within a single play rather than a trilogy.

The play *Oedipus the King* recounts the story of Oedipus, who was initially the happy and fortunate king of Thebes, but whose fortune unravels as his bad-tempered arrogance leads him to kill an old man in an act that subsequently causes his kingdom to be plagued. He finally comes to realize that, through a combination of his own character flaws and the ineluctable nature of fate, he has married his mother and murdered his father. At the conclusion of the play Oedipus blinds himself and prepares to face the world in a state of utter desolation. The early play *Ajax* considers the conventional plot material of the Trojan War. The eponymous hero is outraged by his failure to murder the enemies he has made and kills himself. Odysseus, whose victory over Ajax in a contest had sparked the action, persuades the ruling Greeks to permit Ajax to be buried with dignity. This play shows a possibility of redemption in the character of Odysseus.

The play *Oedipus at Colonus* takes place between the action of *Oedipus the King* and of *Antigone*. Oedipus is wandering the world in desolation but refuses to assent to his son Polyneices and his request to take action against Creon. For thereby standing for honor and duty, Oedipus appears to transcend to divine status. The other important plays are *Antigone*, *Electra*, and the *Trachiniae*. Several hundred lines also exist of a satyr play and the names of various other plays exist, especially those rewarded by the 24 victories in the Dionysia festival, in addition to several other fragments. Sophocles rarely diverges from the orthodox religious conception of the universe and adds little to philosophical understanding. However, the power of his dramatic vision and some of the lyrical verse employed within it testify to his standing as a major figure in world literature.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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JOHN WALSH

Spartacus

(first century B.C.E.) *gladiator and rebel slave leader*

Slavery was widely practiced in the ancient world, though documentation of it is uncommon. Sparse records show that slave revolts were frequent. The ancient Spartans and other Greeks had slaves; in Sparta the conquered people of Messenia were tied to the land as agricultural slaves, called *helots*. The *helots* outnumbered the Spartans and fought for freedom but were kept under control for centuries by the militaristic, disciplined government. Other stories of Greek slaves include that of Drimakos, who led a band of escaped slaves on the island of Chios. They lived by robbery, so Drimakos negotiated a treaty with local landowners. The slaves agreed not to steal too much in exchange for being left alone, and Drimakos promised only to accept new runaways into his group if they could prove mistreatment at the hands of their masters.

Roman historian Livy tells of revolts south of Rome, involving men recently enslaved after the Second Punic War. Their plot to escape was revealed, and 500 slaves were arrested and executed. Within 12 years a revolt in Etruria and one in Apulia led to the execution of 7,000 slaves. Diodorus Siculus reported two major slave wars in Sicily. The first lasted at least five years and ended in 132 B.C.E. The second slave war occurred in 104–100 B.C.E. In both, Syrian slaves rallied around a leader with mystical powers and joined forces with a second slave rebellion. During the first war the slaves, some 200,000 strong, took over several cities until betrayal from within their ranks led to their downfall. A new law that freed some 800 slaves prompted the second war. Landowners complained, the manumissions ceased, and slaves revolted. A second group, led by Athenion, joined this slave army. Rome's Senate sent an army of 17,000 to defeat them. The Romans killed 20,000 slaves but won no firm victory until its general dueled with Athenion and killed him. A thousand slaves were dispatched to Rome to become gladiators, but all of the men killed each other when they learned of their destination.

Historians Plutarch, Sallust, Appian, Florus, and others reported the most famous slave revolt in 73–71 B.C.E.—that of Spartacus, a gladiator in Capua, who may

have once been a Roman soldier. Gladiators were slaves or enemies who had committed an offense deserving of special punishment; as a gladiator, Spartacus would have been trained to fight to the death. Spartacus and at least 50 other gladiators staged an escape from their combat school using kitchen knives as weapons. They hid near Mount Vesuvius and elected three leaders: Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus—the latter two from GAUL. They defeated the initial force sent from Capua to recapture them and were soon joined by other rebel slaves.

Italy's estimated population of 6 million included 2 million slaves, and revolt was taken seriously. Approximately 3,000 soldiers marched to the Vesuvius area but were tricked and defeated by the slaves. Another army engaged the slaves several times but was constantly outwitted by them. Spartacus's force grew: By some estimates it numbered 70,000 and included slaves from Gaul, Thrace, and the German tribes. The Senate was humiliated and afraid and dispatched consuls Publicola and Lentulus with nearly 9,000 men. Publicola defeated a force led by Crixus, but Spartacus beat both armies and marched his troops north to the Alps where they met and defeated the army of Cisalpine Gaul, led by the Roman governor.

While many of the details of Spartacus's revolt are confusing, a true mystery evolved at this point: Spartacus, so close to escape and freedom, turned his army around and headed south again. After months of enduring raids up and down the Italian peninsula, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the most powerful man in Rome, gathered legions of men and began a hunt for the slaves and their leaders. When one of his legates led two legions into an unwise attack, Crassus had one of every 10 of the soldiers clubbed to death by his fellows, a practice called decimation.

After a failed attempt to cross the sea to Sicily, Spartacus drove further south. Crassus began to build a wall across southern Italy, trapping the slaves. They would not be trapped, however, and crossed the trench that was dug, even though thousands of them died. Still in the south, the slaves won a victory against one part of Crassus's army but were finally defeated. Crassus lost only 1,000 men, but the battlefield was littered with more rebel corpses than the Romans could count, and Spartacus was among the dead. Five thousand slaves escaped but were cut down by the army of POMPEY, Crassus's rival, and Crassus pursued other rebels into the mountains. About 6,000 survivors were rounded up and crucified along the Appian Way, the road leading from Capua to Rome.

More revolts are recorded in the ROMAN EMPIRE after Spartacus's time, including a rebellion of gladiators

during NERO's reign. As late as the third century C.E. a gang of 600 slaves led by Bulla eluded capture for two years. None of these reached the proportion of Spartacus's army, though, and none endured through millennia, as Spartacus's story has, to inspire and serve as a symbol of resistance to oppression.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

Stoicism

Stoicism was a belief system founded by Zeno of Citium at the end of the fourth century B.C.E., at a time when the system of GREEK CITY-STATES was coming to an end and apparent chaos was about to descend. Stoicism reflected this situation until the end of its period of influence, about the beginning of the fourth century C.E. Important additions to the philosophy were made by Chrysippus and subsequently by the Romans SENECA, Epictetus and MARCUS AURELIUS. The term *stoicism* was developed from the *stoa*, or column, alongside which Zeno customarily taught.

The early period of Stoicism is closely associated with Athens, where successive generations of philosophers had flourished and helped associate the city with the tradition of thought. However, influential early Stoics arrived in Athens from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean, showing how Greek culture had spread, most particularly as a result of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquests. Zeno was born on Cyprus and traveled to Athens at the age of 22, where his early career was associated with the Cynics, and there is an undercurrent of cynicism in Stoic thought. The Cynics believed that happiness, a suitable goal for humanity, can only be achieved by focusing the mind on what can be achieved and what is under the power of the individual. Since physical phenomena such as personal health and wealth are beyond the control of individuals, they should not be regarded as appropriate goals.

The only things that can be controlled are personal virtue and mental fortitude. To this, Stoics added the concept of logos, which is divine reason and the inspiration

of the universe. The presence of logos divides matter into the passive and the active, all of which combines to make an integrated whole. Logos, cognate with the fire aspect of the four elements, makes up the human soul and the reason of the soul, which is at one with the nature of the material of the universe, and can be fully expressed only when it fully comprehends its place in the universe.

As a result of the nature of the material that makes up the universe, it follows that people are formed with various desires and attributes that are entirely natural. In common with most forms of Greek philosophy, Stoicism aimed to find the ideal relationship between the individual and nature. Aiming to achieve the desires with which people are naturally endowed, for example, for security, comfort, wealth, was a perfectly acceptable form of behavior.

However, it was possible for the individual to approach these goals in the wrong way, owing to imperfections in personal perception, which is the method of seeking to understand the universe. The true Stoic, therefore, should have a rigorous grasp of true perception and an understanding of the reality of the universe, and this tends to lead to a certain acerbity of character. Moral duty and personal virtue are inescapable characteristics of a properly Stoic individual.

The second period of Stoic thought occupied the first and second centuries B.C.E. and was dominated by the philosophers Panaetius and Posidonius. These men made some alterations to the nature of Stoic thought but did not significantly change the basis of the philosophy. They were more interested in restoring Stoicism to its Platonic and Aristotelian roots. This conflicted with the additions of Chrysippus, who had added an ethical component to Stoicism that had not been present in Zeno's teaching. Posidonius and Panaetius were largely responsible for the popularity of Stoicism in Rome, where it was seen as a moral corrective to the temptations of conquest and empire. This was recorded in the second book of CICERO's *De Natura Deorum* (*On the Nature of the Gods*).

Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) achieved prominence both for his scholarly works, which adopted Stoicism for the Roman world, and for his tutelage of NERO and subsequent position as joint regent emperor of Rome. His works provided consolation to BOETHIUS in prison, and he then later restated the philosophy as a means of escaping from the trials of the world by rejecting the importance of transitory events and phenomena. The freed slave Epictetus (c. 55–135 C.E.) established his own school of Stoicism that focused on practical humanity and individual freedom. He favored universal justice

and the cultivation of a calm indifference to the slings and arrows of fate. Since failure was an inevitable part of human life, it was not to be condemned; only hypocrisy and falsehood was to be avoided. The thought of Epictetus had considerable impact upon subsequent Christian thought. It was warmly embraced by Marcus Aurelius (121–180 C.E.), emperor of Rome.

Marcus Aurelius maintained a personal journal in which he recorded his thoughts and moral injunctions, most of which were drawn directly from Epictetus's statements of Stoic philosophy. His *Meditations* have subsequently become extremely influential in shaping subsequent thought of the Western world.

Stoicism has been one of the most enduring thought systems to emerge from ancient Greece. Its influence can be traced to numerous subsequent schools of thought, including various forms of Protestantism and Puritanism. In focusing on the separation between the attainable and the worthless and its concentration on the moral imperatives of the individual, Stoicism has proved useful in many contexts.

See also ARISTOTLE; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PLATONISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Suiko

(d. 628 C.E.) empress of Japan

Suiko ruled Japan from 592 to 628 C.E. alongside her regent, the crown prince Shotoku Taishi. She was the daughter of Emperor Kimmei and his consort, a woman from the powerful SOGA CLAN. After Kimmei's death his son Bidatsu took the throne, and Suiko, his half sister, became his wife. Bidatsu soon died, and another of Suiko's brothers, Yomei, became sovereign until his death two years later. A subsequent power struggle over the throne ended in victory for the Soga as Sushun, one of Suiko's half brothers, took the throne. However, the

head of the Soga clan, Umako, did not trust Sushun's growing resentment toward the Soga, and Umako had him assassinated in 592 C.E. After his murder Umako asked her to accept the throne, which she conceded. Shôtoku became her regent and coruler.

Scholars used to emphasize Shôtoku's role over Suiko's in the governing of Japan, stating that Suiko merely served as the head priestess of the court *kami* worship. This is due in part to Chinese texts that focused more on Shôtoku's activity. In Confucianism males rule over women, and thus the Japanese court may have used Shôtoku as the proper male representative in its relations with China.

It is also possible that Confucian scholars chose to write more about their interactions with the Yamato state through Shôtoku rather than Suiko. Some scholars note, however, that Suiko was active in sending the Yamato state's first embassy to China in 600 and established relations with the Korean kingdom Silla in 621. Both Japanese and Korean sources demonstrate that Suiko was just as active as Shôtoku in her administrative rule over the Yamato state.

Suiko even asserted her rule against attempts by her uncle Soga no Umako to expand the Soga clan's power. She rejected Umako's request for more land, claiming that future scholars would castigate her for being a foolish woman if she allowed the Soga clan to obtain more power. An overly powerful Soga clan encroaching on the power of the sovereign was said to be analogous to two kings in one kingdom, which was like having two Suns in the sky. Suiko's death in 628 created a power vacuum that led to yet another showdown between the Soga and their rivals.

Crown Prince Shôtoku had died before Suiko, and Suiko died before declaring an heir. The Soga forged documents that stated Suiko preferred the Soga-backed candidate of her two remaining sons. The forgery and authoritarian rule by the Soga, especially that of Iruka who used the military to eliminate his critics, pushed opponents to join forces in a coup. Iruka was assassinated in 645, bringing an end to Soga power.

See also YAMATO CLAN AND STATE.

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Sulla

See MARIUS AND SULLA.

Sumer

Sumer is the name for the region of southern Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates (modern-day southeastern Iraq and Kuwait), settled during the third millennium B.C.E. The Sumerians were a non-Semitic people whose place of origin and ethnic identity remains unknown. The Sumerian civilization may have been the first to invent writing. Sumerian early writing, called CUNEIFORM, consisted of drawing pictures on clay tablets with a writing instrument called a stylus. Originally used to keep economic and administrative records, the art of writing later expanded to include religious texts such as hymns, prayers, and myths. Due to their extreme age, these texts are often not fully understood by modern scholars.

According to some scholars the earliest form of government in Sumer appears to have consisted of something like a primitive democracy with elected leaders who occupied two main offices known as the *en* and the *lugal*. In addition to these leaders, the government had a bicameral legislature consisting of two groups: a council of elders and a body of younger, military-aged men. The offices of the *en* and the *lugal* were not hereditary and would later be replaced by kings in the Early Dynastic Period (c. 2900–2300 B.C.E.). During the period of the monarchy the city-state was the main type of government. Each significant city governed a small amount of territory, which also included smaller towns and villages. Some of the prominent cities include Kish, Lagash, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, and Nippur. Although each city was autonomous and had its own particular deity, the city of Nippur served as the religious center of Sumer.

Between c. 2334 and 2154 B.C.E. the empire of AKKAD interrupted Sumerian control of southern Mesopotamia. Founded by SARGON OF AKKAD and ruled from the city of Akkad, this empire stood for nearly two centuries until it finally succumbed to internal anarchy and external pressure from a foreign people known as the Gutians. After an interlude of a little over two centuries, the original Sumerian population reasserted itself and regained control c. 2112 B.C.E. The result was the Ur III dynasty, which was governed from the city of Ur. Sometimes called the "Sumerian renaissance," the Ur III period was a reestablishment of Sumerian power and culture. This Indian summer of the Sumerian civilization featured building programs, the flourishing of the arts and literature, and the emergence of

law codes. This revival did not last long, however. After about 100 years the Ur III dynasty fell in 2004 B.C.E., eventually to be replaced by the Babylonians.

Sumer left a lasting impression on the cultures that followed. Some of the inventions the Sumerians contributed include writing, the city-state, the wheel, legal documents, and schools. Although the language of Sumer is not related to any other known language, it had some influence on Akkadian, the Semitic language that eventually became the dominant language of the ancient Near East. The influence of Sumerian culture, however, continued through the later periods of the Babylonians and the Assyrians in their mythology and historiography.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; CUNEIFORM; FERTILE CRESCENT; GREEK CITY-STATES; SCRIBES.

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DEWAYNE BRYANT

Sunzi (Sun Tzu)

(6th century B.C.E.) *Chinese general and author*

Sunzi means “Master Sun” in Chinese. He was also known as Sun Bin (Pin) or Sun the Cripple because his feet were amputated as punishment for some crime. He was the putative author of a book titled *Sunzi Bingfa* (*Sun-tzu ping-fa*), or the *Art of War of Sunzi*, which analyzed warfare and strategy. He lived toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. and led the army of one of China’s warring states to victory. In time Sun became almost a legend.

Several new groups of men gained prominence during the Warring States period (487–221 B.C.E.), when warfare among the Chinese states became intense and large scale. One group was the diplomats, who could negotiate successfully. Another group was the professional warriors, because valor in battle provided one avenue of upward mobility for the officers and exemption from taxes and labor services and rewards for common soldiers. Strategists and tacticians were also in demand; Sunzi belonged to this group.

The *Sunzi Bingfa* opens thus: “The art of war is of vital importance to the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence under no circumstances can it be neglected.” The work consists of 13 chapters: Laying Plans, On Waging War, The Sheathed Sword, Tactics, Energy, Weak Points and

Strong, Variation of Tactic, The Army on the March, Terrain, The Nine Situations, Attack by Fire, and The Use of Spies. Each chapter is short and succinct. For example, chapter 3, “The Sheathed Sword,” opens this way: “To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting. In the practical art of war, the best thing of all is to take the enemy’s country whole and intact; to shatter and destroy it is not so good. So, too, it is better to capture an army entire than to destroy it . . . Thus the highest form of generalship is to balk the enemy’s plans; the next best is to prevent the junction of the enemy’s forces; the next in order is to attack the enemy’s army in the field; and the worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities.”

The *Sunzi Bingfa* has been an influential book for Chinese generals since the fourth century B.C.E. It was first translated into French in 1782 and was translated into English in 1905. It has been used as a textbook in all Western military academies since the early 20th century and, more recently, in business schools because the strategies it offers are applicable to many endeavors.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Susa

See PERSEPOLIS, SUSAN, AND ECHTATANA.

Syracuse

In 421 B.C.E., with the establishment of the Peace of Nikias, Athens and Sparta managed to set a provisory truce on the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.E.). However, a period of mutual suspicions and instability followed, which created new conflicts for both poleis and their allies. In the winter of 415 B.C.E. the Sicilian city of Segesta decided to ask for Athenian support against their neighbor Selinus, which was helped by Syracusan forces. According to Thucydides (in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*), Athens agreed to organize and send 60 ships to the island under the joint command

of ALCIBIADES, Nikias, and Lamakhos. Full power was granted to the three generals in order to assist Segesta.

Strong debates were held concerning the opportunity and the need of the expedition, and Nikias expressed his view against the inconvenience of sending troops far from Athens with an imperialist goal. However, the people supported Alcibiades in favor of the expedition. Shortly before the departure of the fleet a shocking event interpreted as a bad omen took place: It is recorded that in one night almost all of the statues of Hermes in the city (known as the *Hermai*) were mutilated. This violent destruction of the busts was seen as a clear act of conspiracy against the state. Alcibiades was suspected in the episode, and claims for responsibility were presented against him. But he had a popular image and was not immediately charged.

The huge fleet, composed by Athenian and allied *triremes*, constituted the biggest military expedition ever conducted in classical Greece. They left Athens in June 415 B.C.E. and, after joining other forces in Corcyra, reached Sicily. As soon as it was clear that Segesta had no money to support the military deployment, the generals clashed: Whereas Nikias proposed a return to Athens, Lamakhos wanted an immediate attack in Syracuse, and Alcibiades suggested some initial negotiations with the enemy. Informed about his condemnation in Athens, Alcibiades decided to escape to the Peloponnesian islands, where he contacted the Spartans. However, the other two generals followed his plan and decided to put off the main attack. They settled their fleet in Catana, where Syracusan troops under the command of Hermokrates prepared for combat. A first encounter between cavalry forces occurred, and the Syracusans had to flee the battle camp.

During the winter both parties discussed alliances with different cities in Italy, reinforced their military capacity, and built defensive walls. Called in to help by the Syracusans, a Spartan contingent under Gylippos arrived in the city and successfully held some skirmishes with the Athenians, turning the tide. The Athenians received reinforcements from DEMOSTHENES and Eurymedon. Nonetheless, this support was not enough to overcome the local horsemen.

A mistake by Nikias, who decided to postpone the Athenian homecoming, sealed their defeat: Syracusan and Spartan vessels took advantage of the situation, attacked the rival ships in the harbor, pushed them into the shore, and started a blockage. Athenians decided to leave camp, guided by Nikias and Demosthenes. But they were obliged to split troops in two, and after final encounters with Syracusans, both generals were forced to surrender (413 B.C.E.).

Many Athenians were massacred, a few escaped and asked for refuge in Catana, and the remaining were taken as prisoners under harsh conditions. The effects of this catastrophic expedition put the POLIS at stake. Even if Athens was able to go on with the war against Sparta for another nine years, the truth is that the Sicilian disaster entailed an absolute loss of power and clearly represented the beginning of its final military and political decadence.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

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EMILIANO J. BUIS

Syriac culture and church

The Syriac culture and church are found in northern Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers, dominated by the cities of EDESSA, Nisibis, and Mosul (from west to east). Syriac, a form of Aramaic, was spoken throughout this area from the time of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH to the 13th century C.E., when Arabic prevailed. Its culture is often traced back to the Aramaic and Assyrian civilizations. Sebastian Brock, a noted Oxford scholar, calls the Syriac culture and church an authentic Semitic descendant of the biblical world and an ancient voice of early Christianity.

Beginning in the first century C.E. Christianity spread quickly in the Syriac region. The fifth-century *Doctrina Addai* tells of the disciple Addai sent by Thomas the Apostle to convert the people of Mesopotamia. There are second-century Christian writings in Syriac such as the Odes of Solomon and the Acts of Thomas, and there is likelihood that other books only available in Greek or Coptic, such as the Pseudo-Clementines and the Gospel of Thomas, were composed originally in Syriac. The famed teachers Bardesanes and Mani, who founded their own widespread sects, began in the Syriac-speaking Christian communities. Many other groups and movements had their beginning here as well: the Elkesaites and the Mandaeans of southern Iraq and the Christian ascetics called the Encratites, the celibate and elusive “Sons and Daughters of the Covenant.”

The principal Roman city of the region, Antioch, was its link to the West, while its link to the East was Persian Ctesiphon (Baghdad). Thus, the cradle of Syriac culture was on the frontier between the two empires and civilizations. The effects of this geographic position were dramatic: The Syriac Church split in 484 according to its location, with the establishment of an autonomous (Assyrian) church in the Persian domain and the remaining (Syrian) church in the Roman domain. Another split occurred in the sixth-century Syrian Church, with one side identifying with the adherents of Council of Chalcedon (Melkites), the other side dissenting (Syriac Orthodox). All three Syriac-based groups claimed their biblical roots in Antioch, the city out of which Peter and PAUL launched their missions. Their political affiliations varied: the Assyrians identified with the Persians, the Melkites with the Romans and Byzantines, and the Syriac Orthodox somewhere in the middle.

Among the Syrians, the Melkites were concentrated in urban and Hellenized areas (Antioch, ALEXANDRIA, and the Mediterranean coast), while the Syriac Orthodox were in the countryside and hinterlands. The Syriac Orthodox adherents were not alone in their resistance to the Council of Chalcedon: Together with the Egyptians, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Ethiopians, they formed the core of the ancient ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES. The divisions between the Melkites and the other Syriac churches were mainly a result of cultural, linguistic, and political factors rather than theology. The Syriac churches formally rejected the Chalcedonian Creed that Christ has two natures, divine and human, in one person as an innovation of the ancient traditions. Their Byzantine (Melkite) opponents incorrectly held them to be Monophysites, heretics who believed that Christ had only one nature. In fact, the Syriac position was that "Christ is perfect God and perfect man" and was only slightly different from the Chalcedonian formula.

The fourth through the sixth centuries were the most prolific era for Syriac writers. During this time the language came to flourish in its classical forms of Jacobite (*serto*) and Eastern (Nestorian), together with Estangelo, the common written language. The Syriac Bible, called the Peshitta, was written early enough in the development of Judaism and Christianity that it was one of the oldest witnesses to the scriptural text. The *Diatessaron*, attributed to Tatian, is an indispensable witness to the gospel texts of the New Testament. Some of the notable religious writers of this period include Aphraates (fl. 336–345), EPHREM the Syrian (d. 373),

Narsai (d. c. 503), Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), and Philoxenus of Mabbugh (d. 523). Their elevated prose and poetry manifest in metrical homilies and hymns, some of which spread into the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH. The secular chronicles and histories of Syriac origin are valuable for filling in the gaps left by Latin and Greek works. Some of the outstanding early historians include John of Ephesus (c. 575–585), Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor (c. 580), and Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).

By the early 600s Syriac missionaries had spread their religion as far east as China. The Assyrian Church maintained valuable connections to the silk and spice routes, so they were able to carry their religion into far-flung areas. Syriac Orthodox villages and churches were oftentimes swallowed up by the Persian Empire as the Romans and Byzantines retreated toward the Mediterranean Sea. But they did not fight the new regime because they had experienced disparagement and persecution from their Melkite coreligionists and former Byzantine rulers.

By contrast, the Assyrians and the Syriac Orthodox often took positions of influence in science, administration, and education among the Persians, Muslims, and Mongols. Many scientific and philosophical books, otherwise lost to the West during the early Middle Ages, were transmitted from their Greek origins to the Arabs by way of the Syriac scholars. Syriac missionaries are legendary for spreading Christianity into India, where their descendants are called Thomas Christians (because of their purported link to the mission of Thomas the Apostle). They follow customs that show affinities with Judaism. In fact the largest group of Syriac Christians resides in contemporary India.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; ARAMAENS; ASSYRIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHEBUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; FERTILE CRESCENT; GEORGIA, ANCIENT; HELLENIZATION; NESTORIUS AND THE NESTORIAN CHURCH; SASSANID EMPIRE.

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Talmud

The Talmud of Judaism is a collection of commentaries. It is the extended and loosely organized elaboration of selected tractates of the MISHNAH, an earlier religious book. Its contents are not limited by the Mishnah but often serve as the base for wide-ranging discussions. Ancient rabbis found all kinds of reasons for recording their discussions on Talmudic topics, and this eventually became the constitution of medieval Jewish life. It is the source for the TORAH among rabbinic Jews today, binding on orthodox Jews. Legal rulings within the Talmud are called the Halakhah, and the interpretations and the stories that support the rulings are the Hagga-dah. Technically the Talmud means the whole body of rabbinic materials, namely, the Mishnah and its later commentaries, while the Gemara refers specifically to the commentary on the Mishnah. In common parlance, however, the Talmud refers to the Gemara, or commentary on the Mishnah, written between 200 and 600 C.E.

The writers of the Talmud are the “sages” of various periods of Jewish history. The rabbis before the Mishnah are called the *tannaim*, from a Hebrew word meaning “teach” or “repeat.” The rabbis who lived after the Mishnah are called the *amoraim*, from an Aramaic word meaning “discuss.” The *sevoraim* come after the *amoraim*, and their name comes from the Aramaic word for “reconsider” or “rethink an opinion.” Finally come the *geonim*, from the Hebrew word for “learned,” usually applied to the authoritative later teachers. The Talmud loosely follows the organization of the Mishnah,

divided into the orders or tractates, then chapters, and then paragraphs. The technique of developing the topic is to go over each phrase of the Mishnah and discuss it thoroughly. Sometimes digressions slip in and go on for pages before the Mishnah lines are taken up again.

For several generations sages debated and consulted about the meaning of the Mishnah. These discussions were collected and passed down orally or as makeshift documents. Additions and revisions and shifting within the collections meant that they were not standardized texts. Sometimes free associations of ideas and even extraneous materials were included and added to the confusion of the collections. As time went on, rabbis felt free to comment on the original commentaries in order to give clarity and relevance. The earliest comments were mostly law related: brief, apodictic statements of law; later, comments were longer dialectical treatments of laws and principles.

There grew to be two centers where Jews compiled available Gemara into their own Talmuds: Palestine and Babylonia. The Yerushalmi, or Palestinian, Talmud mostly reflects the work of Galilean rabbis, and it was completed by the mid-fifth century C.E. It is characterized by brevity and an absence of clarification and editorial transitions, which is in keeping with its early dating. Its discussions are seen as elliptical and terse, but occasionally dialogues arise and show development of argument and resolutions. The Bavli, or Babylonian, Talmud was completed by the year 500 C.E. However, there are discussions that show development over a longer time period (450–650). The Bavli is far more worked out than

the Yerushalmi. It is more sophisticated and technical and formal for introducing source materials, considering objections and counterobjections. The *sevoraim* took a much bigger role in the Bavli, composing entire sections, especially introductions and transitions. In general, the Bavli is of a superior literary quality and logical clarity, and it is much longer. The last period of the Talmud teachers, the *geonim*, consists of Bavli authorities.

The Bavli leaves out a lot of the first order (“Blessings”) because many of the issues concern obligations that do not apply outside Israel. Harder to explain is the Bavli’s fascination with the regulations concerning the Temple—not found in the Yerushalmi. Otherwise, the two books of Talmud mostly cover the same ground. The Bavli gradually grew in its influence over the Yerushalmi. It is clear the Babylonian *geonim* of the latter part of the first millennium C.E. were more prestigious than the Palestinian rabbis. Diaspora Jews gradually adopted the Bavli as their primary book. Palestinian Jewry declined, while the Diaspora communities spread throughout Spain, Portugal, and North Africa. Another blow to the Jews of Palestine and their Talmud was the CRUSADES.

At a certain point the Talmud always meant the Bavli, and that Yerushalmi only applied where the Bavli was silent or ambiguous. And the momentum continued: It became the focus of more and better commentaries and larger numbers of scribes. Modern scholarship therefore has more to work with in terms of Bavli materials, while Yerushalmi is less polished and extensive.

Early Mishnah study and commentaries were oral, so that the Gemara was in the beginning an approximation of the spoken tradition. There is no reason, then, to speak of the “original Talmud,” and there are many parallel texts in various centers of Jewry. Standardization of text has come largely because of the Diaspora Jews’ adaptation to the modern world and eventually their access to the printing press and formation of education institutions. All these factors stood in favor of the Bavli. It is traditional to believe that MOSES presented the Torah as the written laws for Israel but that his rulings about various applications of the written laws were passed on orally at the same time.

As medieval Judaism developed more and more oral laws to interpret the Torah and to expand its application, the rabbis gave credit to various legendary non-biblical figures (the “Great Synagogue” officials, Hillel and Shammai and YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI). The only historical person to corroborate this process is JUDAH HANASI, who presided over the compilation of the Mishnah around the year 200 C.E.

The mode of composition is in dialogue form, a bit like the dialogue between SOCRATES and his followers. Questions regarding the Mishnah are introduced and then the dialogue seeks after causes and origins. The lengthy digressions are the Haggadah, while the conclusions are the Halakhah. While this method may strike the modern reader as drawn out and boring, it actually is a novel way of dealing with the complexity and monotony of legal rulings. The Talmud contains the rejected as well as the accepted opinions of the rabbis. The Talmud is a book of laws and opinions on the laws. Rarely does it appeal to the reader’s sense of inspiration and elevated speech. To the casual reader the rabbis appear as judges, teachers, and public administrators, and that was their role within the medieval Jewish community. The personalities of the thinkers—the rabbis—were not important in the Talmud, but the legal chains of thought were. Their genre was the text commentary, and even today the Talmud text page contains the text surrounded by several later celebrated commentaries.

The religious current of the text is deeper and more satisfying. The law is a source of God’s creativity and thus a gift to Jews and a joy to fulfill. The task of the rabbi is to apply this law to every aspect of life, an opportunity and not a burden. In fact, by expanding the oral Torah, the rabbis were imitating what previously God accomplished through the written Torah. Thus, study and application of Torah were engaging in a form of divine creativity. Everyone was expected to join in the creative process, whether it was the ascetic holy man who studied 20 hours per day, or the common Jew who studied Torah only at the Sabbath service. Rabbinic skill was expressed in finely honed argumentation, and the argumentation became a sign of holiness. The rabbis taught that they became a “kingdom of priests and a holy nation” when they sufficiently studied and understood the Torah.

Rabbis were elected and rated according to their command of the Talmud. As medieval rabbis devoted themselves to Talmudic studies, they enhanced their stature as community leaders. As a result they had to work out their relationships with the political rulers of the lands where their Jewish followers were. The Roman authorities, the Byzantine governors, and even the designated Jewish officials (the Jewish patriarchs and the exiliarchs) eventually had to accommodate the rabbis. Nonetheless, the rabbis kept a low political profile. The rabbis found their niche in the internal religious life of the Jews (marriages, divorces, religious rituals, calendar, and the education of the youth). Their opinions were treasured much like medieval Christians valued the fathers of the church.

The Talmuds are the major sources of information about Jewish culture and religion in the period of late antiquity and the early medieval period. Often its pages reveal even earlier stages of Jewish life and culture—perhaps preserving fragments of teachers and teachings of the period after the last writings of the Bible and before the completion of the New Testament. The problem is that the Talmuds add layer upon layer of editing so that the original historical kernel cannot be identified with certainty. Another problem with determining the historicity of the Talmud came from outsiders: Christians often censored or destroyed copies of the Talmud in various regions of Europe. Often, in order to avoid destruction, Jews submitted the Talmud to censorship so that early rabbinic discussion of such topics as JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH or EARLY CHRISTIANITY was lost or scattered.

See also JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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Tantrism

Vajrayana Buddhism, or Tantrism, is a form of Buddhist thought that has flourished in northern India and particularly Tibet. The term *vajra* is a Sanskrit word that can mean either “diamond” or “thunderbolt.” Vajrayana Buddhism provides enlightenment in a single lifetime, rather than as a result of numerous incarnations as posited by other forms of Buddhism. These means, which are known as *upaya*, include meditation techniques, thought exercises, chanting, and sexual practices. Like Mahayana Buddhism, Vajrayana Buddhism aims to recreate the experience of GAUTAMA BUDDHA and to enable the individual to attain Buddhahood, rather than just to escape from the endless wheel of death and rebirth that is caused by attachment to the insubstantial things of the world, which is the goal of Theravada Buddhism. Like the other forms of Buddhism, Vajrayana Buddhism also enjoins upon the follower to take such measures as proper behavior, abstinence from

intoxicants, and supporting the monkhood. An alternative name for Vajrayana Buddhism is Mantrayana Buddhism, owing to the practice of reciting mantras to escape from the human desire to grasp illusory and impermanent sensory data as reality.

Vajrayana Buddhism developed from Mahayana (or Great Vehicle) Buddhism around the sixth–seventh centuries and was particularly influential until the 11th century. Tibetan adherents claim that Sakyamuni Buddha taught the tantras as secret texts that were preserved in writing some time after the sutras. A tantra is a continuum that flows from fundamental ignorance to enlightenment, as well as being the text in which this message is recorded. Tantras include continua of the path, the ground, and the result. Three inner tantras, in addition to six outer tantras, once mastered, offer the capability of entering the Buddhahood. This is managed through sophisticated mental techniques that facilitate the resolution of states of mental dissonance into one of enlightening union. The three inner tantras are the Mahayoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, which are the generation stage, the perfection stage, and the Great Perfection (*dzogchen*) stage. The Indian spiritual leaders Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Buddhaguhya (among others) introduced them. Their works have been subsequently collected in multiple-volume canons, notably in Tibetan translation by Buton Rinchen-drub (1290–1364). The different collections of works gave rise to different schools of Vajrayana thought.

Vajrayana adherents stress the importance of the teacher-student relationship and the esoteric transmission of knowledge and *upayas* through that relationship. Not only is meditation involved but also ritual chanting, the drawing of mystical charts, and the practice of tantric sexual congress with female priests known as *yoginis*. The most well known repetitive chant is *Om mane padme hum* (ah, the jewel is indeed in the lotus), which when repeated can help the mind overcome dissonance. Sexual congress is important in the quest for enlightenment because it is part of the attempt to resolve and unite opposing principles. In addition, as one of the Four Delights, it aims to unite bliss with emptiness, by means of liberating the body’s energy center to receive the pristine cognition of supreme delight.

In some cases tantric activities, including sexual yoga, became associated with occult activities and sacred drinking of alcohol. Tantrism on the island of Java, for example, included drinking and fornication with *yoginis* that rather scandalized some visitors, unaware of the purpose of the rituals. Kertanagara (r. 1268–92), the last king of Singosari on Java, for example, was obliged to protect his people and demonstrate the legitimacy of

his kingship by combating the demoniac energies loose in the land through seeking ecstasy through bouts of drinking and sexual congress. Kertanagara was unfortunately murdered in the course of one of these bouts. Tantric practices are also associated with Hinduism and differ from Buddhist tantrism accordingly.

Vajrayana Buddhism was influential in Tibet and India, but has also been practiced in Central Asia, China, Java, Nepal, and what is now Pakistan. In addition, the Mongols adopted aspects of Tibetan Buddhist practice and helped spread them through the Asian continent. Variations of tantric practice spread further, although often dissociated from the essence of Vajrayana Buddhism. In aesthetic and artistic terms Vajrayana Buddhism has inspired the creation of the mandala, which is a representation of the universe employed in meditation. A series of concentric circles identifies the individual and the womb and its connections with wider reality. Characteristic forms are found in China, Japan, and Tibet. Tibetan versions are one form of *thang-ka* (*tanka*), which are cloth paintings that may be used in personal meditation, used for display, or in processions. They are created according to a series of strict canonical rules and began to appear from about the 10th century.

See also THERAVEDA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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Taoism

See DAOISM (TAOISM).

Teotihuacán

Located some 25 miles northeast of Mexico City in the Basin of Mexico, the massive ruins of the great city of Teotihuacán have long puzzled and intrigued observers. Despite more than a century of archaeological investigation, many mysteries remain about the people who built, ruled, and lived in this vast urban complex. The city was founded in the first century B.C.E., just north-

east of Lake Texcoco, which lay at the basin's center. Its builders were most likely the former inhabitants of the ancient ceremonial center of Cuicuilco, at Lake Texcoco's southwest corner, which was destroyed in the eruption of the volcano Xitle around 50 B.C.E. Construction on Teotihuacán began soon after the abandonment of Cuicuilco. The city flourished for the next 600 years, dominating most of the central highlands, before its partial destruction and abandonment around 650 C.E.

The city's civic and ceremonial core was built in stages, from its beginnings in the first century B.C.E. to its completion by 300 C.E. Carefully designed in a grid-like pattern, the core was dominated by several towering structures connected by a broad avenue: the massive Pyramid of the Sun; the slightly less imposing Pyramid of the Moon; the Temple of Quetzalcoatl (Plumed, or Feathered, Serpent); and the large open-air Citadel. Scholars offer varying interpretations of its builders' intentions regarding its orientation, with the Avenue of the Dead at 15.5 degrees west of south. Some argue that it is aligned with solar equinoxes; others, with the constellation Pleiades; others, with the nearby Cerro Gordo volcano; still others have proposed mathematical relationships between the city's orientation and the sacred 260-day calendar. All agree that its exacting alignment carried deep meaning for its designers and builders.

Its largest and oldest vertical structure, the massive Pyramid of the Sun, was built over a series of caves (discovered in 1971) whose interior chambers were modified and used extensively during the pyramid's construction phase (1–150 C.E.). In Mesoamerican mythology caves were linked to the underworld, the dwelling place of the gods, and the origin of creation, suggesting that the pyramid's location held profound cosmological significance to its designers.

Estimates of the city's population range from a low of 80,000, to a high of 200,000. During its first century its population grew rapidly, reaching perhaps 80,000 by 150 C.E., with many thousands of people from the Basin of Mexico migrating to the city. Growth slowed in subsequent decades, with the city's population reaching its height probably around 200 C.E. In the 200s and 300s a series of more than 2,000 apartment or residential compounds were built to house the city's huge population. The sizes and qualities of these compounds varied considerably, suggesting an intricate system of socioeconomic stratification based on wealth, occupation, status, and lineage. Most scholars agree that persons claiming a common lineage inhabited these compounds.

Different districts or neighborhoods within the city also varied widely. In some areas, specialized craft or

artisan workshops predominated. Elsewhere, distinct ethnic enclaves are evident, most notably, a cluster of some dozen compounds evidently inhabited by Oaxacans from Monte Albán.

A “merchant’s neighborhood” has been identified near the city’s eastern perimeter. Throughout much of the city, however, it is difficult to identify specific qualities that defined its spatial demographics. While the remnants of walls can be found in various parts of the city, there is no evidence that the city as a whole was walled. An estimated two-thirds of the city’s inhabitants worked in agriculture, in the fields surrounding city, with the remainder engaged in various types of craft production.

The inhabitants of Teotihuacán employed a system of notational signs but had no system of writing comparable to the Maya during this same period. Scholars have identified no grammatical or phonetic elements in the notational system and thus do not know what languages its inhabitants spoke or what they called themselves. Some scholars have proposed that its rulers sought to create a secretive, mysterious symbolism; others suggest that the signs’ meanings were probably clear to their creators and those who viewed them. The artistic style at Teotihuacán is repetitive, uniform, and

somewhat stiff, in sharp contrast to the great variability of styles and motifs among the Maya city-states.

Religion was practiced in at least two distinct spheres: at the level of the household and village and at the level of the state. Village- and household-level religious practices focused on ancestors and deities linked to specific lineages. There is no evidence that these household- and village-level religious practices were in conflict with the state or that there was any organized or lower-class resistance to the state or ruling groups. State religion was very distinct from village-level religion, emphasizing especially the cult of the Feathered Serpent, most graphically expressed in the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, with its hundreds of huge sculpted heads gracing its massive walls and stairs. Other major state deities included what is commonly called Tlaloc, the rain god (though interpretations differ on whether this was indeed Tlaloc), the storm/war god, various death and underworld gods, and what E. Pasztory has termed the Great Goddess.

State religion focused on legitimizing the dominance of ruling groups and providing ideological underpinning for the state and its political, military, and ideological dominion within the Basin of Mexico and beyond.



Located northeast of Mexico City in the Basin of Mexico are the massive ruins of the great city of Teotihuacán. Despite extensive archaeological investigation, many mysteries remain about the people who built, ruled, and lived in this vast urban complex.

This was a highly stratified and militarized society with both extensive and intensive military capacities. The city dominated the Basin of Mexico, though probably not much beyond it, and regardless of the extent of its direct rule, it carried enormous ideological prestige throughout Mesoamerica. Perhaps providing a template for the later Aztec military, Teotihuacán's armies were divided into military orders associated with particular creatures, such as the eagle and jaguar. Its military forces consisted of both commoners and elites that fought in disciplined groups and were highly effective in their use of dart- and spear-throwers (*atlatl*) and obsidian-studded clubs.

The city's impressive military capacities and ideological prestige worked together to facilitate exchange and trade relations with neighboring polities. Trade routes, as far south as Central America and as far north as the present-day U.S. Southwest, linked the city to all of Mesoamerica's significant polities. Long-distance trade was especially active in prestige items, such as shells, ceramics, obsidian, mica, hematite, jade, turquoise, and cinnabar. Marketplaces within the city were especially important, some suggesting that the Great Compound was also the city's central marketplace, with cacao serving as a form of currency. Ritual human sacrifice was practiced at Teotihuacán, though the practice is depicted in the city's artwork principally through portrayals of human hearts, some impaled on knives. Skeletons of sacrificial victims have been unearthed in the Pyramid of the Sun, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, and other buildings.

The decline of the great city was rooted in long-term ecological crises, particularly water shortages, deforestation, and soil degradation, trends exacerbated by a series of invasions or attacks by nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples from the north. Between 500 and 600 these deleterious ecological processes had become irreversible. Around 650 much of the city was destroyed by fire, probably by external assailants, and most of its buildings and compounds were abandoned. The core ceremonial area around the temples saw the greatest destruction, suggesting a conscious effort to incapacitate the city's ritual and ideological power. By 750 the city was completely abandoned. Some six centuries later, upon their arrival into the Basin of Mexico from the northern deserts, the Aztec would look upon the ruins of Teotihuacán as the dwelling place of the gods. Today Teotihuacán remains one of Mexico's most popular tourist attractions.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Tetrarchy

The Tetrarchy, or "rule of four," was a reform of the Roman imperial government initiated by the emperor DIOCLETIAN in 286 C.E. This was a total change of the *princeps* system begun by the emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR in 30 B.C.E. Augustus, despite his name of "revered one," was addressed while emperor as "*princeps*," or "first citizen," and his imperial rule was built informally around government offices of the Roman Republic. His true power had come from a combination of the office of tribune and his role in society as "first citizen." Diocletian, on the other hand, changed the position of Roman emperor from one cloaked in republican virtue and office into a full Eastern-style monarchy. Access to the emperor was limited under Diocletian and he was addressed as "*Dominus Noster*," or "our lord." This change in the imperial system had two main goals. The first was a more efficient military command and control, and the second was an attempt to change the way the emperor was chosen.

Diocletian had good reason for instituting new changes for the Roman world. Prior to Diocletian's imperial rule, beginning in 286, the Roman world had seen what historians now call the Crisis of the Third Century. Since only 235 C.E., which had seen the death of the emperor Alexander Severus, Rome had been ruled by generals, by some accounts as many as 50. During the exceedingly short rules of these generals, Rome had been raided by Vandals and Goths and attacked outright on her eastern border by the SASSANID EMPIRE. While the ROMAN EMPIRE was both politically and militarily unstable, Rome was also in terrible financial straits. The Roman Empire had seen years of hyperinflation due to the debasing of the coinage. When Diocletian came to power, he had ample reason to introduce reforms, reforms that some scholars say saved the empire for two more centuries.

This new imperial system was designed first to provide for an increased military command capacity within the empire. No longer would the Roman army sit only

on the frontiers, but there would now be a “defense in depth” policy. The army would patrol the farthest reaches of the empire and also provide a defense for all Roman territory. Diocletian secured these changes with two fundamental alterations to military policy. The first was a *de facto* division of the empire into an eastern and western half, with each half having its own emperor. Beneath these two emperors, who held the title of Augustus, were two junior emperors who held the title of Caesar. In all, the new imperial college would contain four members: two Augusti and two Caesari. For the military this allowed for a total of four military commanders who could campaign on the very edge of empire, without the others having to worry about a victorious general being elevated to the rank of emperor by his troops. In addition to the edges of empire, there would be military resources and military commanders for the new defense in depth policy.

The imperial college was also intended to create a sense of stability in the empire. The political division between East and West was not intended to be a true division. In fact, all imperial decrees continued to be made in the name of all four men of the imperial college. This allowed for a sense of stability during the sometimes-unstable transfer of power between Roman rulers. The previous *princeps* system of government had for hundreds of years left the empire with no formal way to choose a new emperor after the death of the previous reigning emperor. Diocletian’s reforms sought to rectify this. In theory, when the senior Augustus died, his Caesar would be elevated and would in turn choose a new Caesar. In this manner the Caesar would gain both experience and legitimacy with the Roman populace.

In practice, however, Diocletian’s reforms did not even last for one full transfer. In order that he see his system of succession put into effect, Diocletian decided to retire after 20 years as emperor and forced his co-Augustus, Maximian, to retire as well. When this occurred, each man’s Caesar was elevated to the imperial throne, and two new Caesari were chosen. Maximian did not agree to this forced abdication, and eventually he attempted to regain his position as head of the Western Roman Empire. This failure by Maximian marked the beginning of the end of the Tetrarchy. By the end of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT’s reign in 337, most of Diocletian’s reforms had failed. The rule of Constantine and his progeny was marked by civil war and competing imperial claims, just as had been the case before Diocletian’s reforms of 286.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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STEPHEN GRIFFIN

Thebes

In the *Iliad* Homer famously described the city as “hundred-gated Thebes.” However, Thebes is better understood as an entire site that encompassed the east and west banks of the Nile, containing temples and palaces, the dwelling-places of the living and the everlasting homes of the dead. On the east bank were the temples of Amun at Karnak and Luxor. The ancient city lay to the east of the great temple of Karnak. As the temple expanded, the city had to move and was laid out on a grid plan. Across the river on the west bank, bordering the strip of cultivated fields, stood the mortuary temples of PHARAOHS from the Middle and New Kingdoms. Behind them lay the cemeteries of the nobility, while beyond in the desert valleys, the tombs of kings and queens of Egypt. On the west bank was the village of skilled craftsmen and scribes, who worked on the royal tombs, their burial places, and those of commoners. In effect there were two Thebes, one for the living, the other for the dead. Ironically, the mud-brick city of the living has long vanished under the fields and houses of the modern city of Luxor, while Thebes of the dead on the west bank remains one of Egypt’s primary tourist locations. It is one of the largest archaeological sites in the world.

Thebes lies about 400 miles south of Cairo, just south of the Wadi Hammamat where the Nile Valley comes closest to the Red Sea. The Egyptians called the town Waset, “dominion,” and later simply Nìwt, “the city.” Although there are some remains from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods (3100–2181 B.C.E.), it was a small town, the capital of the fourth nome (district) of Upper Egypt. The Greeks would name it Thebes after the principal city of Boeotia in Greece. A family from the Theban nome ruled Upper Egypt at the close of the First Intermediate Period (2181–2055 B.C.E.). One of these rulers, Mentuhotep II (2055–04 B.C.E.), gained control over all Egypt founding the MIDDLE KINGDOM. His mortuary temple lies beside that of the female ruler Hatshepsut, at Deir el-Bahri. Although subsequent pharaohs moved away from Thebes, the rulers



The ancient city of Thebes lay to the east of the great temple of Karnak. As the temple expanded, the city had to move.

of the Twelfth Dynasty (1985–1795 B.C.E.) made it the capital of Upper Egypt.

At the end of the Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 B.C.E.), the local Theban princely family drove the Hyksos from Egypt and reunited the “Two Lands.” This inaugurated the NEW KINGDOM, the time of Thebes’s greatest glory and that of Amun, its god. The Eighteenth Dynasty (1570–1293 B.C.E.) ruled from Thebes, with the brief exception of AKHENATEN (1350–44 B.C.E.). The rulers of this dynasty built extensively at Thebes. The present temple of Amun at Karnak was begun at this time and endowed, enlarged, and embellished right down to the Greco-Roman period. The pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1293–1185 B.C.E.) moved their capital to the eastern Delta, but Thebes remained a prestigious religious center and burial site. Power inevitably passed into the hands of the high priests of Amun, who controlled a huge clerical corporation that owned land all over Egypt. By the end of the New Kingdom (1069 B.C.E.) the priesthood of Amun controlled two-thirds of all temple lands and 90 percent of Nile shipping. Thebes was sacked and looted by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in 664 B.C.E. By this time the importance of the city even as a religious site had begun to diminish as successive foreign conquests, Persian, Greek and Roman, forced Egypt to look north to the Mediterranean.

On the east bank of the Nile stand the temples of Amun at Karnak and Luxor. The site at Karnak includes the temple of Amun, the temple of Mut (the Mother), his wife, and the temple of their son Khonsu, a moon god. To the north of the precinct of Amun sits the temple of Montu, the old falcon war god of Thebes. At the south, at the end of an avenue of sphinxes, is the

temple at Luxor. This is dedicated to Amun in his fertility aspect: It was called the “Place of Seclusion.” It was the destination of the Theban Triad at the “Beautiful Festival of Opet,” celebrated in the second month of the Inundation. Statues of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu were placed on their barques, loaded onto barges, and towed amid scenes of great jubilation from Karnak to Luxor.

Thebes of the dead on the west bank is a rich archaeological site. At Deir el-Bahri, the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut preserves the illustrated record of the expedition to the fabled land of Punt that she ordered. There are several well-preserved mortuary temples including that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. The Valley of the Kings contains the famous tomb of Tutankhamun, the tomb of Ramses VI with its astronomical ceiling, and that of Thutmose III. The Valley of the Queens holds the magnificently restored tomb of RAMSES II’s chief wife, Nefertari. Any Theban palaces, built of mud brick, have long since vanished. Even the grand palace of the opulent Amenophis III at Malqata on the west bank has disappeared. However, the site of the craftsmen and artisans’ village at Deir el-Medina and their tombs opens a window into the lives and hopes of ordinary Egyptians.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT.

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JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

Themistocles

(c. 524–459 B.C.E.) *statesman and general*

Themistocles was a great Athenian statesman and general who played an important role in the Second Persian War by leading the Greeks to victory. Born to an Athenian father, Neocles, and what seems to have been a foreign mother, Themistocles demonstrated great potential from an early age. He is said to have spent his leisure time in youth composing and performing mock speeches, unlike other children who remained idle or engaged in play. An early teacher of Themistocles told him the following: “there is going to be nothing insig-

nificant about you; somehow or other you will become a great man, either for good or for evil.”

With much determination Themistocles strove for greatness in action and longed to distinguish himself from others, both politically and militarily. Themistocles also fought the Persians at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, and while most Athenians were convinced that the victory at Marathon would keep the Persians at bay, he believed otherwise. He sought to ensure that his city and its inhabitants would be ready for the enemy's return. Themistocles successfully persuaded the Athenians to increase their naval fleet by building more than 100 ships with the silver that was mined at Laurium, despite the many arguments against the idea and the desired alternative of distributing the wealth.

His effectiveness was due to the fact that he played on popular Athenian fears of Aegina, a traditional enemy; however, Themistocles himself was undoubtedly preparing for the next encounter with Persia. Additionally, Themistocles persuaded his fellow citizens to believe in his interpretation of a prophecy given by the priestess at the DELPHIC ORACLE. It spoke of a wooden wall and great destruction at Salamis. While others felt that the allusion to a wooden wall meant the Athenians should hide behind the wall of the Acropolis, Themistocles convinced them that the wooden walls represented the naval fleet and that the Athenians were destined to win the battle at Salamis against XERXES. Sure enough, in 480 B.C.E. the enlarged Athenian fleet met the Persians to wage the naval battle of Salamis with the courageous Themistocles at the helm.

Themistocles managed to bring many of the GREEK CITY-STATES together to fight on behalf of a common goal and against a common enemy, despite their recurring internal animosities. Largely due to the Athenian general's wisdom the Greeks managed to fight in the narrow strait of Salamis, which was crucial for the Athenian advantage. Despite being outnumbered by nearly twice as many Persian ships, the Greeks fought valiantly and came out victorious in the end. The judgment and timing of Themistocles was instrumental as he crowded the large Persian fleet in the strait and used the winds as well as the maneuverability of the smaller Greek triremes to ram and sink more than 200 enemy ships while only losing roughly 40 of his own. The Persians eventually retreated, and not only was Greece saved, but so too was Western civilization. Themistocles was generously honored for his leadership, and the historian HERODOTUS wrote, “Themistocles was acclaimed throughout the whole of Hellas and deemed to be the wisest man by far of the Hellenes.” As a political leader

Themistocles rebuilt and fortified Athens, which had suffered prior to the successful naval battle.

The initial respect and praise that Themistocles was showered with quickly came to an end. Such was the nature of a fickle citizenry and manipulative rulers who used the city-state's democratic structure to their advantage. By 471 B.C.E. Themistocles was ostracized by his political opponents and forced to live in Argos for a number of years. He was later summoned back to his native city due to criminal charges of treason, which were likely fabricated by his rivals in Athens. Convinced of certain failure against such powerful adversaries and trumped-up charges, he went into self-imposed exile. Ironically, he eventually ended up in Persia. Themistocles managed to convince the Persian king that he arrived voluntarily as an ally and that it was because of his decision making that the Hellenes had not pursued and destroyed more retreating Persian ships at Salamis. Having successfully convinced and wooed the king, the bounty that was formerly on Themistocles' head was removed and instead the reward was given to him. After learning the Persian language Themistocles became a consultant on Greek matters in the Persian king's court. He took up residence in Magnesia, one city of three in Asia Minor that he was additionally rewarded with.

However, around 459 B.C.E. the Persian king called upon Themistocles not simply for the purposes of consultation but to fight directly against the Greeks. Instead of tarnishing and undermining his earlier reputation and the deeds done on behalf of his homeland, he is said to have called a banquet with friends at his home in Magnesia whereupon he poisoned himself. Disagreement persists surrounding the factual manner of Themistocles' death, and it is not certain whether it was truly his loyalty to Athens that drove him to suicide. In any case the life and story of Themistocles remains a legendary and heroic one that continues to serve as an example of how a single man as both statesman and general can have a significant impact on a political community and important historical events.

See also OSTRACISM; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

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TREVOR SHELLEY

Theodoric

(c. 454–526 C.E.) *Ostrogothic ruler*

Theodoric the Great was king of the Germanic tribe of the OSTROGOTHS, who dominated the western Balkans in the fifth century C.E. He received a Roman education during his teenage years spent as a political hostage in CONSTANTINOPLE under the watchful eyes of the Byzantine government. When he returned to his people, Theodoric took up arms against the empire and gained additional land, a position in the Byzantine military command, and imperial rank. Faced with a powerful and sometimes hostile neighbor, Byzantine emperor Zeno encouraged Theodoric to attack Italy where another German, ODOVACAR, had deposed the last legitimate Roman ruler, Romulus Augustulus. Theodoric and his Ostrogoths migrated to Italy, defeated Odovacar, and ruled as the representative of the Byzantine emperor. His capital was in the northeastern Italian city of RAVENNA, located on the Adriatic Sea.

As ruler of Italy, Theodoric attended to the redevelopment of this land. He encouraged settlement to areas that had been depopulated due to war and fostered agricultural production and trade. He was also concerned with the repairing and building of walls, aqueducts, churches, and other buildings in Roman cities. Several of his impressive monuments still stand in Ravenna, including the Church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, the Arian Baptistery, and his own mausoleum.

Although a German king, Theodoric respected Roman traditions. Since the majority of the subject population was Roman, Theodoric respected prevailing structures of government, from local urban magistrates to the Roman Senate, as well as Roman law. Many Romans served in his court, such as BOETHIUS and Cassiodorus, two of the most important Latin authors of the period. Even the pope and the Roman Senate received him in the city of Rome, where he stayed for a short period before returning to Ravenna. Besides developing a certain harmony between cultures, Theodoric was also a shrewd and powerful German king, cognizant of the reality of German power in the West. He sought to expand his kingdom and also to secure his position. He married a sister of Clovis, the king of the Franks and founder of the Merovingian dynasty, and joined his family by marriage to the kings of the Vandals, Visigoths, and Burgundians.

The Italian cultural harmony was made more difficult by the fact that the Ostrogoths were Arian Christians, while the Roman population was Orthodox Christian. They differed theologically over their understanding of Jesus's relationship to God the Father, whether he was

created (Arian) or begotten (Orthodox). The Orthodox condemned Arian theology at the COUNCIL OF NICAEEA (325) and Council of Constantinople (381). At first Germans and Romans joined together as allies against the East. But when rapprochement occurred between Rome and Constantinople, Theodoric feared a Byzantine invasion with potential Roman support.

Making matters worse, the Byzantine government began to persecute Arians in the early 520s. Theodoric commenced a more hostile approach to his Roman population. Roman officials were accused of collaboration and arrested, among them Boethius, who wrote his *Consolation of Philosophy* while awaiting his execution. Theodoric sent the pope to negotiate with Constantinople but did not trust him and, upon his return, imprisoned him. Theodoric died in 526, only a few years before the start of the Byzantine invasion that did, in fact, end Ostrogothic rule.

See also ARIANISM; LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Theodosius I

(c. 347–395 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Theodosius was born in Spain and followed in his father's footsteps as an able military commander. This changed when his father was condemned and executed, and Theodosius withdrew from public life. The Western Roman emperor desperately needed his talents in 378 C.E., when the German Goths defeated the Roman army and killed the Eastern Roman emperor at the BATTLE OF ADRIANOPE and overran the Balkans. Theodosius was recalled to military command and promoted to Eastern Roman emperor in 379. He recruited a new army (including many Germans), fought the Goths, and made peace by settling them as independent allies (*fœderati*) inside the empire. They ruled their own people, provided military service, and received positions in the empire's military command.

It was a precarious situation, but it restored a level of order and security. Theodosius's military ability was also demonstrated by two victorious campaigns against western usurpers in 384 and 394. In the latter campaign, the usurper murdered the Western Roman emperor but

was defeated by Theodosius, which left him sole emperor for the entire empire from Britain to eastern Anatolia. This was the last occasion when a single emperor ruled both halves of the ROMAN EMPIRE. Theodosius governed not from Rome in the West but at CONSTANTINOPLE in the wealthier and more populous East.

Theodosius was a zealous Christian. When he fell ill in 380 and believed that he was near death, he was baptized. It was not uncommon to wait until just before death for baptism in order to wash away sins. However, he recovered unexpectedly, becoming the first emperor to reign as a full member of the church. This gave bishops tremendous influence during his reign.

When Christians destroyed a Jewish synagogue in an Eastern city, Theodosius ordered the local bishop to pay for its restoration. AMBROSE was appalled, believing that this demonstrated the triumph of Judaism over Christianity. He demanded the emperor rescind his order if he wanted to stay in good standing with the church. The emperor yielded. In 390, after Theodosius had massacred several thousand citizens in Thessalonica for the murder of his military governor, Ambrose threatened Theodosius with excommunication. The emperor again yielded, publicly repenting for his action.

When Theodosius had first reached the East, he found the church struggling against ARIANISM, even though Arian theology had been condemned at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325). Theodosius expelled Arian clergy in Constantinople and firmly stood by the Orthodox Church, including Patriarch Gregory Nazianzus. He called the Second Ecumenical Council that met in Constantinople in 381 and ended the Arian threat. Theodosius also supported the church by legislating against non-Christians. He closed pagan temples, banned pagan sacrifices, ended the pagan Olympic Games, and declared Orthodox Christianity the official religion of the empire. Henceforth, loyalty to the emperor was determined by adherence to his theological position. Upon his death in 395 his younger son Honorius ruled in the West, while his older son Arcadius ruled in the East. The dynasty of Theodosius ruled the empire until at least 450.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; LATE BARBARIANS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism

Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism (often called northern Buddhism) are forms of Buddhism, a spiritual religion and philosophy created by GAUTAMA BUDDHA (b. c. 566 B.C.E.) and followed by more than 700 million people worldwide. Developed over thousands of years, Buddhist tradition ultimately leads to what is called enlightenment, becoming a Buddha, and breaking the cycle of reincarnation. Mahayana, derived from Theravada Buddhism, dominates in India, China, Taiwan, Tibet, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Theravada is often called southern Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism is more conservative and is popular in Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Myanmar (Burma).

After his enlightenment the Buddha delivered his first sermon and set the framework for his teachings, consisting of the Four Noble Truths. Buddha laid out the fundamental principles of nature that ruled the human condition. He taught that these Four Noble Truths were the way people should frame their experiences. The Four Noble Truths are Dukkha, the suffering of people, stress, and discontent of ignorance; Samudaya, the cause of this dissatisfaction is desire; Nirodha, the cessation of desire and the achievement of nirvana (extinguishing or liberation); and Magga, the path of practice that leads out of suffering and into nirvana, Noble Eightfold Path. Buddha wandered the Indian plains for 45 more years. Along his travels he taught what he had learned in the moment of his awakening. Around him a community of monks, and later nuns, developed from every tribe and CASTE. These followers believed in his path, or dharma, and devoted themselves to his teachings. Buddha did not call himself a deity, nor did he wish to be worshipped.

THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS AND THE EIGHTFOLD PATH

Buddhist tradition teaches that living in ignorance of the Four Noble Truths is due to inexperience and desire to frame the world on one's own terms and thus, one remains bound to the cycle of birth, life, aging, illness, death, and rebirth in another life. Craving and desire propel this cycle over the course of countless lifetimes in accordance with karmic actions. The Buddha taught that gaining release from this cycle requires adherence to each of the Four Noble Truths and to assign a task to each one. The first is to comprehend, the second to abandon, the third to realize, and the fourth to develop. The full realization of the third is the path to enlightenment and the achievement of nirvana.

The Noble Eightfold Path is a set of personal qualities that must be developed. It is not a sequence of steps along a linear path. The Noble Eightfold Path is the right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The development of the right view and right resolve, wisdom, and discernment facilitate the movement of right speech, right action, and right livelihood, the three factors associated with virtue. As virtue develops, it is thought that the factors associated with awareness, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration are further developed. Buddha taught that the practitioner is then lifted in an upward spiral of spiritual maturity that eventually leads to enlightenment.

As the practitioner begins the Noble Eightfold Path, an individual's well-being is not predestined by fate, nor is it left to the whims of a divine being or by random chance. Responsibility for happiness is only dependent on the individual. With this realization it is taught that habitual ignorance is replaced with awareness. The practitioner is then mindful of his or her actions and chooses them with care. At this point some followers make the personal commitment to become enlightened and become a Buddha.

Buddha died at around the age of 80. His last words were "Impermanent are all created things; strive on with awareness." Naming the religion and philosophy he founded the Dharma-vinaya, the doctrine and discipline, Buddha created a social structure supportive of his practice. The monks and nuns who followed his teachings organized and preserved his teachings for prosperity, although none of his teachings were recorded until hundreds of years after his death.

Buddhism is sometimes criticized as a negative, or pessimistic, religion and philosophy in its assertion that life is suffering and disappointment. The Buddha based his teaching on what is considered a frank assessment of the plight of human life. Practitioners believe that the Buddha offered hope for an end to suffering. His teachings were thought to offer the reward of true happiness and the cycle of rebirth. Although release from the cycle of rebirth means to become extinct after death, this extinguishing is considered the ultimate freedom from suffering.

Assimilating Hindu, Persian, and Greco-Roman influences, Buddhism grew across India, Central Asia, and Eastern Asia into the first century B.C.E. In the third century C.E. the emperor ASHOKA of India converted to Buddhism, sponsored several monasteries, and sent missionaries into neighboring countries. During this period the practice spread across India and into Sri Lanka. As Buddhism spread, differing interpretations of the

Buddha's original teachings emerged, which led to the differing schools of Buddhism. One of these gave birth to a sect called Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle), and from it emerged Theravada (the Lesser Vehicle, also the Teaching of the Elders). Due to the pejorative nature of the terms and the historical regions in which the two branches became popular, the two sects are often called northern Buddhism and southern Buddhism.

THERAVADA BUDDHISM

Theravada Buddhists believe that they practice the original form of Buddhism as it was handed down by the teachings of Buddha. The doctrine of Theravada Buddhism corresponds with the recorded teachings of Buddha and is based on the Four Noble Truths. Through the practice of the Eightfold Noble Path, an individual can eventually achieve nirvana. However, Theravada Buddhism primarily focused on meditation, the eighth of the Eightfold Noble Path, and emphasized a monastic life removed from society. In addition, Theravada Buddhism required an extremely large amount of time to meditate. These strict ideas were not practical for the majority of people. The Theravada texts are written in a language called Pali, which literally means "text" and is based on a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect probably spoken in central India during Buddha's lifetime. Pali was originally a spoken language with no alphabet. It is thought that Ananda, Buddha's cousin and personal attendant, committed the Buddha's teachings to memory. After the Buddha's death, Ananda and 500 senior monks recited and verified the sermons they heard. Because the teachings were committed to memory, the teachings begin with the words "Thus I have heard..."

Teachings were passed down orally within the monastic community. The body of classical Theravada literature consists of Buddha's teachings arranged and compiled into three divisions. The Vinaya Pitaka, "basket of discipline," concerns rules and customs. The Sutta Pitaka, "basket of discourses," is a collection of sermons and utterances by the Buddha and his disciples. The Abhidharma Pitaka, "basket of higher doctrine," is a detailed psychological and philosophical analysis of the dharma. Together, these are known as the TRIPITAKA, "three baskets." By the third century C.E. monks in Sri Lanka created a series of commentaries on the Tripitaka, and by the fifth century they were translated into Pali as the Tipitaka. Since then the Tripitaka has been translated into many different languages. However, many Theravada students commit to learning Pali in order to deepen their understanding of the Tripitaka and related commentaries.

The Tripitaka and related commentaries are not considered statements of divine truth to be accepted by pure faith. The teachings of Buddha are to be experienced and assessed through personal experience. It is the finding of truth in the teachings of Buddha that matter, not the words of the teaching themselves. In this way the Tripitaka's passages serve as a guide for followers to use in their own path to enlightenment. Until the late 19th century the teachings of Theravada were unknown outside of southern Asia, where it had grown for more than 2,000 years.

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

While Theravada was constructed for serious followers who could devote a large bulk of their time to meditations, Mahayana Buddhism could accommodate a greater number of people. Calling their path the Greater Vehicle, Mahayana Buddhists distinguished themselves from Theravada by calling Theravada the Lesser Vehicle. Instead of following a direct line of teachings from the Buddha, the Mahayana Buddhists believed they were recovering the original teachings of the Buddha. Their canon of scriptures represented the final teachings and accounted for the loss of their presence for hundreds of years by claiming that these secret teachings were only given to the most faithful. Regardless of its origins, Mahayana Buddhism is a departure from Theravada philosophy in that the overall goal was to extend religious authority over a greater number of people.

In this quest Mahayana Buddhists developed a theory of progressions for attaining enlightenment. At the top level was becoming a Buddha. Preceding enlightenment was a series of lives, called the bodhisattvas, or beings of wisdom. The bodhisattva was a major contribution to Mahayana Buddhism in that it was a concept created to explain Buddha's lives before his last. In this tradition the lives of Siddhartha Gautama before his last were spent working toward becoming a Buddha. In those lives he was a bodhisattva, a Buddha-to-be, that could achieve wonderful acts of joy and compassion for others. Literature surrounding those lives is collectively called the Jataka, or the Birth Stories.

Although much is unknown about the earliest traditions in Buddhism, some evidence exists that followers thought there would only be one Buddha. Within a short amount of time, it was believed that another Buddha would soon follow. This concept of the Maitreya Buddha, or Future Buddha, grew to include the belief that if a Future Buddha was coming then a Buddha or bodhisattva was already on earth passing through life. This meant that someone alive at any given moment

was the Maitreya. In addition, the numbers of Maitreya Buddhas were uncertain. The person serving food or cleaning the floors may be the Maitreya.

Instead of the goal of attaining full enlightenment, as in Theravada Buddhism, a practitioners' goal is to be the *arhant*, or the "worthy." The worthy is one who has learned the truth from others and has realized it as truth. Mahayana Buddhists believe that in this way, the follower hears the truth, realizes it as truth, and then passes into nirvana.

Mahayana Buddhists adhere to seven particular features of Mahayanism. The first is Its Comprehensive-ness. Mahayana Buddhists do not confine their beliefs to one Buddha but strive to see truth wherever it may be found. The second is Universal Love for All Sentient Beings. This belief differs from Theravada Buddhism in that it strives for general salvation of all people. Third is Its Greatness in Intellectual Comprehension, meaning that all things in general are not directed by a metaphysical deity. The fourth is Its Marvelous Spiritual Energy. The bodhisattvas are thought never to tire of working for universal salvation, and they do not worry about how much time it takes to achieve this. The fifth feature is Its Greatness in the Exercise of the Upaya. *Upaya* translates as "expediency," or acting as appropriate to achieve a goal. The sixth feature is Its Higher Spiritual Attainment, meaning that followers strive to achieve their highest spiritual level. Seventh is Its Greater Activity. When a bodhisattva becomes a Buddha, it is then able to manifest everywhere to minister to the spiritual needs of all beings.

Mahayana Buddhism disappeared from India during the 11th century. In Southeast Asia, Theravada Buddhism replaced Mahayana Buddhism. However, Mahayana Buddhism is the most popular of branch of Buddhism in the world today.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; BUDDHIST COUNCILS; SAKYAS; TANTRISM.

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Three Kingdoms, China

The Three Kingdoms period lasted between 220 and 280 C.E. It inaugurated almost four centuries of political division in Chinese history, comparable to the Dark Ages in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. This is because similar to the Roman Empire in western Europe, the fall of the unified HAN DYNASTY signaled a period of civil wars, intrigues, and nomadic invasions and rule over northern China.

Several events heralded the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty, beginning with the YELLOW TURBAN REBELLION in 184 C.E. This peasant revolt with messianic overtones was put down by regional warlords, who proceeded to war against one another, with the hapless emperors as their pawns. Cao Cao (Ts'ao Ts'ao) emerged as the most powerful warlord, but his attempt to reestablish unity under his leadership ended at the Battle of the Red Cliff in 208, when his forces were defeated by a coalition of two rivals. As a result, Cao could only control northern China, while one rival Liu Bei (Liu Pei), who was a descendant of the Han imperial house, established himself in Sichuan (Szechwan) and the southwest with a capital city in Chengdu (Cheng-tu), while Sun Quan (Sun Ch'uan) controlled the southeast from the Yangtze River valley to northern Vietnam with his capital in Nanjing (Nanking). Cao Cao, known as one of the most wily and ruthless politicians in Chinese history, consolidated his rule in the north, gave himself the title of king, and would probably have usurped the throne but died in 220.

In 220 Cao Cao's son Cao Pi (Ts'ao P'ei) forced the last Han emperor to abdicate in his favor and proclaimed the establishment of the Wei dynasty. However, his rivals immediately challenged him. Liu Bei proclaimed himself emperor because of his imperial lineage, and his dynasty was called the Shu Han (Shu is another name of Sichuan). Zhugo Liang (Chu-kuo Liang), a brilliant tactician who gained legendary renown, and Liu Bei's sworn brothers, Zhang Fei (Chang Fei) and Guan Yu (Kuan Yu), aided him militarily. The latter became known as Guandi (Kuan-ti), or Emperor Guan, and was deified as the god of war in Chinese popular religion.

Liu Bei's early death in 223 and the inability of his successor resulted in the annexation of Shu Han by Wei in 263. Sun Quan also proclaimed himself emperor in 222 and called his realm the Wu dynasty. Meanwhile, Cao Cao's weak descendants would suffer the same fate as the last Han emperor. In 265 the last Wei ruler was forced to abdicate to his powerful general, Sima Yuan (Ssu-ma Yuan), who founded the Jin (Chin) dynasty.

Sima Yuan then destroyed Wu in 280 and ended the era of the Three Kingdoms. It was an era of chaos, wars, and murderous intrigues but has been romanticized as one of chivalry and romance.

See also ERA OF DIVISION (CHINA).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Three Kingdoms, Korea

The Three Kingdoms period refers to an era in Korean history in the fourth century C.E. when the three states of Koguryo, Silla, and Paekche existed simultaneously until the unification of the peninsula by Silla in 668 C.E. Koguryo was the largest and earliest unified kingdom, followed by Paekche and Silla. Our knowledge of the three kingdoms comes from archaeology and ancient historical texts from China, Japan, and Korea, particularly the *Samguk Sagi*, Korea's first history written in 1145.

Koguryo was unified as a kingdom under the sixth ruler, King T'aejo, and occupied the northern part of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria in northeastern China. The Yemaek tribes, who conquered the Puyo state in 37 B.C.E., founded Koguryo. For centuries Koguryo kings fought against tribes to the north and China to the west. In 313 C.E. the Koguryo king drove the Chinese out of their LO-LANG commandery centered in Pyongyang. However, the Chinese retaliated in 342, successfully attacked the Koguryo capital, dug up the corpse of the Koguryo king, and departed with 50,000 prisoners. Paekche took advantage of Koguryo's weakness by invading the capital near Pyongyang and killing the ruler.

The golden age of Koguryo's territorial expansion was during the rule of King Kwanggaet'o. According to an inscription in his tomb, he conquered 64 fortresses and 1,400 villages. He also took over the Liaotung region of northeastern China, which had been a focal point for Chinese attacks against Koguryo. He drove back a Japanese invasion of Silla in 400 C.E. In 475 Kwanggaet'o attacked the Paekche capital and expanded his borders southward by defeating an allied force of the Chinese Northern Wei kingdom and Paekche soldiers. Koguryo

dominance did not last, however, and starting in the early seventh century Koguryo was constantly at war with the Chinese Sui dynasty. Although Koguryo defeated the Sui invasions, the largest consisting of 1 million soldiers, the years of warfare significantly weakened the country. The subsequent Tang (T'ang) dynasty also invaded Koguryo and was defeated until a fateful alliance with Silla, which led to the unification of the peninsula.

After the fall of the Sui dynasty Koguryo prepared itself for further invasion by the Tang, setting up defenses along the border between the two states and forming an alliance with the Turks. The key to Koguryo's destruction was the pact between Tang and Silla and internal power struggles. Under this agreement the Tang helped Silla defeat Paekche, and then the two attacked Koguryo. The Tang court was not content to simply defeat its Koguryo enemies but intended to incorporate the peninsula into its state. The Chinese left 10,000 troops in Paekche after the latter's surrender in 660. They also established administrative and military offices throughout Paekche. The Chinese planned a similar strategy with Koguryo when the Tang-Silla alliance laid siege to the capital, Pyongyang, in 661. After the Koguryo king surrendered in 668, the Chinese removed the king, officials, and 200,000 prisoners and placed rule over the territory under a military governor and established commanderies.

Paekche was a kingdom that mixed Puyo refugees (who had moved southward after their defeat by the Koguryo) with native Mahan tribes. Although the *Samguk Sagi* claims that Paekche was founded in 18 B.C.E., the state was unified by the reign of King Koi in the mid-third century C.E. and became a centralized aristocratic state a century later. Paekche was located in the southwest part of the peninsula and shared a border with Koguryo to the north and Silla to the east. Between the mid-fourth and mid-seventh centuries Paekche maintained a relatively friendly and consistent relationship with Japan, providing various technical and cultural advisers in return for occasional military support against Koguryo. It was Paekche that acted as the main conduit of culture and technology between China and Japan.

Silla unified as a state under the rule of King Naemul (356–402 C.E.) when the Kim family was established as the reigning family of the kingdom. Silla's unification was aided by adopting Buddhism as the official state religion.

Located in the southeast section of the peninsula, Silla often allied with Koguryo to help defeat the smaller tribes that were eventually incorporated into their

realm and to fight off the invading Japanese. Silla also unified with Paekche to counter Koguryo's dominance of the peninsula.

During the Three Kingdoms period Silla had a famous military academy and a group of young warrior aristocrats called the Hwarang. Originally a local institution for educating young males and providing them with military training at the village level, it quickly grew into a national center for young, elite male cultivation. Even after the fall of the unified Silla state, the Hwarang (flower knights) were the heroes of legendary tales. The legends of the Hwarang should not belittle the very real military power of the Silla kingdom. Although it was the smallest of the three kingdoms, the great Koguryo and Paekche formed an alliance in an unsuccessful attempt to stave the rise of Silla and its alliance with the Tang Chinese.

The Silla leaders understood that the Tang planned to take over the peninsula, and immediately after the surrender of Koguryo, Silla began supporting rebellions in the fallen kingdom. The Silla followed up with an attack on Chinese-controlled Paekche in 671, eventually defeating the Chinese. In addition to Silla-supported rebellions in Koguryo, however, were the Malgal tribes who fought against the Tang and eventually took control of the Manchurian area of former Koguryo. The Koguryo natives and Malgal formed a new state called Parhae. The chaos accompanying the fall of the Tang dynasty weakened Parhae, which was eventually invaded by the Khitan tribes in 926. Refugees fled south into Silla and became part of the Koryo dynasty.

See also CHOSON; KIIA; THREE KINGDOMS, CHINA; WEI MAN (WIMAN).

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MICHAEL WERT

Thucydides

See HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

Toba (T'o-pa) dynasty

The Toba, or Northern Wei, were nomads variously described as belonging to Tungusic or Turkic ethnicity. During the ERA OF DIVISION after the fall of the HAN DYNASTY in 220 C.E., and after invading nomads drove the Jin (Chin) dynasty to south China, confusion reigned in northern China. In 386 the Toba established a dynasty called the Northern Wei that would control most of northern and northwestern China until 534.

The first capital of the Northern Wei was near modern Datong (Tatung), a frontier city near the GREAT WALL OF CHINA, important because it guarded the boundary between agricultural China and the steppes. There they built a city modeled on Han capitals CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) and LUOYANG (LOYANG). The Toba converted to Buddhism and showed their devotion by commissioning the carving of huge cave temples into a rocky escarpment near their capital called Yungang (Yunkang), which remains a monument to Buddhist art. In 494 the Northern Wei dynasty capital was moved to Luoyang, a city resonant with the history of China. Outside Luoyang they began to build another monument to Buddhism called the Longmen (Lungmen) Caves. The move showed the sinicization of the Toba aristocracy and their identification with Chinese civilization.

In 494 the Northern Wei government outlawed the Toba language, names, and clothing and ordered the Toba people to adopt Chinese names and clothes and to use Chinese exclusively. The imperial family led the way by adopting the surname Yuan. Claiming to be the legitimate successor of ancient Chinese dynasties, the government also forbade tribal ritual and allowed only Confucian and Buddhist observances. Inter-marriage between the tribal aristocracy and Chinese upper classes was actively encouraged. The Northern Wei also behaved toward other nomadic peoples beyond its frontier in the same manner as traditional Chinese dynasties, when not warring against them, accepting tribute and bestowing gifts, including princesses when necessary.

These policies resulted in a severe split among the Toba. The tough Toba soldiers who still lived by their ancient ways and who guarded the northern and western frontiers revolted in 523. Ten years of civil war followed during which Luoyang was sacked and many of the sinicized aristocrats were massacred, including the empress dowager and the child emperor. Two strongmen emerged in 534 who divided the territory: One part was called Western Wei, with its capital city in Chang'an; it retained tribal traditions and Toba heritage. The other was called Eastern Wei, with its capital city at Ye (Yeh) in Henan

(Honan), where the Toba and Chinese governed in collaboration. Both of them were short lived and were replaced by two equally ineffective dynasties of nomadic origin. In 581 a nobleman of mixed Sino-nomadic ancestry named Yang Qian (Yang Chien) proclaimed the founding of the Sui dynasty under his leadership. He would unify north and south and end the Era of Division. Among the northern dynasties the Northern Wei had the longest existence and controlled the most territory. It owed its success and also its ultimate destruction to the policy of sinicization.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Torah

The Torah of MOSES is a unique collection of writings that either refers to the first five books of the Bible, the whole of the Jewish Bible, or, generally speaking, the "teaching" or "instruction" of the religion of ISRAEL. In this article the first meaning will principally be used. Because the first five books cover most of the laws related to the religion of Israel and to the current Jewish faith, it is also called the Law. In Greek these books are called the Pentateuch, because they are five (*penta*) and they are set apart as an order or collection (*teuch*) of books. The five books are Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, and DEUTERONOMY.

The first five books of the Bible tell the story of the faith of the true religion, beginning with the creation and ending with the relationship that the God of the Bible makes with a particular people called Israel. There is no other work of such scope in the ancient civilized world, either in terms of length, complexity of sources, or subject matter. There are older religious canons that have endured even to modern times (such as the VEDAS for Hindus), but the Torah is more systematic and coherent in its present form. For modern Jews it is the oldest and most important part of the Bible, and Jews and Christian alike view it as the introduction to the whole Bible.

According to Deuteronomy, the Torah refers to the teaching copied by Moses on MOUNT SINAI in response to the divine command. The teaching was inscribed on stone tablets and deposited in the ARK OF THE COVENANT, and so it was something like a written contract uniting Israel's God and God's Israel. However, only half of the Penta-

teuch is legal code. The rest consists of narrative stories and rhetorical exhortations so that the reader can read it as an interesting and persuasive book and not simply as a compendium of religious law. The story line, or plot, can be summed up in the following broad outline: the history of the human race (Genesis 1–11), the history of Israel's origins and ancestry (Genesis 12–50), the history of Israel in Egypt before the Torah (Exodus 1–18), the collection of laws for Israel (Exodus 19–Numbers 10), Israel's response to the Torah laws (Numbers 11–36), and Moses's final exhortation to Israel to follow the Law contained in the Torah (Deuteronomy 1–34). Moses is important but is not present in all of the material. The reason for calling it the "Torah of Moses" is that Moses is its chief character and is also considered by religious tradition to be its author. Writings as early as 400 B.C.E. assign the authorship of the Pentateuch to Moses, as do later Jewish and Christian authorities, like JOSEPHUS, PHILO, the MISHNAH, the fathers of the church, and the TALMUD. This belief continued almost unanimously until the time of the Renaissance when its authorship was questioned.

Ancient authorities had a different notion of authorship than moderns: For them it was sufficient to consider as author the one who provided the initial impulse and served as inspiration for the writing more than the one who actually finished the job. For them the author was the one who bore responsibility for the creative enterprise, not the scribe or editor. Today, however, few modern scholars regard Moses as the only—or even the main author—of the Pentateuch. No passage in the Bible says so in such terms, although certain parts are specifically stated as his writings. Later readers probably felt that if Moses wrote some of the pieces, he probably wrote them all: After all, he spent more than 40 days on Mt. Sinai learning about the Torah's Law. A good parallel to Moses and the Pentateuch is SOLOMON and Solomonic literature, that is, a famous person comes to be associated with a particular type of literature so that the popularity of both is increased.

In the legal material there are 613 commandments that define the relationship that Israel is to have with its God. These laws pertain to ethical, religious, and civil matters. They date from the earliest days of Israel's founding as a nation to the later stages of the Bible's formation. There may be several sources of material for the five books, and these arise from various perspectives and dates.

Scholars claim to discern the outlines of these documents in the Torah, but often there is not agreement about the seams and interpretations. Other scholars have noticed the similarity between the Torah's cov-

enant and the ancient treaties that the HITTITES' rulers imposed upon their client vassal peoples.

The centrality of the Torah of Moses is evident in the later parts of the Bible. It becomes the basis for the legitimacy and inspiration for these books even before they are included in the canon. The writings of the New Testament, especially those of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and PAUL, and the Mishnah and the Talmud also claim their authority from the Torah. This is especially seen in the rabbinic doctrine of the "oral Torah," that is, the words of Moses that were not written down in the Bible. The purpose of this new canon (Mishnah and Talmud) is to unlock the secrets of the written Torah of Moses.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Trajan

(53–117 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Trajan was one of the greatest Roman emperors. Born within a distinguished Roman family from Hispania, he spent the first years of his public life as a renowned general whose victories spread quickly through the empire. During the last years of the first century C.E. Nerva—one of the ANTONINE EMPERORS—decided the destiny of such an extensive territory. Adopted by him in 98 C.E., Marcus Ulpius Nerva Traianus managed to seize power and hold it until 117. He was a good example of how adoption proved to be extremely fruitful, since its system allowed minimizing the contingencies of heritage. Under Nerva and Trajan, after almost 100 years of empire, a new understanding commenced between the supreme authority of the *princeps*, and the community submitted to him, based on a twofold concession: the acceptance that this form of government was indispensable and the recognition by the emperor of the legitimate privileges of the upper class. Thus, the *princeps's* power not only became stable and dominant, but also his relationship with the citizens improved.

Trajan was more a good administrator than an innovator, believing in the supremacy of good management

over an excessive confidence in reforms. Nonetheless, he reacted militarily when the king of the Dacians, Decebalus, prevented the advance of the army in Germania. He declared war against Dacia and conducted the army to his territory, where the king was completely beaten. Trajan did not kill his enemy, but despite his mercy, two years later Decebalus organized a new rebellion against the emperor. This time the traitor was fiercely defeated, and all the gold mines in the area were confiscated. Trajan used the great bounty to finance a huge program of public works. He built a large aqueduct, a new port in Ostia, four new big roads, and the amphitheater in Verona. His most famous construction was the Trajan Forum.

During Trajan's period Roman culture flourished with masterpieces of Latin literature. Pliny the Younger was one of the prominent advisers of Trajan. He left hundreds of letters in which we can appreciate the emperor's personality as well as the customs of the time. Aiming at concluding the work of Caesar and Antony, Trajan tried to expand the limits of the empire as far as the Indian Ocean, which he managed to do by fighting the Parthians. He was also able to conquer Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Susa. Unfortunately, several rebellions arose, and he was compelled to return to Rome. He never arrived back to the *urbs*, as he died on the way. HADRIAN succeeded him.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS.

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SILVANA A. GAETA

Tripitaka

The Tripitaka (or Tipitaka) is the SANSKRIT (or Pali) canon of religious discourse most highly regarded in Theravada Buddhism. The literal translation is the "three baskets," so named because the original writings were kept in baskets. The three elements of the canon are the Vinaya Pitaka, which are the disciplinary rules by which monks are expected to live their lives; the Sutta Pitaka, which are the discourses of the Lord Buddha and other leading schol-

ars of Buddhist belief; and the Abhidharma Pitaka, which are a series of philosophical discourses on the nature of the universe and of Buddhist belief. The Tripitaka was assembled shortly after the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA through a *sangha*, or council of monks. It was preserved in oral tradition for some four centuries before being committed to palm-leaf manuscript in the first century C.E.

Owing to linguistic and cultural differences, the Tripitaka varies from country to country where Theravada Buddhism is practiced. In each case the writings are extensive and occupy many volumes. The Sutta Pitaka, for example, contains more than 10,000 sutras of the Buddha. These include details of the life of the Buddha and his road to nirvana, or enlightenment; Mahayana and Vajrayana forms of Buddhism also have their own Tripitaka canons. The Vinaya Pitaka consists of rules and junctures for both monks and nuns, although in some societies the role of nuns is not officially accepted. Various offenses against the *sangha* are enumerated together with their degree of severity and, hence, the sanctions that they attract. Monks are expected both to know and to abide by the 227 rules of the Great Division (Maha-vibhanga), which greatly expand on the five basic precepts that all followers of Buddhism are expected to follow.

An additional section of the Vinaya Pitaka is the Khandhaka, which contains a variety of different sections that are not presented in an intuitively logical order. This section contains precepts for the monkhood that vary from country to country. Members of the *sangha* spend much of their time studying and attempting to master the many meanings and lessons inherent in the Tripitaka. Lay Buddhists may also do the same, either directly from the original canon or, more commonly, through the mediation of well-read monks who are able to translate the lessons into language and concepts easier for most people to understand.

See also TANTRISM; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

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JOHN WALSH

Triumvirate

The years prior to the First Triumvirate were unstable and anticipated future conflicts. A series of external struggles—such as a long war to suffocate the rebel-

lion of Sertorius in Spain, the second war against Mithridates, and the fight against the gladiators and slaves commanded by SPARTACUS—weakened the vigor of the already wounded Roman Republic. After MARIUS AND SULLA disappeared from the political arena, the civil wars seemed to be over but only temporarily. A much bloodier struggle was about to begin. The First Triumvirate was a tripartite alliance shared by three of the most influential men in politics during those days: JULIUS CAESAR, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY), and Marcus Licinius Crassus. This coalition lasted from 60 to 54 B.C.E.; however, the name First Triumvirate was never used by the Romans, and it is somewhat deceptive since many other men were involved in the agreement, such as Lucius Lucceius and Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND CAESAR

By 60 B.C.E. Caesar was the foremost figure of the popular party, particularly after his achievements in Spain, which put him in a position to demand an opportunity in the near election for consulship. The Senate considered him a powerful opponent, and his candidature arose considerable resistance from the *optimates*. Even though Caesar had overwhelming popularity within the citizen assemblies, he was compelled to forge alliances within the Senate in order to secure his election. He needed a wealthy ally to support his ambitions, and he found that backing in one of Pompey's rivals, Crassus. Pompey was discouraged by the lack of land reform for his eastern veterans, and Caesar skillfully mended any differences between the two powerful leaders. On the other hand, Crassus, whose business in the East was significant, could not achieve his projects without a politician like Caesar supporting his interests, so he joined the coalition with enthusiasm.

Under the protection of these two prominent men, Caesar won the consulship in 59 B.C.E., and one of his main concerns was conciliation with Pompey. He managed to secure the passage of an agrarian law providing Campanian lands for 20,000 indigent citizens and veterans, which was expected not only to lighten the problem of the unemployed mass in Rome but also to please Pompey and his legions. Julia, Caesar's daughter, married Pompey, further securing the alliance.

By the end of his consulship, through the *lex Vatinia*, he succeeded in obtaining the proconsulship of Cisalpine GAUL and Illyricum with four legions for the term of five years, from 58 to 54 B.C.E. The extension of this period, unprecedented for an area with no imminent seditious crisis, was a real sign of Caesar's ambition for external conquests. During this time he accomplished remarkable achievements, such as the conquest of the Britons and the

successful defeat of one of his greatest enemies, the Gaul leader VERCINGETORIX, who was vanquished in the Battle of Alesia in 52 B.C.E. During his absence old rivalries between Pompey and Crassus returned, and in 56 B.C.E. Caesar returned to Rome to patch up matters, and it was agreed that both Pompey and Crassus should be consuls in 55 B.C.E. They obtained—as proconsular provinces—Spain and Syria, respectively, and Caesar gained an extension of his command in Gaul until 49 B.C.E.

BREAKUP OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

The bonds that connected these three personalities were soon broken. The first symptom of the imminent rupture was the death of Caesar's daughter, Julia, in 59 B.C.E. Furthermore, during the years Caesar spent abroad, Pompey progressively withdrew from the senatorial party, which had never fully accepted Caesar's power. Since the beginning it was clear that the weakest element of the group was Crassus. He died soon after the Battle of Carrhae, leaving the ground ready for an open clash between the two remaining forces. Civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey; they fought for control over Rome.

In 49 B.C.E. Pompey convinced the Senate that Caesar was a danger to their interests. Caesar was immediately ordered to disband his army and give up the province of Gaul. Instead, Caesar crossed the Rubicon River. The river, close to Rimini, indicated the frontier between the Cisalpine Gaul, where the proconsul had the right to instruct his army, and the Italic territory, where it was forbidden to drive the army. No Roman could legally cross that line, so Caesar's decision was a slap in the Senate's face, and war against Pompey and the *optimates* began.

As Caesar marched to Rome, Pompey and his allies escaped to Brundisium and, from there, to Greece. Finally, in 48 B.C.E. in the famous Battle of Pharsalia, Caesar struck Pompey, who retreated to the court of King Ptolemy XII of Egypt, where he was assassinated as a gesture of gratitude to Caesar. Caesar went to ALEXANDRIA and participated actively in the internal political conflict between opposing Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

From 47 to 45 B.C.E. Caesar fought with followers of Pompey. After Pompey's death Caesar's power grew, and the Senate felt unease with his power. In 44 B.C.E. a conspiracy grew, led by Cassius and Brutus—thought by some to be the illegitimate son of Caesar. Caesar was murdered on the Ides of March before a meeting of the senators. The political situation changed abruptly after the assassination of Caesar, and the political map had to be redesigned. His murderers were amnestied and forced to leave the city, while Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius

Lepidus, also named *pontifex maximus*, became the two official heads of state.

In his will Caesar adopted Gaius Octavius (Octavian) as his heir—the future AUGUSTUS CAESAR—and left him almost all of his fortune. This practically unknown, inexperienced, and extremely young man was studying in Illyricum at the time of Caesar's murder and promptly set out for Rome to take control of his heritage. He tried allying with Antony, who refused to help him, having been offended at not having been appointed Caesar's legitimate inheritor.

Octavian gained power and raised a private army. He gained influence in Rome, which he secured through a series of demagogical acts, such as the provisions of food and entertainment for the urban plebs and adopting the name of the late Caesar.

MARK ANTONY AND THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Antony departed to Gaul where, by means of the powerful legions that were stationed there, he gained increasing strength. In November Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus met near the river Bononia with their legions and formed the Second Triumvirate. Whereas the First Triumvirate was almost a secret pact of mutual help, the *lex Titia* presented to the tribunal assembly consolidated the Second Triumvirate within an official framework and invested the initiative with legality.

The triumvirate was backed and sealed by the marital union of Octavian and Antony's stepdaughter, Claudia, and by Antony's marriage to Octavia, Octavian's sister. Lepidus, a former consul in 46 B.C.E. with no major political accomplishments, had an impressive military force in Spain and was wealthy enough to support the huge expenses that foreign campaigns demanded. He also acted as a shield between Antony and Octavian, whose personal relationship was never quite strong, both eagerly looking for power.

One of the first political acts carried out by the new government was the persecution of Caesar's assassins. Brutus, after finding out that the Senate's support could no longer save him, escaped toward the East, but he was captured and executed on the way, and according to Suetonius, his head was sent to Rome to be placed under Caesar's statue. The punishment extended to some 300 senators, and 2,000 knights were banned and their possessions confiscated.

The most famous case was the murder of the orator Marcus Tullius CICERO. In 40 B.C.E. the Roman territories were divided into three regions: Lepidus received Africa, the West was granted to Octavian, and Antony obtained the Middle East, Greece, and Egypt, where in

42 B.C.E. he encountered Cleopatra. It was the beginning of a relationship that would seal Rome's fortune and their destinies.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Octavian in Rome was dealing with one last menace: that of Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey, member of the First Triumvirate. Being the provincial governor of Sicily, he had a large amount of power in the area, and therefore many of the outlawed citizens sought his help. In 37 B.C.E. the Pact of Tarentum renewed the triumvirate for another five years.

Nevertheless, the relationship between Octavian and Antony was deteriorating daily. In 36 B.C.E. as the triumvirate foresaw a clear danger, the island of Sicily was invaded, and Agrippa—one of Octavian's men—defeated Pompey's army. Later that year Lepidus tried to keep Sicily for himself, but his troops did not support him and deserted to Octavian, who consequently deprived Lepidus of all his triumviral powers, leaving Octavian with 40 legions.

In 35 B.C.E. Antony and his wife were in Greece, and he sent her back to Rome and carried his army against Labienus (the son of a general who had betrayed Caesar), who was helping the Persian king to assemble a powerful army. Cleopatra joined him. In 34 B.C.E. he celebrated a huge triumph in Alexandria. He repudiated Octavia, married Cleopatra, and declared Caesarion, Caesar's son, the legitimate heir of Egypt and Cyprus. By doing so he cut the final bond that connected him to Octavian. The latter openly attacked him and turned him, in the eyes of Rome, into an Eastern enemy, dominated by the Egyptian queen. In 31 B.C.E. Octavian, elected consul for the third time, defeated Antony in the famous naval battle of Actium, which sealed not only Antony's fate—he and Cleopatra committed suicide in 30 B.C.E.—but also the Republic's destiny.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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Troy

The ancient city of Troy is the basis of Homer's *Iliad* and site of the Trojan War. Troy lies in present-day western Turkey, at Canakale on the ancient Scamander River. Troy is known through the writings of the poet Homer and the stories of Heracles, Laomedon, King Priam, Hector, Paris, Achilles, the Trojan Horse, and HELEN OF TROY. Virgil vividly discussed the Mycenaean Greek sacking of Troy in his book the *AENEID*. The events that Homer reported as taking place in Troy occurred around 1200 B.C.E., and he wrote and sang them around 800 B.C.E.

Troy was thought to be a mythical city in modern times, but archaeologists found proof of its existence. In the 19th century a succession of excavators determined that the ancient city consisted of nine layers, one on top of the other. Troy is known as the cultural center of classical antiquity. After the Trojan War the city was abandoned for four centuries, until 700 B.C.E. when the Greeks settled there. The Romans captured Troy in 85 B.C.E., and the Roman general SULLA attempted to restore the city. Excavators determined that Troy I to IV existed from 3000 to 1900 B.C.E., during the early Bronze Age. At this time fortifications were built around the city. Troy VI existed from 1790 to 1250 B.C.E., and Troy VII existed during the middle to late Bronze Age. An extensive fire destroyed Troy V. Troy VI, an embellished reconstruction of Troy V, was destroyed by an earthquake. Survivors built Troy VII around 1250 B.C.E., but they died in the Trojan War. This is confirmed by the existence of a mass grave containing the remains of a Greek army. Troy IX was a trading city during the reign of Roman emperor Augustus, however it waned in importance after the rise of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Concrete knowledge about Troy emerged with the excavations of Charles McLaren, who found the ruins of Troy VII to Troy IX in 1822. German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, a wealthy retired businessman, illegally excavated the city three times from 1870 to 1890. He ruined much of the site, taking most of the treasures he found, and was forced to pay a huge fine to the Turkish government for the theft. The treasure was displayed at the Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin. At the end of World War II the Soviets claimed the treasure. Further excavation was done in 1893–94 and again in 1932–38. Sponsored scientific excavations took place after 1988 under the leadership of Manfred Korfmann, and no further levels were discovered. Two geologists, Jan Craft and John V. Luce, determined in 2001 that the geology of present-day Troy is depicted in the *Iliad*. The

site of Troy is known as New Ilium and consists of a huge mound, a replica Trojan Horse, and a small tourist museum.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HOMERIC EPICS.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Trung sisters

(first century C.E.) *Vietnamese heroines*

Trung Trac and Trung Nhi are sisters who led a failed revolt against Chinese rule in northern Vietnam between 40 and 43 C.E. and are honored as heroines in Vietnam. The Southern Yue (Yueh), or Nanyue, people are a branch of Mongoloids who lived in tribal society and practiced slash-and-burn agriculture along the coast of China in present-day Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kuanghsi) Provinces and the northern part of present-day Vietnam. The area was conquered during the reign of the first emperor of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY between 220 and 210 B.C.E. and divided into three commanderies. When the Qin dynasty fell in 206 B.C.E., a man from northern China named Zhao Tuo (Chao T'o) proclaimed himself king of Nanyue and made his capital in modern Guangzhou (Canton). Gaozu (LIU BANG), the first emperor of the HAN DYNASTY, confirmed Zhao as king, and a loose tributary relationship was established between Nanyue and Han. In 113 B.C.E. the queen dowager of Nanyue, who was Chinese and wanted a close relationship with Han China, was murdered by her opponents. This action resulted in war between Han and Nanyue, the destruction of the kingdom, and its annexation by Han, which established nine commanderies in the former kingdom.

Chinese rule resulted in economic advancement, with the introduction of irrigation and iron tools for agriculture. It also resulted in the gradual influx of Chinese immigrants to the best new lands, especially in the Red River valley. Friction led to a revolt led by two sisters, surnamed Trung (Zheng or Cheng in Chinese transliteration), daughters of a local chief, in 40 C.E. One proclaimed herself queen. A number of local tribes from 65 towns and settlements joined their cause. Emperor GUANGWU (KUANG-WU) of the Han dynasty reacted slowly, waiting

until 42 C.E. to appoint General MA YUAN as commanding officer in charge of suppressing the revolt. An experienced general, Ma was given the title “general who calms the waves.” He reached Guangdong in 43, sent his supplies via ships, and led the 10,000 troops overland to the Red River delta. The campaign was quickly over, the sisters were captured and executed (some say they committed suicide), and the mopping up was completed by the end of the year. Ma returned to capital city LUO-YANG (LOYANG) in 44 and presented the emperor with a huge bronze horse, cast with the bronze melted from Yue drums that symbolized the power of the chiefs.

Resistance to sinicization and Chinese immigration was the likely cause of this revolt and many other similar revolts by aboriginal peoples in the southern borderlands of the Han empire during the first and second centuries C.E. The primary cause was Chinese immigrants moving deeper into the river valleys and appropriating good land, either assimilating the natives or driving them to less accessible areas. Some natives revolted, and the Han government felt compelled to put down the revolts to protect the Chinese settlements. Whereas Guangdong and Guangxi were eventually fully integrated into the Chinese state, Vietnam (Yuehnan in Chinese transliteration) became a separate state in the 10th century. In light of this the rebellion led by the Trung sisters had nationalistic overtones, and for this reason they were revered as symbols of resistance to Chinese domination. General Ma Yuan became deified in Chinese popular religion and was especially revered in southern China.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Turabdin

While the history of Christianity focuses on the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH, a third major source of the faith is often ignored or unknown: Syriac (or Semitic) Christianity. Its traditional center lies in southeast Turkey in a region called Turabdin, which may mean “mountain of the servants.” It is not truly a mountain but a limestone plateau overlooking modern Syria, on which were founded at least 80 monasteries of the Oriental Orthodox Christian tradition.

Its people descended from the ARAMAEANS, who were the dominant group of biblical times. The language of its inhabitants even today reflects ancient Aramaic roots, a dialect of Syriac called Turoyo. Centuries later the Eastern Roman Empire established its epicenter near Turabdin, in ancient EDESSA and its frontier city Nisibis. The region then became the bloody border between the Persians and the Romans and, later, the Byzantines. Edessa—to the west of Turabdin—did not fall to the Persians until 609 C.E. Nisibis—much closer to Turabdin—was largely cut off from the Greco-Roman world when the Persians took the area in 363 C.E. and kept the region isolated from the West for centuries afterward. Successive groups of Muslims kept up the same policy under the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Seljuk Empires. Thus, because of Turabdin’s origins and its colonial status, it is one of the most authentic descendants of the biblical world.

Legends speak of Thomas the Apostle, Addai, MARI, and others who first took the Christian message to Mesopotamia. The first bishop came as early as 120 C.E., but full conversion of the region did not happen until the fourth century. Residents of Turabdin set such a high standard for themselves that nearly every town and village had its own monastery and its own mystics and miracle workers. The oldest continual monastery in the world, Mor Gabriel, owes its foundation to that burst of Turabdin enthusiasm between 350 and 400 C.E.

Turabdin boasts an honor roll of teachers, poets, and missionaries. In the foothills nearby Jacob and his pupil EPHREM taught one of the most important schools of theology. Awgin, the founder of Mesopotamian MONASTICISM, and Abraham of Kashkar, the reformer of Syriac monasticism, also claim the heritage of Turabdin. Many of its monks possessed healing gifts and supernatural abilities of self-denial.

One of the great benefactions of Turabdin is its collection of Syriac manuscripts, many of which have not yet been published. From its earliest days Turabdin has preserved manuscripts so that Syriac Christianity will not stray from its Aramaic cultural and linguistic moorings. It is through these ancient books that scholars have been able to discern the roots and development of Christian liturgy in the other Greek and Latin churches.

See also ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

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MARK F. WHITTERS



Ugarit

Ugarit was an ancient harbor city located on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria. The site is known today as Râs Shamra. Archaeological expeditions began there in 1929, and since that time over 1,250 clay tablets containing CUNEIFORM texts have been discovered. The tablets, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C.E., are written in the alphabetic language of Ugaritic, a northwest Semitic language closely related to Hebrew. The culture reflected in the texts has shed great light on the Canaanite backdrop of the JEWISH BIBLE, providing scholars a look at the linguistic and cultural conditions of the Canaanites from their point of view. In addition to the clay tablets, archaeologists have uncovered a royal palace and several administrative buildings, as well as an extensive residential area. The palace was enormous, consisting of approximately 90 rooms and six large courtyards. In addition, several temples have been found, one of which was dedicated to Baal.

Although the material finds at Ugarit are certainly impressive, the most significant find is the texts. In the very first season of excavations, clay tablets were found littering the floor of a house. This nicely built house turned out to be the home of the high priest of Baal. It was near the temple of Baal, and the texts were from the priest's personal library. Particularly interesting are the numerous tablets containing mythological poems about the Canaanite gods Baal, Baal's sister the warrior goddess Anat, El, the head of the pantheon, and El's consort, Asherah, the mother of the gods. Other gods

in the texts include Athtar (biblical Ashtaroht) and the divine craftsman Kothar wa-Hasis. These mythological texts help scholars understand the backdrop of biblical admonitions to avoid contact with the gods of Canaan, as well as the worldview of the ancient inhabitants of Ugarit. Legendary figures in the texts include the hero Daniel and his son, Aqhat.

The main mythological texts from Ugarit are the Baal cycle, the Kirta epic, and the legend of Aqhat. The Baal cycle tells the story of Baal's efforts to establish his kingship over the universe as well as the building of his temple. The Kirta epic tells of the near extinction of a royal house and its subsequent restoration at the hands of the creator god El. The legend of Aqhat, who is the son of Daniel, is the primary text showing the relationship between a human hero and the gods. Since the mythological texts are poetic, much has been learned about the conventions of Canaanite poetry, helping scholars understand the biblical poetry contained in the PSALMS and Proverbs.

There have also been many administrative and ritual texts discovered at Ugarit. Five separate archives have been found at the royal palace, yielding texts in Ugaritic as well as Akkadian. Other libraries have been recovered from the private homes of priests, lawyers, government officials, and professional scribes. The administrative documents show how the kingdom of Ugarit was organized as well as the nature of its interactions with surrounding nations, allowing scholars to reconstruct the political history of the last seven kings of the city. The ritual texts shed light on Canaanite

cultic rituals and present many parallels to the sacrificial sections of the Jewish Bible. The kingdom of Ugarit ended with the invasion of the SEA PEOPLES in approximately 1200 B.C.E. Tablets discovered abandoned in a kiln date to the fall of the city and describe the transfer to the north of Ugarit's army and navy, leaving the city defenseless against attack. One tablet records the sack of the city from which the kingdom was never able to recover.

See also AKKAD; SARGON OF AKKAD; SOLOMON.

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ERIC SMITH

Ulfilas

(c. 311–c. 383 C.E.) *religious missionary*

Ulifilas (Gothic: Wulfila) was a tireless missionary and educator among various Gothic tribes of the Western Roman Empire in the latter half of the fourth century C.E. Not only did he contribute to the culture and education of the “barbarian” tribes before they were integrated into civilized Europe, but he profoundly affected the course of Christianity in the Western LATIN CHURCH.

He was born in Cappadocia, in modern-day Turkey, probably to a Christian family. Like another great Christian missionary, PATRICK, a marauding tribe captured him and taught him barbarian customs and language in his youth. At some later point in his life he received a classical education, so that by the time he was an adult he was fluent in Greek, Latin, and the language of his former captors, Gothic. He became a priest and then was consecrated a bishop by EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, a leading proponent of ARIANISM.

His skills in languages made him a valuable asset for spreading the Christian faith. He was assigned missionary work among the Gothic tribes who were just outside the Roman Empire in the area around the lower Danube River. He did missionary work for seven years before being forced out by a hostile Visigoth chief. Nonetheless, he persisted in his work for 30 years on both sides of the imperial border, sending out missionaries among the Visigoths and putting the Gothic language into writing. At last he succeeded at both of his projects: The Visigoths as a people became Christian, and he translated the Bible into Gothic.

The Christianity that he taught his followers was not that of the COUNCIL OF NICAEEA. Ulfilas apparently believed that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was “like” the Father and not of the same essence or being with the Father. Few of his theological writings remain, but a statement of his faith quoted by one of his students, recorded by a bishop in opposition to AMBROSE of Milan, shows Arian language. This same tendency can be found in the tribes among whom he worked. His most famous writing, however, is the Gothic Bible, done alone or with collaborators. He may have devised the first alphabet for the Goths, using a combination of Greek and Latin letters. This achievement by itself had enormous repercussions for the transmission of Roman and Greek ideas into Gothic culture. The New Testament part of the Gothic Bible now includes only the four Gospels and the letters of Paul, and the Old Testament survives only in small parts.

The ideas of Arianism spread from the tribes with whom he worked to other Germanic groups across the Danube River. Eventually all barbarians were converted: Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, and Lombards. When the HUNS invaded and forced all of these tribal groups into Roman territory, they brought their Arianism with them and made it as big an influence in the West as it had been in the East. Were it not for emergence of the Franks—who were Orthodox Christians—Arianism might have become the predominant belief of the Latin Church.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; GREEK CHURCH; LATE BARBARIANS.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Ur

The Sumerian city of Ur is identified with Tell el-Muqayyar in southern Iraq, along a course of the Euphrates River that has dried up. It is commonly related to the birthplace of Abraham (“Ur of the Chaldeans” in Genesis 11:28–31). Excavations at Ur began in 1849, but C. Leonard Woolley did most of the work in 1922–34. Ur was first occupied from the middle of the Ubaid period (c. 5000–4000 B.C.E.), attested by only



The Ur III dynasty of 2112–2004 B.C.E. was a period marked by urbanization and academic accomplishments. Dated to this time are the famous ziggurat temple tower of Ur-Nammu (above) and the Temenos (temple complex) of Nanna, among others.

pottery, tools, and a few graves. The Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods (c. 4000–3000 B.C.E.) saw the construction of a temple platform adorned with clay cones, suggesting the city's religious importance even at this early stage. A huge cemetery site indicates a thriving local population.

Rubbish deposits near the temple platform contain proto-CUNEIFORM clay tablets and pottery dated to the Early Dynastic period (c. 3000–2350 B.C.E.). Seal impressions bear symbols that supposedly represent city names, implying Ur's relations with other cities. Furthermore 16 "Royal Tombs" of the Early Dynastic III period (c. 2600–2350 B.C.E.) were discovered in these deposit layers, including the magnificent burials of King Meskalamdug and Queen Pu-Abi. Numerous burials in the tombs' outer rooms suggest that attendants were sacrificed along with the dead king. The strata above these tombs have yielded seal impressions of King

Mesannepada, named in the Sumerian King List as the founder of the First Dynasty at Ur.

During the Akkadian period (c. 2350–2193 B.C.E.), SARGON OF AKKAD appointed his daughter Enheduanna as the en-priestess of Nanna, the moon deity whose cult center was Ur. This strategy helped legitimize the new Akkadian dynasty by emphasizing its continuity with Sumerian tradition. From then and into the Ur III period, a pattern emerged in which the en-priestess at Ur was a princess from the dominant royal family.

The Ur III dynasty (2112–2004 B.C.E.) was founded by Ur-Nammu. Like Sargon, Ur-Nammu reigned over an empire encompassing SUMER and AKKAD, this time with Ur as the capital. This period was marked by intensive urbanization and proliferation of written (mostly economic) records, as well as the standardization of the writing system, weights and measures, and the calendar sequence. Also dated to this time are

the famous ziggurat (pyramidal temple tower) of Ur-Nammu, the Temenos (temple complex) of Nanna, the Ehursag palace, and the Giparu, where the en-priestess lived. Shulgi, the son of Ur-Nammu, claimed deification for himself, a status later adopted by his successors. The Ur III city was eventually captured by the Elamites of the Shimashki dynasty, and its last king, Ib-bi-Sin, was carried away into exile.

Ishbi-Erra, founder of the first dynasty of Isin, expelled the Elamites from Ur and rebuilt the city. Henceforth, the rulers of Isin claimed to be heirs of the Ur III heritage. The city, however, soon came under the control of the rival dynasty at Larsa. Babylon's ascendancy under Hammurabi further eclipsed any political power at Ur. Nonetheless, Ur remained an important religious center in the years to follow. Ur-Nammu's ziggurat and the Temenos enclosure

underwent restoration by the Kassite king Kurigalzu, and the Neo-Babylonian kings NEBUCHADNEZZAR II and Nabonidus. Also, Nabonidus revived the then-obsolete tradition of appointing the king's daughter as Ur's en-priestess. Ur, however, eventually declined in the fourth century B.C.E., possibly due to the Euphrates' shift away from the city.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON: LATER PERIODS; ELAM; FERTILE CRESCENT.

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JOHN ZHU-EN WEE



Vajrayana Buddhism

See TANTRISM.

Vardhamana Mahavira

(c. 599–527 B.C.E.) *religious leader*

The Mahavira (Great Hero) Vardhamana was one of the 24 Tirthanakras (Conquerors, or Ford-makers) who were founders of the Indian religious philosophy of JAINISM. Vardhamana was born in Ksatriyakundagrama in India in approximately 599 B.C.E. and died in 527 B.C.E. Jainism, or its antecedent, was developed by the first Tirthanakra, Rishabhadeva, who lived c. 1500 B.C.E. Through the example of his life and teachings, Vardhamana helped establish Jainism throughout India. The facts of his life may have become distorted by the desire of followers to lend additional spiritual meaning to them. Nevertheless, he was born a prince of the Kshatriya, or military CASTE, and lived his youth enjoying the perquisites of wealth before renouncing this at the age of 30.

Jainism depends on the concept of *ahimsa*, which means avoiding injury to all living beings. In addition, it requires obedience to various *vratas*, or vows relating to the correct behavior. Vardhamana lived a life of extreme asceticism and obedience to the five great *vratas* of renunciation of the physical world. These vows are similar to Buddhist precepts and call for avoidance of all violence, speaking the truth, avoiding theft, chastity, and the avoidance of attachment to any physical

thing or person. Jainists reject the concept of a universe created by God and focus on the perfectibility of humanity and the attainment, therefore, of freedom from the physical world. Vardhamana attained the state of *kevala*, which means a form of omniscient perception beyond that possible for the average person. As a contemporary of GAUTAMA BUDDHA, who was born in the same region of India, Vardhamana lived in an era of considerable religious excitement and development. Jainism had similar characteristics to Buddhism but stood in contrast to Hinduism, which in its earliest form was influenced by Brahmanical ritualism.

Recognized as the final Tirthanakra of the current age, Vardhamana attracted many followers and disciples. He appointed 11 Ganadharas (disciples) to continue his work—each were converts from Brahmanism—but only two survived him. At the time of Vardhamana's death, some 14,000 monks and 36,000 nuns served in his congregation. These then split according to various schisms, the most notable of which continues to the current day and features on one side the Shvetambaras (white-robed) and the Digambaras (naked), who believe theirs is the appropriate costume for monks and who deny the possibility that souls can transcend from the female body. Vardhamana's disciples collected his thoughts and teachings in works known as the Agam Sutras but the originals of these have been lost.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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JOHN WALSH

Vedas

The Vedas are the oldest sacred writings of all of the world's major religions. Most scholars believe that the Vedas were transmitted orally for hundreds if not thousands of years before they were committed to writing. When written down, they were recorded in archaic SANSKRIT and organized into collections called Samhitas. There are several versions of the Vedas in different parts of India. Internal evidence in the Vedas suggests that they were first composed to serve as rituals at the performance of sacrifices.

The Aryans who moved into the Indus Valley region around 1500 B.C.E. produced the Vedas. They were Indo-European-speaking peoples from the steppes of Central Asia, whose language when committed to writing became Sanskrit. The Aryan invaders (or possibly immigrants) moved through what are today areas of Iran and Afghanistan before crossing the Hindu Kush through the Khyber Pass or other mountain canyons. There may have been five tribes of Aryans who called themselves *arya*, which means "noble" or "kinsman" in Sanskrit. They conquered the original residents or pushed them southward as they moved down the Indus River valley and eventually spread across much of the north Indian plain. The Aryans brought their own religion to India. The gods (*devas*) and goddesses of the nomadic cattle herding Aryans were usually primal forces of nature. Their Vedic religion practiced rituals that used songs and sacrifices.

The title Veda(s) comes from a Sanskrit word, *veda*, which means "knowledge" or "sacred teachings." They were the heard revelations (*shruti*) of holy men (*rishis*). The *rishis* did not "create" the Vedas, but "heard" the Brahma speak them and recorded them. The Vedasamhitas are a huge body of materials, six times the length of the Bible. There are four Vedas: the Rig-Veda, the Sama-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda (hymn knowledge) is a collection of more than 1,200 hymns. A *rig* is the Sanskrit word for "hymn," and each *rig* is addressed to a single god or goddess. The oldest of the *rigs* date from well before the Aryan migrations into the Indus Valley. They were addressed to the sky god, Dyaus Pitar, who can be identified with the classical Olympian god Zeus Pater or the Latin Deus (Ju)pitar. In a subsequent stage in the develop-

ment of the Vedas the old gods faded and were replaced by new gods. These newer gods include Indra, the sky god and the king of the gods. Among the newer Aryan gods included in the Vedas are Agni, the Vedic god of fire, and Soma, the god of a hallucinogenic drug.

The hymns in the Rig-Veda developed during the period of 1500–1200 B.C.E. They reached their final form around 1200 B.C.E. and were used as part of the cult of Soma. They were also used at the sacrifices used to extol the personified deities of fire (Agni), the sun (Surya and Savitr), the dawn (Usas), the storms (Maruts), war and raid (Indra), honor (Mitra), divine authority (Varuna), and creation (Indra and Visnu). A priest would chant the *rigs* of the Rig-Veda during the performance of a sacrifice. The gods that are praised in the Rig-Veda hymns are addressed individually, and each is praised above all the other deities to create a form of henotheism. There is first an invocation of the deity. Then the deity is presented with a petition. Then the deity, a god or goddess, such as Varuna, Mitra, Aditi (mother of the gods), and Uma (the dawn) is given praises that recount the deeds of the deity. The final part of the form of the *rig* is a summary restatement of the worshippers' request.

The themes of the *rigs* in the Rig-Vedas include creation, death, the elements of sacrifice, the horse sacrifice, gods of the storm, solar gods, and to sky and earth gods. In addition, *rigs* may be dedicated to Agni, to Soma, to Indra, to Varuna, or to Rudra and Visnu. The *rigs* that are dedicated to Indra tell of things such as the birth and childhood deeds of Indra. Some *rigs* were written about speech used to sing of Indra's origin. Other *rigs* express delight in the drawing of the bow to strike those who hate prayer. Others *rigs* were used during the investiture of a new king. The Sama-Veda (chant knowledge) is a collection of chants and melodies (*saman*) used in sacrifices. It was composed after the Rig-Veda was completed. Most of the words in the Sama-Veda were taken from the Rig-Veda. The lines of the Rig-Veda quoted in the Sama-Veda were to be sung to fixed melodies making them in effect mantras. The melodies used to sing the Sama-Veda materials were not captured in the text but are passed on from a singing priest to his disciples. The priests who sang the Sama-Veda were different from those who used the Rig-Veda. Proper lyrics and music are essential to the success of the rite.

The Yajur-Veda (ceremonial knowledge) was also written after the Rig-Veda. Most of it is a collection of prose sacrificial formulas (*yujus*), used by the presiding priest in a sacrifice. More specifically they are directions for conducting the sacrifice. The Rig-Veda, Sama-Veda, and the Yajur-Veda are today known in Hinduism as

the “threefold Veda” (*trayi-vidya*). These reflect the religious life of the priestly group. The Atharva-Veda (knowledge from the teacher Atharva) differs greatly from the other three. It is composed of spells, prayers, curses, and charms that are practical in nature. They include prayers for warding off snakes or sickness. When sacrifices were performed the priest would sing or chant materials from the Vedas that were appropriate to the type of sacrifice. A different priest would handle each part of a sacrifice. There were at least three groups of priests using the Rig-Veda at the sacrifices. The chief priest (*hotr*) would take material for his changes from the Rig-Veda. The priest responsible for chanting the sacred formulas (mantras) was the *adhvaryu*. A third group of priests, the chanters (*udgatr*), would chant melodic recitations that were linked to the Rig-Veda.

Over time additional materials came to be attached to each of the four Vedas. Most commonly the Vedas are viewed as including the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The Brahmanas (Brahman books) were the name for the priests, or Brahmins. They are the manuals for sacrifice. They discussed in detail rituals, proper time and place for ceremonies, the preparation of the ground, ritual objectives, purification rites, and other matters.

Ascetic holy men who went into the forests to meditate composed the Aranyakas (forest books). These books interpreted the Vedas in a nonliteral and symbolic ways. They contain speculations on sacrifice, especially the sacrificial fire and the New Year festival. The Upanishads (Sittings near a teacher) were the last to be composed and added to the Vedic collections. Several theories have been proposed to explain the origin of the name *Upanishad*. The belief is that they were composed as disciples sat near a guiding teacher. With the disciple sitting near the priest, both of them would experience spiritual enlightenment. They would experience the spiritual reality that is the unifying reality underlying all of the separate realities of the world.

Most of the Upanishads are dialogic. The prose Upanishads, like the Chandogya, Bṛhadaranyaka, Taittiriya and the Kena are probably earlier than the poetic ones such as Katha and Mandukya. The emphasis on spiritual experience suggests a shift in Vedic religion from the view that only hereditary priests can be religious masters to the view that both priests and nonpriests can experience spiritual realities. The Upanishads are the most philosophical of the Vedas and are concerned with ultimate philosophical truth. They number about 100. Their concerns are to record insights into internal and external reality.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; VEDIC AGE.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Vedic age

The roughly 1,000 years between 1500–500 B.C.E. is called the Vedic, or Aryan, age. The beginning of the Vedic age corresponded with the end of the INDUS CIVILIZATION (c. 2500–1500 B.C.E.), although it is not clear what precise role the Aryans played in the final fall of the Indus civilization. The two peoples belonged to different racial groups, and the Indus urban culture was more advanced than the mainly pastoral society of the Indo-European Aryans.

The 1,000 years after 1500 is divided into the Early and Late Vedic age, each spanning about 500 years, because of significant differences between the cultures of the two halves. The earlier period marked the conquest and settlement of northern India by INDO-EUROPEANS who crossed into the subcontinent across the Hindu Kush passes into the Indus River valley, across the Thar Desert and down the Ganges River valley.

The latter half saw the development of a more sophisticated sedentary culture. The name *Vedic* refers to the VEDAS, sacred texts of the Aryans, which is a principal source of information of that era.

THE RIG-VEDA

There are no significant archaeological remains from the first five centuries of the Vedic, or Aryan, era. Therefore, scholars must rely on the hymns and prayers of the Aryans, called the Vedas, or Books of Knowledge, for information about the earliest centuries. The most important work of the Aryans is the Rig-Veda, consisting of 1,017 hymns and songs addressed to various gods. Initially memorized by a class of priests, they were collected and written down c. 600 B.C.E. after a written script, called SANSKRIT (related to other Indo-European languages such as Greek and Latin), was invented. The Rig-Veda is the oldest surviving Indo-European literature.

Some hymns of the Rig-Veda refer to a god named Indra who demolished forts that could have been the walled Indus cities. They refer to themselves as Aryans, which means “high born” or “noble,” while the non-Aryan enemies are called the *dasas* or *dasyus*, which means “dark” and also came to mean “slave.” Aryan social organization was patrilineal. Upon marriage women became members of their husbands’ joint families. Sons were prized over daughters because they performed the family sacrifices, and only sons could inherit from their parents. Related Aryan families belonged to a clan, and associated clans formed a tribe, ruled by a raja, or king. Many Aryan tribes took part in the conquest and settlement of northern India. The most powerful one was called Bharata, which is the Sanskrit name of present-day republic of India. The battles between the ancient kings, many of them related to one another, is related in a long epic poem titled the *MAHABAHARATA* (Great Bharat).

SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Aryan society was stratified, based on function, and after the conquest, also on skin color. It is called CASTE, or class in English, and *varna* in Sanskrit, which means “covering,” referring to the color of the skin that covers one’s body. The top castes were the Brahman, who were priests and teachers, and the Kshatriya, or rulers and warriors. They were followed by the Vaisya, who were landowners and artisans. The secular hymns in the Rig-Veda mention many occupations that include carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, tanners, weavers, spinners, farmers, and herders as members of the Vaisya caste. All three were of Aryan origin and called “twice-born,” the second birth referring to religious initiation or rebirth, which qualified the males to participate in religious rituals. The fourth caste was called Sudra, who were servants and manual laborers, probably many of them were originally the pre-Aryan *dasas*. Thus the invaders were able to integrate the conquered indig-

enous people and assign them a position in society. The division of people into castes was sanctioned in Vedic literature. Vedic literature describes the Aryan culture as one dominated by warrior heroes, men who fought hard and enjoyed feasting and strong drinks, and gambling.

RELIGION AND GODS

The Rig-Veda was the most sacred text of the Aryan religions. It was supplemented by three other ancient collections of poems, spells, and incantations, called the Sama-, Yagur-, and Arthava-Vedas. Other ritual works were added later. They were the Brahmanas, which elaborated on the ancient hymns and described the necessary steps for priests in performing the rituals and sacrifices. The Upanishads, philosophical essays written during the last centuries of the Vedic era, 108 of which survive, followed the Brahmanas. The above works are the core religious literature of Hinduism.

The early Aryans worshipped a pantheon of nature gods, offering them sacrifices in return for granting their requests. There were many sacrifices that ranged from the daily domestic sacrifices performed by the head of the family, to great sacrifices ordered by kings that were presided over by many Brahman priests with many animal sacrifices. The most powerful early gods were Indra, the warrior god, who wielded the thunderbolt, killed *dasas* and destroyed their forts, and also brought rain. Varuna was the god of universal order and punished sinners by afflicting them with diseases. Agni was the god of fire and protector of the home and hearth. Soma was both the god of immortality and a hallucinogenic drink made from a hemp-type plant and drunk on the same day at religious ceremonies. There were many other gods and demigods in charge of various functions.

SANSKRIT

Writing began around 1000 B.C.E., although nothing has survived from the earliest period. It was called SANSKRIT. The Vedic literature continued to be memorized by Brahman priests and was not written down until around 600 B.C.E. By that time some of the vocabulary had already become archaic. Classical Sanskrit used by scholars and government officials in the Late Vedic age was less complex grammatically than the Sanskrit of the Vedas.

Less important writing was done in vernacular tongues, called Prakrits, meaning, “unrefined,” as opposed to the “perfected” or “refined” form of writing called Sanskrit. Modern languages in northern India are descended from Sanskrit and are related, whereas languages of southern India belong to the indigenous

DRAVIDIANS and are unrelated to Indo-European languages. The year 1000 B.C.E. also marked the transition from the Early to the Late Vedic age.

There are still few archaeological sources for the Late Vedic age, so scholars must principally rely on sacred texts: the later Vedas, the Brahmanas, and Upanishads. Other written sources include the epics (*MAHABHARATA* and *RAMAYANA*) and *Puranas*, which include legends that seem to refer to this period. By the Late Vedic age the Aryan tribes had spread across north India and almost forgotten their earlier home in the northwest and Punjab. Territorial kingdoms had replaced the tribal state and old kinship relationships were being replaced by geographic alignments. Late Vedic society was more advanced economically compared with that of the Early Vedic.

Most people had settled down and become farmers. Many different kinds of trades and crafts were mentioned, indicating a more advanced material culture. They include jewelers, goldsmiths, basket makers, dyers, and potters. The rich had servants; there were also references to professional acrobats, musicians, fortune-tellers, and dancers who entertained the townspeople. While most people lived in villages, texts from the period mention towns; some of those names persist to the present.

NEW RELIGIOUS TRENDS

Two religious trends emerged. One had Brahman religious leaders challenging the power of the kings. Another was dissatisfaction with established religious rituals because they no longer satisfied the popular longings nor answered the questions of people whose lives had become more prosperous but felt insecure as a result of the changes. New religious ideas emerged. One was the doctrine of karma (*karma* means “deed” or “action”), which held that that one’s position in this life is the result of actions in previous lives and that one’s actions in this life will influence future lives.

This doctrine of the transmigration of the soul gave ethical content to human conduct and also justified inequities in life. Since the doctrine included all living things, it inspired kindness to animals, which resulted in vegetarianism. Some sought an answer in asceticism and joined bands of holy men debating religious questions and seeking answers. Out of the intellectual quest came the writing of the Upanishads and the emergence of two new religions, Buddhism and JAINISM. The end of the Vedic age also ended the shadowy early historic age in Indian civilization.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Vercingetorix

(72–46 B.C.E.) *Gallic chieftain*

Vercingetorix was a tribal chieftain of the Gallic Celtic Arverni tribe who attempted to stop the encroachment of Romans into his territory, Provence, in present-day France, from 53 to 52 B.C.E. The Roman leader, Gaius JULIUS CAESAR (100–44 B.C.E.), and his lieutenant Quintus Atius Labienus (100–45 B.C.E.), lost early engagements against Vercingetorix, who against all odds had managed to unite the generally warring tribes in Provence. This temporary alliance allowed Vercingetorix the upper hand. He retreated by using hit-and-run tactics within the natural boundaries of Provence that were unknown to the Romans. To prevent the Romans from finding sustenance, they scorched over 20 towns.

In the spring of 52 B.C.E. Caesar ordered siege fortifications to be built in order to capture the capital of Avaricum, present-day Bourges, which contained huge supplies of grain. Through unrelenting rain his troops built two 80-foot towers with more than 300-foot ramps in one month. The Gauls tried to sabotage the Roman siege works unsuccessfully. In the end 800 Gauls fled to Vercingetorix. The angry Romans massacred the 40,000 remaining inhabitants of Avaricum. Caesar, tired of the ceaseless and unproductive skirmishes and battles, had no desire to face the fierce Celtic tribes and decided to starve them out before reinforcement could reach Alesia. Caesar had his Romans build encircling fortifications around the Arverni stronghold at Alesia, near present-day Dijon, from which Vercingetorix had planned to fight and in which he was ultimately trapped.

Caesar once again used siege warfare to obtain his objective. He had his troops build a two-walled perimeter that would keep the Arverni and the Romans within close contact. The outer ring held the Romans,



Vercingetorix Throws His Arms at Caesar's Feet. A reproduction of a painting by Lionel-Noel Royer, created in 1899.

who besieged the Arverni. Modern-day excavators found the first wall to be 13 miles long with an 18-foot ditch that was meant to starve the Arverni. The second wall faced pointed stakes that could easily impale unsuspecting tribesmen. Yet another wall, 9 feet high and full of breastworks of earth, was constructed. In addition, every 130 yards, observation towers were erected. Two siege towers were built, each 80 feet high, that could contain ramparts of varying lengths. Vercingetorix tried to destroy the walls and often had skirmishes with the Romans, but to no avail.

His last attempt to alleviate the siege led to failure, his men fell onto the spikes, and the Romans killed many Gauls. Alesia was so well fortified by the Romans that Vercingetorix was given no choice when reinforcements failed to arrive. The war council in Alesia decided to wait for the end. The Arverni were slowly starving, so Vercingetorix released the women and children from his stronghold, hoping Caesar would take pity and treat them as prisoners, but he refused, and the women and children perished. Caesar won the five-day Battle of Alesia because the tribes under Vercingetorix were poorly organized and some betrayed their leader.

Various stories surround the surrender of Vercingetorix. One story relates that Vercingetorix and several tribal leaders simply surrendered to Caesar. The second story, written by Plutarch at least 100 years after the event, accounts that Vercingetorix rode out of Alesia in a stately fashion and around Caesar's camp, removing his battle armaments and surrendering with theatrical gestures before kneeling to him. His death is also shrouded

in debate. One historian claims he was killed shortly after his surrender. Another argues that for the next five years Vercingetorix was Caesar's prisoner in the Tullianum in Rome. Vercingetorix allegedly became a showpiece and was paraded around various Roman cities for five years in between stays at the Tullianum prison in Rome. Vercingetorix was publicly beheaded in Rome in 46 B.C.E. The Celtic tribes never fought again in present-day France and were absorbed into the ROMAN EMPIRE.

See also CELTS; GAUL.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Visigoth kingdom of Spain

The earliest Visigoths were a Germanic group that alternated between opposing and serving the ROMAN EMPIRE. Unlike some other Germanic tribes, the Visigoths retained elected leaders, never shifting to a fully hereditary kingship. The early Visigoths, like other Germanic peoples in the late Roman and early post-Roman periods, were Arian Christians—believing that the Son, Christ, had been created by the Father rather than being coeternal, as the Catholic Church believed. This meant that Visigothic kings could not be fully sure of the loyalty of the Catholic Church in their dominions, although they did not attempt to destroy the church or extirpate Catholicism.

After the famous sack of Rome by the Visigothic king Alaric in 410 C.E., the Visigoths settled in southern France, from which they first spread into the Iberian Peninsula in 416, as allies of the Roman emperor Honorius. The Roman government was trying to regain control of the province, then in the hands of a barbarian coalition. The Visigoths returned to Spain, this time permanently, under their King Theodoric II in 456. The most significant king of this phase of Visigothic history was Euric, who reigned from 466 to 484, under whom the Visigothic kingdom, with its capital at Toulouse, reached its greatest geographical extent, incorporating most of Iberia. Euric eliminated the last areas of direct Roman rule in Spain following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in 476.

The Visigothic kingdom was based in Spain after 507, when the Visigoths were defeated and the Catholic Franks under Clovis killed their king, Alaric II. In

alliance with the Burgundians, the Franks drove the Visigoths out of nearly all their possessions in France. The sole remainder of the French Visigothic kingdom was Septimania, between the Pyrenees and the lower Rhone. The Visigoths also lost some coastal territories in southern Spain to the Byzantines under the Emperor JUSTINIAN I. The most important rulers in sixth-century Visigothic Spain were Leovigild, who reigned 568–586, and his son Reccared, who reigned 586–601. Leovigild reinvigorated the Visigothic monarchy, defeated the Suevi kingdom of northwestern Spain and incorporated it into the Visigothic kingdom, and drove the Byzantines from all but a few small footholds in the south. He also established a permanent capital at Toledo—previously, Visigothic rulers had traveled through the peninsula rather than having a permanent base. Leovigild was also a lawgiver, promulgating extensive revisions of the earlier code of King Euric.

In 587 Reccared solved the problem of the kingdom's religious divisions by converting to Catholic, Trinitarian Christianity, the religion of nearly all of his non-Visigothic subjects, as well as a growing number of Visigoths. He extended this conversion to his kingdom in the Third Council of Toledo in 589. At this council Reccared, his family, and other leaders of the kingdom formally renounced ARIANISM before the Catholic bishops. The new regime was intolerant toward Arians, and Reccared crushed a series of rebellions led by Arian clergy and believers. The removal of the religious divisions between the Visigoths and the Roman elite led to greater assimilation between the two groups.

The seventh-century Visigothic monarchy was marked by strong cooperation between church and state, with the king making ecclesiastical as well as civil and military appointments, building churches, and working closely with the bishops. The Catholic Church in Spain, although in communion with Rome, was more subject to the king than to the pope. The Visigothic kingdom was also one of the more peaceful and prosperous areas of the post-Roman West, retaining its links to the Mediterranean economy and a relatively high degree of urbanization.

One way in which the strongly sacral nature of Catholic Visigothic kingship was expressed was a series of

decrees against the Jews. The Catholic Visigothic kings were an exception to the generally tolerant practices of Germanic barbarian kings toward the Jews in the early Middle Ages. King Sisebut (r. 612–621) ordered that Jews be forcibly baptized or exiled from the kingdom. Sisebut was one of the most learned early medieval kings, writing in Latin the *Life of St. Desiderius* and a poem on eclipses. Legislation was an important component of Visigothic kingship.

The legal decrees and codes issued by the Visigothic rulers show a progression away from different laws for Visigothic and Roman subjects, toward a single code of law for all peoples in the kingdom. This process of assimilation culminated in the Laws of the Visigoths, issued in 654 by King Recceswinth. Recceswinth, following the path laid out by his father, King Chindaswinth, abolished previous codes of Visigothic and Roman law in favor of a law applying uniformly over Visigothic territory and drawing from both Germanic and Roman sources. The Laws of the Visigoths, revised again by King Erwig in 681, was the most detailed and sophisticated law code of the early post-Roman kingdoms. The Laws of the Visigoths continued to influence law in Christian Spain long after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom.

Late seventh-century Visigothic kings, although supported by the church, suffered disputed successions, rebellions, and problems with the nobility. A dispute weakened the kingdom before the Arab invasion in 711. The Arabs also benefited from the Visigothic rulers' alienation of the Jewish population, who welcomed the Muslim invaders as liberators. The Arabs killed the last Visigothic ruler, King Rodrigo, or Roderic, and the Visigothic kingdom and ethnic identity came to an end.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS



Wang Mang

(45 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) *Chinese usurper*

Wang Mang's fame derived from his failed attempt to establish a dynasty called Xin (Hsin), meaning "new," between 9 and 23 C.E. when the HAN DYNASTY divided into two parts, the Western, or Former, Han (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) and the Eastern, or Later, Han (25–220 C.E.). His rise reflected the great power the families of imperial consorts of Han rulers often enjoyed, leading to his usurpation of the Han throne.

The Wang family was gentry; some of its male members served in the civil service, but its rise to power was due to the selection of one of its daughters. Wang Chengjun (Wang Cheng-chun) was sent to the harem of the future emperor Yuandi (Yuan-ti) and bore him a son in 51 B.C.E., for which she was made empress. When her husband died in 33 B.C.E. and was succeeded by her 18-year-old son, she gained the powerful position of empress dowager. Her longevity and the youth and short life span of her son and his successors enabled her to dominate the Han government and to appoint her family members to the most important offices of the land. After the death of all her brothers the now Grand Empress Dowager Wang appointed her nephew Wang Mang regent, then acting emperor. Finally he proclaimed himself emperor of a new dynasty called Xin (Hsin) in 9 C.E., crushing revolts by loyalists of the Han dynasty.

As emperor, Wang Mang made drastic changes to the government, rationalizing his changes on his interpretations of Confucian teachings. He thus reinstituted feu-

dalism, made many offices hereditary, nationalized land, changed the monetary system, and made laws that discriminated against the merchants. Although many of his changes were unenforceable and were soon rescinded, they nevertheless provoked popular discontent. His attempts to change the relationship with the nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) and Central Asian states produced unrest along the borders. Finally, even nature turned against his regime: droughts in the capital region, breaks of the Yellow River dikes, extensive flooding due to a change of the course of the Yellow River, and other natural disasters resulted in famine and revolts. The most serious peasant revolt was called the RED EYEBROW REBELLION. Several princes of the imperial Liu clan rose to lead the rebel forces in 22 C.E., and Wang Mang was killed the following year. Two more years of civil war ended in the restoration of the Han dynasty in 25 C.E. Although some of his reforms were well intentioned, Wang Mang is remembered in history as a usurper, and Chinese historians do not recognize his brief Xin dynasty as legitimate.

See also GUANGWU (KUANG-WU).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Way of the Sea

See KING'S HIGHWAY AND WAY OF THE SEA.

Wei Man (Wiman)

(second century B.C.E.) *founder of Korean state*

Wei Man came from northern China and lived in the second century B.C.E. He staged an unsuccessful uprising against the newly established HAN DYNASTY in 195 B.C.E. and fled with 1,000 followers to the northern Korean peninsula, where he founded a state called Caoxian (Ch'ao-hsien) in Chinese—the name is anglicized as CHOSON, one of the names by which Korea is called. His capital was close to modern Pyongyang, capital of modern North Korea. Choson was a sinicized state, reflecting the accelerated penetration of Chinese economic, military, and political power into the Korean peninsula since the late Warring States era in China in the third century B.C.E.

With superior military and economic strength, Wei Man's successors (who controlled highly developed ironworks) were able to expand the kingdom throughout the northern part of the Korean peninsula against Korean tribes. The killing of a Chinese envoy by Choson soldiers and the harboring of Han deserters by Choson led to war between the two states. A Chinese force invaded Choson in 109 B.C.E. and forced its surrender in 108 B.C.E. after the assassination of King Ugo, Wei Man's grandson. The establishment of four commanderies in Korea followed the destruction of Choson; they were administered as territories of the Han dynasty.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Wen and Wu

(fl. 12th century B.C.E.) *dynastic founders*

Kings Wen (the Literary or Cultivated) and his son Wu (the Martial) are the founders of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY, c. 1122–256 B.C.E. The Zhou people lived to the west of the Shang in the Wei River valley on the plain of Zhou (hence the dynastic name) in present-day Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province, west of the Shang heartland.

Both were descended from the Neolithic Longshan (Lungshan) culture, but the Zhou people were less cultivated. The Shang oracle bones described them as sometimes enemies and also as allies against the Jiang (Chiang) barbarian tribes further west. A Zhou leader was also referred to as “Chief of the West,” to whom a Shang noblewoman was given in marriage. A son was born of the union, King Wen.

King Wen was described as a paragon of virtue. Wen paved the way for overthrowing the SHANG DYNASTY by forming coalitions with other states but died in the 50th year of his reign, about 1133 B.C.E., before he could accomplish his goal. Since Zhou rulers practiced primogeniture, his oldest son, Wu, succeeded him. Around 1122 B.C.E. King Wu led a second campaign against the Shang, a coalition army purportedly 45,000 strong that consisted of forces from eight anti-Shang states, including men from a faraway Yangtze River valley state called Ba (Pa) in present-day Sichuan (Szechwan).

At a place called Muye (Mu-yeh), meaning “Shepherd's Field,” not far from Yin, Wu gave a speech that detailed the crimes of Shang king Shou. In a decisive battle against a larger but disaffected Shang army Wu's forces won decisively. King Shou retreated to his palace in Yin, set it afire, and died.

Wu restored order quickly, even placing a Shang prince in Yin as his vassal ruler, to continue conducting sacrifices to his powerful ancestral spirits, but under the supervision of three of Wu's brothers. Wu then returned to his capital in Hao, located just southwest of the modern city Xi'an (Sian), but died soon after, in 1116 B.C.E. while still young and before consolidating his conquest. The throne passed to Wu's oldest son, King Cheng (Ch'eng), but under the supervision of one of Wu's younger brothers, Dan (Tan), the DUKE OF ZHOU. As regent, the duke consolidated the new state and laid down the foundations that made the dynasty a great and lasting one. Kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Zhou are remembered as great men and ideal rulers in Chinese history.

Early Zhou proclamations justified the transfer of power as the wish of their high god, Tian (T'ien), or heaven, who was equated with Shangdi (Shang-ti), the Shang high god. From this came the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, that heaven oversaw the affairs of humans and appointed a virtuous human to rule on its behalf. The mandate could be passed down the generations in the ruling family, provided they ruled justly. If they did not rule justly, as was the case with the last Shang king, he forfeited the mandate. A righteous man would be appointed to replace him, in this case the Zhou king. This concept became central to Chinese political thinking.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

wisdom literature

Historians of the ancient world have come to recognize that wisdom literature represents the expressions of cultures and civilizations that rely on human experience to cope with life's mysteries and uncertainties. The genre is pervasive over a wide spectrum of peoples in many ages and places. Wisdom literature in the Bible is a genre that is somewhere between the prophetic and the apocalyptic writings in its content and style. When the prophets of the Bible became fewer and less vocal after the Babylonian captivity, the teachers of wisdom began to promote their perspective as the representatives of biblical faith. After them there arose, centuries later, the seers and mystics who were writers of APOCALYPTICISM. In many ways the teachers of biblical wisdom coincided with the development of philosophy in the Greek intellectual world as it outgrew the mythical explanations of the creation and life crafted by Homer and HESIOD. The time period for both biblical wisdom and Greek philosophy was the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E. and later, otherwise known as the Persian, or Attic, Period.

The Hebrew people drew upon three sources for their wisdom literature. First, ISRAEL had produced leaders and thinkers over the centuries whose achievements had been remembered, studied, and emulated. In the course of its history, such figures as SOLOMON, Daniel, and BARUCH had made an impression on later generations as teachers of wisdom. Thus, traditions developed that were native to the Hebrew people and distinctive in comparison to neighboring ethnic groups. By the same token, many other ancient kings and rulers had reputations for dispensing wisdom and sound advice, and stories circulated in their societies that would enhance public trust in their administration. Second, the nature of government and civilization favored the emergence of educated classes who could organize peoples and run social institutions. These people had to learn reading and writing, and they specialized in bringing stability to otherwise chaotic situations. This source of wisdom

literature, therefore, relied on SCRIBES and bureaucrats who had the leisure for reflection and writing. They might have had the resources to travel, learn other languages, and consider moderate reforms.

Third, the surrounding nations of the Middle East also presented a rich matrix for biblical wisdom literature. The Egyptians, the Sumerians, and the Babylonians were most famous for their wisdom teachings. Their traditions emerged long before the Greeks and the Hebrews of the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E. Scribal schools probably sprang up in response to the demands of Middle Eastern governments for able administrators. Masters who exercised great influence over their pupils led such schools. This phenomenon also is similar to the education that was offered by the purveyors of SOPHISM (and perhaps SOCRATES, Plato, and ARISTOTLE) in the Greek world. Invariably, in most of these environments the scribal classes favored stability and order, and so wisdom literature was largely supportive of the status quo.

Ancient Egypt in particular was the center for learning for thousands of years. As is often the case in wisdom literature, Egyptian materials come in the form of a father's advice to his sons. One very old collection of sayings, the *Instruction of Vizier Ptah-hotep* (2400 B.C.E.), shows parallels to the biblical book of Proverbs. Schools set up for educating Egyptian civil servants about their roles in court life are the background for passages in the *Instruction of Amenemope* (1000–600 B.C.E.) and excerpted and adapted by the editor of Proverbs. The civilization of SUMER has proverbs almost as old as Egypt's. Clearly it also had scribal schools set up by its government. Sumerian editors organized their wisdom materials by topic and theme, while it is hard to find the organizational thread that unites much of biblical wisdom. Sumerian observations on nature also do not moralize as much as the Hebrew writings.

The city-states of AKKAD and BABYLON also gave a milieu for Hebrew biblical traditions. One theme of wisdom literature has to do with undeserved suffering, most famously expressed by the long-suffering hero JOB in the Bible. This theme is found in the Babylonian poem *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom*, whose main character is often called the Babylonian Job, and in other works such as *Dialogue about Human Misery* and *Dialogue of Pessimism*. There are a couple other possible influences on Hebrew wisdom literature. First, there is a fragmentary book from the ARAMAEANS called *Proverbs of Ahiqar* that was well known in the ancient Middle Eastern world and translated into many languages. The earliest written text, however, for Ahiqar comes from the Persian Period. Then there is the Greek world, with its later emphasis on

rationalism and science. Biblical books such as Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes may betray familiarity with late Greek philosophy.

The themes of Hebrew wisdom imply that the God of the Bible works through creation, natural phenomena, and life experiences. Contemplation of the created order gives perspective for life's most vexing problems: death, sickness, and poverty. There is often optimism in early wisdom literature that everything has a purpose and that this purpose can be discovered. Later wisdom literature, however, shows skepticism that nature alone will supply answers. Even wisdom has its limits in the face of the mystery of suffering. Wisdom books in the Bible are distinguished from others because they do not depend on law and prophecies—direct revelation—for their validity. These books include Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon (Greek). Other candidates for this category are Song of Solomon and specific parts of Genesis, PSALMS, Jonah, Daniel, and Baruch (Greek).

In the New Testament one can find the semblances of wisdom sayings in many of the speeches of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and in the practical teachings of the letter of James. In fact, there is a tension between the wisdom dimension of much of the New Testament and the apocalyptic urgency of the KINGDOM OF GOD in its preaching. Outside of the Bible canon are later pseudepigraphical sources (e.g., 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch [Syriac], Odes of Solomon), and many believe that rabbinic Judaism has its roots in the traditions of Hebrew wisdom literature. According to the Bible, true wisdom is personified as a woman in a variety of positive female roles. The book of Proverbs especially shows her to be a hostess, a sister,

a wife, and source of intimate revelation about how the biblical God relates to creation. In some cases she serves as a mediator between God and humanity. Early models for this image can be found in the Egyptian concept of *maat*, or cosmic truth or balance, and in the Canaanite fertility goddess of Asherah, who was symbolized as a tree of life and who hosted banquets in the Ugaritic myths of Baal. In the New Testament aspects of personified wisdom were incarnated in the divinized identity of Jesus Christ. Rabbinic Jews tended to interpret any personification of wisdom in terms of the Halakah, or the religious duties of daily life.

See also CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; DAVID; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY; PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; TALMUD; UGARIT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Wu

See WEN and WU.

Wudi

See HAN WUDI.



Xenophon

See HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

Xerxes

(fl. 486–465 B.C.E.) *Persian king*

Xerxes was the oldest son of DARIUS I, from his first wife, Atossa, daughter of CYRUS II. Xerxes is familiar to students of the Bible since he appears in two books: in the book of ESTHER he is called by his Hebrew name Ahasuerus; and in the book of Ezra (4:6) he is mentioned in relation to an accusation lodged against the Jews in his reign. We have access to more than 20 Old Persian inscriptions written during his reign, but they do not add much to our knowledge of the man and his rule. As a result, our most important source is the *Histories* written by HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.), a Greek who described the expansion of the Persian Empire from Cyrus to Xerxes.

As the crown prince, Xerxes was trained to be emperor. Although he was not an active soldier as his father had been before him, Xerxes was schooled in statecraft through his position as viceroy of Babylon. Soon after his accession he had to deal with rebellion, first in 485 B.C.E. in Egypt, and then in 484 B.C.E., and then again in 484–482 B.C.E., in Babylon. The last of these rebellions forced Xerxes' hand, and the conciliatory policy toward Babylon that had been established by Cyrus was replaced with one of severe punishment: The great temple of Marduk, the main god in Babylon,

was pulled down; a huge gold statue of Marduk was taken away and melted down for bullion; and the satrapy of Babylon lost its independent status, being merged with ASSYRIA, its erstwhile enemy.

Having dealt with rebellions relatively near at hand, Xerxes looked to the West, and in the spring of 481 B.C.E. he left Persia with what probably was the greatest ancient army ever amassed, to avenge his father's defeat by the Greeks at the BATTLE OF MARATHON in 490 B.C.E. His army wintered in Asia Minor and continued their journey in the spring of 480 B.C.E., forcing a crossing to Europe in high summer. With the defeat of the Spartan king LEONIDAS at Thermopylae in August of that year, Xerxes moved on Athens. He arrives in Attica, the surrounding area to Athens, probably in early September. If Xerxes had patiently blockaded Athens, he would most likely have won, but tempted by the chance of a glorious victory in battle, he led his ships into a trap, the Battle of Salamis, that had been prepared by the Athenian general and ruler THEMISTOCLES. The Persians retreated, and Xerxes took a ship for Asia Minor, leaving his general and cousin Mardonius in charge. Two land battles were fought in the summer of 479 B.C.E. at Plataea and Mycale, both of which ended in Greek victories.

Xerxes returned to Persia discouraged by his failure against the Greeks, and his focus shifted to the building of his father Darius's palace at Susa and the finishing of the construction of Persepolis. The early years of his life, which had seemed to bear so much promise, now saw the full weakness of his character expressed in a fierce temper and in lack of self-control in his relations with

women. The resulting palace intrigues, accusations, and murders fostered an atmosphere of decadence in the Persepolis court and weakened Xerxes' ability to rule effectively. The Greeks no doubt saw this, and in 466 B.C.E. Cimon led a Greek force to Asia Minor from where he gradually increased his strength. Xerxes was roused from his lethargy and sent out an expedition to deal with the threat, but the Greeks were too strong, and the Persians abandoned their ships at Eurymedon. The land battle that followed ended with the Greeks taking the Persian camp. Eurymedon proved decisive, and the Persian Empire lost Europe. The loss of Europe and the slow loss of Asia Minor marked the beginning of a steady, if unhurried, decline in the empire to its eventual defeat at the hands of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in the next century.

In 465 B.C.E. Xerxes was assassinated in his bed-chamber by several of his court favorites. He was buried in a rock-cut tomb excavated in a cliff to the east of his father's tomb. Xerxes' oldest son Darius was next in line for succession, but a younger son, ARTAXERXES I, had Darius slain and took the throne for himself. There was a second emperor of the same name, Xerxes II, Artaxerxes' son, who ruled for just 45 days from the end of 428 B.C.E. However, his claim to the throne was tentative and was initially only certain in Susa. One of his half brothers murdered him while he was drunk in bed following a party.

See also PERSEPOLIS, SUSAN, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

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ANDREW PETTMAN

Xia (Hsia) dynasty

According to Chinese history taught until the early 20th century, culture heroes such as the Divine Farmer and Ox Tamer taught the people the arts of civilization. The Three Emperors (YAO, SHUN, AND YU), also mythical, followed the culture heroes, who were venerated because they abdicated in favor of the most worthy man rather than letting their less-qualified sons succeed them. The third of the sage rulers, called Yu the Great, solved the flooding problems that afflicted the reigns of Yao and Shun by dredging the riverbeds and channeling the

water to flow to the sea. As a result Shun appointed Yu king (r. 2205–2198 B.C.E.). The people were so grateful that they overruled Yu's choice of a successor and put his son Qi (Chi) on the throne. Thus began China's first dynasty, the Xia, which ended in 1766 B.C.E. with the overthrow of the last tyrant king Jie (Chieh). The Xia was followed by the SHANG (or Yin) DYNASTY (1766–1122 B.C.E.), which was succeeded by the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (1122–1256 B.C.E.) Collectively they were called the Three Dynasties and established the foundations of the Chinese civilization. Students of the scientific method in early 20th-century China began a "doubting antiquity school" that rejected the traditional dating in teaching Chinese history and called both the Xia and Shang dynasties fictional or mythical. Scientific archaeology in China began in the 1920s; it has authenticated the Shang as fully historic because of the existence of writing dating to the Shang era, which has been deciphered.

Archaeological excavations in China since the 1920s show that north and northeastern China, from the Yellow River valley to the coast entered the NEOLITHIC AGE around 8000 B.C.E. Thousands of sites show regional differences in the development in the pottery, jade, stone, ivory tools, and vessels used for both utilitarian as well as religious and ritual purposes. They also show increasing sophistication with the passage of time, evidenced in advances in technology and differentiation in status from the quality and quantity of items buried with the dead. They also show a geographic expansion that ranged from the highlands in the northwest to southern Manchuria in the northeast, southward to the Yangtze River valley and along the coast. Interactions between them are manifested in similarities in the styles of items they produced.

In the third millennium B.C.E., in present-day Shandong (Shantung) Province in northeastern China, a Neolithic culture began to make the transition to the threshold of the historic age. It is called the Longshan (Lungshan) culture. Other Longshan sites are located in Henan (Honan) and Shanxi (Shansi) Provinces, also in northern China. They date from c. 3000 to c. 2000 B.C.E. Urban centers with protective walls, elaborate tombs, and palatial sized buildings have been excavated, some clusters of settlements stretching over several hundred sq. miles. Implements were still made of stone, bone, and shell; pottery was wheel made and high temperature fired; and objects of alloyed metals were made for the first time. As ancient Chinese historians expressed it, China had entered the era of 10,000 states; while 10,000 is an exaggeration, there definitely were hundreds, even thousands,

of such settlements, and there must have been interactions and competition among the states.

Civilizations become historic with the existence of deciphered written records. Traditional Chinese historiography is the longest continuous historiographical tradition in the world. According to that tradition, China's first dynasty, the Xia, dates to between 2205 and 1766 B.C.E. As SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEN), Grand Historian and author of *Shiji* (*Shih-chi*), or *Records of the Historian* (a comprehensive history of the Chinese world from the beginning to his lifetime in the first century B.C.E.) wrote that it was begun by Yu the Great and ended with the overthrow of the tyrant king Jie by the founder of the following Shang dynasty. Sima Qian named 13 successive rulers during the dynasty and had little information for any except the first and last kings. He listed 30 kings for the Shang dynasty. No contemporary written documents have been discovered, although pottery shards bearing writing that date to the Xia have been found but have not been deciphered. On the other hand, huge amounts of Shang writing that were inscribed on oracle bones (tortoiseshells or scapula bones of large animals) have survived and have been deciphered. Shang writing is proven to be the ancestor of modern Chinese writing. Information provided by the oracle bones proved Sima Qian correct in the names of Shang kings and their relationship to one another. By the same process they proved those who doubted the existence of the Shang wrong.

Excavations since the 1970s have established a major urban site at Erlitou (Erh-li-t'ou) in Henan as of the Xia era (c. 2000 B.C.E.); it was perhaps a capital city of the Xia (Sima Qian stated that the Xia moved capital cities several times). According to Sima Qian, King Yu once summoned his contemporary rulers of the 10,000 states to meet at Tushan, his wife's home state. He went on to give details about capital cities, genealogy, and other details of Xia and not of the other states. Perhaps this indicates that by the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Xia had emerged as the leader among Chinese states, while others, including its successor dynasties, the Shang and Zhou did not become prominent until later. Since Sima Qian was right about the succession of Shang kings, perhaps in the future additional archaeological information will also prove the Xia chronology correct.

See also YAO, SHUN, AND YU; YELLOW EMPEROR.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu)

(d. 202 B.C.E.) *Chinese general*

Xiang Yu was a brilliant general who contributed to the fall of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY but failed to become the master of China. The unexpected death of the first emperor of the Qin in 210 B.C.E. created a crisis that ended the 10-year-old dynasty. In the ensuing power struggle the emperor's chief minister, Li Si (Li Ssu), and eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) got rid of the crown prince and MENG TIAN (MENG T'IEN), the most powerful Qin general, and placed a weak younger brother of the deceased crown prince on the throne. Later Zhao had Li murdered in jail. Since Li had been the architect of the Qin empire, his death spelled its doom.

Meanwhile, popular revolts had broken out throughout China, led by desperate people who could no longer bear the oppression of Qin. The spontaneous peasant rebellions were followed by better-led and organized revolts by the survivors of the royal houses that had been conquered by Qin. The most notable noble leader was Xiang Yu, whose family had long served as generals of the southern state called Zhu (Ch'u). Xiang resurrected the house of Zhu and elevated one of its members to be king. Survivors of several other states followed suit. Another leader was LIU BANG (LIU PANG), a peasant by birth who had risen to minor office.

In 208 B.C.E. Xiang and Liu joined forces and agreed that whoever first entered the heartland of Qin at Guangzhung (Kwanchung) would be king. Liu achieved that honor in 206 B.C.E. when his forces entered the Qin capital Xianyang (Hsien-yang) and accepted the surrender of the third Qin ruler, thus ending the dynasty. Liu won widespread respect by not allowing his men to loot, protecting the Qin royal family, reducing taxes, and relaxing the harsh Qin legal code. Two months later Xiang Yu arrived at Xianyang and, breaking the pact with Liu, had the Qin royal family murdered and looted and destroyed the Qin palaces and the imperial library.

Because he was the foremost general, Xiang immediately undertook to create a new political order for China. Instead of continuing the unified empire set up by Qin, he created 19 feudal states, each under a king, with himself ruler of one of them and president of the

confederacy of states, heralding a return to the political model of China of 200 years earlier. Liu Bang was awarded a region called Hanzhung (Han-chung) in northwestern China and became king of Han. The rivalry between Xiang and Liu came to a head when Xiang attempted to have Liu assassinated. In the ensuing war Xiang won important victories, but his arrogance and cruelty lost him allies and supporters, while Liu won adherents with his generosity and administrative skills. Deserted by his followers, Xiang committed suicide in 202 B.C.E. Liu's followers proclaimed him emperor of the new HAN DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu)

Chinese texts describe the Xiongnu, a nomadic people, as ferocious warriors and raiders. Powerful Xiongnu men practiced unlimited polygamy, and when a leader died, his successor married all his father's or grandfather's wives except his mother. Likewise a surviving brother took over his deceased brother's widows. Differences in customs, languages, and lifestyles made relations difficult between the Chinese and Xiongnu. The Xiongnu language is believed to belong to the Altaic group, whereas Chinese was a Sinitic language. Moreover, the Xiongnu were nomadic, and the Chinese led a sedentary lifestyle. The Chinese were literate, whereas the Xiongnu had no written script.

North and northwest of the Yellow river valley, the increasingly arid climate allowed for mixed farming and herding lifestyle in an intermediate zone, then only herding by nomads was possible. By the fourth century B.C.E. during China's Warring States era, most of the seminomadic people had been absorbed into the northern Chinese states. As a result, Chinese and nomadic cultures came into direct contact. One of these nomadic groups was the Xiongnu. As they had no written language, the only textual accounts about them are in Chinese, starting in the fourth century B.C.E.

Around 324 B.C.E. three northern Chinese states called Qin (Ch'in), Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen), which

bordered on the Xiongnu, began building defensive walls along their frontiers. In 307 B.C.E. the king of Zhao, whose state was most threatened by the Xiongnu, ordered his troops to practice archery, changed their uniform to the Xiongnu style, and began to acquire a large cavalry—with good results, winning both battles and lands. China was unified under the Qin in 221 B.C.E. The first emperor of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, either pursuing expansion or to give work to his huge army or, as he stated, to prevent Xiongnu aggression, ordered his most capable general, MENG TIAN (MENG T'IENT) to clear all land south of the northern bend of the Yellow River of nomads.

General Meng defeated the Xiongnu *shanyu* (king) named Touman with an army of more than 100,000 men (some records say 300,000) and annexed land across present-day Manchuria, through Inner Mongolia to Gansu (Kansu) Province in the west. He linked existing walls and extended them to form the GREAT WALL OF CHINA with heavily fortified outposts, settled the frontier lands with convicts and colonists, and built roads that linked the borderland with the metropolitan area. Touman and his followers fled northward. However, Qin victories were quickly undone. The first emperor died in 210 B.C.E., followed by the forced suicide of General Meng in a power struggle; widespread revolts toppled the dynasty in 206 B.C.E.

Defeats by the Chinese forced the loosely knit confederation of Xiongnu tribes to reorganize. In 209 B.C.E. Touman's son MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) murdered him. As the new *shanyu*, Maotun solidified his forces into a disciplined and loyal fighting unit. He defeated other nomadic tribes called the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) and the Dong Hu (Tung Hu), forcing them to flee. The Dong Hu fled to Manchuria, and the Yuezhi were broken up. One group moved south of the Great Wall, while the main group, called the Great Yuezhi, moved west, eventually settling in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan. He also confronted the ruler of the new HAN DYNASTY in China. In a battle in 200 B.C.E., 300,000 of Maotun's cavalry defeated LIU BANG's mostly infantry forces.

The two sides concluded a treaty in 198 B.C.E. that stipulated peaceful relations between the two equal states, trade, fixed gifts between the two states (Han gave Xiongnu large quantities of silks, silver, liquor, and other valuables, for token return gifts by Xiongnu), and a Han princess as wife for Maotun. This was called the Heqin (Ho-ch'in) Treaty, the word meaning "peace and amity." A total of 10 Heqin treaties were signed between 198 and 135 B.C.E., when a new ruler succeed-

ed to either throne. Several more Han princesses were given as wives to Xiongnu rulers, and each revision entailed additional gifts from the Han. China agreed to the terms because the newly established dynasty was too unstable and the people were too exhausted from previous wars to pursue an aggressive policy. Although the treaties brought a measure of peace, Xiongnu raids continued. It is estimated that approximately 10,000 Chinese died annually from these continuing raids, in addition to seized people (for slaves) and property.

In 134 B.C.E. the Han, fully recovered and under a young, vigorous ruler, HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), ended the appeasing Heqin treaties. The first indecisive campaign in 129 B.C.E. had four Han armies, each 100,000 strong in simultaneous attacks. In 127 B.C.E. the Han scored a major victory, chasing the Xiongnu north across the Gobi Desert to the shores of Lake Baikal in present-day Russia.

It was a prolonged struggle, which finally broke the Xiongnu but also cost the Han huge losses in lives and treasures. Wudi sent an emissary, ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH' IEN) to find the Yuezhi and offer them an alliance against their common enemy, but when the envoy finally found them in Afghanistan, the Yuezhi were settled and no longer interested. He did find other allies, willing to become Han vassal states, from as far away as Ferghana and Sogdiana in Central Asia.

Xiongnu power was finally broken in 60 B.C.E. The reasons were superior Han resources and leadership, the declining ability of later Xiongnu *shanyu*, the inability of the Xiongnu tribal structure of government to handle expanded power, and better treatment of vassal states by the Han. Civil wars ensued among the Xiongnu, which broke them into two groups in 54 B.C.E. The Southern Xiongnu surrendered to the Han dynasty and became vassals; their leaders came to pay homage at the Han capital and received subsidies, while many of the tribesmen were settled along the border regions.

Campaigns against the Northern Xiongnu continued sporadically until the end of the first century C.E. when they were finally defeated in present-day Outer Mongolia and Central Asia. Some were forced to move west; those remaining became intermingled with other nomadic groups. After the fall of the Han in 220 C.E. groups among the Southern Xiongnu formed brief regional dynasties in northwestern China, and some claimed to be descendants of the Han imperial family through Han princesses who had become wives of their rulers. By the sixth century the Xiongnu had been absorbed into Chinese culture.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Xunzi (Hsun Tzu)

(300–235 B.C.E.) *Chinese philosopher*

Xunzi means “Master Xun” in Chinese; his personal name was Qing (Ch’ing). He was a heterodox Confucian philosopher, and his collected writings of 32 chapters are named the *Xunzi*. Each well-argued chapter is devoted to a single topic, such as self-cultivation, proper kingly rule, the recruitment of officials, military affairs, and music.

Xunzi’s great mind ranked him third in importance among Confucian philosophers, after CONFUCIUS and MENCIUS. He spent most of his life studying and teaching, with a brief interlude as a magistrate. Living at a time of intense interstate warfare as China struggled toward unification, he despaired of a restoration of the old order that Confucius and Mencius had hoped for.

This may explain Xunzi’s hardheaded realism and opposition to excessive idealization of the past. He also looked to more recent role models from Chinese history, going back to the founders of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY rather than the remote legendary sage rulers such as YAO, SHUN, AND YU. He also rejected traditional concepts that heaven rewarded virtuous rulers and punished wicked ones; instead he postulated a mechanical universe that operated independent of the doings of humans.

Xunzi’s interpretation of Confucian teachings on human nature was opposite of that of Mencius. Whereas Mencius taught that human nature was innately good and became corrupted because of poor environment and lack of moral education, Xunzi believed human nature was evil and selfish. However, he also believed in the crucial role of education and trusted that a good moral education could make sages of all men. Therefore, Xunzi made the role of a wise and strong teacher key to moral progress. He also concluded that humans had a choice, a key element that made them superior to animals.

He said: “The nature of man is evil; his goodness is only acquired by training. The original nature of

man today is to seek for gain, if this desire is followed, strife and rapacity results and courtesy dies . . . therefore the civilizing influence of teachers and laws, the guidance of the 'li' [proper good conduct] and justice is absolutely necessary. . . . Hence they [ancient kings] established the authority of the prince to govern man; they set forth clearly the 'li' and justice to reform him; they established laws and government to rule him; they made punishments severe to warn him, and so they caused the whole country to come to a state of good government and prosperity." However, Xunzi agreed with Mencius's social and economic welfare plans and agreed that unworthy rulers should be overthrown, saying, "Heaven does not create people for the sake of the sovereign. Heaven made the sovereign for the sake of the people."

While Xunzi's interpretation of Confucianism had great influence during his lifetime, it waned during the

HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and thereafter, and the more altruistic interpretations of Mencius were accepted as the Confucian orthodoxy. Two of his students, Han Fei and Li Si (Li Ssu), would become leaders of the Legalist school, gained great power under the Qin (Ch'in) state, and engineered the unification of China under the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; LEGALISM.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR



Yamato clan and state

The Yamato court is known as the birthplace of the Japanese political state. It is a term applied to the political system of the Kofun period but also its development and refinement in the late fifth to seventh centuries C.E. The Yamato state unified north Kyushu, Shikoku, and southern Honshu. The people were a clan-, or kinship- (*uji*), based society, where religion played an important part in controlling their lives, but during the Kofun period (the name given to the large key-shaped burial mounds of the time) powerful clan leaders and their families started to emerge as the stratification of communities evolved within the late YAYOI CULTURE. Small kingdoms were established, each ruled by a different clan. The rulers at this time were mainly religious figureheads using the people's faith to govern them. One of the most powerful was the Yamato clan, and after continual warfare among the different kingdoms a union of states developed—the Yamato state, under the rule of the Yamato clan.

In the fourth century C.E. the Yamato were situated in the rich agricultural region around the modern city of Kyoto. In the fifth century, when the Yamato court reached its peak, there was a shift in the power base to the provinces of Kawachi and Izumi (modern Osaka). The emergence of such powerful clans is evidenced by the increased elaboration of their burial mounds in comparison with the Yayoi period. Burial sites in the Kofun period illustrated a segregating of the workers and elite of the community. The mounds took on a new shape, a “keyhole” design, were larger in size, and were

surrounded by moats. By the fifth century it was evident that the power of the Yamato clan had increased. These huge tombs represented the power of the Yamato aristocracy, holding swords, arrowheads, tools, armor, and all the signs of military might. Only religious and ceremonial items had been placed in earlier burial mounds. As Yamato had increased the contact with mainland Asia, the items in the burial tombs reflected their power and influence. Besides the military items, there were such things as gilt bronze shoes and gold and silver ornaments.

The Yamato clan and its strongest allies formed the aristocracy of the Yamato state, occupying the most important positions in the court. A hereditary ruler headed the Yamato court, and because intermarriage within clans produced a large family network, there were constant struggles for power. Believing that they were descendants of the sun goddess, the Yamato clan developed the notion of kingship and thus began the imperial dynasty. An emperor, based on the Chinese system, represented it. The first legendary emperor of Japan was Jimmu. The emperor, the supreme religious symbol of the state, had no real political power. The power base lay with the clan leaders, headed by a prime minister-style official. These officials had very close ties with the ruler, showing the importance that was placed on the harmony between religion and the governing of the people. There was also economic and military support from the occupational groups within the court known as *be*. These groups consisted of rice farmers, weavers, potters, artisans, military armorers, and specialists in

religious ceremonies. They were subordinate to the ruling families. One group of *be* were especially important to the ruling family as they consisted of highly skilled immigrants from mainland Asia, who specialized in iron working and raising horses.

The Yamato court became the unifying force in Japan. They began to limit the power of the lesser clan leaders and started to acquire agricultural lands to be controlled by a central body. A bureaucratic ranking system was developed when the separate kingdoms were incorporated into the Yamato court, and the stronger clan leaders were given titles to reflect their status as regional chiefs. The two titles bestowed on the chiefs were *muraji* and *omi*. The greatest of the chiefs lived at the court and as a collective ruled over the productive lands and hence the farming communities. This also gave them access to large resources of manpower to be used in such activities as burial mound building and also as conscripted troops for the military forays into the Korean Peninsula.

By the fourth century the Yamato court was developed enough to send envoys to mainland Asia, sometimes military, but mostly to gain knowledge of the political and cultural aspects of the far more advanced Chinese and Korean civilizations. They also procured supplies of iron resources said to be plentiful in the south of Korea. By the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth centuries the military were involved in the expansion of Yamato power throughout the Korean peninsula. At the same time Korea was going through cultural and political changes, with warring between the three kingdoms, Koguryo (north), Paekche (east), and Silla (west). Alliances were made with the Paekche, against the Silla, with Yamato gaining some power in the region. However, in the sixth century Silla became more powerful militarily, causing Yamato to face power reversals in the region and forcing them to withdraw from the peninsula.

Paekche began to exchange knowledge and resources with the Yamato; scribes, sword smiths, horsemen, and horses were introduced to the court. The Yamato court had a large number of mainland scholars brought over for their advanced knowledge and skills. The Paekche court also sent a Confucian scholar, a Buddhist scholar, Buddhist scriptures, and an image of the Buddha. These scholars dramatically altered the fast-developing Japanese culture. Scholars were sent to China to learn about their political and cultural ideals, and in the sixth or seventh century they were brought back to the Yamato court to establish a written system based on Chinese characters and the grounding for the establishment of a

parliamentary system. Based on Chinese models of government, the Yamato court developed a central administrative and imperial court.

The sixth century saw the SOGA CLAN's rise to power. The Soga clan, which did not claim to be descended from the gods, had entrenched themselves in the Yamato court by establishing marital connections with the imperial family. As well as having administrative and fiscal skills, this allowed them considerable influence within the court structure. They introduced fiscal policies based on Chinese systems and established the first treasury. They collected, stored, and paid for goods produced by employees. The Soga introduced to the court the idea that the Korean peninsula could be used as a trade route rather than for military conquest.

The powerful Soga clan was in favor of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, but in the beginning the Soga found opposition from other clans, such as the Nakatomi, who performed the Shinto rituals at the court, and the Mononabe, who wanted the military aspect of the court to be maintained and elevated in importance. Conflicts arose between the clans, with Soga vowing to build a temple and encourage the spread of Buddhism as the main instrument of worship if successful in battle. They were successful, and there were several Buddhist temples built, and Buddhism became a strong religion in Japan. The Soga believed that the teachings of Buddhism would lead to a more peaceful and safe society.

The intermarriage of the Soga with the imperial family paved the way for Soga Umako (Soga Chieftain) to install his nephew as emperor, later assassinate him, and replace him with Empress SUIKO. Unfortunately, Empress Suiko, was a puppet for Soga Umako and Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi. A system of 12 ranks was established, making it possible to elevate the status of officials based on merit rather than birth right. Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi was a devout Buddhist and a scholar of Confucian principles. Under his instigation Confucian models of rank and etiquette were introduced, and he introduced the Chinese calendar. He built numerous Buddhist temples, had court chronicles written, and established diplomatic links with China.

However, with the deaths of Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi, Soga Umako, and Empress Suiko, there was a coup to gain succession to the imperial throne. The coup was led by Prince Naka and Nakatomi Kamatari, who introduced the Taika (Great Change) Reforms, which established the system of social, fiscal,

and administrative codes based on the *ritsuryo* system of China. The reforms were aimed at strengthening the emperor's power over his subjects and not leaving the final decisions to his cabinet. These reforms ushered in the decline of the Yamato court by lessening the control of the court clans over the agricultural lands and the occupational groups. The reforms abolished the hereditary titles for the clan leaders and instead of them advising the emperor there would be ministries. The new order wanted to have control over all of Japan and make the people subjects of the throne. There were taxes placed on the harvests, and the country was divided into provinces headed by court-appointed governors.

See also SHINTOISM; THREE KINGDOMS, KOREA.

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SHELLEY ALLSOP

Yao, Shun, and Yu

(fl. 3rd millennium B.C.E.) *legendary Chinese rulers*

In Chinese accounts of the beginning of their civilization, three rulers of exceptional virtue followed the legendary culture heroes Fuxi (Fu-hsi), Shengnong (Sheng-nung), and the YELLOW EMPEROR; they were Kings Yao, Shun, and Yu. Their shared characteristic was that each rejected his own son as unworthy and tried to install the best-qualified man as his successor, unsuccessfully in the case of Yu. Their unselfishness has figured importantly in Chinese historical writings and made them model rulers. Documents that purportedly date to their rule constitute the first section of the second Confucian classic, the *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History* (also called *Book of Documents*).

Yao (r. 2357–2256 B.C.E.) and Shun (r. 2255–2205 B.C.E.) are revered figures because they epitomized wisdom, humility, and unselfishness. The canon of Yao in the *Book of History* cites Yao as a descendant of the Yellow Emperor and credits him with devising a calendar of 356 days to regulate agriculture, encouraging

morality, establishing a rudimentary government, and above all selecting a successor unselfishly. After ruling for 70 years he set about choosing a worthy successor because he thought his own son unfit and found a humble man called Shun, who was admired as a dutiful son to undeserving parents. Shun did not think himself worthy, but Yao insisted and married his two daughters to Shun to observe his behavior. Yao shared his rule with Shun for 28 years and then abdicated in favor of Shun.

Shun, according to legend, also descended from the Yellow Emperor and was a virtuous and benevolent ruler. Both Yao's and Shun's reigns were troubled by great floods and attempts to build dikes that did not work. Shun then appointed an official named Yu to deal with the problem. Yu traveled the land and worked on flood control for more than a decade, succeeding because he dredged the riverbeds and channeled the water to the sea. He worked so hard that on three occasions he passed his own house and heard his wife and children weeping in loneliness but did not go in. Such was his dedication that Shun set aside his son, made Yu his co-ruler for 17 years, and then abdicated in his favor.

Yu was also a humane and wise ruler (r. 2205–2198 B.C.E.). Together Yao, Shun, and Yu are called the Three Sage Rulers. Yu also attempted to bypass his son and appoint the best man his successor. The people were so grateful to him that they insisted on putting his son Qi (Chi) on the throne. Thus began the first Chinese dynasty, the XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY. The territory under these three rulers was centered on modern Shanxi (Shansi) Province in northern China. Later, Chinese historians idealized Yao, Shun, and Yu, extolling their reign as the golden age. Their moral conduct became the grand themes of historical and literary writings for posterity. As a result of modern scientific methods of investigating history they have been assigned to the position of legendary figures.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Yayoi culture

Beginning in Kyushu and spreading eastward toward the north, migrants from mainland Asia introduced Yayoi culture to Japan, especially via the Korean peninsula. The Yayoi culture of Japanese history was evident between the third century B.C.E. and the third century C.E. The population practiced animism, that is, they attributed all natural phenomena as having a living soul that they called *kami*. They also worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Shrines were few in number. There was no written language in Japan at this time, so nothing was documented by the people about their culture and way of life. The Chinese, however, did have an advanced writing system, so they were able to record the development of the culture.

Clothing was simple, with most fabric woven from hemp and bark fibers. There was no currency, so bartering was used to trade farm implements. Yayoi farmers fished, hunted, gathered, and grew vegetables and rice. In the early Yayoi years there were no cities, and it was the first time in Japan's history that permanent settlements started to appear in the agricultural community. This was because of the introduction of a highly advanced form of rice cultivation using irrigation, known as wet rice farming. As time went on, the Yayoi started large-scale irrigation farming, which strengthened their economy, including the establishment of terraced paddy fields. The Yayoi were so successful in the growing of rice that there was often a surplus. To store this surplus they developed storage buildings on stilts, after finding that the traditional method of burying rice in pits resulted in moldy rice. Such surpluses allowed the villages to increase in population, and as the Yayoi era progressed, these villages would merge to create larger settlements.

As the cultivation of wet rice necessitated the building of paddies, migrants brought implements to work the land, hence the introduction of metal tools from the mainland. Iron was the first metal, mainly from Korea, followed by bronze from China. As time progressed, the local craftsmen were taught to work the metal, and they began to develop their own styles. Among the implements produced in this period were swords, arrowheads, axes, chisels, knives, sickles, and fishhooks. They also produced decorative items like mirrors and ceremonial bells that were mainly used for religious rituals and symbols of status.

Another distinctive characteristic of Yayoi culture was earthenware. The pottery wheel was first introduced to Japan in this period. Yayoi pottery was smoother and more uniform and had a better shape than earlier Jomon pottery.

It was unglazed and more simply decorated in comparison with Jomon pottery, more akin to early Korean pottery. The term *Yayoi* is derived from an area in Tokyo where evidence of this earthenware was discovered. Even though the Yayoi culture covered much of Japan, not all regions developed the same traits; for example, the pottery found in the north had indications of using a comb effect in the decorations to form lines or bands.

During these years there was a progression toward civilization illustrated in methods of burying the dead, regardless of their position in the community. At first the dead were buried in simple, single graves covered in dirt mounds. Later they were left in more elaborate graves, some of stone or clay, often with stone dolmens over the site. This shows one aspect of the Chinese influence on the cultural elements of the Yayoi. In the later years of the period, leading into the Kofun (Yamato) era, some of the burial sites were set apart from the others suggesting the beginning of a class stratum and that some people had started to gain power in the community.

The Yayoi period was the turning point for the development of Japanese culture. At the end of the era, when the villages had amassed wealth, conflicts began over the surrounding lands. It proved beneficial to amalgamate into larger settlements, thus initiating the beginnings of social order and the evolution of political entities that would unify the larger villages into states, finally accepting one ruling body.

See also JOMON CULTURE.

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SHELLEY ALLSOP

Yellow Emperor (Huangdi, or Huang Ti)

(r. 2697–2597 B.C.E.) *legendary Chinese hero*

According to Chinese tradition or mythology, civilization began as a result of the innovations introduced by culture heroes at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E. The first ones were Fuxi (Fu-hsi) the Ox Tamer

and Shengnong (Sheng-nung) the Divine Farmer, who taught people to domesticate animals, instituted family life and settled agriculture, and established markets for trading. Their inventions or innovations denoted advancement of ancient peoples from the PALEOLITHIC AGE to the NEOLITHIC AGE.

A period of chaos ensued after Fuxi and Shengnong's rule until Huangdi (Huang Ti), or the Yellow Emperor, established most of the trappings of kingship. Many advances resulted from his reign. People began to live in wooden houses, built walled towns, traveled in boats and carts, and made pottery. His wife taught women to raise silkworms and spin and weave silk. His ministers taught the art of divination by the Sun, Moon, and stars and invented musical notations, arithmetic, and established the calendar. They also invented writing. Fuxi, Shengnong, and the Yellow Emperor are culture heroes.

Huangdi was also credited with winning a great battle against "barbarian" tribes somewhere in modern-day Shanxi (Shansi) Province in northern China, consolidating his kingdom and beginning the history of China as a nation. Later legendary rulers YAO, SHUN, AND YU (founders of the XIA [HSIA] DYNASTY) and the founders of the SHANG DYNASTY and ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY were all reputedly his descendants. Since the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties together constituted the formative age of Chinese civilization, and their rulers all claimed descent from the Yellow Emperor, by extension the Chinese people have regarded him as their common ancestral hero and called themselves his descendants. Thus, the legend of the Yellow Emperor is important to the Chinese civilization.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Yellow Turban Rebellion

The Yellow Turban Rebellion was a messianic uprising (184–185 C.E.) that was both a symptom and cause of the fall of the HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). It occurred during the disastrous reign of Emperor Lin (r. 168–189 C.E.) Ascending the throne at age 12, Lin was under the control of the regent, who sought to

eliminate the dominance of corrupt eunuchs with the assistance of the scholar-officials. However, the eunuchs acted first, killed the regent, purged the officials, and proceeded to rule unchecked during the next 20 years. They let landlordism increase unchecked while increasing taxes on the peasants. The economic distress of the population was exacerbated by natural disasters including droughts and flooding of the Yellow River, all producing famine and refugee movements.

These distresses caused peasant revolts, which combined political discontent with religious overtones. They culminated in 184 C.E. in the Yellow Turban Rebellion. The name was derived from the yellow turban the rebels wore to distinguish themselves from government troops. The rebels had chosen yellow because it symbolized the earth, their logo, which according to Chinese cosmology followed fire, represented by red, the symbol of the Han. The rebels chose signs and symbols to signify cosmic support and religious justification. The rebels were also messianic and millennialist, based on certain interpretations of popular DAOISM (TAOISM). The Yellow Turbans were led by a man surnamed Zhang (Chang) who taught that the recent plague was caused by sin and could be cured by public confessions, magical and religious practices, and the wearing of amulets and charms. Zhang proclaimed that he could then renew the world and bring about a golden age of Great Peace (*taiping*). (Great Peace became the name of another major messianic peasant revolt in the 1850s.)

The Yellow Turbans met success in 16 commanderies in northern China but were defeated by 185 C.E., not by the inept regular troops, but by troops raised by powerful provincial commanders. The result was the breakdown of the central government that inaugurated an era during which emperors, all minors after Emperor Lin's death, were puppets of the regional warlords, while at the capital families of their mothers and grandmothers vied for control.

The first powerful warlord to march on the capital of LUOYANG (LOYANG) was named Dong Zhuo (Tung Cho), who massacred more than 2,000 eunuchs, ending their power, then deposed the young emperor, looted the city, and burned down the imperial library. Dong was soon killed. A new boy emperor was installed, named Xiandi (Hsien-ti), but he was a pathetic plaything of the rival generals. Xiandi's abdication in 220 was a mere formality that ratified the real power alignment between three major contenders. The Yellow Turban Rebellion contributed to the long decline and fall of the Han dynasty.

See also THREE KINGDOMS, CHINA.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Yemen

Yemen is the state occupying the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Because of the extensive desert in the interior of the peninsula, Yemen has undemarcated borders with Oman to the east and Saudi Arabia to the north. The western and southern borders are marked by the coast, running along both the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. Trade characterized the history of early Yemen. The harsh climate and the generally unproductive nature of much of the interior meant that

most of Yemeni culture and history was focused on a comparatively narrow coastal strip. However, some highland areas were important economically and were settled from an early period. Recent discovery of megaliths on a coastal plain at al-Tihamah indicate that even marginally habitable desert regions of Yemen were occupied perhaps as long ago as 2400 B.C.E. However, it was not until some centuries later that a number of powerful, independent city-states emerged in the area. The basis of these states was the local monopoly control of frankincense and myrrh and the command of the spice trade from South Asia, which resulted from knowledge of wind conditions. Both myrrh and frankincense are derived from gum resins, obtained by removing the bark from a portion of a tree and allowing the resin to extrude and harden.

From the seventh century B.C.E. caravans took the myrrh and frankincense along land routes to Ctesiphon, Syria, and the Mediterranean cities. The biblical queen of Sheba was located in Yemen, an area later known



The city of Thula in Yemen stands at the eastern foot of an ancient fort. Much of Yemeni culture was focused on the narrow coastal strip, yet even marginally habitable desert regions of Yemen were occupied perhaps as long ago as 2400 B.C.E.

by the Romans as Arabia Felix—"fortunate Arabia." In addition to the Sabaean or Sheba state, there were also the Minaean and the Himyarite states. These states also had access to eastern Africa and traded into luxury items such as ostrich plumes. The wealth that these various items produced meant that from approximately 1200 B.C.E. to 255 C.E. they were famous throughout the Mediterranean world. Inevitably, wealth stimulated desire and a number of attempts were made to dominate the region from the outside. The most well known of these attempts was by the Romans, and eventually Arabia was annexed by TRAJAN, who redirected maritime trade to the west coast of the Red Sea. Further, Roman sailors discovered the knowledge of the winds, and monopolization of the spice trade by Yemenis ended. Both Greeks and Romans had already managed to source their own trade goods through the Yemeni port of Muza, which is now lost. Independent, wealthy Yemeni states were no longer possible. The great engineering projects began to fail as falling incomes meant lower revenues for public works. Symbolically, the Ma'rib Great Dam failed in 525, victim of the failure to reinforce its structure.

Yemeni people were a mixture of Jewish and Christians by this time, together with a mixture of adherents of indigenous beliefs. The last Himyarite king, Dhu Nuwas (Yusuf Asaf Yathar), converted to Judaism and subsequently ordered a massacre of Christians. Survivors called for help from the Byzantine emperor in the name of the Aksumite Christians of Yemen. This enabled the Aksumites to dominate Yemen and even threaten to control the area around Mecca and Medina. In return, Himyarites called the Persian Empire for help, which led to the absorption of Yemen into Persia. Subsequently, Yemen came to be governed by the Umayyid caliphate in Damascus and afterward by the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.

Islamization of Yemen occurred rapidly but has become a controversial subject among Islamic societies and their scholars, many of whom have little interest in pre-Islamic history and in some extreme cases have inhibited research into the subject. The Yemeni people enthusiastically embraced Islam, and the early conversion of the state is remembered as a matter of considerable pride.

See also ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT.

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JOHN WALSH

Yuezhi (Yueh-chih)

In the second century B.C.E. the Yuezhi people, described as light-skinned and speaking an Indo-European language (and without a written language), lived in western Gansu (Kansu) Province and the region between the Altai and Tianshan (T'ien-shan) Mountains in present-day northwestern China. They were hereditary enemies of another nomadic group, the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU). Their misfortune began when MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN), who had spent time as a hostage among them, became leader of the Xiongnu in 209 B.C.E. Maotun would lead his people to unprecedented power by defeating both the newly established HAN DYNASTY in China and other nomadic tribes. The Yuezhi were among his first victims: After being defeated in 175–174 B.C.E., they were expelled from the Gansu Corridor and began their westward migration.

Maotun's successors continued to wage war against the Yuezhi who had settled in the Ili Valley in present-day Xinjiang (Sinkiang) in China. One branch, called the Xiao Yuezhi (Hsiao Yueh-chih), or Small Yuezhi, moved south into areas controlled by another, nomadic people called Qiang (Ch'iang) and lost their separate identity. Another branch, called the Da Yuezhi (Ta Yueh-chih), or Greater Yuezhi, moved further west, eventually playing a role in the destruction of the Greek kingdom of BACTRIA and settling in the northwestern edge of the Indian world. There they prospered, due to the location of their new home: an important meeting point along the SILK ROAD between China, India, Persia, and the Roman Empire. A mosaic of peoples mingled in the cosmopolitan state they created, called the KUSHAN EMPIRE. Archaeologists have excavated the rich remains at Begram in modern Afghanistan, the capital of the Kushan Empire, and at other sites.

The remains included Greco-Roman sculptures and bronzes, Indian ivory, jewelry and gold ornaments, Chinese bronzes, silks and lacquerware, and Alexandrian glass, indicating that rich trade existed under the Kushans over 2,000 years ago. The dominance of Buddhist religious art shows the primacy of Buddhism among the Kushan people, though the presence of Persian and Greco-Roman deities suggest the presence of other religions among the population. In 138 B.C.E.

the Han emperor Wu sent an envoy ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'IEN) west to seek out the Da Yuezhi for an alliance against their mutual enemy the Xiongnu. After many tribulations Zhang did find them, not in the Ili Valley, but in Afghanistan. They had however settled down and refused to cross swords with the Xiongnu again.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR



Zakkai, Yohanan ben (d. 80 C.E.) *religious leader*

Yohanan ben Zakkai was the religious and political leader who laid the foundation for rabbinic Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem and its Temple. H. J. Schoeps said of his leadership: “The state was changed into an academy, the royal dynasty into a patriarchate, and the Sanhedrin left the Temple site and continued independently in Jabneh.” As a PHARISEE, Yohanan studied under Hillel and Shammai, though he was more influenced by Hillel, the liberal sage. He found himself constantly arguing with the SADDUCEES and the Zealots, an anti-Roman group who figured heavily in the uprising of 70 C.E. Yohanan was known as a pious and pacifistic rabbi who ran his own school in Jerusalem at the time of the Roman invasion and siege. Like many Pharisees, he had specific interpretations of the Bible and predicted the doom of the Temple. To escape the city he feigned his own death and was carried out in a coffin.

Vespasian received him as a religious holy man and allowed him to run an academy of scholars and rabbis in Yavneh until his death in 80 C.E. In the literary framework laid out in rabbinic documents, both Vespasian and Yohanan are stereotypes representing Israel and rabbinism and Rome and the Gentiles. In fact, Yohanan was supposed to have prophesied to Vespasian—like the mighty prophet Jeremiah—that he would be the new Caesar. The point of the stereotypical story is that Yohanan and his band of rabbis were a prophetic movement that accurately interpreted the Bible in real-world

ways and were respected by the Romans. From the time of Yohanan until the time of Bar Kokhba, the city of Yavneh was a cultural and spiritual center for Jews in Palestine. There Yohanan is alleged to have formed his disciples and to have carried out the religious duties of the Law, good deeds, and prayer. In reality Yavneh allowed Jews to reformulate a vision for their faith. There the MISHNAH was put together as the religious constitution of what would become rabbinic Judaism. Late 19th-century German historians proposed that Yavneh was the place where Yohanan’s council of rabbis took decisive actions to formalize their faith. Based on flimsy rabbinic evidence they persuaded the world that the rabbis, between the days of Yohanan ben Zakkai and Eleazar ben Azariah (90 C.E.), chose the books that made up the Jewish Bible, chose which texts represented the true biblical texts (and rejected all other texts as deviant), and formally excluded the Christians as heretics from the faith. In short, Yavneh’s supposed decrees became for these historians the symbol of the Jewish response to a world without temple, holy city, or holy land—in the absence of solid evidence.

Yohanan’s own contributions to the deliberation, recorded by the rabbis, cannot be ascertained exactly. However, one of his important assertions was that sages had more practical authority than priests. The authority covered such things as Sabbath customs and festal and calendar observances. This position would serve Jews well in the years after 70 C.E., when keeping temple holiness in homes and villages had to serve when no temple sacrifice could be made. The legends about him suggest

that he restrained messianic fervor, urged obedience to the Law as a response to defeat, and taught that good deeds atoned for sin in a world without the Temple. After Yohanan retired from the council of rabbis at Yavneh, Gamaliel II succeeded him. Gamaliel II formalized the role that Yohanan played at Yavneh when he was recognized as “prince” by provincial Roman authorities and made his own official visit to Rome in company with other rabbinic scholars. More important, rabbis who did not initially participate at Yavneh now began to look to Gamaliel and his rabbis for leadership.

Yohanan is so revered in later rabbinic Judaism that he is simply called “Rabban” in the documents, meaning “Our Teacher.” Modern-day rabbinic Jews consider him their founding father in the faith. He also is one of the most quoted rabbis in the TALMUD. Despite all the legends told about him in the later Jewish writings, scant first-rate historical records exist about him. History’s recollection of him is based on mythical reports written centuries later.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PROPHETS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Zhang Qian (Chang Ch’ien)

(d. 113 B.C.E.) explorer and diplomat

Zhang Qian was the greatest explorer in ancient China, having made two long journeys in 139 and 115 B.C.E. He was also an important diplomat for the Han emperor Wu. After suffering a major defeat at the hands of the nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), LIU BANG (LIU PANG), founder of the HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) decided to appease his formidable northern neighbors by concluding the first of many Heqin (He-ch’in) treaties with them. The terms included gifts of large quantities of silver, food, and silks to the Xiongnu and the marriage of Han princesses to the Xiongnu rulers. Han agreed to the humiliating terms because the dynasty was new and unstable and because the people

were exhausted from previous wars and not ready to undertake new ones.

In 141 B.C.E. a young man, posthumously known as HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), or the Martial Emperor, ascended the throne. By this time the empire was stable, had grown materially, and commanded sufficient resources and manpower to support an expansionist policy. Moreover, appeasement of the Xiongnu had resulted in ever more exorbitant demands for gifts each time the Heqin Treaty was renewed and also because appeasement had not bought border peace from Xiongnu raids. A broad new strategy emerged. One part was to seek allies against the Xiongnu. Thus in 139 B.C.E. a young courtier named Zhang Qian was chosen to journey west to find the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a nomadic group that had suffered under Xiongnu power and had been expelled from their home in northwestern China.

Zhang set out with 100 men. He had to cross Xiongnu territory to reach his goal and was captured. He would remain among them for 10 years, marry a Xiongnu woman, and raise a family before he could escape and resume his journey. He did finally find the Yuezhi in the borderland of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan, but they were content in their new home and refused an alliance with the Han against the Xiongnu. En route home Zhang was recaptured by the Xiongnu but finally escaped and reached home in 126 B.C.E. with only one of his original entourage. Meantime, Emperor Wu had begun massive many-pronged campaigns against the Xiongnu in 133 B.C.E. Though Zhang failed in his primary mission, his reports of the lands, resources, and people of Central Asia and of the availability of Chinese silks in India, possibly via trade routes across southwestern China, piqued Emperor Wu’s interest to expand in both directions.

Campaigns under Wudi’s generals brought vast regions under Chinese rule. They included southwestern China, northern Vietnam, and much of Korea. China also established a tributary system in Central Asia (called Western Regions by the Chinese) whereby local rulers retained their authority but submitted to the supervision of Chinese protector-generals (similar to Roman proconsuls), rendered tribute, and left sons to be educated in China and as hostages at the Chinese court. In 115 B.C.E. Zhang was sent as envoy to Wusun (Wu-sun) and established relations with that nomadic state northwest of the Xiongnu (a Han princess was married to the Wusun ruler) and further west with such Central Asian states as Ferghana, BACTRIA, Sogdiana, and Khotan. Zhang Qian was important because his missions and reports

stimulated Chinese military, diplomatic, and commercial expansion into vast new realms.

See also SOGDIANs.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Zhou, Duke of

See DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU).

Zhou (Chou) dynasty

The Zhou, together with the preceding XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY and SHANG DYNASTY, are called the Three Dynasties in Chinese history. They account for two millennia that are the formative era of the Chinese civilization. All three dynasties are the products of the Neolithic civilization of northern China, each occupying a different but overlapping region of the Yellow River valley. They are moreover contemporaries of one another, each achieving dominance over several centuries, then receding to subordinate status.

For example, postdynastic Xia became a state called Qi (Ch'i), while postdynastic Shang survived as a state called Song (Sung). Because the Zhou (Chou) was very long lived, it is subdivided into several shorter eras, beginning with the Western Zhou (1122–771 B.C.E.), followed by the Eastern Zhou (770–256 B.C.E.). Eastern Zhou is further subdivided into the Spring and Autumn era (722–481 B.C.E.), followed by the Warring States era (463–222 B.C.E.).

Unlike the Xia and the Shang, multitudes of contemporary written records survived from the Zhou. Early Zhou records include the *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History* (or *Book of Documents*), which include proclamations, edicts, and pronouncements on the early phase of the dynasty, and the *Shi Jing* (*Shih Ching*), or *Book of Poetry*, with many poems that dealt with the early Zhou era. These are supplemented by thousands of bronze vessels found in archaeological digs cast with inscriptions up to 500 words long that described important events, such as battles and the creation of fiefs. The number of surviving written works

multiplied with the progress of time. The information they provide are supplemented by other material evidence from thousands of excavated Zhou sites.

KINGS WEN AND WU

Predynastic Zhou people were frontiersmen living in the Plain of Zhou where the Wei River joined the Yellow River in modern Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province. They acted as a bastion against the "barbarians" beyond the frontiers, and their leader was given the title Lord of the West by Shang kings. King Wen (the Cultivated) was the first great Zhou leader, noted for his benevolence and for building up his state that could challenge the Shang. Wen's son, King Wu (the Martial), followed him in 1133 B.C.E. Wu formed a coalition with eight other states disgruntled with the Shang. In 1122 B.C.E. Wu's forces decisively defeated the Shang king Shou at the Battle of Muye (Mu-yeh), who then committed suicide. Wu died shortly after destroying the Shang and left the task of consolidating the new dynasty to his brother, the DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU), who acted as regent for Wu's young son for seven years.

THE DUKE OF ZHOU

The Duke of Zhou fought to defeat remnant Shang forces and enlarged the realm to the eastern seaboard, creating a state that is larger than modern-day France. He governed the realm from two capitals, the original Zhou capital at Hao, near modern Xi'an (Sian), and a new one called LUOYANG (LOYANG), further down the Yellow River valley to govern the former Shang lands and beyond. He granted land to relatives and allies and gave them grand titles. The lords built walled towns and governed the surrounding land but were accountable to the king and could pass their titles and land to their sons with royal permission. Each lord swore allegiance to the king in rituals conducted in the ancestral temples of the Zhou royal house. Most people were farmers with status similar to that of European medieval serfs who changed hands with the land. Ideally eight families farmed individual plots around a manor and jointly farmed the ninth plot for the lord. The farming system was called the well-field system. These political and economic arrangements resembled those of European feudalism during the Middle Ages; hence the Zhou system is also called feudal. In retrospect, King Wen the dynastic founder, King Wu the conqueror, and the Duke of Zhou the consolidator are honored as sage rulers, who established a golden age.

WESTERN ZHOU

For three centuries Zhou kings generally maintained internal peace and expanded the frontiers until 771 B.C.E.

when non-Chinese tribal people overran the capital, Hao, and killed King Yu. Reputedly he had numerous times falsely summoned the feudal lords to march their troops to the capital because the sight of massed troops pleased his favorite lady. Then when a true emergency occurred, the disgruntled lords had refused to come. The survivors of the Zhou court abandoned Hao in favor of the second capital, Luoyang.

EASTERN ZHOU

The Eastern Zhou (770–256 B.C.E.) saw progressive decline of the power of the kings, whose domain was reduced to land around Luoyang. The king was consulted perfunctorily, then only on genealogical matters. Powerful regional states emerged, warring among themselves, gradually swallowing up the lesser ones. The Zhou monarchs remained on the throne until 256 B.C.E. because they were too insignificant to count. The 500 years of the Eastern Zhou is divided into the Spring and Autumn era after a book of the same name by CONFUCIUS that chronicled the history of his state, Lu (ruled by descendants of the Duke of Zhou), from 722 to 481 B.C.E. In 681 B.C.E., in response to threats from Zhu (Ch'u), a new state in the south, the remaining states joined to form an alliance, and because the Zhou king was powerless to keep the peace, they elected one lord hegemon, or *ba (pa)* in Chinese.

For the next 200 years the reigning dukes of several of the states were successively elected hegemon, convening conferences between the states at intervals and formulating policies or waging wars, or keeping a precarious peace. This was a stopgap solution to maintain some order in the Chinese world without the power and leadership of Zhou kings, who were consulted pro forma and ratified decisions that were already made. The chief feature of the Spring and Autumn era was interstate diplomatic sparring and generally small-scale wars fought by chariot-driving knights. Many of the rival leaders were related by blood, and the defeated lord was shamed rather than killed. A large battle fought between Jin (Chin) and Qi (Ch'i) in 589 B.C.E. involved 800 chariots and 12,000 men, but most battles were smaller. By the end of the era 110 states had been reduced to 22.

WARRING STATES

The Warring States era (463–222 B.C.E.) that followed was also named after a book, *The Annals of the Warring States*. The wars became very destructive and were fought by large disciplined infantry armies, fewer chariots (which were not useful in varied terrain), and more

cavalry. Iron weapons replaced bronze ones, and the powerful crossbow came into general use. Whereas the Chinese world up to 335 B.C.E. had only one king, thereafter the rulers of major states also began to call themselves kings; in 256 B.C.E. one state, Qin (Ch'in) deposed the last Zhou king and annexed his domain. The continued fighting between the seven major states that had emerged was based on the accepted premise that all China be unified under one ruler. The final victor was Qin in northwestern China. Fighting the non-Chinese nomads toughened its people, its frontier position saved it from earlier phases of destructive wars between the other states, and its conquest of the Sichuan (Szechwan) plains gave it huge new resources. Finally its state ideology, called LEGALISM, enabled Qin to build a strong economy, large army, and efficient bureaucracy that allowed it to launch a final successful drive for unification, achieved in 221 B.C.E.

TECHNOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ADVANCEMENTS

Many social and economic changes occurred during the Eastern Zhou period. Early farming by serfs was gradually replaced by freehold farming. Qin led the way by ending feudalism on the premise that free tax-paying farmers would work and fight harder. By the fifth century B.C.E. iron tools had replaced stone and wooden ones in land clearing and farming, increasing acreage using iron-tipped, animal-drawn plows that replaced wooden digging sticks. Borrowing techniques used in bronze making, Chinese metalsmiths were making cast-iron tools and weapons 1,000 years earlier than their counterparts in Europe. States competing for supremacy encouraged advanced farming techniques that included irrigation, fertilization, and crop rotation. Hunting and grazing decreased in importance as more land was used for crops. Manufacturing and commerce flourished; sizable multifunctional towns proliferated, and growing artisan and merchant classes emerged. During the Warring States period the capital city of Qi boasted a population of 70,000 households. Cowrie shells, bolts of silk, and dogs were used as media of exchange in an earlier primarily barter economy, and cast-metal coins became common by the mid-fifth century.

The Zhou conquest appeared to have ushered in a period of social mobility—the establishment of a new Zhou order resulted in stability when positions and jobs became hereditary. By the Warring States era society had outgrown the old order; merchants did not fit into the feudal hierarchy. More important, the competitive political scene encouraged rulers to hire and promote

men based on merit and not birth. Capable men began to sell their talents wherever they could find employment. The frequent wars also made for social mobility. Men and women from the losing side lost at least their status; in many instances lords and ladies from defeated states became slaves and servants to their conquerors. The lowest among the aristocrats, the *shi* (*shih*), originally professional fighting men, became educated and served as bureaucrats of the rulers. Some among them became teachers and philosophers. They became the teachers of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, and their ideas, writings, and debates produced the classical philosophies of the Chinese civilization.

See also WEN AND WU.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Zhuangzi

See LAOZI (LAO TZU) AND ZHUANGZI (CHUANG TZU).

Zoroastrianism

Western European scholars have traditionally referred to ancient Iranian religion after the acknowledged founding figure of the political formulation of that religion, Zarathushtra. The term *Zoroastrianism* was derived from his name. Today the faith is better known by the name of its devotees, the Parsis. In the ancient Persian Empire there was no general designation for their religion. Moreover, even when centralized authority was pursued and Zoroastrianism was adopted throughout the realm, the religion remained locally distinct throughout the ancient empires, each region having its own variation on the general scheme.

The Avesta, the holy text, was first committed to writing in the sixth century C.E. Both religious tradition and linguistic evidence points to an ancient oral transmission. The oldest texts are the Gathas, assigned a date of roughly 1000 B.C.E. on linguistic grounds; whether they can seriously be ascribed to Zarathush-

tra is unknown. Little is known about Zarathushtra. Some scholars doubt the existence of a historical figure at all. Dates proposed for his life extend from the sixth millennium B.C.E. to 569 B.C.E. Scholars place his life in the range of c. 1200–600 B.C.E. He lived in eastern Iran, was from a priestly family, and was well trained in ritual observance. He reduced the Iranian pantheon to the single deity Ahura Mazda and defined religious life in terms of proper behavior in the pursuit of truth. Observance of purity and avoidance of pollution were central concerns. Fire became the symbol of truth, light, and order; as such it was protected from pollution.

The history of ancient Zoroastrianism can be divided into four stages. First, in the formative period, a conflation of religious traditions took place with two predominating. One was the Indo-Iranian mythology reflected in the Rig-Veda of India that shows a division of the divine realm into deities and demons, though good and evil are reversed in Iran. Creation stories, purity rites, and sacrifices are shared by these traditions. The second major influence on early Zoroastrianism was the religious tradition of Babylonia and ASSYRIA, especially the centrality of the king and the relationship between the ruler and the major deity.

In the second, or Achaemenid period, equated with the Persian Empire c. 559–336 B.C.E., the ruling elite accepted Ahura Mazda as their patron deity and as their contact with the divine realm. They were responsible for spreading the faith from eastern Iran throughout the empire. The establishment of fire towers to house flames symbolizing the pure thought and deeds of the faithful were instigated. The humane administration of CYRUS II may have stemmed from the ethics of Zoroastrianism.

Third, during the era of HELLENIZATION, which extended from ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquest of the Persian Empire well into the restored Parthian Empire, c. 336 B.C.E.–224 C.E., Greek rulers and classical thought impinged on Iranian religion. By tradition it is during this period that the Avesta was standardized as an oral ritual text. Most of what is known of early Zoroastrianism is derived from contemporary Greek and Roman writers of this time, and they held Zarathushtra in godlike esteem.

Finally, the SASSANID EMPIRE, c. 224–632 C.E., codified, centralized, and nationalized Zoroastrianism as the state religion. Priests became major political players, and the Avesta was first committed to writing. This period ended with the Islamic invasions. Zoroastrianism made such an impression on Muhammad and his followers that they were guaranteed protection along with the Jews and Christians.

Central tenets of ancient Zoroastrianism included the cosmic battle between *asha* (truth) and *druj* (lie) represented by the deities Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, respectively (Angra Mainyu is the same as Ahriman, or Satan, in the biblical tradition). Time was divided into eternal time, in which dwells Ahura Mazda, and temporal time, which is an aspect of creation. Space also consists of the invisible, which contains the ordering principles, and the visible, which is the material world. The Amesha Spentas (Beneficent Immortals) and a host of lesser divine beings aid Ahura Mazda in the fight with Angra Mainyu's demons. This essentially dualistic vision of the cosmos would eventually end with the victory of *asha* and the establishment of a perfect future world into which the righteous would be resurrected in their youthful bodies. A notion of a savior figure (*saoshyant*) as redeemer of the world arose with this idea.

The body and soul of every individual would meet after death on a bridge spanning earth and heaven. For those whose lives were on the side of truth, the bridge was a wide thoroughfare to heavenly rewards; for those whose lives were a lie, the bridge was too narrow to sustain them and they fell into a pit. Little is recorded of the delights of heaven, but the punishments of the pit were extensively described. In the Sassanid

period corpses were laid out on structures designed to keep bodies from pollution until birds consumed the earthly body. Three major priesthoods existed. Zaothar performed sacrifices. Mathran composed hymns, until the Avesta was standardized. Magi became the primary priests of the Parthian period and were recorded by classical writers as adept at interpreting signs and dreams as well as being prophets. Other groups of priests are also attested, though women were not allowed into any priesthood. The faithful were expected to sacrifice to Ahura Mazda through pure thoughts, words, and deeds. Prayers were to be said five times a day, though the central ritual of reciting the Avesta from memory was the duty of two priests selected to represent all Zoroastrians.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; INDO-EUROPEANS; PERSIAN MYTH; SANSKRIT; VEDAS; VEDIC AGE.

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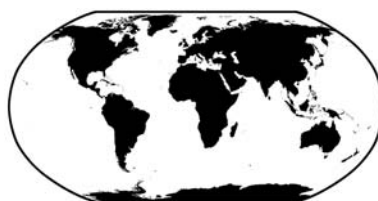
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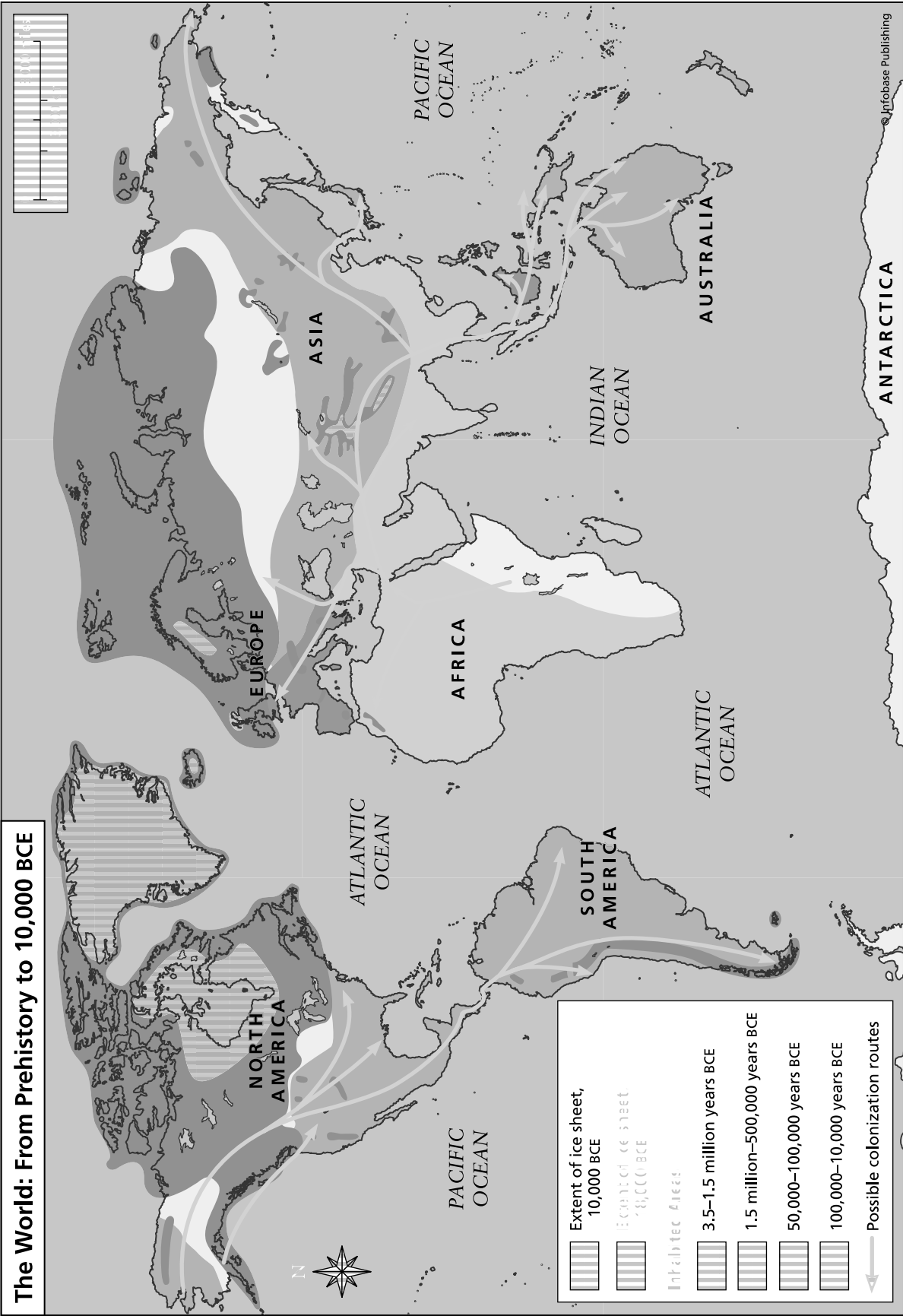
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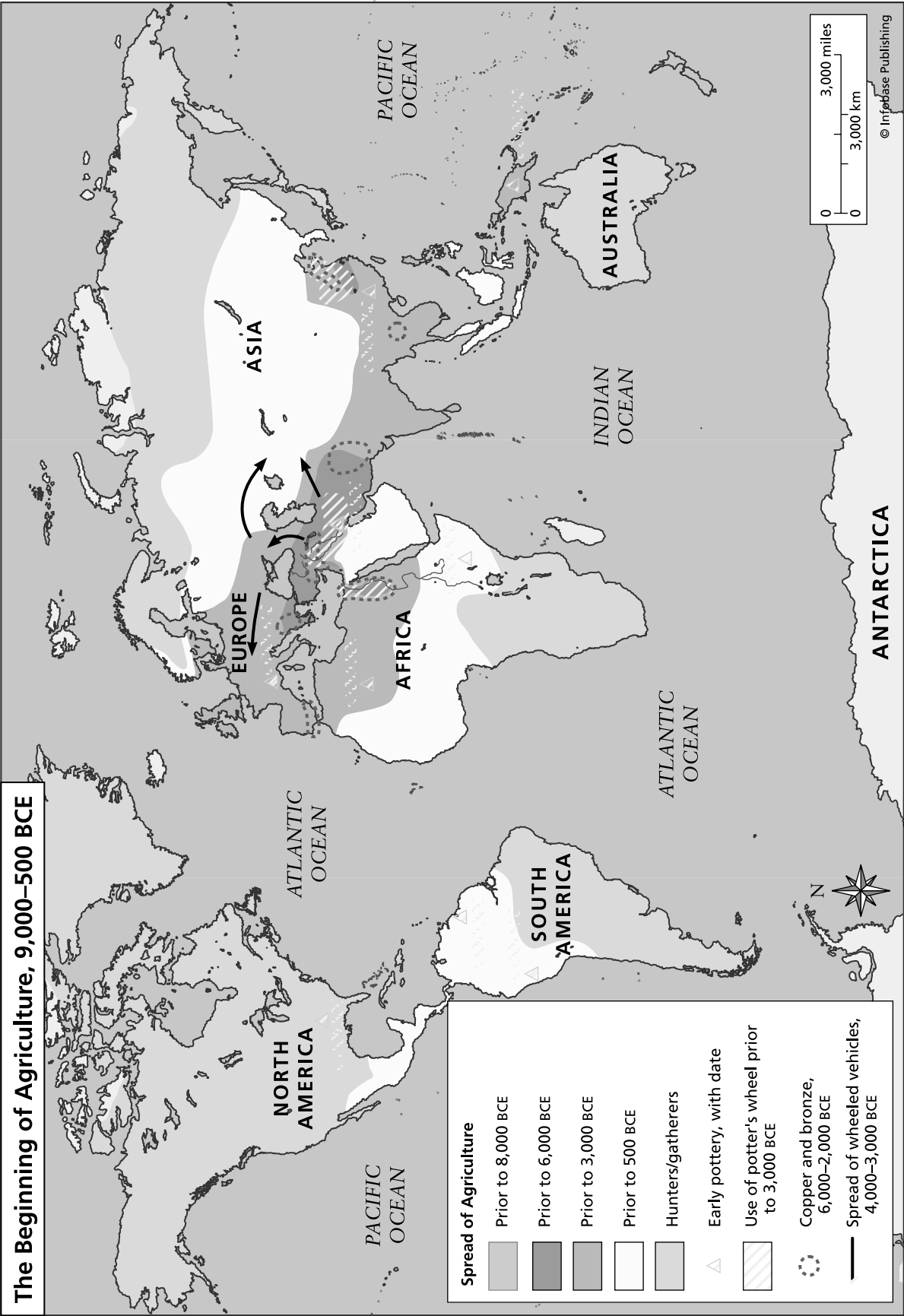
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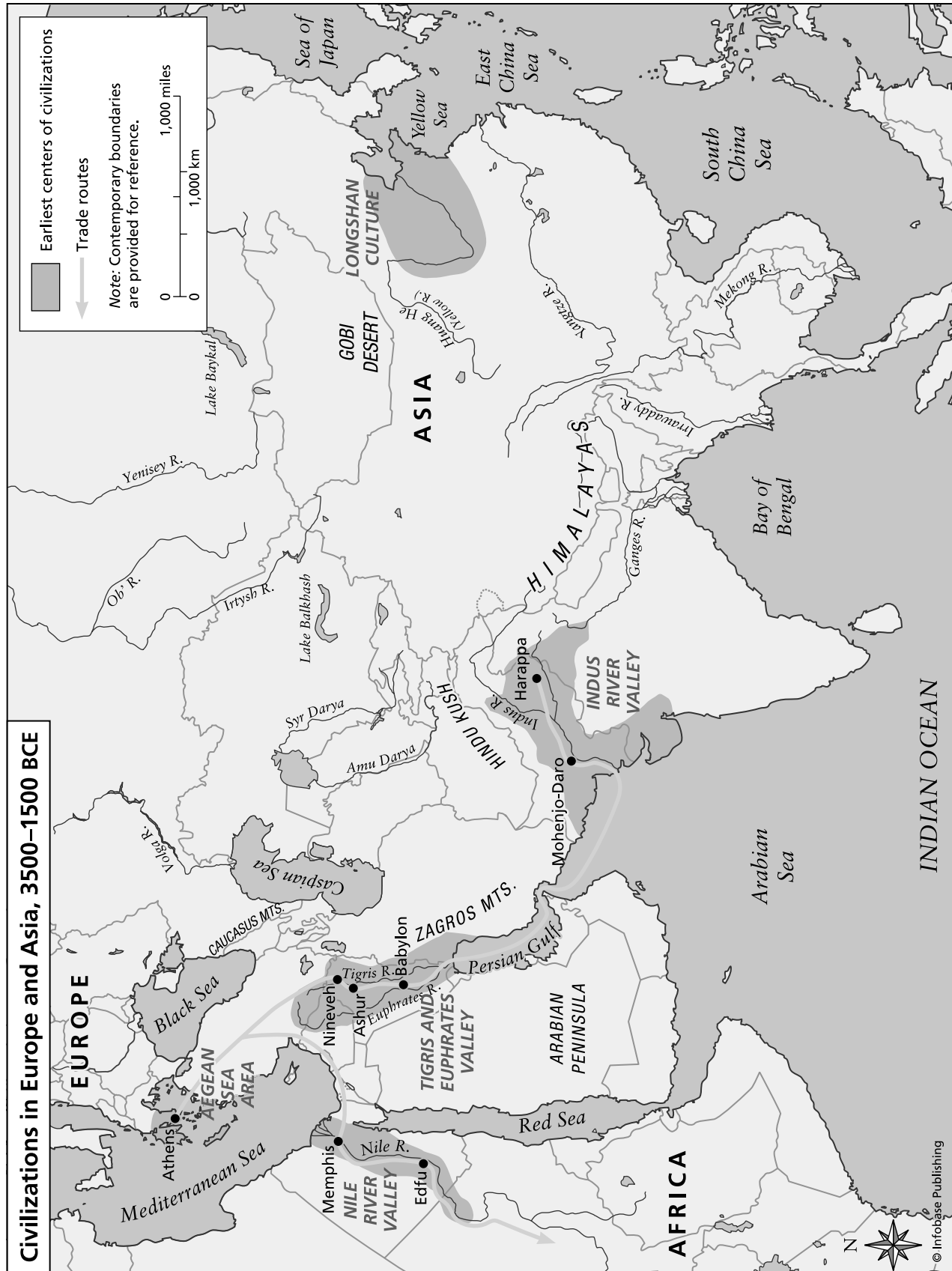
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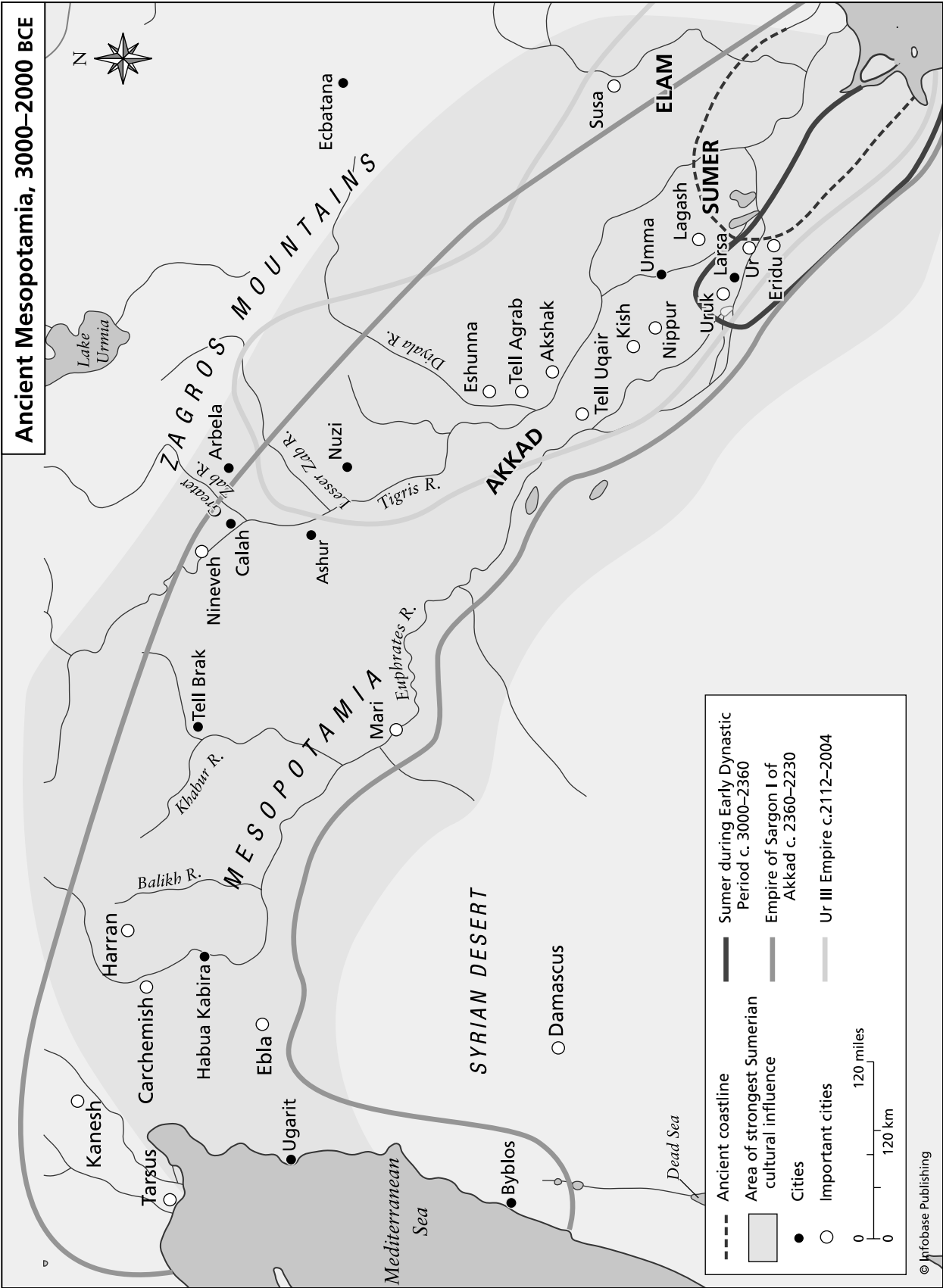
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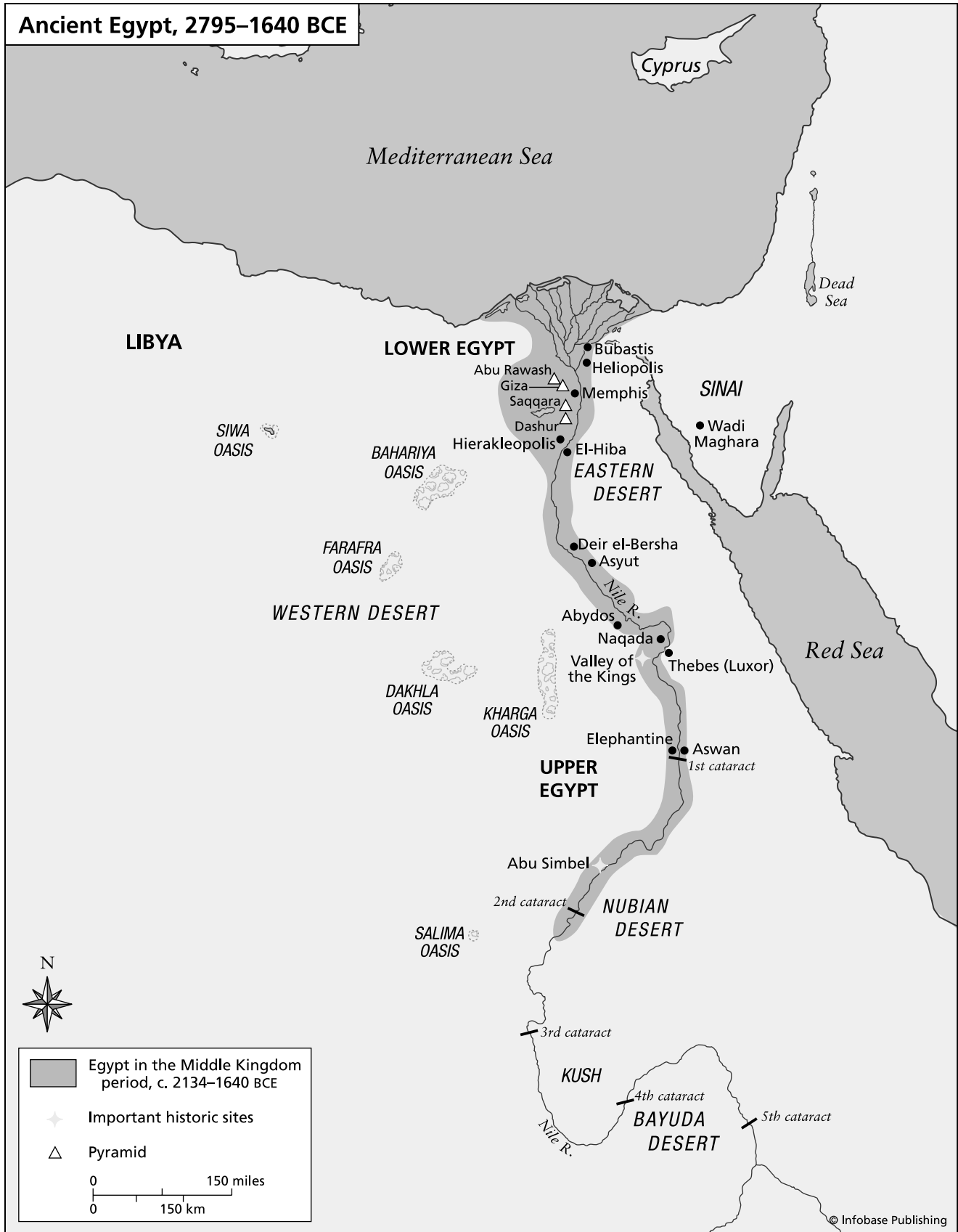
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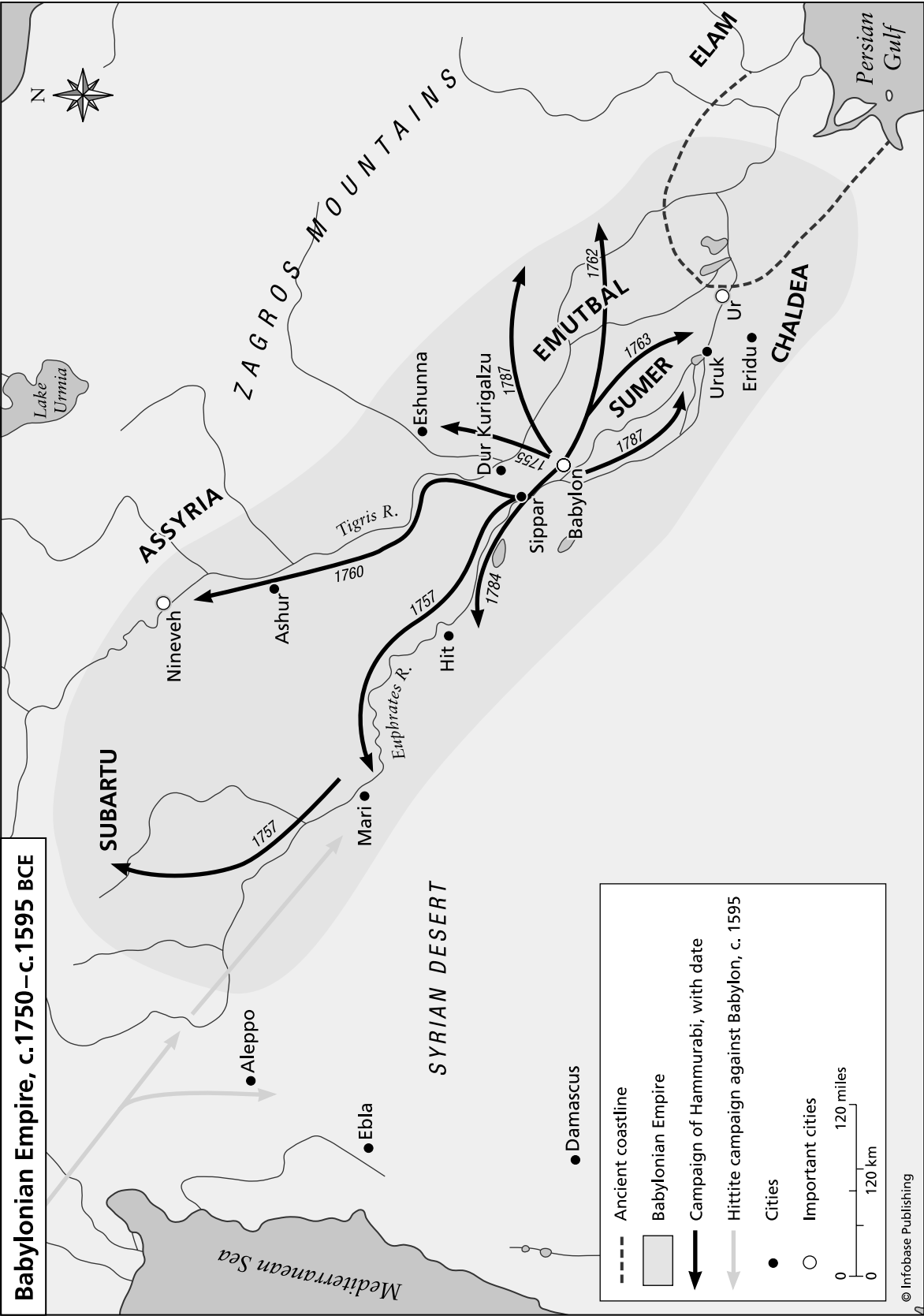


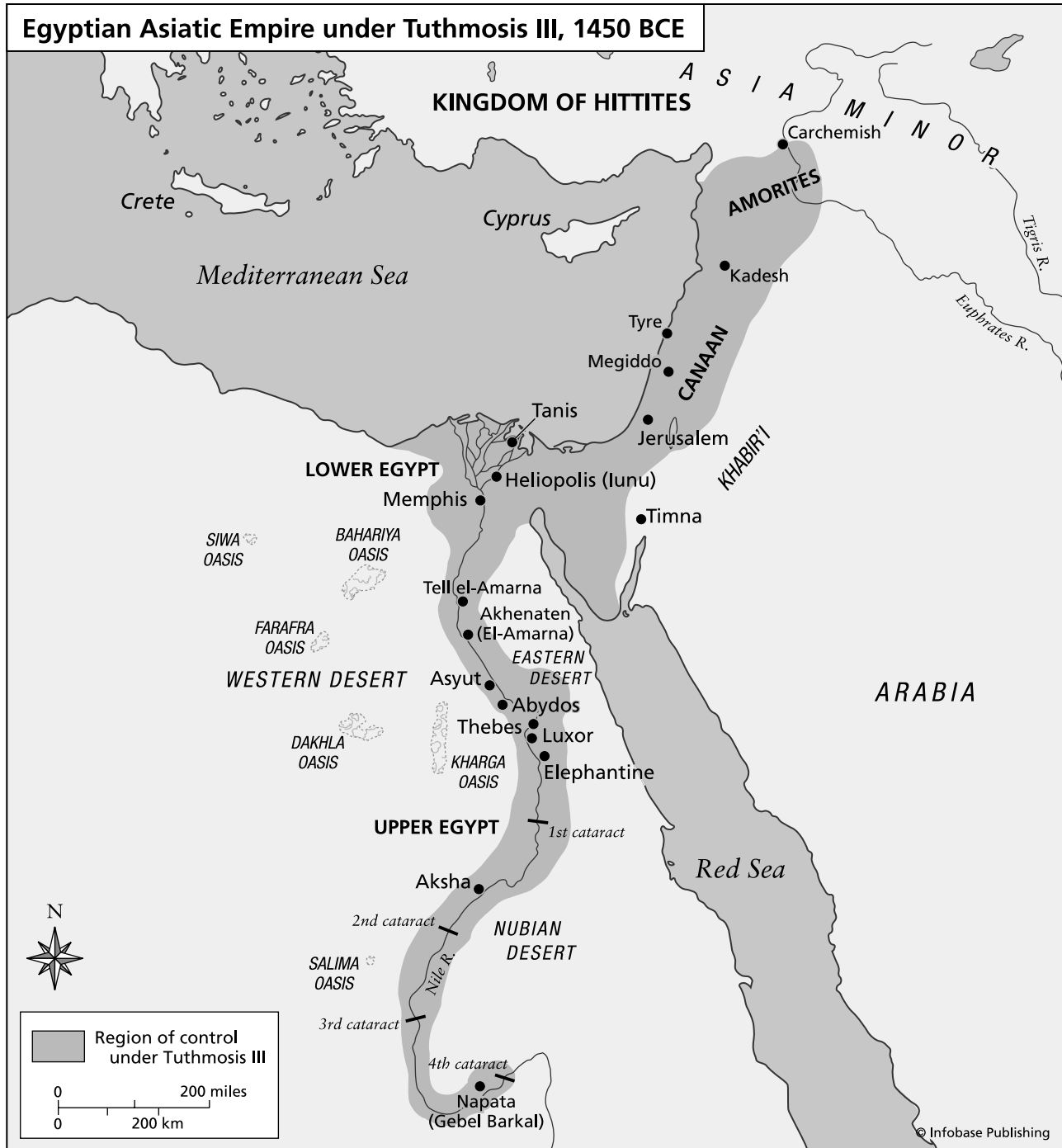


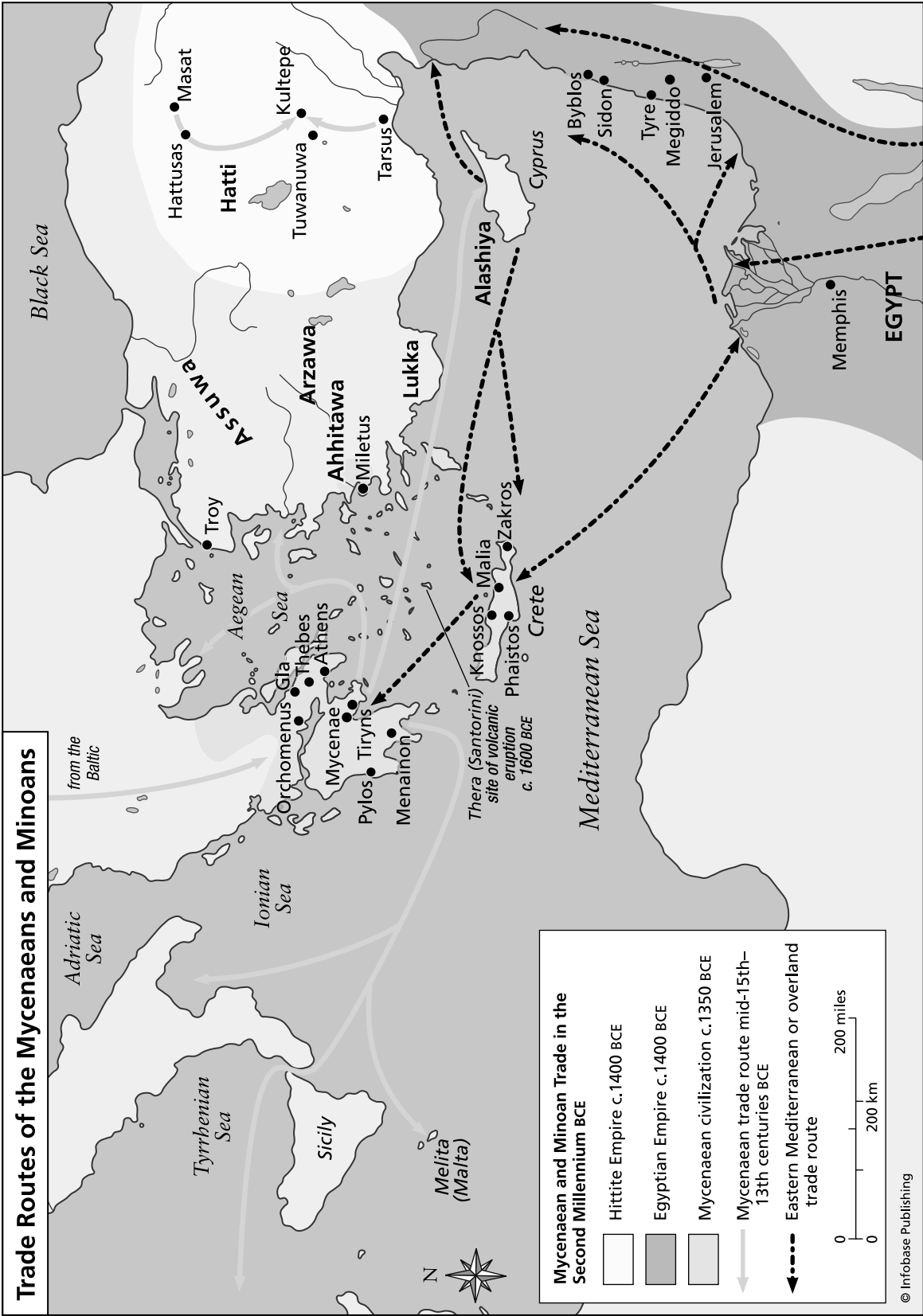




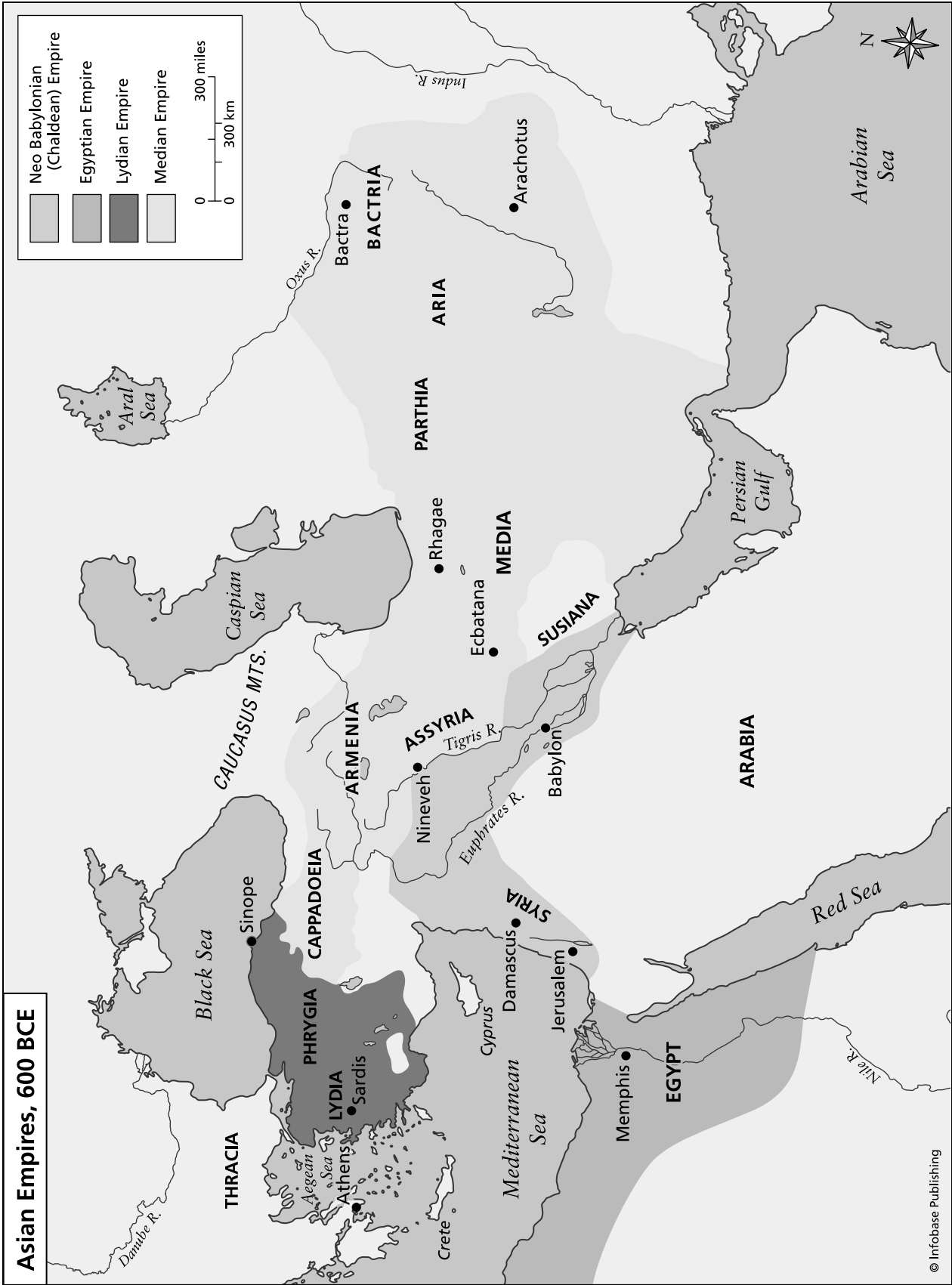


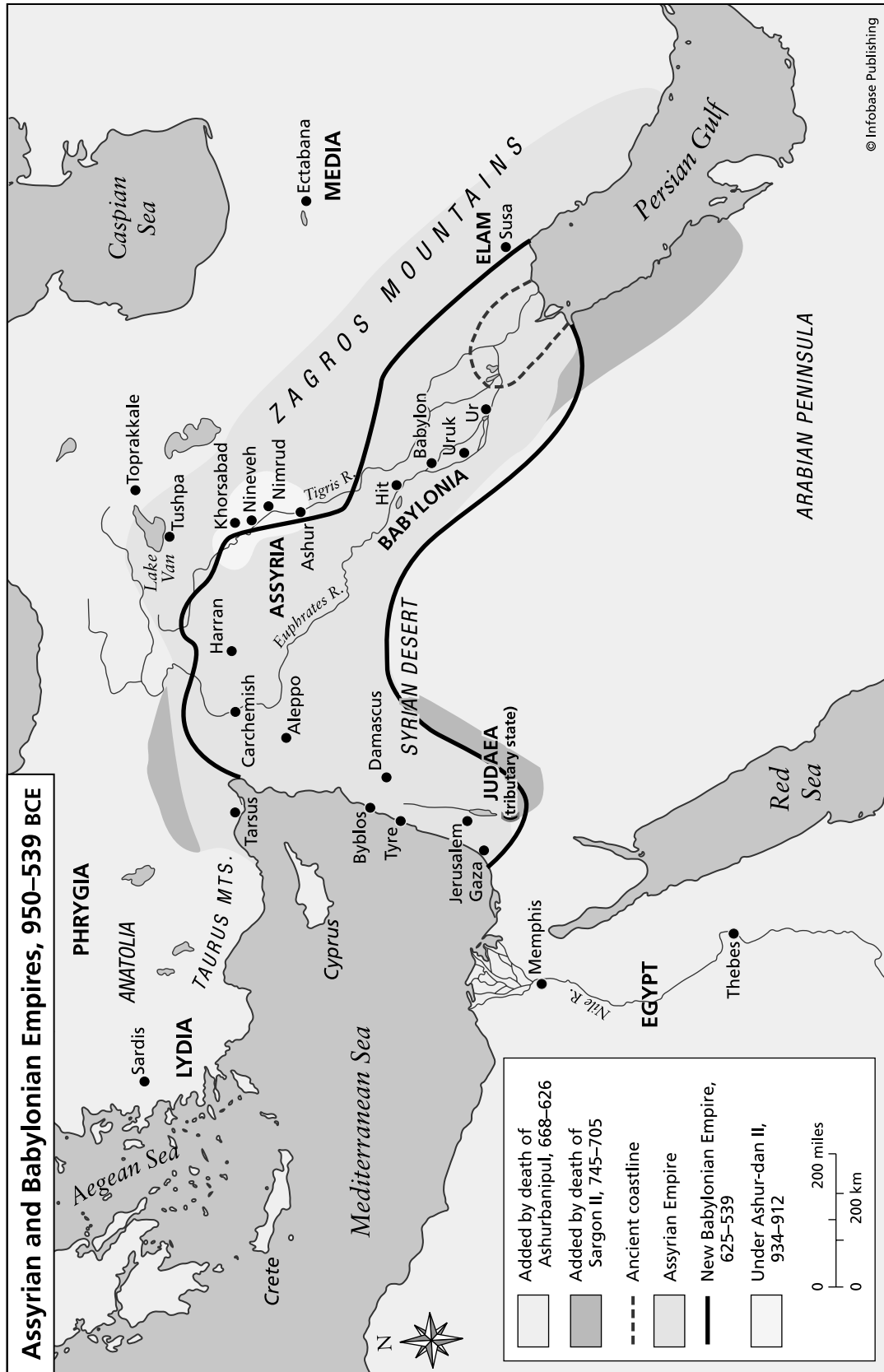


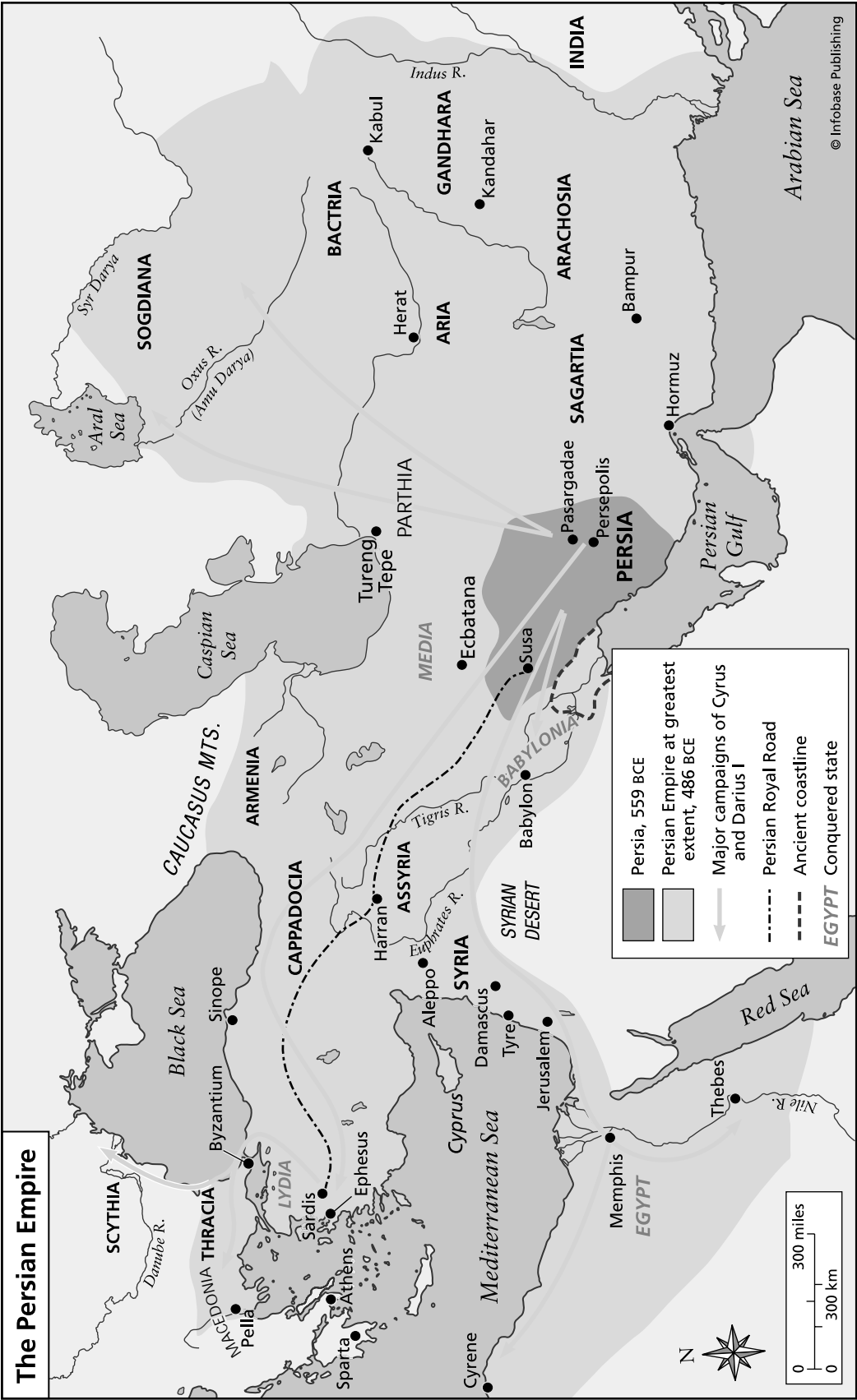




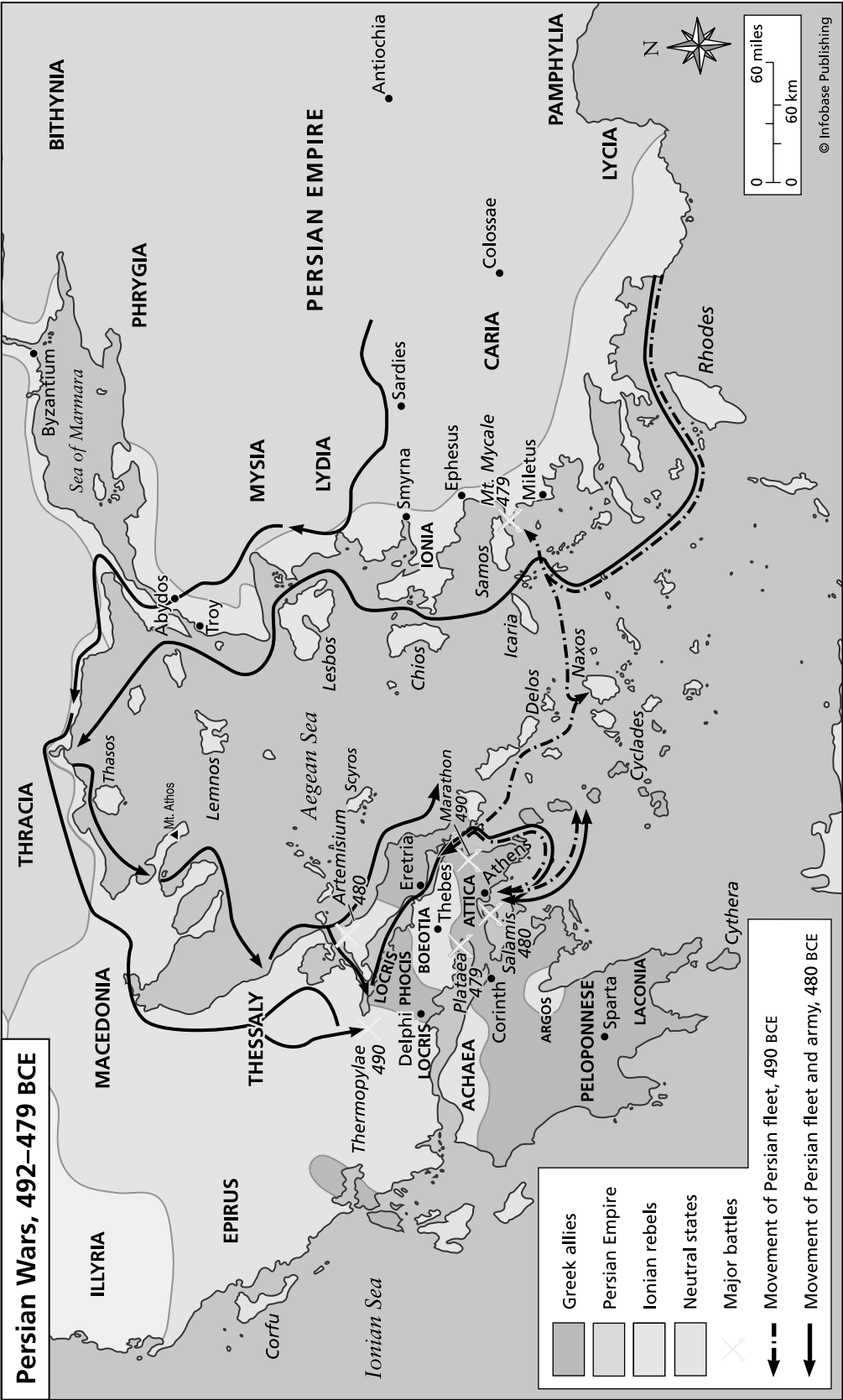




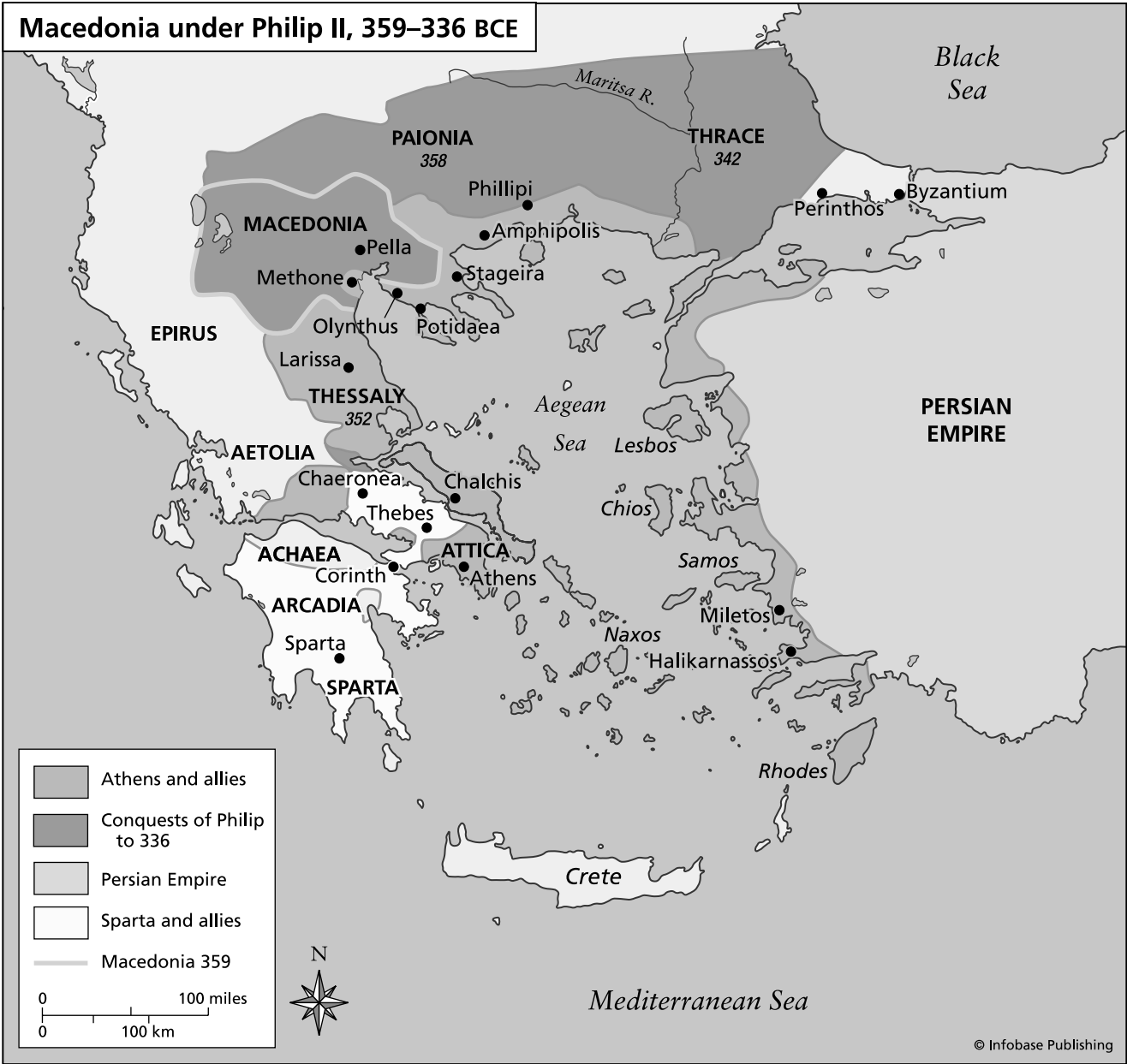


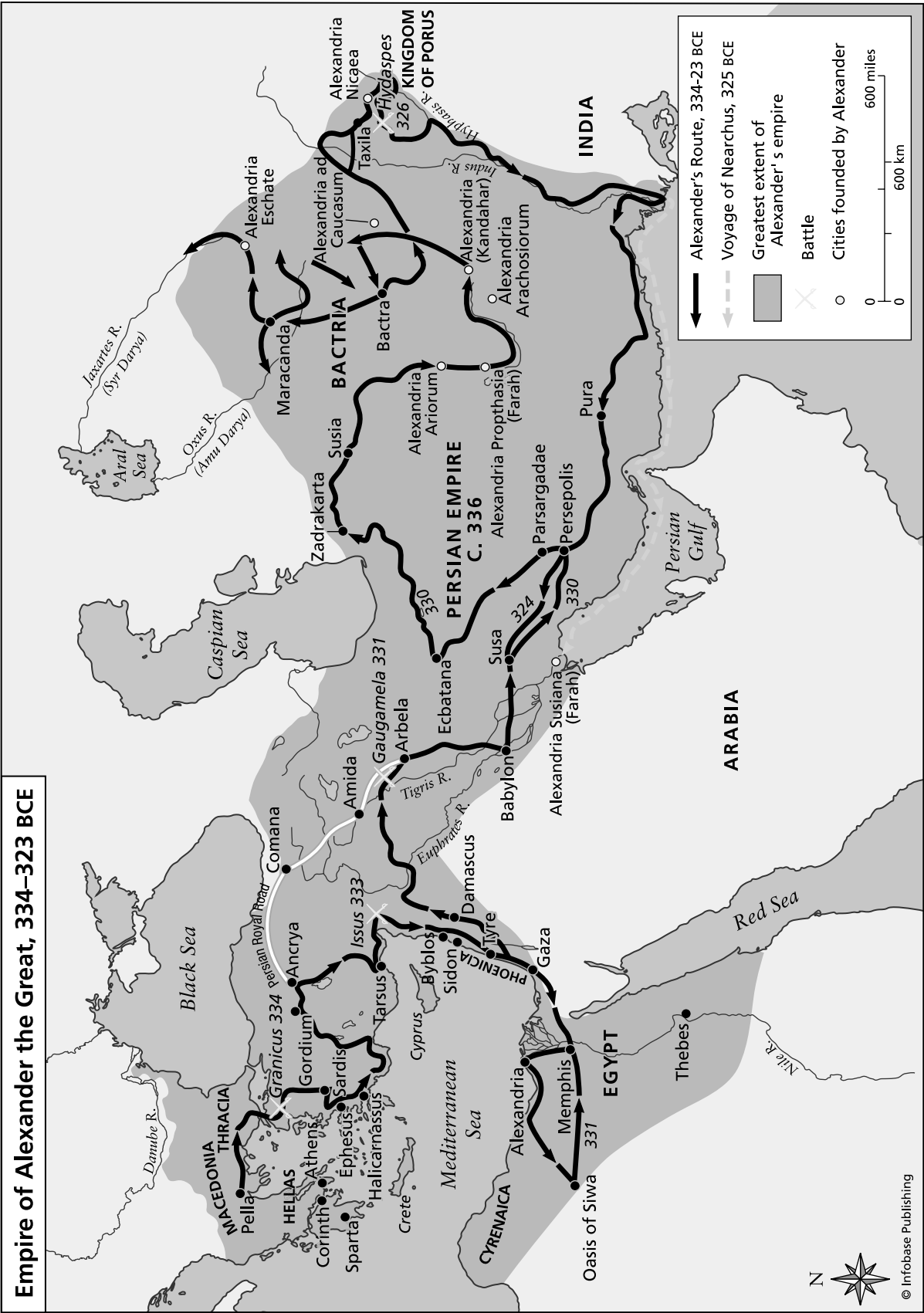


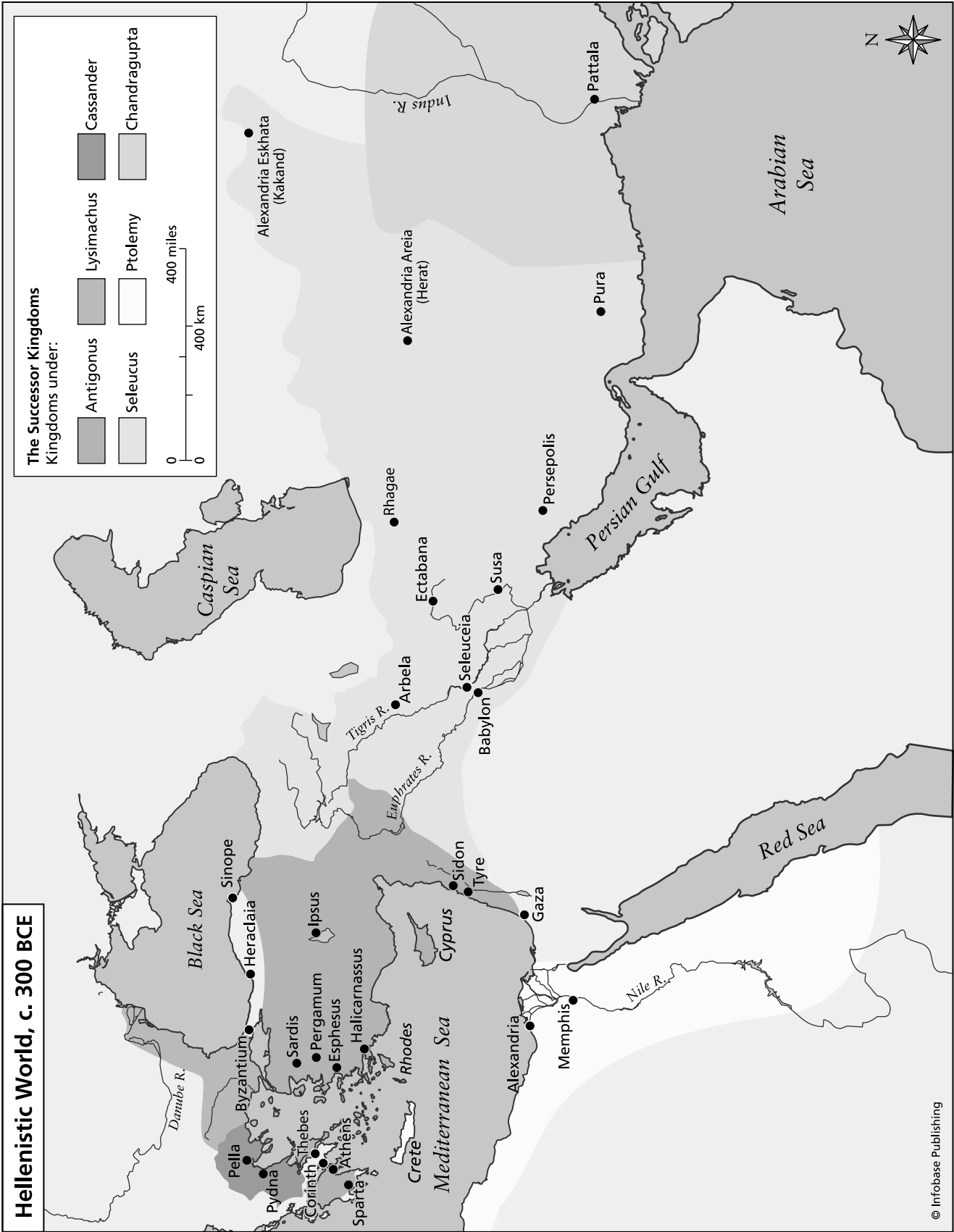












ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

THE EXPANDING WORLD
600 C.E. TO 1450

VOLUME II

EDITED BY

Marsha E. Ackermann

Michael J. Schroeder

Janice J. Terry

Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Mark F. Whitters

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Encyclopedia of World History

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FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world's major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen for being specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as for having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally, each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

MARSHA E. ACKERMANN
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CHRONOLOGY

600 C.E. Late Preclassic Period in Maya Zones

Beginning of the Late Preclassic period in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.

604 C.E. Shotoku's Reforms

Between 593 and 628 Empress Suiko rules Japan. During her reign regent Prince Shotoku undertakes major reforms with China as a model culminating in a 17-article constitution based on Confucian principles.

606–648 C.E. Harsha Reunifies India

His work is undone at his assassination. India is divided after its short unity.

610 C.E. Prophet Muhammad Receives Revelations

The prophet Muhammad in Mecca receives revelations that are set down in the *Qur'an*, the Muslim holy book.

618 C.E. Tang Dynasty Founded

The Tang dynasty is founded by Li Yuan and his son Li Shimin at the fall of the Sui dynasty. It inaugurated China's second imperial age.

618 C.E. Grand Canal

By the fall of the Sui dynasty the Grand Canal has

been extended to Hangzhou, providing an efficient water transport system.

622 C.E. New Muslim Community Flees to Medina

The fledgling Muslim community led by the prophet Muhammad makes the Hijrah (flight) from Mecca to Medina to escape persecution.

627 C.E. Battle of Nineveh

At the Battle of Nineveh, the forces of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius defeat the Sassanids.

629–645 C.E. Xuanzang Travels to India

Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang's journey and translation of Buddhist canons mark the height of Buddhism in China.

632 C.E. Muslim Rule over Mecca and Medina and the Prophet Muhammad Dies

Following several battles, the Muslims retake Mecca and establish a Muslim community; following the prophet Muhammad's death Abu Bakr is chosen as the first caliph or leader.

634 C.E. Omar Chosen as Second Caliph

Omar, known as the "second founder of Islam,"

establishes a single authoritative version of the *Qur'an* and presides over the rapid expansion of the Muslim state. Within 100 years the Arab/Muslim state would stretch from the Indus River in the east to Morocco in North Africa and Spain in the west.

636 C.E. Battle of Yarmuk

The Arab/Muslim forces decisively defeat the Byzantine Empire at the Battle of Yarmuk and rapidly expand their new empire.

638 C.E. Arab Forces Take Jerusalem

Having taken Damascus, Arab/Muslim forces take Jerusalem, the third most holy city in Islam, but grant religious freedom to “people of the book,” Jews and Christians.

642 C.E. Arab Conquest of Egypt

Arab forces under the command of Amir ibn al-As attack Egypt and in 642 Egypt surrenders.

644 C.E. Omar I Assassinated

While at prayers in the mosque at Medina, Omar is assassinated by a Persian slave; Uthman, from the powerful Umayyad family, is chosen as the third caliph.

645 C.E. Fujiwara Clan

This clan receives its name and rises to dominate Japan under the emperor as a result of a coup d'état.

645 C.E. Taika Reform

Great political and economic changes that are made in Japan according to the Chinese model.

650 C.E. Fall of Teotihuacán

Partial destruction and abandonment of Classic-era city-state of Teotihuacán in the Basin of Mexico.

656 C.E. Ali Selected as the Fourth Caliph and the Battle of the Camel

Following Uthman's assassination by rebels, Ali, the prophet Muhammad's son-in-law, is selected caliph. However, the succession is opposed by the Umayyads and A'isha, the Prophet's favorite wife, who astride a camel leads forces against Ali at what becomes known as the Battle of the Camel, but Ali's supporters win.

657 C.E. Battle of Siffin

At the Battle of Siffin, Muaw'iyah of the Umayyad family challenges Ali's supremacy and wins. In 661,

Ali is assassinated by opponents, thereby ending the age of the “rightly guided” caliphs.

660 C.E. Kingdom of Silla (Korea)

The kingdom of Silla, on the Korean Peninsula, conquers the Paekche and Koguryo Kingdoms. They bring about the first unification of the Korean Peninsula.

661 C.E. Umayyad Caliphate Established

Muaw'iyah establishes the Umayyad Caliphate with its capital at Damascus. He establishes a centralized empire that incorporates many institutions and artistic forms from the older Byzantine Empire.

673–678 C.E. Arab Forces Fail to Capture Constantinople

Arab forces besiege Constantinople. The siege fails due to both the strength of the city walls and a new invention: “the Greek Fire” that caused havoc among the Arab fleet. In 678, a 30-year peace treaty is negotiated.

680 C.E. Battle of Kerbala

At Kerbala, in present-day Iraq, supporters of the Umayyad Caliphate kill Ali's son Husayn and his supporters. This marks the split between the Sunni Muslims and Shi'i Muslims who believe that the line of leadership for the Muslim community should follow through Ali and the Prophet's family; Husayn becomes a martyr to the Shi'i community.

680–1018 C.E. First Bulgarian Empire

The first Bulgarian Empire is created when the Bulgars defeat the Byzantines.

685 C.E. Caliph Abd al-Malik

Under Abd al-Malik I, reigned 685–705, Arabic becomes the major language of the Umayyad Empire and the first Arab/Muslim coins are minted at Damascus; his further centralization of the empire causes internal disputes.

690–705 C.E. Empress Wu of China

Wu Hou becomes the first female ruler of China after serving as regent upon her husband's death.

700 C.E. Chinese Invent Gunpowder

The Chinese combine saltpeter, sulfur, and carbon to create gunpowder. It is initially used for fireworks.

700 C.E. Srivijaya Empire (Indonesia)

The Srivijaya Empire becomes the leading power in Indonesia. The Srivijayas originated in southern Sumatra. They control commercial trade routes through the islands.

701 C.E. Taiho Code

Elaborate Chinese-style law code is adopted by Japan as it developed a system of government based on the Chinese model.

707 C.E. Muslim Army Conquers Tangiers

Tangiers is captured by Muslim armies, and the territory is placed under a governor appointed by the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus.

710 C.E. Nara

Nara becomes Japan's first permanent capital, modeled on the Chinese capital Chang'an. The court moves to Heian in 794.

711 C.E. Islamic Conquest of Spain

The Islamic conquest of Spain begins when Tariq, a Muslim general, crosses the Straits of Gibraltar (Jabal Tariq). His army of 7,000 men defeats Roderick, the last king of the Visigoths, and Spain (or Andalusia) becomes a Muslim territory for almost 800 years.

712–756 C.E. Tang Xuanzong

Xuanzong's reign marks the zenith of Tang culture. It is the golden age of Chinese poetry. It ends in the disastrous An Lushan Rebellion.

730 C.E. Khazars Defeat Arab/Muslim Forces

The Khazar commander Barjik leads Khazar troops through the Darial Pass to invade Azerbaijan. At the Battle of Ardabil, the Khazars defeat an entire Arab army. The Khazars then conquer Azerbaijan and Armenia and, for a brief time, northern Iraq.

732 C.E. Battle of Tours

At the Battle of Tours, the Franks, under Charles Martel, defeat a Muslim expedition led by Abd al-Rahman; this marks the furthest incursion of Muslim forces into western Europe.

750 C.E. Abu al-Abbas Finds the Abbasid Dynasty

Having taken most of Iran and Iraq, Abu al-Abbas and his followers overthrow the Umayyad dynasty centered in Damascus and establish a new Abbasid

dynasty with its initial capital at Kufa in present-day Iraq.

751 C.E. Battle of Talas River

The Chinese army is defeated by forces of the caliph near Samarkand. China withdraws from Central Asia as a result.

754 C.E. Pepin the Short Founds the Carolingian Dynasty

Pope Stephen II sanctifies Pepin as both king of the Franks and king of the Frankish Church.

755–763 C.E. An Lushan Rebellion

Though put down, the Tang dynasty never recovers from the rebellion's effects.

756 C.E. Abd al Rahman III Rules Andalusia

Under Abd al Rahman III, reigned 756–788, of the Umayyad Caliphate, Córdoba, in present-day Spain, becomes one of the richest cities in the world and a center for scholarship and the arts.

762 C.E. Abbasid Caliphate under al-Mansur and the Construction of Baghdad

The Abbasid Caliph Abu Jafar, or al-Mansur, reigned 754–775, builds a new capital, Baghdad, on the west bank of the Tigris River. A circular fortress, the city becomes one of the largest and richest in the world.

771 C.E. Charlemagne

Charlemagne becomes the Frankish ruler in the east after the death of his brother Carloman I. Until his brother's death, Charlemagne had ruled the Neustri and Aquitaine. In a series of campaigns, Charlemagne expands his empire to include all of Germany.

774–842 C.E. Uighur Empire

Seminomadic state on the western border of the Tang Empire in China. Uighurs were vassals and troublesome allies of the Tang.

780–809 C.E. Golden Age of Islam and Harun al-Rashid

Under Harun al-Rashid, reigned from 786–809, and his son Mamun, reigned 813–833, the Abbasid Caliphate reaches the zenith of its power and glory and is memorialized in the *Arabian Nights*. An academy for study of sciences and other disciplines, Bayt al Hikmah, becomes the center for scholars from around the world.

794 C.E. Heian Founded

The Heian period in Japanese history begins when the emperor moves the capital from Nara to a site near that of present-day Kyoto. The Heian period was noted for its high culture.

800 C.E. Charlemagne, Roman Emperor of the West

Charlemagne is crowned emperor of the West by Pope Leo III on December 25th—Christmas Day—in St. Peter's Church.

800–900 C.E. Terminal Classic Period in Maya Zones

Transition from the Late Classic to the Terminal Classic period in the Maya lowlands of Mesoamerica.

802 C.E. Angkor Period

The Angkor period begins in 802, when Jayavarman II establishes his capital at Angkor. Jayavarman unites all of Cambodia and achieves independence from Java.

843 C.E. Treaty of Verdun

Under the Treaty of Verdun, the Carolingian Kingdom is divided into three parts. Louis II rules the Frankish Kingdom east of the Rhine; Lothair I rules northern Italy, part of France, and Belgium; and Charles II (the Bald) rules the western Frankish Empire, consisting of most of present-day France.

851 C.E. Danish Vikings Sack London

Danish Vikings sailed up the Thames in 851. They sack London and Canterbury but are defeated at Ockley by the king of the West Saxons.

860 C.E. Khazar Kings Convert to Judaism

The Khazar kings convert to Judaism. A Jewish dynasty of kings presides over the Khazar Kingdom until the 960s.

862 C.E. Rurik Leads Viking Raids, Founded Russia

The Viking chieftain Rurik leads raids on northern Russia, marking the beginning of the imperial Russian period.

866–1160 C.E. Fujiwara Period

The Fujiwara period begins in Japan in 866. Fujiwara Mototsune becomes the first civilian dictator.

867 C.E. Basil Founded Macedonian Dynasty

Basil has his co-emperor Michael III murdered and

becomes the sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire. Basil creates what became known as the Macedonian dynasty that lasts until 1076.

872 C.E. Harold I King of Norway

Harold I creates modern Norway by deposing many of the petty chieftains to unify the country.

878 C.E. Alfred the Great

Alfred the Great wins a major victory over the Danes in the Battle of Edington in southern England.

900 C.E. Ghanaian Kingdom in West Africa

The Kingdom of Ghana, made rich on the trade of salt and gold, dominates West Africa.

900 C.E. Mesoamerican Civilizations

Fall of the Zapotec city-state of Monte Albán in Oaxaca Valley in Mexico, and the height of Classic Veracruz states along Mexican gulf coast.

907 C.E. Five Dynasties in China

At the fall of the Tang dynasty, China is divided between 907 and 959, known as the period of Five Dynasties. Five short-lived dynasties successively rule parts of North China while 10 kingdoms rule parts of southern China.

911 C.E. Treaty of St-Clair-sur-Epte

The Treaty of St-Clair-sur-Epte is signed. Under the terms of the treaty, the kingdom of Normandy is established; Rollo the Viking becomes the first ruler, and he converts to Christianity.

916–1125 C.E. Liao Dynasty in Northeastern China

A nomadic people called Khitan establish a state in northeastern China and force the Song to pay annual tribute.

918 C.E. Koryo Dynasty Founded

The Koryo dynasty is founded by Wang Kon, who unites Korea. This dynasty remains in power until 1392.

945 C.E. Collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate and Establishment of Buyid Dynasty

Ahmad Ibn Buwa, a Shi'i from Iran, takes Baghdad and is made caliph.

955 C.E. Otto the Great Defeats Magyars

Otto the Great defeats the Magyars in 955 C.E. at the

- Battle of Lechfeld. This ends 50 years of Magyar raids on western Europe.
- 960 C.E. Song Dynasty Founded**
The Song dynasty is founded by Zhao Kuangyin, who reigns as Emperor Taizu. Even at its height, the Song dynasty (960–1126) does not rule the entire Chinese world. Kaifeng becomes the capital.
- 962–1886 C.E. The Ghaznavids**
The Ghaznavid dynasty is founded by Subaktagin, a Turkish slave who converts to Islam. The dynasty establishes itself in present-day Afghanistan.
- 962 C.E. Otto I Emperor of Rome**
Otto the Great is crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope John XII and revives the power of the Western Roman Empire.
- 968 C.E. The Fatimid Dynasty in Egypt**
The Fatimids establish a Shi'i Muslim dynasty in Egypt.
- 970 C.E. Al-Azhar, Islamic University, Founded by Fatimid Dynasty**
The Fatimid dynasty in Egypt founds the al-Azhar University in Cairo that becomes the premier educational center in the Islamic world.
- 980–1037 C.E. Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Foremost Philosopher and Medical Scholar**
Ibn Sina, born in Iran, spent most of his academic career in Baghdad, where he wrote extensively on medicine, religion, and philosophy.
- 989 C.E. The Peace of God**
The Peace of God is passed at the Council of Charroux. It is supported by Hugh Capet, king of France. The Peace of God attempts to reduce feudal warfare by limiting private wars to certain parts of the year, and by providing protection for noncombatants.
- 1000 C.E. *Tale of Genji***
Murasaki Shikibu, author of what some claim is the world's first novel, used the Japanese written form—called *kana*—to describe Japanese court life.
- 1000 C.E. Zimbabwean Complex in Southern Africa**
The massive stone complex at Zimbabwe is one of the largest Bantu cites and serves as a capital for several Bantu rulers.
- 1014 C.E. Basil II Defeats the Bulgarians**
The Byzantine Emperor Basil II routs the Bulgarians at the Battle of Cimbabugu.
- 1016 C.E. Canute II Rules All of England**
On the death of Ethelred II, the king of England, Edmund II succeeds to the throne. Following his death, Canute II, a Dane, is chosen by the Witan, the advisory council to the king.
- 1025 C.E. Boleslas, First King of Poland**
Poland gains independence from the Holy Roman Empire when Boleslas I is crowned the first Polish king at Gniezno.
- 1031 C.E. The Umayyad Caliphate of Spain Dissolves**
After 30 years of anarchy, the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain dissolves after the death of Hisham III and Andalusia (Spain) is divided into a number of small Muslim states.
- 1038–1227 C.E. Xixia a State in Western China**
Proto-Tibetan Xixia—a Buddhist state—was Genghis Khan's first victim, destroyed by the Mongols.
- 1050 C.E. Kingdom of Ghana at Its Most Powerful**
The kingdom of Ghana at its most powerful but it begins to decline in the 1070s.
- 1055 C.E. Seljuk Turks Take Baghdad**
The Seljuk Turks, under the command of Tughril, reigned 1038–63, capture Baghdad from the Buyids in 1055.
- 1057 C.E. Anawratha Unites Burma**
Anawratha, the Burmese king of Pagan, conquers the Mon kingdom of Thaton. For the first time, all of Burma is under unified rule.
- 1066 C.E. Normans Win at the Battle of Hastings**
At the Battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror defeats Harold II, king of England. The victory leads to the complete domination of England by the Normans.
- 1071 C.E. Battle of Manzikert**
At the Battle of Manzikert, in present-day Turkey, the Seljuk Turks led by Alp Arslan defeat the Byzantine forces and capture the Byzantine emperor, Romanus IV. The Seljuks subsequently take most of Asia Minor and gain control over trade routes used by Christian

pilgrims to reach Jerusalem. The persecution and harassment of Christians is a contributing cause to the Crusades.

1076 C.E. Kingdom of Ghana Defeated by Almoravids
The Berber Almoravids who control most of Morocco conquer the Kingdom of Ghana; its capital Koumbi Saleh is sacked but the Almoravids are soon forced to withdraw.

1085 C.E. Alfonso VI Conquers Toledo
Alfonso VI, the Christian king of León and Castile, captures Toledo from the Almoravids and makes it his capital.

1094 C.E. El Cid Takes Valencia
Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known as El Cid, captures the Moorish kingdom of Valencia after a nine-month siege.

1095–1099 C.E. Christian Crusades against the Seljuk Turks and Muslims
The First Crusade begins with a call by Pope Urban II for Christian states to free the Holy Land from the Muslim Seljuk Turks.

1099 C.E. Crusaders Arrive in Jerusalem
The crusaders capture Jerusalem and kill thousands of Muslims, Jews, and eastern Orthodox Christians indiscriminately. The Crusades establish feudal states in the territories they hold in the eastern Mediterranean.

1100 C.E. Fall of Chichén Itzá
Approximate date of the fall of the Maya Postclassic state of Chichén Itzá in the northern lowlands.

1113 C.E. Khmer Empire Reaches Peak
The Khmer Empire in present-day Cambodia is established in 600 and reaches its peak under Suryavarman II.

1115–1234 C.E. Jin Dynasty in North China
The seminomadic Jurchen in northeastern China destroy the Liao dynasty and establish the Jin dynasty. Then the Jin drive the Song out of North China. Thus the Song is divided into the Northern Song (960–1127) and Southern Song (1127–1279).

1125 C.E. Song Huizong is Captured by Jin
Huizong's disastrous reign results in his capture by

the seminomadic Jin dynasty and ending the Northern Song.

1127–1129 C.E. Tului Khan Regent of Mongol Empire
Tului is the youngest son of Genghis Khan. His two sons, Mongke and Kubilai, later become grand khans.

1141 C.E. Yue Fei Murdered
General Yue led a successful campaign to recover North China from the invading Jin dynasty. His murder in jail by leaders of the Southern Song government led to peace between the Song and Jin, with the Jin controlling northern China.

1143 C.E. Afonso I King of Portugal
Under the terms of the Treaty of Zamora in 1143, the independence of Portugal is recognized. Afonso I becomes the first king.

1147 C.E. Second Crusade
The Second Crusade is organized by Louis VII, king of Spain and Conrad III, king of Germany. The crusade comes to a disastrous end due to a lack of leadership.

1147 C.E. Almohads Conquer Morocco
Morocco is conquered by Abd al-Mumin, the leader of the Berber Muslim Almohad dynasty. This conquest ends the Almoravid dynasty.

1157 C.E. Eric IX Defeats the Finns
Eric IX, Christian king of Sweden, defeats the Finns and forces them to convert to Christianity.

1163 C.E. Gothic Architecture and the Building of Notre-Dame
Construction of one of the most notable Gothic churches, Notre-Dame in Paris, begins.

1168 C.E. Oxford Founded
The school of Oxford is founded in 1168 in England, the oldest university in the English-speaking world.

1171 C.E. Saladin (Salah ad-Din) Found the Ayyubid Dynasty
Saladin, reigned 1174–93, abolishes the Shi'i Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt and establishes the Sunni Muslim Ayyubid dynasty.

1171 C.E. Henry II Invades Ireland
Henry II, king of England, responds to a request for

- help from Ireland's deposed king Dermot MacMurrough by sending forces to Ireland.
- 1174 C.E. William the Lion Defeated**
Henry II defeats William the Lion, king of Scotland, at the siege of Alnwick Castle.
- 1176 C.E. Frederick I Barbarossa Defeated**
The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I (Barbossa) is decisively defeated by the Lombard League at Legnano and therefore fails to take northern Italy.
- 1180–1185 C.E. Gempei Wars**
Wars in Japan between two prominent clans. The Taira clan won the first round and became shogun. The Minamoto clan won the second round and gained control of the country; established the Kamakura Shogunate.
- 1181 King Lalibela Rules Ethiopia**
Under King Lalibela massive stone churches are constructed in Ethiopia.
- 1187 C.E. Saladin (Salah ad Din) wins the Battle of Hittin against the Crusaders**
At the Battle of Hittin, Saladin decisively defeats the crusaders and retakes Jerusalem and most of the main cities in the eastern Mediterranean.
- 1186 C.E. Second Bulgarian Empire**
A successful revolt takes place against the Byzantine rule of Bulgaria. This establishes the second Bulgarian empire that lasts until 1396.
- 1192 C.E. The Third Crusade**
Spurred by Saladin's triumph, the Christians launch the Third Crusade, led by Richard the Lionhearted. Following a two-year siege, the crusaders capture Acre; Richard then negotiates a truce with Saladin that ensures Christian access to holy sites in Jerusalem, but the crusaders retain only a small area along the coast and the island of Cyprus.
- 1199 C.E. Richard the Lionhearted Dies**
Richard the Lionhearted dies of an arrow wound while besieging Chalus in western France.
- 1199 C.E. Rise of the Hojo**
The Hojo clan controls Japan through marriage into the Minamoto clan, gaining control of the Kamakura Shogunate.
- 1200 C.E. Rise of Mayapán**
Approximate date of the rise of the city-state of Mayapán in the Maya northern lowlands.
- 1200 C.E. University of Paris Founded**
Philip II, king of France, issues a charter to establish the University of Paris.
- 1202 C.E. Fourth Crusade**
The Fourth Crusade begins at the behest of Emperor Henry, king of Sicily. Pope Innocent III issues a call to European monarchs to participate in the crusade. The call is answered primarily by French nobles.
- 1202 C.E. Danish Empire**
Valdemar II succeeds to the Danish throne and expands the Danish empire to include northern Germany.
- 1204 C.E. Crusaders Capture Constantinople**
Crusaders capture Constantinople in 1204; they kill many Eastern Orthodox Christians and pillage the city; this is a devastating blow to the Byzantine Empire, and the city never regains its former power.
- 1206 C.E. Genghis Khan**
Temujin is proclaimed Genghis Khan, or universal ruler, after he unifies various Mongol tribes. His empire at his death includes northern China, Korea and Central Asia to the Caspian Sea and Don River in Russia.
- 1215 C.E. Magna Carta**
In 1215, a group of determined barons force King John of England to sign the Magna Carta, under which the British aristocracy is granted the rights of trial by jury and protection from arbitrary acts by the king.
- 1217 C.E. French-English Battles**
With the death of King John, civil war divides England. The French intervene and occupy parts of England, but the French are defeated by the English at the Battle of Lincoln and then lose their fleet at the naval Battle of Sandwich.
- 1222–1282 C.E. Nichiren**
Nichiren, a Japanese monk, founds a sect based on a militant and nationalist interpretation of Buddhism.
- 1227 C.E. Chagatai Khanate Established**
Central Asia became domain of Genghis Khan's second son Chagatai and his descendants down to Timurlane.

1227 C.E. The Golden Horde

This Mongol Khanate ruled Russia through Genghis Khan's eldest son, Juji.

1229 C.E. Crusaders Retake Jerusalem

The Sixth Crusade, led by Frederick II, gains control of Jerusalem through a diplomatic settlement with Malik al-Kamil, a nephew of Saladin. Under the agreement, the crusaders control Jerusalem but the Ayyubids rule Damascus and control the valuable trade routes to India and further east. Internal disputes further weaken the crusader-state.

1229–1241 C.E. Ogotai Becomes Khan

Ogotai, Genghis Khan's third son, is confirmed as the second Mongol grand khan. He continues conquests in China and eastern Europe.

1232 C.E. First Known Use of Rockets

The Chinese use rockets in battle for the first time. This demonstrated the military use of gunpowder. From this moment the use of gunpowder spreads rapidly around the world.

1235 C.E. Sundiata Defeats King Sumanguru at the Battle of Kirina

King Sundiata of Mali defeats the Ghanaian ruler King Sumanguru at the Battle of Kirina, making Mali a major power in West Africa.

1236 C.E. Córdoba Taken from Muslim Rulers

Ferdinand III captures Córdoba; after 1248 with the capture of Seville, only Granada remains under Muslim rule in Andalusia, present-day Spain.

1240 C.E. Nevsky Defeats the Swedes

In 1240, Alexander Nevsky, a Russian prince, defeats the Swedes, near St. Petersburg. The Swedes invade at the request of Pope Gregory IX, who wanted to punish the Orthodox Russians for helping the Finns avoid conversion to Latin Catholicism.

1243 C.E. Seljuk Turks Crushed at Battle of Kosedagh

The Seljuks are crushed by the Mongols at the Battle of Kosedagh in present-day Turkey.

1244 C.E. Jerusalem Recaptured by Muslims

Mamluks from Egypt take Jerusalem from the crusaders.

1250 C.E. Seventh Crusade and the Founding of the Mamluk Dynasties

In 1250, the Seventh Crusade is defeated by Egyptian forces led by Turanshah who captures Louis IX whom he releases after the payment of a ransom. The Mamluks, former slaves and professional soldiers, subsequently overthrow Turanshah and continue to rule Egypt until 1517.

1250 C.E. Mali King Sundiata Conquers Ghana

Sundiata, king of Mali (r. 1234–1255), conquers the older Ghanaian kingdom in West Africa and establishes a huge empire with its capital at Niani on the Upper Niger. The empire becomes wealthy from its control of the trade of salt and gold.

1250 C.E. Migration of Aztecs

First wave of migration of the Mexica (Aztecs) from the northern deserts into the Basin of Mexico.

1250–1280 Chinese Invent the First Gun

The technology for the manufacture of this weapon reached Europe in the 1320s.

1251–1259 C.E. Mongke Made Fourth Grand Khan

Mongke is the grandson of Genghis Khan. He continues Mongol expansion against Southern Song China and in the Middle East. His death results in a civil war between his remaining brothers.

1260 C.E. Battle of Ain Jalut

The Mamluks defeat the Mongols at the Battle of Ain Jalut in Palestine, ending the Mongol threat to Egypt.

1260 C.E. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars Defeats the Crusaders

The Mamluk sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277), drives the crusaders out of most of their holdings.

1260–1294 C.E. Kubilai Khan Made Fifth Grand Khan

Kubilai's election split the Mongol Empire. He destroys the Southern Song and establishes the Yuan dynasty centered in China.

1271 C.E. Marco Polo

Marco Polo, accompanied by his father and uncle, sets off for China. They arrive at the court of the Kubilai Khan, where Marco Polo serves Kubilai Khan. He later dictates *The Travels* about his adventures.

1273 C.E. Founding of the Habsburg Dynasty

The Great Interregnum from 1254 to 1273 ends, and Rudolf I of Habsburg is elected Holy Roman Emperor. In 1278, the Habsburgs gain control over Austria and rule a dynasty that lasts until 1918.

1274 and 1281 C.E. Mongols Fail to Conquer Japan

Kublai Khan's naval expeditions fail to subjugate Japan. The second one involves an armada of 4,500 ships and 150,000 men. It is destroyed by Japanese resistance and a typhoon.

1282 C.E. King of Denmark Accepts Limitation of Power
Danish nobility forces Eric V to sign a Danish "Magna Carta." This document establishes a Danish parliament that meets once each year and the king is made subordinate to the parliament.**1284 C.E. Genoa Defeats Pisa**

The Republic of Genoa fights the rival Italian city-state of Pisa.

1291 C.E. Founding of the Swiss Confederation

Three Swiss cantons form the League of the Three Forest Cantons in 1291; the league is established for mutual defense.

1291 C.E. Fall of the Last Crusader Territory

In 1291 Acre, the last crusader territory, falls to Muslim forces.

1298 C.E. Scottish Rebellion against the English

The English under Edward I win a decisive victory over the Scots at the Battle of Falkirk. The Scots rebelled under the leadership of William Wallace.

1300–1326 C.E. Osman Lays the Foundations of the Ottoman Empire

Osman (r. 1299–1326) leads his Ghazi warriors into battle and extends his rule in the Anatolian Peninsula; his son Orhan then takes Bursa that becomes the capital of the new Ottoman Empire.

1302 C.E. Philip IV Calls Meeting of the Estates General
King Philip IV of France calls together representatives of the nobility, townspeople, and clergy for the first time; the gathering becomes known as the Estates General.**1309 C.E. Avignonese Papacy**

Pope Clement V, heavily influenced by King Philip

IV, moves the papacy to Avignon, France. Clement rescinds Boniface's pronouncements against Philip.

1314 C.E. Battle of Bannockburn, Scotland

The Scots, led by Robert the Bruce, rout a larger force led by Edward II, king of England.

1314–1317 C.E. Great European Famine

The worst famine to strike Europe occurs. It is widespread and affects all of northern Europe.

1315 C.E. Swiss Victory

Swiss forces gain a victory over Leopold I (Habsburg), duke of Austria, at the Battle of Morgarten. The victory leads to an expanded Swiss alliance.

1324–1325 The Mali King Mansa Kankan Musa

Makes Famous Pilgrimage to Mecca

At the height of his powers as king of Mali, Mansa Kankan Musa and an enormous entourage laden with gold travel from West Africa to Arabia.

1325 C.E. Foundation of Tenochtitlán

According to Aztec legend, the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy and year of the foundation of their capital island-city of Tenochtitlán in the Basin of Mexico.

1337 C.E. Hundred Years' War

The Hundred Years' War begins when Philip VI contests the English claim to Normandy and other northern provinces in France.

1338 C.E. Ashikaga Shogunate

Established by Ashikaga Takauji, the Ashikaga replaces the Kamakura Shogunate in Japan. It lasts until 1573, though exercising effective power only during its first century.

1340 C.E. Battle of Crécy

A smaller British force under the command of Edward III defeats a French army under the command of Philip VI.

1347–1353 C.E. Black Death

The Black Death (bubonic plague) that spread throughout Europe between 1347 and 1353 is the worst natural disaster in European history. It is estimated that of a population of 75 million people, between 19 million and 35 million die.

1356 Nanjing Capital of Ming Dynasty

After consolidating southern China, the founder of the Ming dynasty establishes his capital in Nanjing (Nanking). It remains capital until 1421 when it is moved to Beijing (Peking).

1356 C.E. Battle of Poitiers

At the Battle of Poitiers, Edward, the “Black Prince” of Wales, defeats the French. In the course of the battle, the French king, John II, is taken prisoner and brought to England.

1362 C.E. Murad I Takes Title as Sultan of the Ottoman Empire

Murad I takes the title of sultan of the Ottoman Empire and leads his forces into Thrace, taking Adrianople, which then becomes the new Ottoman capital of Edirne.

1368 C.E. Ming Dynasty Established

Zhu Yuanzhang leads a successful revolt that expells the Mongols from China. Zhu rules as Ming emperor Taizu and begins the rebuilding of China.

1369 C.E. Timurlane Conquers Empire

A descendant of Genghis Khan, Timurlane sets out from Samarkand and conquers and despoils Russia, Afghanistan, the Middle East, and northern India.

1377 C.E. Ibn Khaldun as Pioneer in the Study of the Philosophy of History

Ibn Khaldun, born in present-day Tunisia, begins his pioneering study in the philosophy of history.

1381 C.E. War of Chioggia

The Venetians and the Genoese fight in the War of Chioggia. The Genoese blockade the Venetians after seizing Chioggia, but the Venetian fleet defeats the Genoese thereby beginning the golden age of Venice.

1381 C.E. Peasants’ Revolt in England

Peasants, led by Wat Tyler, rebel against high poll taxes, leading to reforms of the old feudal system in England.

1385 C.E. Portugal Free from Spain

The Portuguese, under John the Great, fight Castile at the Battle of Ajubarrota; their victory ensures the independence of Portugal.

1389 C.E. Ottomans Defeat the Serbs at the Battle of Kosovo

At Kosovo the Ottoman forces defeat the Serbs in a battle that becomes an important milestone in Balkan history.

1392 Yi Dynasty in Korea

Founded by General Yi Songgye, this dynasty (also known as the Li dynasty), with the capital located at modern-day Seoul, lasts until 1910.

1397 C.E. Union of Kalamar

Magaret, queen of Sweden, completes the conquest of Denmark and Norway. She then forms the Kalamar League, a union of all three countries.

1400 C.E. Kingdom of Malacca Founded

The Kingdom of Malacca is founded on the Malay Peninsula in current-day Indonesia. Malacca, which is founded by Paramesva, soon becomes the leading maritime power in Southeast Asia.

1400 C.E. Rise of Inca Empire

The beginning of the rise of the Inca Empire in the Peruvian highlands.

1402 C.E. Timurlane Defeats the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid at the Battle of Ankara

At the Battle of Ankara, Timurlane defeats Sultan Bayezid; he dies in captivity and Timurlane turns over the Anatolia territories to Bayezid’s sons.

1403 C.E. Mehmed (Mehmet) I Reunites and Expands the Ottoman Empire

Mehmed I (r. 1403–21), begins to reunite and expand the Ottoman Empire after the loss to Timurlane.

1403 C.E. Moveable Type Invented in Korea

This was an important improvement on the block printing first invented and used in China in the ninth century.

1403 C.E. Yongle Becomes Ruler of the Ming

Yongle (Yung-lo) defeats his nephew and becomes emperor of the Ming dynasty. He crushes the Mongols, moves the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, and sends naval expeditions across the Indian Ocean to the east coast of Africa.

1405 C.E. Mongol Empire Divided

Timurlane, the leader of the Mongols, dies suddenly while preparing to attack Ming China. With his death the Mongol Empire rapidly falls apart.

1405–1433 C.E. Explorations of Zheng He

Ming admiral Zheng He (Cheng Ho) sails in six maritime expeditions. The expeditions showed the flag, cleared pirates, and promoted trade across Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean.

1410 C.E. Battle of Tannenberg

The Poles and the Lithuanians defeat German knights at the Battle of Tannenberg. Despite the victory, at the Peace of Thorn signed in 1411, the Poles fail to gain access to the sea.

1415 C.E. Battle of Agincourt

The English decisively defeat the French at the Battle of Agincourt. As a result, the French nobility is shattered and the feudal system is destroyed. Normandy lays open to reconquest by the English.

1415 C.E. Henry the Navigator Takes Ceuta

The Portuguese explorer and prince, Henry the Navigator, captures Ceuta on the northern coast of present-day Morocco. This begins the Portuguese conquest of coastal areas and cities around Africa.

1420 C.E. Chinese Capital Beijing (Peking)

The second Ming emperor moves the capital of China from Nanjing to Beijing.

1420 C.E. Treaty of Troyes

The French under Philip and England under Henry V sign the Treaty of Troyes. Under the terms of the treaty Henry becomes the king of both France and England.

1421 C.E. Murad II Enlarges the Ottoman Empire

Murad II (r. 1421–44; 1446–51) brings all of western Anatolia under his control and takes Salonica.

1424 C.E. France Invades Italy

Charles VIII, king of France, begins the Italian Wars by invading Italy; Naples surrenders to Charles and he temporarily becomes the king of Naples.

1428 C.E. Aztecs Gain Predominance in Basin of Mexico

Aztecs become the “first among equals” in the Triple Alliance with city-states of Texcoco and Tlacopán in the Basin of Mexico, the beginning of the Aztec Empire’s domination of much of central and southern Mexico.

1429 C.E. Joan of Arc Frees Orléans

War between France and England continues on and off, despite various agreements for peace. In 1428, the English lay siege to the city of Orléans. Joan of Arc, a young girl from Lorraine, begins to have visions and claims to hear voices; she convinces the French dauphin to provide her with a small army that liberates Orléans. However she is ultimately captured by the English and put to death.

1431 C.E. Angkor Sacked

Angkor, the capital of the Khmer, is captured and sacked by the Thai. The Khmer Empire is forced to move its capital to the present site of the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh.

1433 C.E. Tauregs Occupy Timbuktu

In 1433–34 the nomadic Tauregs occupy Timbuktu; this weakens the kingdom of Mali that would fall in the mid-15th century.

1435 C.E. Peace Treaty of Arras

Duke Philip of Burgundy signs a peace treaty with Charles VI that recognizes Charles as the one king of France.

1438 C.E. Inca Dynasty Founded

The Inca dynasty that rules Peru until 1553 is founded in 1438. Its founder is said to have been Pachacutec. He rapidly expands the empire.

1440 C.E. Ewuare the Great Rules Benin

Ewuare the Great (r. 1440–73) rules a rich West African kingdom stretching from Lagos to the Niger.

1444 C.E. Ottomans Win the Battle of Varna

In 1444 the Hungarians, the Byzantine emperor, and the pope join forces in a crusade to defeat the Ottomans and push them out of Europe; however, Murad II commands a victorious Ottoman army at the Battle of Varna, marking the end of Western attempts to regain the Balkans and assist Constantinople.

1450 C.E. Printing Press Invented in Europe

In 1450 Johann Gutenberg invents the printing press, which revolutionizes communication and education.

1450 C.E. Decline of Mayapán

The Maya city-state of Mayapán splinters into numerous petty kingdoms in the northern lowlands of Central America.

MAJOR THEMES

600 C.E. TO 1450

FOOD PRODUCTION

Unlike the significant advances in food production of the previous era, Europe, Asia, and Africa witnessed no revolutionary advances in agricultural technology from 600 to 1450. Nor were significant new crops introduced comparable to what occurred after 1492 as a result of Europeans coming to the Americas. As during earlier eras, forests continued to be cut down and swamps drained and turned into grazing and agricultural land. More efficient methods were developed to plant and harvest food, using iron implements. Trade and migrating peoples introduced food crops to new regions. Tea made from leaves of a bush grown in southern China became a popular drink throughout the land after the seventh century because of political unity and better transportation. From China, tea drinking and tea cultivation spread to Japan, to its nomadic neighbors, and later to Europe. Grapes and wine were introduced to China from western Asia via the Silk Road. Coffee, from a plant indigenous to the Arabian Peninsula, became a ubiquitous drink from western Asia and the Ottoman Empire to Europe.

Europe. Europe suffered centuries of invasions and disruption with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Life fell to subsistence level, not to improve until around 1000 with the end of barbarian invasions. During the following centuries, the clearing of forests and repopulating of lands previously abandoned because of the invasions tripled available farmland, sharply increasing the food supply and population. Medieval farmers also improved productivity by adopting the three-field system and crop rotation, thereby producing crops from two-thirds of the cultivated land rather than half under the previous two-field system. They also farmed more efficiently by adopting improvements such as a heavier plow, the shoulder collar and metal horseshoes for draft horses, and water and windmills. As a result, the population of Europe jumped from 25 million in 500 C.E. to more than 70 million in 1300 C.E.

Most European farmers were serfs, free in person but tied to the land. They lived in villages ranging from 10 to several hundred families around a manor house that belonged to a secular lord or to the church. Each farming family was allotted strips of land scattered around the village so that all had good as well as poor land. Families shared the pastureland and woods and retained

about half of what it produced for itself, giving the remainder to the lord or the church. They were subsistence farmers, though bartering took place for products that the serfs did not produce locally. By the 13th century, rising prosperity had led to improved conditions for serfs, and some were able to raise cash crops, pay off their obligations to their lords, and move to towns. However, European economies suffered sharp reverses in the 14th century due to climatic changes; colder and rainier weather caused lower harvests, higher prices, and population decline. Wars ravaged farmlands and contributed to famines. Between 1348 and 1354, the bubonic plague (Black Death) struck, reducing the population by about a third. It did not recover to pre-plague levels until about 1600; ironically, the sharply reduced labor supply resulted in better working conditions for the surviving serfs.

Asia and Africa. Like Europe, northern China suffered repeated nomadic invasions and warfare between c. 200 and 600. They caused economic disruption in northern China and development in the south, which was spared invasions and saw an influx of northern immigrants and rapid development. The completion of the Grand Canal around 600 C.E., which connected lands from south of the Yangtze (Yangtze) River to the Yellow River valley, would be crucial for the economic integration of the Chinese Empire after reunification and ensured efficient distribution of food and other resources. Wheat and millet were the main cereal crops in northern China, and rice from irrigated fields was the main staple crop of the south.

The introduction of early ripening rice from the Champa Kingdom (modern Vietnam) around 1000 made double cropping possible; this, together with major projects to build irrigation canals and clear land, made possible significant population increases in subsequent centuries. Whereas the Chinese population remained fairly static at about 60 million during the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and Tang (T'ang) dynasty (618–907), it had surged to about 150 million in the early 13th century. It dropped to below 100 million, or by 40 percent, by the end of the 14th century because of disruptions caused by the Mongol invasions and subsequent Mongol misrule, including turning farmland to pasture land and hunting ground, neglecting irrigation systems, and the bubonic plague.

China's population would not reach 150 million until the early 17th century. The ability to feed an increasing population was because of effective government measures that improved agricultural technology by investment in hydraulic engineering that drained marshes and extended irrigation. Sea walls were built along the southern coast to protect delta lands from storm tides, and a well developed network of granaries, roads, and canals were maintained to store and transport food. According to nutritional experts, a wide variety of food crops, fish, and meat from domesticated animals made the Chinese among the best fed people of Asia, and perhaps of the world during this era, at an average daily intake of more than 2,000 calories. Except under Mongol rule, Chinese farmers during these centuries either owned their land or worked as tenants or sharecroppers. Chinese technological advances in agriculture were transferred to Vietnam, Korea, and Japan. Thus agricultural patterns and food habits followed similar patterns throughout eastern Asia.

There is little information on food production from similar periods in India. Indian governments, since the Mauryan dynasty (324–c.185 B.C.E.), claimed ownership of agricultural land and let it out to the tiller for an annual rent and tax, up to about half of the product. Rice was grown along river valleys and on delta land, relying on monsoon rains and irrigation. Where water was available, up to three crops could be harvested on some lands. The farmers also cultivated wheat and millet, many kinds of vegetables, and fruits. India was famed for growing a wide variety of spices used in cooking. The Spanish and Portuguese voyages of exploration in the 15th century were motivated in part by the desire to obtain spices and other riches from India. Increasing emphasis on vegetarianism by Hindus meant that there was less raising of animals for meat in India than in many other lands. However, Indian farmers used bullocks for draft animals and raised cows for milk, which provided much of the protein in their diet. In the eastern Mediterranean and Ottoman Empire, the production of grains and fruits was the main agricultural activity. From China, Central Asia, Persia, the Middle East, to North Africa, sedentary agriculturalists and nomadic (or seminomadic) herders and pastoralists depended on one another to supply what each could not produce. Pastoralism

generally existed in areas less favored with rainfall. As a result, pastoralists were more dependent on outsiders for vital food items such as grains and salt than were farming societies. Therefore, hard times or inability to trade for needed items often led to nomadic raids, wars, and migrations.

In sub-Saharan Africa, farming ranged from advanced to slash-and-burn methods. Herding, hunting, and fishing were also important sources for food in many regions. In most European and Asian societies, men performed the heavy agricultural work and women spun and wove cloth, but in many African societies, men hunted and herded animals while women farmed and produced most of the food. Major crops included millet, sorghum, and ground nuts as well as some vegetables.

The Americas. The method of food production and the types of food produced throughout the Americas did not change from the beginning of the Neolithic age to this period. Maize, beans, and squash remained the staple crops. The range of animals available for domestication remained the same also—dogs, turkeys, llamas, alpacas, and guinea pigs. All farm work was done (by humans) with stone, bone, wooden, and sometimes copper tools, as there were no sturdy draft animals. In the Amazon basin the people combined slash-and-burn tropical forest agriculture with hunting for wild game, fishing, and gathering of nuts and edible plants. In North America, the peoples combined agriculture with hunting both big and small game and gathering edible nuts and fruits.

Peoples across the world used many methods to produce food. Incremental improvements in food production were most noticeable in Europe and eastern Asia during this period, where most of the population increases and improvements in living standards occurred.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Between the seventh and mid-15th centuries, Christian and Muslim scholars of Europe and the Middle East preserved and studied the scientific and technological knowledge that they had inherited from ancient Greek, Roman, and Hellenistic civilizations. They also made progress in many fields, including astronomy, mathematics, and human physiology, that led to greater understanding of the natural world. They thus laid the foundations for the Renaissance to come. Life, culture, and learning were severely set back in Europe when the Roman Empire fell. Several centuries would elapse before the barbarian invasions subsided, allowing recovery to begin.

Education. Before about 1000, monks dominated learning and education in monastic and cathedral schools where boys from elite families were educated in the seven liberal arts derived from ancient Greco-Roman civilizations. These were grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Later they benefited from knowledge from the classical world transmitted through Jewish and Arab scholars. After 1000, universities were founded where monks and secular scholars taught theology, law, the sciences, and medicine.

Roger Bacon (1214–94) made Oxford University famous by pioneering the inductive investigation method of observation and experimentation. He described the nervous system of the eye, made magnifying glasses, and wrote about creating gigantic mirrors that would focus the Sun's rays to incinerate one's enemies in warfare. A hundred years before Copernicus, Jean Buridan (c. 1300–58), rector of the University of Paris, had written that Earth was round and rotated on an axis. Many universities became famous in particular disciplines, for example, medicine at the University of Padua. Two inventions first made in China and then spread across Eurasia had an incalculable affect on advancing learning. They were the introduction of paper making that spread from China to the Muslim world in the eighth century, thence to Europe, and the invention of printing and movable type, which reached Gutenberg in Germany in 1450.

Theoretical advances in such areas as mathematics had practical application. For example, the architectural style for church building during the 11th and early 12th centuries was called Romanesque because it employed the plan of the Roman basilica. It featured a cross-shaped floor plan with intersecting aisles and a large open rectangular area called a nave to accommodate the worshippers and a semicircular apse for the altar. A new Gothic style was introduced in the 12th century, reflecting mastery of complicated mathematical calculations and great engineering skill. Its innovative features were height, with raised high roofs supported by pointed arches and external buttresses,

space, and brilliant light through soaring windows decorated with stained glass. All major European cities would build cathedrals in the Gothic style until the 16th century.

Europe and the rest of the world owed much to Islamic civilization for the preservation of ancient Persian and Hellenistic manuscripts after the conquest of Persia and the eastern Mediterranean area by the first caliphs. The early caliphs at Damascus encouraged the arts and education and established universities, the most famous being the al-Ahzar in Cairo, probably the oldest continuing university in the world. The famous Bayt al-Hikmah (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad attracted scholars from around the Mediterranean. Islamic culture reached its zenith between the eighth and 13th centuries. Arts and the sciences flourished during this era, called the golden age, and incorporated the earlier achievements of lands that the Arabs had conquered. Scholars of many cultures, including Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Christian, worked together, translating Hebrew, Indian, and Persian texts into Arabic, the lingua franca of the entire Muslim Empire. For example, major works of ancient Greek physicians and scientists such as Hippocrates and Galen were studied and advanced in centers from Baghdad to Granada in Spain.

Scientific Developments. During the Islamic golden age from the eighth to 13th centuries, Arab and Muslim scientists and scholars were the most advanced in the fields of medicine and pharmacology as well as in applied sciences and mechanical engineering. Scholars like Ibn Rushd (Averroës) and al-Kindi made major contributions to the knowledge of mathematics as well as music.

Muslim medical doctors and scientists were pioneers in treating such ailments as kidney stones and small pox. Hospitals were established in many cities under Muslim rule. Arab astronomers were influenced by the Ptolemaic (Earth-centered) system of the universe, based on which they developed new accurate tables of solar and lunar eclipses. Their superiority to earlier calculations were such that Muslim astronomers were given employment in the Bureau of Astronomy in the Chinese court and were given the responsibility for calendar making and predicting eclipses until around 1600 when they were replaced by Jesuit astronomers from the by then more advanced Europe. The first paper mill in the Islamic world was established in Baghdad in 793, followed by many others. Paper was important to transmitting technological inventions among scholars of many cultures and enabled the growth of libraries with large collections.

Most of India's many contributions to world civilization, including those in the sciences and technology, occurred before 600. The Indian subcontinent suffered repeated devastating conquests after 600 from Scythians, Huns, Afghans, and Turks. Muslim raids and conquests launched by Afghans and Turks from Afghanistan were particularly destructive. Besides destroying cultural centers and libraries, the invaders amassed huge amounts of loot, massacred the population, and deported many as slaves. Indians gradually ceased sailing to other lands as they had done during earlier eras, when they had spread so much of their scientific and technological knowledge to the peoples of South and Southeast Asia. However, many Arabs who came to India learned and spread much of Indian learning on mathematics (for example, the zero) and astronomy to other lands.

Many of China's great scientific breakthroughs occurred before the era covered here, although knowledge continued to be advanced, refined, and spread throughout China and to other cultures. Japan in particular was the beneficiary of many of China's earlier inventions after 600. This was due to Japan's policy to learn all major aspects of China's civilization, starting around 600, that continued for several centuries. An important example of technological breakthrough and diffusion is the stirrup. The use of a loop made of rope or leather to assist people in mounting horses probably first began with the nomads north of China. Expert at metal casting and needing to counter the threat of the nomads on their northern borders, the Chinese began to make cast iron stirrups in the third century. Fierce nomads called Avars in the sixth century carried this invention to Europe as Avar attacks threatened the Byzantine Empire.

In response, Byzantine emperor Maurice Tiberius promulgated a military manual in 580 that specified the need for Byzantine cavalry to use iron stirrups. After that, stirrups became universal throughout Eurasia. China was also the first to make true porcelain in the third century through high-temperature firing in kilns. In the next 1,000 years and beyond, all innovations and advances

in porcelain making were initiated by the Chinese, hence the name *china* for porcelain. This technology was later copied by every culture throughout Europe and Asia. The same is true of gunpowder used in warfare, first invented by Chinese in the ninth century. Its invention and rapid spread throughout Europe and Asia forever changed the nature of warfare.

Alchemy and Metallurgy. Alchemy was an area of inquiry that preoccupied many people throughout Europe and Asia. Many alchemists conducted experiments in their quest to turn base materials into gold. This quest turned out to be a dead end. However, although incidental, the experiments of the alchemists contributed to advancing scientific knowledge in many fields, including pharmacology, chemistry, and metallurgy. In China, alchemy was associated with Daoists (Taoists) and their quest for longevity and immortality as well as the search for gold. This association between science with magic and alchemy contributed to the denigration of scientific research by scholars in traditional China. Similarly in Europe alchemy acquired ill repute among scientists. The cultures of Mesoamerica made no dramatic advances in scientific and technological developments during this period, due in part to political fragmentation. The Mayan city-states had earlier developed sophisticated calendrical and astronomical knowledge, which they continued to rely on.

The centuries between 600 and 1450 witnessed gradual and incremental increases in human knowledge in the sciences and technology. Islamic civilization led the way in assimilating the knowledge of the ancients, integrating them with that garnered by other cultures, and advancing them during the first part of this era. Its achievements made those centuries the golden age of Islam. By the latter part of the period under discussion, Europeans were rising to the forefront in many areas of scientific inquiry and technological improvements. This trend of rapid progress would continue and accelerate in the following centuries and result in Europeans becoming world leaders.

SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONSHIPS

From 600 to 1450, social and class relationships varied greatly from society to society around the world. Within each society, developments were dependent on local circumstances, wars, invasions, and migrations. Many invasions and group migrations that occurred throughout Eurasia during this period greatly affected relationships between different peoples and social classes. While much information is available about some societies, little is known of others, especially those without written languages.

In Europe the invasions and chaos that contributed to the end of the Roman Empire continued through this period as Germanic tribes, Magyars, and Vikings raided, conquered, and settled. Feudalism emerged because governments failed to provide the needed protection. Under feudalism, lords provided protection in return for allegiance and service from their vassals. It was a graded social relationship with the king at the apex, followed by nobles of varying ranks who served their superiors in war and governed the fiefs that were granted to them. The bulk of the population were serfs, free in person, but obligated to remain on the land that they worked, living in villages around a manor. Slavery was rare. Marriages in Europe were monogamous because of the teachings of the Christian Church. Most marriages took place within the individual's social group.

The church also functioned to mitigate the harsher aspects of feudalism. As in lay society social class divisions were rigid within the church; whereas most parish priests came from the common people, high-ranking clerics almost invariably came from the aristocracy. However religious orders, beginning with the Benedictine order from the sixth century, presented an alternative class structure and a powerful source of social organization because they were independent of the political rulers of the land and were put directly under papal control after the 10th century. Missionaries, some belonging to religious orders, notably the Knights of the Teutonic Order, spread Catholic Christianity and culture to northern and parts of eastern Europe that had not been part of the Roman Empire. Throughout this period in Europe, religious orders of monks and nuns provided education for boys and girls in monastic and convent schools and, later, for young men in the universities.

European economy prospered after 1000 because of the waning of outside invasions, technological advances in agriculture, and new lands brought under cultivation. The church also promoted economic growth because the lands that belonged to it were among the best administered and, as

a result, most productive. Local and international trade also increased. These factors led to the growth of towns, many of them self-governing and not subject to the strict feudal social order. The flight of serfs to towns and the need for workers to develop new lands led to better and freer conditions for serfs who remained on the land, leading to the eroding of serfdom.

In Asia, Japan was the only country where social and class relationships approximated those in Europe. Beginning in the sixth century, Japanese leaders attempted to replicate China's political and social institutions in order to achieve rapid progress. However, conditions in Japan differed significantly from those of more developed China. Thus Japanese society failed to advance into the more meritocratic and open Chinese model; instead, it developed along feudal lines. Paying lip service to powerless emperors, feudal lords, descended from aristocratic clans that traced their lineages to antiquity, were served by hereditary warriors (called *bushi* or samurai). They ruled the land that was worked by peasants whose position approximated that of European serfs. Social mobility was extremely rare.

In contrast to Europe and Japan, Chinese society became more egalitarian as the great families that were descended from ancient aristocratic clans declined and lost power. Although individuals were rewarded with high rank and titles, a hereditary aristocracy had ceased to exist by the end of the ninth century. Bureaucrats recruited through civil service exams dominated government. The invention of paper and printing, both of which took place in China, and government and private support of education all contributed to the development of an increasingly egalitarian society where many family fortunes rose and fell through the educational attainment of their sons.

The social leveling and increasing egalitarianism was severely set back when the Mongol Yuan dynasty completed its conquest of all China in 1279. The Mongols instituted a class structure in China that placed themselves on top, followed by their subjects of non-Chinese ancestry from Central Asia, then northern Chinese, with southern Chinese at the bottom. Huge numbers of Chinese were made slaves. A similarly iniquitous class structure characterized Mongol rule in Persia and Russia. In Russia, local princes were obliged to render tribute of gold and human beings to their Mongol overlords. The Chinese rebel who expelled the Mongols from China and founded the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) was an orphan from an impoverished family and felt great compassion for the poor. He emancipated people enslaved by Mongols and enacted laws that favored the poor and dispossessed. Thus Ming Chinese society was more egalitarian than that of pre-Yuan eras, and people enjoyed social mobility that was determined by economic and educational success. Marriages were monogamous for the majority, though rich men could take concubines. Divorces were rare and favored men when they occurred.

Indian society continued to be divided by caste, which originated with the Aryan invasion or the migration of Indo-Aryans from the Eurasian plains into the Indian subcontinent during the second millennium B.C.E. Caste was a method to separate the Aryans from the non-Aryans—the Dravidians and aboriginal tribes—and was a more peaceful solution than the victors enslaving, killing, or evicting the conquered. The four castes were Brahman, who were priests and scholars; Kshatriya, who were warriors and rulers; Vaisya, who were farmers, artisans, and merchants; and Sudra, who were servants. The first three castes claimed Aryan origins, while Sudras were the natives. Each caste was subdivided into numerous occupational groups or subcastes called *jati*.

Below the four castes were outcasts, also called untouchables—peoples relegated to the bottom of society who performed scorned functions. They were probably descended from tribal peoples or those that had been thrown out from their original places in society because of crimes or other misdeeds. Over the centuries, invaders and immigrants had assimilated into the caste structure. Around 500 B.C.E., Buddhism and Jainism, two major new religions that evolved out of the Aryan Vedism-Hinduism, both rejected caste, but by 600 C.E. Buddhism was in decline in India, while Jainism never claimed the loyalty of large numbers of people. Thus the caste system remained the prevailing method of social organization. While there were many local variations in marriage customs, most Hindus were monogamous, although the ruling elite had concubines.

While many earlier incoming groups had been absorbed, Muslims who came into India after 712 either as conquerors, settlers, or traders maintained their own religious and social structures. Since

the Muslim impact was felt mainly in northern India, many Hindus fled southwards, while those who remained retreated into the relative safety of their caste social structure, which became stricter as a result. Hindu women in northern India began to veil themselves in public, and girls married earlier partly due to fear for their safety in an area that was constantly under threat of Muslim raids and conquest. Some Hindus, mainly from lower castes, converted to Islam voluntarily. However, many were forcibly converted. Social intercourse between Hindus and Muslims was restricted. Even among Hindus, interdining between castes was taboo, and intermarriages were severely frowned upon. Vegetarianism, especially among upper castes, was encouraged, and the immolation of widows at the cremation of their husbands was esteemed and encouraged among the upper castes. Great divisions existed between the upper classes and the majority farmers, and while many men and women of the upper classes/castes were educated, the majority of both faiths were illiterate.

Until the rise of Islam in the seventh century, much of eastern Europe and western Asia was ruled by the Byzantine Empire. It was ethnically and culturally diverse, with many Arabs, Slavs, Armenians, and Jews among the population, but was dominated by peoples of Greek descent. Much of the land was owned by wealthy aristocrats and worked by free tenant farmers. The small numbers of slaves mostly worked in the home. Society was hierarchic, and while a few highly placed women wielded power, most women tended to affairs related to the home. Missionaries from the Byzantine Empire converted the Slavic peoples of eastern Europe to Christianity and also passed to them the ideals and mores of Greek civilization.

In western Asia, the rise and spread of Islam had significant impact on all aspects of life. Victorious Muslim leaders did not attempt to force the conquered people to adopt Islam and allowed them to maintain their own laws, content with collecting taxes in lands under their control. Those who did not convert were sometimes treated as second-class subjects. Thus, in time, many of the local populations converted to Islam and were then treated as equals within the community. Islamic law also strictly regulated the treatment of slaves. Muslims could not enslave other Muslims, and slave owners were encouraged to free their slaves. Most slaves in Islamic societies were used for domestic chores, or as soldiers. Although women in Islam enjoyed higher status than did women in many other contemporary societies, men remained dominant. They were allowed a maximum of four wives and were favored in divorce, among other advantages. By the eighth century, as in most of the world, there was great disparity between the ruling wealthy and the rest of the community in the Islamic realms under the Abbasid Caliphate.

While northern Africa was Islamized, the many peoples who lived in sub-Saharan Africa followed diverse cultures with different social patterns. Islam spread peacefully to sub-Saharan Africa through commerce and the movement of peoples. Societies and polities of sub-Saharan societies were extremely varied. Some, for example the Kikuyu of Kenya, were open and egalitarian, while others in societies in central Africa were narrowly hierarchic. Work in most was divided along gender lines; men were hunters, warriors, and herders, while women farmed and produced most of the food. Assignment of tasks by age was also common. One group, the Bantus, migrated from central to eastern and southern Africa, spreading their language from a common language group. Bantu societies were often led by tribal chieftains who also maintained armies. The societies were generally polygamous and patriarchal, although a few passed descent or “blood” through women.

THE AMERICAS

The peoples in North America lived in tribal groups, including the Hohokam, the Mogollon (Zuni), and Anasazi in the Southwest, the Algonquian and Iroquoian in the East, and the Hopewell and Cahokia in the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers region. Very advanced cultures developed in regions from modern Mexico to southern America, including the Teotihuacán northwest of the Mexico Valley (ended c. 650), the Mayan city-states in southern Mexico and Central America, and in the highlands of Peru. In general, as the states became more advanced and expanded, they also became more hierarchic, and greater social distinctions prevailed. In Mesoamerica and the Andes, the exceedingly elaborate social and class distinctions were based on birth, lineage, and occupation. A hereditary

ruler and the nobility topped the class structure, followed by a priestly class, a warrior class, merchants and traders, farmers, servants, and slaves at the bottom. The rulers claimed divine sanction and jealously guarded astronomical and calendrical knowledge, aided by priests who served them. On the other hand, there was less stratification among the less urbanized and developed peoples in the Amazon basin and in the grasslands of southeast South America.

No overall trend characterized social and class relationships on any continent. Within each society, class distinctions ranged from the extremely hierarchic in medieval Europe, feudal Japan, and Hindu India to the gradually more open one in China. Two factors instigated dramatic upsets and lasting changes in social and class relationships in many societies during these centuries. One was internal—the result of economic and technological changes that eroded feudalism in Europe and made Chinese society relatively more egalitarian. The other was war that brought a new religion: Islam introduced a new way of life to much of Asia and northern Africa. Invasions—Mongol, Viking, and others—disrupted and forced the reorganization of societies in much of Europe and Asia.

TRADE AND CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

From 600 to 1450, many old patterns of trade continued, others were disrupted, while new ones developed among Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Western Hemisphere continued isolated from the rest of the world. The fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and subsequent centuries of barbarian invasions severely disrupted trade in western Europe and between western Europe and the rest of the world, although the Byzantine Empire continued to serve as go-between for European and Asian goods. Eastern Christian missionaries from the Byzantine Empire converted most Slavic peoples of eastern Europe from the Balkans to Ukraine and Russia to Orthodox Christianity and Greek cultural traditions. In western Europe, Catholic missionaries converted the Anglo-Saxons, Lombards, and others to the Catholic Church and Latin culture. By the late eighth century, there had been sufficient recovery in western European lands controlled by Emperor Charlemagne to warrant calling the period the Carolingian Renaissance. However, subsequent widespread Viking invasions would bring back a “Dark Age” for much of Europe.

Asia. These centuries were highly active ones along the Silk Road that connected China with India, Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan, Persia, the Byzantine Empire, and the Umayyad and later Abbasid Caliphates. Traders, missionaries, and conquering armies linked cultures and spread innovations across continents. European lands became linked to the international trading network as a result of the Crusades that brought large numbers of English, French, Germans, and Italians to western Asia and introduced them to goods from Asia. The taste for Eastern luxuries led to increased trade overland and via sea routes. In the 12th and 13th centuries Marco Polo became world famous for traveling vast distances and writing colorful accounts about other peoples and ways of life. Polo traveled from Italy to China. Arab seafarers also traveled along the east coast of Africa and in Southeast Asia. Other Europeans had traveled via land to the Persian Gulf and then by sea to India and China. Political and other obstacles encountered on these traditional routes would motivate Spanish and Portuguese navigators to seek alternate routes to the East in the latter part of the 15th century.

In East Asia at the beginning of this era, the emerging Japanese state made a concerted effort to learn all it could from the higher civilization of China by sending many embassies, each with around 500 students, to spend years studying in China and then spread what they had learned in Japan. Japan adopted China’s written script, system of government, philosophy, art and architectural styles, legal codes, and Chinese schools of Buddhism. During the early centuries, Japan exported raw materials such as pearls and shells to China in return for books, textiles, art works, ceramics, and even Chinese metal coins that became currency in Japan. In time, as Japanese culture advanced, it began to export its manufactures to China; these included steel swords, folding fans, and painted screens that the Chinese prized.

The Silk Road that connected India and China through Afghanistan brought goods between the countries—mainly silks from China for cottons, optic lenses, and precious stones from India. It also

brought Buddhist missionaries from India and Central Asia to China and Chinese pilgrims to study in India. Buddhist missionaries first entered China at the beginning of the Common Era and continued to come until cut off by Muslim forces in the eighth century. Buddhism was the single most influential foreign ideology that affected the Chinese civilization until modern times. Buddhism, then flourishing in Central Asia, acted as a melting pot of Greco-Roman, Persian, and Indian cultures. It brought to China the art and architectural styles of all the lands that had influenced it, enriching Chinese intellectual and artistic life. Chinese Buddhists then synthesized the foreign with native Chinese traditions and passed on Sinicized Buddhism to its cultural satellites—Vietnam, Korea, and Japan.

The Silk Road was so called because China's most prized export was silk. By the seventh century, India and other lands had acquired the art of raising silkworms and the technology of silk weaving. However, Chinese silks continued to be prized. China imported cotton from India. Later, China also began to cultivate the cotton plant and manufacture cotton cloth and passed the skill to Japan. Cotton cloth became widespread for clothing because it was cheaper than silk. The Silk Road was also the conduit of innumerable food items from different lands that enriched all people's diets and introduced items that changed people's lifestyles. For example the ancient Chinese sat on futons placed on raised floors. Buddhist monks introduced the chair to China. Initially only Buddhist monks sat on chairs, but by the 10th century, chairs had become universal in Chinese households. The Tang (T'ang) Chinese garments, like many other Chinese artifacts, were adopted by contemporary Japanese, who modified them and continued to wear them as the kimono, even after the Chinese had changed clothing styles.

The Silk Road also brought peoples of many ethnic groups to new lands throughout Eurasia and created cosmopolitan cultures. This was especially true during the seventh century when a vibrant Tang dynasty in China exchanged ambassadors, merchants, and religious pilgrims with a flourishing India under Emperor Harsha, the Sassanid Empire in Persia, and the Byzantine Empire. Although early Muslim conquests disrupted trading and political relations, they would be resumed between China and the Muslim caliphate in Damascus and Baghdad. The Muslims who conquered the eastern Mediterranean lands became heirs of the Hellenistic and Byzantine cultures of the region. The early caliphate continued many Byzantine institutions, especially in taxation and the bureaucracy, and employed Greek architects to design mosques that incorporated the architectural style of Byzantine churches. Muslim scholars became the best mathematicians and astronomers; for centuries they would be employed by the Chinese governments as official astronomers and put in charge of issuing the calendar. Muslim scholars held primacy in these fields until the Renaissance. The Crusades brought major disruptions in the eastern Mediterranean region during the 11th and 12th centuries, but they also accelerated cultural contacts and created new tastes for luxuries. They in turn led to land and sea voyages of exploration to create new trade routes, leading to vast discoveries in subsequent centuries.

Asia, the Middle East, and eastern Europe suffered major disruptions in the 12th and 13th centuries as a result of Mongol imperialism under Genghis Khan and his successors. Huge areas across Eurasia were devastated and depopulated as a result. However, once established, the Mongol Empire, largest in the world, would encourage trade and provide security in a Pax Tatarica, similar to the Pax Romana and Pax Sinica of earlier centuries. Examples of cultural interactions that took place under the Mongols would be the adoption of Tibetan Buddhism by the eastern Mongols and Islam by those Mongols who had migrated westward. Another example is the import of cobalt from Persia to China for creating a blue color for decorating porcelains that became prized from Japan, India, and the Middle East to Africa. Cobalt blue underglaze porcelains from China would be imitated from Iznik in Turkey to Delft in Holland.

The collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and subsequent power changes in western Asia disrupted the flourishing sea trade with India of previous centuries. However, Indian merchants, settlers, and missionaries remained active in Southeast Asia, sailing from ports along the Bay of Bengal to Burma (modern Myanmar), Malaya, Cambodia, and Java, Sumatra, and other islands of the East Indies. They brought Hinduism and Buddhism, Indian art and architectural styles, Sanskrit-based written scripts, and many other elements of India's great civilization to the entire region, which entered the historic era due mainly to the influence of India. Outside their

home regions, Chinese and Indian cultures met at the southern tip of mainland Southeast Asia—in a region called Indochina, named for that reason. Chinese culture and political control prevailed in Vietnam, whereas Indian culture predominated in Laos and Cambodia.

Africa. Just as the Silk Road spread goods and ideas across Eurasia, trading routes spread Islam from North Africa across the Sahara to sub-Saharan West Africa. In a reverse pattern, export of salt and gold northward via camel caravans made West African kingdoms of salt and gold fabled lands of wealth. West African Muslims also traveled through North and East Africa and Arabia to make a hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca and Medina. The hajj was a major factor in the exchange of goods and ideas among Muslims from Africa to Asia. Ivory from African elephant tusks was valued as material for art and ritual objects from medieval Christian Europe to China. East Africa developed a cosmopolitan culture as a result of trade with Arab Muslims. Many Arabs and Persians settled in coastal regions in East Africa, and Islam spread there through intermarriage and conversion. Swahili, an African language infused with many Arabic and Persian words, became the international language of trade in East Africa.

War also created opportunities for cultural exchanges. Chinese prisoners of war captured by armies of the Muslim caliphs in the mid-eighth century taught their captors paper making, which spread from the Middle East to Europe. Likewise, gunpowder, cannons, and guns spread from their Chinese inventors to their Mongol enemies, westward across Eurasia, and changed the nature of warfare throughout Eurasia. Wars also resulted in relocations of populations, either forcibly as refugees or deportees, or willingly by conquering powers. In either case, the transfers of peoples to new lands resulted in cultural interactions.

The Americas. In the Americas, there was a continuation of regional exchange networks and cultural interactions that had developed before 600. The people of the Mississippi River valley area in North America made significant advances after about 700; that culture reached its zenith between 1200 and 1400 and disappeared about 1700. Archaeologists have excavated large settlements with earthen temple mounds shaped like truncated pyramids, on top of which the people had built major community buildings. The Mississippian Culture extended its influence throughout northern America east of the Rocky Mountains, probably through trade and travel along the various river systems. In Central America, long-distance trade depended on the strength of states that could protect it. In central Mexico, the fall of Teotihuacán around 650 splintered both political and trading structures of previous centuries. To the south, the city-state of Monte Albán dominated regional exchange for several centuries after 650. In Central America after 900, powerful city-states, most notably Tikal, conducted trade throughout the region. Two main state systems, the Tiwanaku and Wari, dominated the Andes region of South America, with textiles as major trading items.

Despite major disruptions caused by the rise and fall of empires and the introduction of new religions, international trade continued along long-established routes in Europe and Asia. While Islam was spread by military conquest in much of western and southern Asia, its gradual acceptance by many peoples in eastern and sub-Saharan Africa was the result of trade. Christian and Buddhist missionaries mostly worked to convert through peaceful means. Chinese culture spread to Korea and Vietnam aided by Chinese political control, while Japan's acceptance of all things Chinese was entirely voluntary. Except for the Mongol conquest of Eurasia, which only benefited the Mongols, and some Turko-Afghan raids on northern India, other cultural contacts, even those imposed by war, had some beneficial results.

WARFARE

During 600–1450, military technology throughout Eurasia retained the principal characteristics of earlier times. Iron and steel weapons had long since replaced those made of bronze. In large empires such as those of China and the Byzantine, Persian, and Islamic Empires, large-scale industrial production of weapons became commonplace. Japan, Damascus in present-day Syria, and Toledo in Spain were famous centers for the production of swords. Refinements and improvements were continuously made to older inventions, such as poison gas and smoke bombs. The crossbow was first

manufactured in China in the fourth century B.C.E. and possibly in Greece about the same time and then disappeared in Europe. It reappeared in western Europe in the 10th century (some scholars suggest, reintroduced through Central Asia by the Khazar people), and was reputedly used by the forces of William the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings. Its effects were so lethal that its use was condemned at the Second Lateran Council of the Catholic Church in 1139 for use against Christians. Its use was, however, accepted by the Catholic Church against the infidels (Muslims). It was one of the main weapons used by Hernán Cortés to subjugate Mexico in 1521.

China revitalized the ancient means of defense of wall building in the early 15th century. The Romans had built Hadrian's Wall in Britain in the second century C.E., and the Chinese had built a longer Great Wall during the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty and Han dynasty before the Common Era. The Great Wall had fallen into disuse between the 10th and 14th centuries because nomads controlled northern, and later all of China. Even though the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had ousted the Mongols, they remained a threat, hence the rebuilding and reinforcing of the Great Wall along China's northern frontiers. The survival of large sections of the Ming Great Wall is a testimony to the technical excellence and engineering skills applied in its construction.

Several significant inventions and advances in military technology and weaponry made warfare more destructive. One formidable weapon was called "Greek fire," a petroleum-based incendiary substance that combined sulfur and saltpeter and could be shot from tubes and could not be extinguished by water. It was invented in India in the 600s, refined and used in China as a continuous flame-thrower on land in the 10th century, and used by the Byzantine Empire in naval warfare that allowed it to maintain naval supremacy. Gunpowder was invented in China. It was given military application in the 10th century in response to attacks by its formidable nomadic neighbors, most notably the Mongols. In the 11th through 13th centuries, the Chinese invented rockets, and a proto-gun called a "fire-lance," which worked as a flame-thrower. From these evolved guns and cannons made from cast iron, which became ever bigger and more sophisticated.

A Chinese manual dating to 1412 described a cannon that weighed 60 pounds called the "long-range awe-inspiring cannon." By the mid-15th century, a "great general gun" had been made with a barrel six feet long that weighed 330 pounds and could be placed on a wheeled carriage. It fired an eight-pound "grandfather shell" that traveled 800 paces. Unfortunately for China, the advantage gained by its inventions were short-lived because skilled prisoners of the Mongols quickly replicated the new weapons. In short order, gunpowder, cannons, and guns became available throughout the Middle East and Europe, revolutionizing warfare and castle building. Soon so-called gunpowder empires emerged, including the Ottoman Empire. Wars among Chinese and between Chinese and their neighbors involved hundreds of thousands of men on both sides and inflicted huge casualties that made contemporary European campaigns fought seasonally by a few thousand combatants seem puny by comparison. Although the European knights wore formidable chain-mail armor in battle, it proved too cumbersome against the light armor worn by Mongol horsemen.

Armies of great empires consisted mainly of infantry soldiers, supported by cavalry, and in India, by elephant corps. Soldiers were either conscripts, professional long-term recruits, or came from hereditary military families. In India *kshatriya* clans called Rajputs (which means "sons of kings") proudly bore arms as elite soldiers fighting among themselves and unsuccessfully against Muslim raiders and invaders from Afghanistan. In Japan, hereditary elite fighting men called samurai or *bushi* enjoyed a position in society similar to that of knights in medieval Europe. They lived by their own severe code of conduct and were distinguished from commoners by their right to bear arms. As Japan was an island nation, only the Mongols threatened invasions in late 12th century; thus it never needed to develop large infantry armies.

Western Asian and African Warfare. Among nomadic and seminomadic tribal peoples that included Mongols, Afghans, and Turks, every able-bodied adult male was a soldier, and society was highly militarized. Their mobility and elusiveness made nomads especially difficult for sedentary peoples to defend against. Thus nomads could conquer and control large numbers of sedentary peoples. The Mongols under Genghis Khan and his descendants conquered the largest land empire in history, their

realm at its maximum stretched from Korea on the eastern rim of Asia, across China, Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, Russia, and eastern Europe to Hungary. Mongols discovered no new weapons or technology. Their phenomenal success was because of leadership, planning, intelligence gathering, strategy, speed, and above all ruthlessness. Mongols struck like lightning and were willing to exterminate all inhabitants in any area that had opposed them. Their military campaigns inflicted unprecedented destruction throughout Eurasia. On the other hand, victorious nomadic rulers, Mongols included, quickly lost their martial spirit, corrupted by the soft lifestyle they enjoyed as rulers. Thus they were soon overthrown by their subject peoples or by other hardier nomadic tribes. Then they were either assimilated into the majority population or reverted to nomadism in the steppes.

Arabs, inspired by religious fervor, conquered a huge empire in the seventh–eighth centuries. Even some Arab women went to war during the initial campaigns of conquest. The swift expansion of Islam, the limited human resources among the Arabs, and the luxurious lifestyle adopted by the conquerors made finding new sources of soldiers an urgent necessity by the ninth century. The remedy came in the form of the Mamluk (the word means “slave” in Arabic) system, whereby young boys from non-Muslim tribes in the Eurasian steppes, many Turkish, were purchased and brought to Muslim lands. They were given a rigorous military training and Islamic education, converted to Islam, and then freed. Faithful to their masters and comrades, Mamluks became elite soldiers to Muslim rulers; later they became the rulers. Mamluks were a one-generation aristocracy because their sons, who were born free and Muslim, could not become Mamluks. In other words, new batches of boys were continuously bought from the Eurasian steppes to be trained to be the next generation Mamluks. The institution survived for 1,000 years, mainly in Egypt and Syria.

Similarly, in northern India former Turkic slaves to Muslim rulers turned the tables on their masters and established slave dynasties. Likewise, the Ottoman Empire instituted a Janissary Corps (from Turkish words meaning “new soldiers”) with boys taken from Christian lands that it conquered. The boys were given military training, converted to Islam, and became elite loyal soldiers to the rulers; they played a key role in the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Sundiata, the first king of Mali in West Africa, maintained a standing army clad in padded cloth suits of armor or chain mail as well as cavalry with horses and camels. In Africa, some tribes or ethnic groups, such as the Tauregs and Zulus, dominated their weaker neighbors because of their military prowess.

Maritime Warfare. Most major empires during this era relied primarily on land power, but sea power also played a role. The Vikings were expert seafarers who traded and raided throughout the coastal waters and several inland waterways of Europe, traveling in their long boats. One group of Vikings first raided the English coast and later invaded England from their new stronghold in Normandy, France. Another crossed the Baltic Sea to Russia and then sailed southward along the rivers to the Black Sea to Constantinople and to the Mediterranean to conquer ports in Sicily and other areas. Muslims also developed formidable naval forces and merchant fleets, but all of India’s Muslim invaders came overland across the mountains from the northwest; China’s enemies also came overland during this period.

However, as the Mongols pressed southward across the Yangzi (Yangtze) River and encountered Chinese resistance along the coastal waterways, they, too, ordered their Chinese prisoners to construct a fleet. The last Song (Sung) emperor drowned at sea after suffering final defeat at the hands of the Mongol navy. In 1274 and 1281, Mongol ruler Kubilai Khan launched two invasions of Japan with a huge armada of Korean and Chinese built ships that carried 140,000 soldiers during the second expedition. The ships were no match against typhoons, and both invasions failed. Between 1405 and 1433, Chinese naval power dominated the Asian waters, as six huge armadas fought pirates, intervened in local civil wars, and conducted trade and diplomacy from Java to India, Sri Lanka, to the east coast of Africa. The magnetic compass, discovered centuries earlier, had been used by Chinese sailors in navigation since the ninth century and was passed on to sailors of other lands. China’s government abandoned its interest in naval affairs after the last great voyage of Admiral Zheng He (Cheng Ho) in 1433.

The Americas. Isolated from Europe and Asia, the civilizations in the Americas did not develop iron and steel technology, nor did they possess the horse. Across Mesoamerica there was intensified

warfare, militarization, and the glorification of the warrior class during this era. Warfare became endemic; hence this period is called a “Times of Trouble.” In both Mesoamerica and among the Mayan city-states, the principal goal of warfare was the creation of subordinate tributary states among the defeated to obtain tribute, although the Maya sometimes occupied the lands of the defeated city-states. Thus the defeated states were often left intact to collect the required tribute. Another goal of warfare was to take captives for prestige and to provide labor for the victor. Artwork depicted warfare and glorified the warrior.

As a result, warfare was often endemic in the regions and contributed to the depletion of resources and, combined with ecological degradation and burgeoning population, led to the decline and fall of Classic Maya in the ninth century. Scholarly debate prevails concerning the nature of warfare in the Andes region. While one school of thought contends that warfare was more ritualized and ceremonial than destructive, another argues that the wars waged in this region was extremely destructive, with the winner achieving domination and rule over the vanquished. Throughout the world, most successful states relied on formidable military forces to conquer and defend their empires. They also devoted considerable resources and effort to developing successful strategies, tactics, and advanced weaponry to maintain their rule and defeat their competitors and enemies.



Abbasid dynasty

The Abbasids defeated the Umayyads to claim the caliphate and leadership of the Muslim world in 750. The Abbasids based their legitimacy as rulers on their descent from the prophet MUHAMMAD's extended family, not as with some Shi'i directly through the line of Ali and his sons. The Abbasids attempted to reunify Muslims under the banner of the Prophet's family. Many Abbasid supporters came from Khurasan in eastern Iran. Following the Arab conquest of the Sassanid Empire, a large number of Arab settlers had moved into Khurasan and had integrated with the local population. Consequently, many Abbasids spoke Persian but were of Arab ethnicity.

THE NEW CAPITAL OF BAGHDAD

The first Abbasid caliph, Abu al-Abbas (r. 749–754), took the title of al-Saffah. His brother and successor, Abu Jafar, adopted the name al-Mansur (Rendered Victorious) and moved the caliphate to his new capital, BAGHDAD, on the Tigris River. Under the Abbasids the center of power for the Muslim world shifted eastward with an increase of Persian and, subsequently, Turkish influences. Persian influences were especially notable in new social customs and the lifestyle of the court, but Arabic remained the language of government and religion. Thus, while non-Arabs became more prominent in government, the Arabization, especially in language, of the empire increased. Mansur's new capital, built between 762 and 766, was originally a circular

fortress, and it became the center of Arab-Islamic civilization during what has been called the golden age of Islam (763–809). With its easy access to major trade routes, river transport, and agricultural goods (especially grains and dates) from the Fertile Crescent, Baghdad prospered. Agricultural productivity was expanded with an efficient canal system in Iraq. Commerce flourished with trade along well-established routes from India to Spain and trans-Saharan routes. A banking and book-keeping system with letters of credit facilitated trade. The production of textiles, papermaking, metalwork, ceramics, armaments, soap, and inlaid wood goods was encouraged. An extensive postal system and network of government spies were also established.

HARUN AL-RASHID AND THE ABBASID ZENITH

The zenith of Abbasid power came under the caliphate of HARUN AL-RASHID (r. 786–809). Harun al-Rashid, his wife Zubaida, and mother Khaizuran were powerful political figures. Zubaida and Khaizuran were wealthy and influential women and both controlled vast estates. They also played key roles in determining succession to the caliphate. Like the Umayyads, the Abbasids never solved the problem of succession, and their government was weakened and ultimately, in part, destroyed because of rivalries over succession. Under Harun al-Rashid the Barmakid family exerted considerable political power as viziers (ministers to the ruler). The Barmakids were originally from Khurasan and had begun serving the court as tutors to Harun al-Rashid. The Barmakids served as competent and powerful officials until their fall from

favor in 803, by which time a number of bureaucrats and court officials had achieved positions of considerable authority. The wealth of the Abbasid court attracted foreign envoys and visitors who marveled over the lavish lifestyles of court officials and the magnificence of Baghdad. Timurlane destroyed most of the greatest Abbasid monuments in the capital, and Baghdad never really recovered from the destruction inflicted by him.

Under the Abbasids, provinces initially enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy; however, a more centralized system of finances and judiciary were implemented. Local governors were appointed for Khurasan and soldiers from Khurasan made up a large part of the court bodyguard and army. In spite of their power and wealth the Abbasids twice failed to take Constantinople. The Abbasids also had to grapple with ongoing struggles between those who wanted a government based on religion, and those who favored secular government.

CIVIL WAR OVER ACCESSION AND THE END OF THE ABBASIDS

Harun al-Rashid's death incited a civil war over accession that lasted from 809 to 833. During the war, Baghdad was besieged for one year and was fought for by the common people, not the elite, in the city. Their exploits were commemorated in a body of poetry that survives until the present day. The attackers finally won and the new Caliph Mutasim (r. 833–842) moved the capital to Samarra north of Baghdad in 833. During the ninth century the Abbasid army came to rely more and more on Turkish soldiers, some of whom were slaves while others were free men. A military caste separate from the rest of the population gradually developed. In Khurasan, the Tahirids did not establish an independent dynasty but moved the province in the direction of a separate Iranian government. As various members of the Abbasid family fought one another over the caliphate, rulers in Egypt (the Tulunids), provincial governors, and tribal leaders took advantage of the growing disarray and sometimes anarchy within the central government at Samarra to extend their own power.

The Zanj rebellion around Basra in southern Iraq in 869 was a major threat to Abbasid authority. The Zanj were African slaves who had been used as plantation workers in southern Iraq, the only instance of large-scale slave labor for agriculture in the Islamic world. Other non-slave workers joined the rebellion led by Ali ibn Muhammad. Ali ibn Muhammad was killed fighting in 883 and the able Abbasid military commander, Abu Ahmad al-Muwaffaq, whose brother served as caliph, finally succeeded in crushing the rebellion.

Under Caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 908–932) the capital was returned to Baghdad where it remained until the collapse of the Abbasid dynasty. By the 10th century any aspirant to the caliphate needed the assistance of the military to obtain the throne. The army became the arbiters of power and the caliphs were mere ciphers. A series of inept rulers led to widespread rebellions and declining revenues while the costs of maintaining the increasingly Turkish army remained high. By the time the dynasty finally collapsed, it was virtually bankrupt. In 945 a Shi'i Persian, Ahmad ibn Buya, took Baghdad and established the Buyid dynasty that was a federation of political units ruled by various family members. A remnant of the Abbasid family, carrying the title of caliph, moved to Cairo where it was welcomed as an exile with no authority over either religious or political life.

See also ISLAM: ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE GOLDEN AGE; ISLAM: MUSIC AND LITERATURE IN THE GOLDEN AGE; ISLAM: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE GOLDEN AGE; SHI'ISM; Umayyad Dynasty.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Abelard, Peter and Heloise

Peter Abelard (1079–1142) was an abbot in the monastery of Saint-Gildas in the province of Brittany, France. He was born in Nantes, moved to Paris at the age of 15, and attended the University of Paris. He became a prolific writer, composing philosophical essays, letters, an autobiography, hymns, and poetry. He is best known for his intellectual work in the area of nominalism, the antithesis of realism and basis of modern empiricism. His book *Sic et Non* posed a number of theological and philosophical questions to its readers. In *Ethics*, he began two works: "Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew and a Christian" and "Know Yourself." Neither work was completed. His rebellious nature frequently angered people, particularly those in positions of authority. Often his independent thinking gave rise to conflicts, especially when he demonstrated mastery of

a subject being taught by a mentor. On one occasion he challenged his former teacher, William of Champeaux, regarding realism and logically proved that nominalism, also known as conceptualism, explained what realism could not prove.

At a time when education was not yet public, professors had no permanent place to teach. They would post an announcement that advertised where and when they would teach a particular subject and wait for students to arrive. In this way they established a following. Abelard was quite brilliant at age 25 and set up his own school despite limited teaching experience. He founded his school uncomfortably close to his former teachers', provoking their anger. He lived a life of extremes, gaining the admiration, respect, and awe of those who studied under him, but often receiving the wrath of those whom he defied. He was accused of heresy on many occasions and at one point was forced to leave his monastery because he aggravated his peers so intensely. On two occasions he was excommunicated from the church.

Heloise (1101–64) was the highly intelligent, beautiful, and charming niece of Fulbert, a prominent canon of Notre-Dame. Fulbert doted on her and demanded that she have only the best education, which took her to Paris near the monastery. Abelard heard of Heloise and requested that he be allowed to tutor her in her home. Permission was granted, and he moved in. There he found an eager pupil, 22 years his junior, and they soon became involved in a physical as well as scholarly relationship. When Heloise became pregnant, they rejoiced in their child (whom they later named Astrolabe) and made plans to marry. Heloise was fiercely independent and would not be forced into a marriage where she had no rights.

But in her collected letters she mentions that she did not want to bring shame on Abelard by being a burden to him. In order to hide their relationship, and Heloise's imminent delivery, Abelard took her to his sister's house, where she stayed until she gave birth to their son. They secretly married in Paris, with only Heloise's uncle and a few of their friends in attendance. Right after the marriage, Heloise took refuge in the Argenteuil convent to allay any gossip regarding her relationship with Abelard.

Unaware that both Heloise and Abelard had planned this provisional measure, Fulbert thought that Abelard had abandoned Heloise and forced her into a nunnery. He planned to ambush and restrain him and cut off Abelard's genitalia. In a series of maneuvers he arranged to pay one person to put a sleeping powder in

Abelard's evening meal and his servant to allow a gate to remain open. Fulbert sent word that he was looking for a Jewish physician to perform the sordid mutilation. After he had assembled his kinsmen and associates, they sought out Abelard and performed the horrible act. After the surgical alteration, Abelard took vows to become a monk at the monastery of Saint-Denis and persuaded Heloise to take vows to become a nun in a convent in Argenteuil.

Although their physical relationship could not continue, they remained in contact throughout their lives. Ironically, Abelard, who had previously considered himself a ravening wolf to whom a tender lamb had been entrusted, wrote that the alteration had been a positive rather than a harmful event. He wrote, "...divine grace cleansed me rather than deprived me..." and that it circumcised him in mind as in body to make him more fit to approach the holy altar and that "no contagion of carnal pollutions might ever again call me thence."

Abelard and Heloise have been resurrected in a variety of artistic genres since their plight was first told in the 12th century. Although never completed, in 1606 William Shakespeare wrote the play *Abélard and Elois, a Tragedie*. Josephine Bonaparte, upon hearing the tragic story, made arrangements for the two to be buried together in Père LaChaise Cemetery in Paris. Their modest sepulcher can be found on the map at the entrance to the cemetery. In 1819 Jean Vignaud (1775–1826) painted *Abélard and Heloise Surprised by the Abbot Fulbert* (*Les Amours d'Héloïse et d'Abeilard*), which is now at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska. The extent to which artists have chosen Abelard and Heloise to create operas, plays, and movies is testament to the universality and poignancy of their story.

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LANA THOMPSON

A'isha

(d. 678) *wife of the prophet Muhammad*

A'isha bint Abu Bakr was the daughter of Abu Bakr, one of the first converts to ISLAM and a close personal friend of the prophet MUHAMMAD. According to the

custom of the time, the family arranged A'isha's engagement to the prophet Muhammad when she was only nine years old. Because A'isha played an important role in the personal disputes that evolved over the leadership of the fledgling Muslim community after the Prophet's death, accounts about her life vary widely between the majority orthodox Sunni Muslims and Shi'i Muslims. Sunni accounts argue that the marriage was only consummated after A'isha was older, while more negative Shi'i narratives accept the tradition that she was only nine. However, historical accounts are unanimous in describing the union as a close and loving one. A'isha was thought to have been the Prophet's favorite wife.

A'isha played an active role in the political and even military life of the Islamic community in Medina. She was seen as a rival to Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law by marriage to his daughter Fatima. Ali's followers, or Shi'i, viewed Ali and his descendants as the rightful heirs to the leadership of Islamic society. On the other hand, the Sunni, the overwhelming majority of Muslims worldwide, believed that any devout believer could assume leadership of the community. While the Prophet was still alive, Ali accused A'isha of adultery after she left the Bedu (Bedouin) encampment in search of a lost necklace and failed to find the group when she returned. She was rescued and returned to camp by a man named Safwan. A'isha's rivals, including Ali, took this opportunity to urge the Prophet to divorce her. The Prophet took A'isha's side and subsequently received a revelation that adultery had to be proven by eyewitnesses.

According to Ibn Ishaq's *Life of Muhammad (Sirat Rasul Allah)*, the oldest existing biography, the Prophet died in A'isha's arms in 632 C.E. A'isha's father, Abu Bakr, was then chosen as the first caliph, or leader of the community. Although Ali's supporters felt he should have been the rightful heir, they reluctantly went along with the majority. When Ali's supporters were believed to have been involved in the assassination of the third caliph, Uthman, in 656 C.E. and proclaimed Ali the fourth caliph, A'isha, astride a camel, led an armed force in a pitched battle against him. A'isha lost what became known as the Battle of the Camel and was forced to retire to Medina, where she died in 678 C.E.

See also CALIPHS, FIRST FOUR; SHI'ISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Albigensian Crusade

The matter of heresy in the Catholic Church threatened the unity of Christendom precisely at the time that the pope was calling for an all-out war to reclaim the Holy Lands from the Muslims. Pope INNOCENT III conceived of the plan to wipe out the Albigensian heresy in the south of France in the early decades of the 13th century. He would call for a crusade. At first the plan seemed ingenious: The pope would grant to fighters the spiritual benefits of a crusade, but the time of service would be brief (40 days) and close to home in comparison to earlier wars in the Holy Land. His ultimate goal was to unify Europe under papal authority so that he could marshal its resources into the Byzantine Empire, MUSLIM SPAIN, and, most important, the Holy Land. However, the twists and turns in the politics of the Albigensian Crusade (1208–29) ultimately drained resources from the wars abroad and strengthened the anti-Roman forces in France. In the next centuries the blunder of the Albigensian Crusade would be apparent in the schism of Avignon, where a French pope would oppose a Roman pope.

Innocent at first supported the work of preaching and persuasion to win back the Albigensians, a loose network of sectarians and heretics of southern France. A variety of church investigators, from BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX to the pope, readily admitted that Catholic clergy serving the Albigensian natives stood in grave need of reform. But when peaceful measures did not make speedy enough progress, Innocent lost patience and turned to war. His decision came in 1208 when the papal delegate was murdered in Toulouse. Innocent held Count Raymond of Toulouse accountable both for his death and for the protection of the heretics in southern France and summoned the rest of France to take up arms. Some 20,000 knights and 200,000 foot soldiers responded. Their leader was the crusader veteran Simon de Montfort. Raymond lost no time in making peace with the papal forces, but Simon could never conquer the whole area of the Albigensians. Resistance was too entrenched, and Simon could only count on French troops for 40 days at a time, the terms of service that the church allowed for this crusade. Also, Simon was an outsider and extremely unpopular because of his brutality in war.

In 1213 Innocent seemed to recognize the folly of the crusade and called it off. The king of Aragon, a warrior renowned for his battlefield skills against Muslims in Spain, took up the cause of Raymond. In effect, the Albigensian conflict became a tug of war between Spain and France. Although the pope now supported

Raymond, the French nobles supported Simon. In the political melee that followed, another crusade was summoned. Though it was nominally against heresy, it was really against Raymond and his Spanish allies. On the battlefield the French-backed forces defeated the Spanish-backed forces. Simon's shocking brutality led to his excommunication by Innocent. He died in battle in Toulouse in 1218. His nemesis Raymond died in 1222. The Albigensians rebounded throughout these latter years, leading many Catholic and French officials to threaten yet another crusade. Raymond's son, however, was able to negotiate the Treaty of Meaux (1229), ceding the territory to Capetian France and institutionalizing Catholic influence everywhere. The church meanwhile found a new weapon to combat latent heresy: the INQUISITION.

See also AVIGNONESE PAPACY; CRUSADES; HERESIES, PRE-REFORMATION.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Alcuin

(c. 735–804) *scholar*

Alcuin of York was an educator, poet, theologian, liturgical reformer, and an important adviser and friend of CHARLEMAGNE (c. 742–814 C.E.). He was a major contributor to the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE, a ninth century C.E. intellectual revival within Charlemagne's domains that shaped the subsequent history of education, religion, and politics in the Middle Ages.

Alcuin was born in Northumbria, England, around 735 C.E. and educated at the cathedral school at York under its master, Aelbert. In 778 C.E. Alcuin became the librarian and master of the cathedral school at



Toulouse and Alba were the bastion cities of the heretics, and the main targets of the Albigensian Crusade. Carcassonne (above) is a walled city in southern France and was a stronghold of the Cathars during the conflict.

York, where his talent for teaching soon attracted students from other lands. Three years later, while in Parma (Italy), Alcuin met Charlemagne, who invited him to join his court. Excepting two journeys to his native England (in 786 and 790–793 C.E.), Alcuin lived and worked in the Frankish court from 782 C.E. until he retired in 796 C.E. to the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where he was abbot until his death in 804 C.E. Although Alcuin never advanced beyond the clerical office of deacon, by the late 780s C.E. his aptitude as a teacher and his influence on royal administrative texts distinguished him among the clerics and scholars of the Carolingian court.

One of Alcuin's most significant (and original) contributions to medieval education lies in his mastery of the seven liberal arts and his composition of textbooks on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic (the traditional arts of the *trivium*). Alcuin's literary output also includes commentaries on biblical books, a major work on the Trinity, and three treatises against the Adoptionism of his contemporaries Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo. Adoptionism was the heretical belief that Christ was not the eternal Son of God by nature but rather merely by adoption. Alcuin also composed a number of poems and "lives" of saints.

Alcuin contributed to the Carolingian Renaissance most directly as a liturgical reformer and editor of sacred texts. The various reforms that Alcuin introduced into liturgical books (books used in formal worship services) in the Frankish Empire culminated in his edition of a lectionary (a book containing the extracts from Scripture appointed to be read throughout the year), and particularly in his revision of what is known as the Gregorian Sacramentary (the book, traditionally ascribed to Pope Gregory I, used by the celebrant at Mass in the Western Church until the 13th century C.E. that contained the standard prayers for use throughout the year).

In addition to revising liturgical texts Alcuin edited Jerome's Vulgate in response to Charlemagne's request for a standardized Latin text of the Bible. His edition of the Vulgate was presented to Charlemagne on Christmas Day, 800 C.E., the very day on which the Frankish king became emperor. As abbot of St. Martin's, Alcuin supervised the production of several pandects or complete editions of the Bible. Alcuin's preference for the Vulgate likely contributed to its final acceptance as the authoritative text of Scripture in the medieval West. Alcuin died at Tours on May 19, 804 C.E., and his feast day continues to be celebrated on May 19.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE.

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FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

Alfred the Great

(849–899) *king of England*

Alfred the Great was the fifth son of King Ethelwulf (839–55) of the West Saxons (Wessex) and Osburga, daughter of the powerful Saxon earl Oslac. When Alfred became king of Wessex in 871, his small realm was the last independent Saxon kingdom in England. A massive Viking force from Denmark, known as the "Great Army," had landed in East Anglia in 865 and had quickly overrun the Saxon kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and, eventually, Mercia. During his older brother Ethelred's reign (866–871), Alfred had helped fight off an initial invasion of the Great Army into Wessex, but when his older brother died and Alfred inherited the throne, he was forced to gain peace by buying the Vikings off.

In 878 the Great Army returned, led by the Danish chieftain Guthrum. Alfred's fortunes were considerably augmented at this point by the fact that nearly half of the Vikings in the Great Army had settled down in Northumbria to farm and hence took no part in this new attack. Even so Alfred and his men were hard pressed to survive. Driven from his royal stronghold at Chippenham in Wiltshire in early 878, he retreated to the marshes around Somerset, where he managed to regroup his forces. In May of that year he inflicted a solid defeat on the Vikings at the Battle of Edington and quickly followed this up with another victory by forcing Guthrum and his men to surrender their stronghold at Chippenham. By the Treaty of Wedmore (878), which brought hostilities to an end, the Danes withdrew north of the Thames River to East Mercia and East Anglia; together with Northumbria, these lands would constitute the independent Viking territories in England known as the DANELAW.

Significantly, through this settlement Alfred gained control over West Mercia and Kent, Saxon lands that he had not previously controlled. In addition to acknowledging a stable demarcation between Alfred's kingdom and Viking lands, Guthrum also agreed to convert to Christianity and, shortly thereafter, was baptized. The significance of this cannot be overstated, because it made the eventual assimilation of the Danes into Saxon, Christian society possible.

With this latest Viking invasion having been thwarted, Alfred took steps to ensure the future safety of his people. Across his kingdom he created a series of fortified market places called burhs, which, in addition to aiding the economy of the realm, provided strong points of defense against Viking raids. These were strategically situated so that no burh was more than one day's march (approximately 20 miles) from another. Alfred also reorganized his army so that at any one time, only part of the fyrd, or levy, was out in the field or defending the burhs, while the men in the other half would remain home tending their own and their absent kinsmen's farms and livestock. This enabled Alfred to extend the time of service for which each half of the fyrd could be deployed, because it removed problems of supply and also relieved men from worrying about their families and farms back home. These measures proved immensely effective, not only allowing Alfred to successfully defend Wessex, but even enabling him to go on the offensive against the Vikings, so that by 879 much of Mercia had been cleared of Vikings, and in 885–886 he captured London. After the Danes launched a massive seaborne invasion against England in 892, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us that Alfred also created a new navy, comprised of large, fast ships, in order to prevent any such subsequent overseas invasions from being successful.

Having dealt with the Vikings, in the second half of his reign Alfred took steps to improve the administration of his realm as well as increase the level of learning and culture among his people. In doing so he showed himself to be a competent administrator and possessed of an inquiring and capable mind. He established an Anglo-Saxon law code, by combining the laws and practices of Wessex, Mercia and Kent, and he kept a tight rein on justice throughout his lands.

Like others of his time, the king had a deep respect for the wisdom and learning of the past, and he worked hard to make a variety of works available to his contemporaries for their religious, moral, and cultural edification. He took an active role in improving the spiritual and pastoral qualities of bishops and clerics throughout his realm by personally translating from Latin into the Anglo-Saxon language Pope Gregory the Great's late sixth-century work titled *Pastoral Care*. He showed a similar interest in philosophical and moral issues by rendering Boethius's early sixth-century treatise *The Consolation of Philosophy* into his native tongue, while sprinkling throughout his translation numerous personal observations. Alfred further engaged his passion for ethics, history, and theology by translating from Latin

into Anglo-Saxon the work of the fifth-century Spanish prelate Paulus Orosius known as the *Universal History*. This latter work undertook to explain all history as the unfolding of God's divine plan.

To help foster a sense of pride and awareness of Anglo-Saxon history, Alfred rendered (rather loosely) the Venerable BEDE's eighth-century work *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. To this same end he ordered the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that was continued from his reign until the middle of the 12th century. Around 888 Bishop Asser of Sherborne wrote his *Life of King Alfred*, celebrating the king as a vigorous and brave warrior, a just ruler, and a man of letters and intellect as well.

The political, military, and cultural accomplishments of King Alfred the Great are significant, especially when viewed within the larger context of late ninth-century European history. As much of the CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY fell into the chaos of feudalism because of the raids of Vikings, Muslims, and Magyars and the infighting among Charlemagne's heirs, Alfred's victories over the Vikings, and his subsequent expansion into Mercia and Kent, began a process that would result in his successors uniting all of England under the House of Wessex and in a fusion of Anglo-Saxon and Viking culture. Thus he is credited with establishing the English monarchy and alone among all English rulers bears the title "the Great."

See also ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE; CHARLEMAGNE; VIKINGS; NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

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RONALD K. DELPH

Ali ibn Abu Talib

(c. 598–661) *founder of Shi'ism*

Ali ibn Abu Talib was the second convert to Islam. The son of Muhammad's uncle Abu Talib, Ali married his cousin Fatima, the daughter of the prophet Muhammad and Khadija. Ali and Fatima had two sons, Hasan and Husayn, who both played key roles in the history of Islamic society. Ali also fought courageously in the battles between the small Muslim community based in Medina and the Meccan forces prior to the Prophet's triumphal return to Mecca.

Because of his familial relationship with Muhammad, many of Ali's supporters thought he should be Muhammad's successor. Although the Prophet had not named a successor, some of Ali's allies claimed that Muhammad had secretly chosen Ali to rule the Islamic community after his death. However, after some debate the Muslim majority chose Abu Bakr to be the new leader, or caliph. Many members of the powerful Umayyad clan opposed Ali, and he had also feuded with A'isha, the Prophet's favorite wife. Thus when the next two caliphs were chosen, Ali was again passed over as leader of the Islamic community.

In 656 mutinous soldiers loyal to Ali assassinated the third caliph, Uthman, a member of the Umayyad family, and declared Ali the fourth caliph. But Muaw'iyah, the powerful Umayyad governor of Syria, publicly criticized Ali for not pursuing Uthman's assassins. A'isha sided with the Umayyads and raised forces against Ali. But she was defeated at the Battle of the Camel and forced to return home. Feeling endangered in Mecca—an Umayyad stronghold—Ali and his allies moved to Kufa, in present day Iraq. Ali's followers were known as Shi'i, or the party of Ali. This split was to become a major and lasting rift within the Muslim community. Unlike the schism between Catholics and Protestants in Christianity, the division among Muslims was not over matters of theology but over who should rule the community. The majority, orthodox Sunnis, believed that any devout and righteous Muslim could rule. The Shi'i argued that the line of leadership should follow through Fatima and Ali and their progeny as the Prophet's closest blood relatives.

The Syrians never accepted Ali's leadership and the two sides clashed at the protracted Battle of Siffin, near the Euphrates River in 657. When neither side conclusively won, the famed Muslim military commander Amr ibn al-'As negotiated a compromise that left Mu'awiya and Ali as rival claimants to the caliphate. The Kharijites (a small group of radicals who rejected city life and who believed that God should select the most devout Muslim to be leader) were outraged at Amr's diplomacy, Mu'awiya's elitism and wealth, and Ali's indecisiveness. According to tradition, they devised a plot to kill all three during Friday prayers. The attacks on Amr and Mu'awiya failed, but a Kharijite succeeded in stabbing Ali to death in the mosque at Kufa in 661. Ali's tomb in Najaf, south of present-day Baghdad, remains a major site of Shi'i pilgrimage to the present day. After Ali's death, his eldest son, Hasan, agreed to forego his claim to the caliphate and retired peacefully to Medina, leaving Mu'awiya the acknowledged caliph.

Ali's descendants as well as Muhammad's other descendants are known as *sayyids*, lords, or *sherifs*, nobles, titles of respect used by both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims. Within the various Shi'i sects Ali is venerated as the first imam and the first righteously guided caliph.

See also MUHAMMAD, THE PROPHET; A'ISHA; SHI'ISM; CALIPHS, FIRST FOUR; Umayyad Dynasty

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JANICE J. TERRY

Almoravid Empire

North Africa's Berber tribes began converting to ISLAM with the commencement of the Arab conquests during the second half of the seventh century under the al-Rashidun and Umayyad Caliphates. Although Berber Muslims were active participants in the expansion of the Islamic state north from Morocco into Iberia, they remained subservient to Arab commanders appointed by the reigning caliph in the Middle East.

Around 1050 from the Sahara in Mauritania, the first major political-military movement dominated by BERBERS, the Almoravids, began to emerge. This revolutionary movement was founded and led by Abdullah ibn Yasin al-Gazuli, a fundamentalist Sunni preacher of the Maliki legal school who had been trained at Dar al-Murabitun, a desert religious school in the Sahara. Abdullah had begun his career as a preacher by teaching the Berber Lamatunah tribes in the Sahara, who had converted to Islam but remained ignorant of its intricacies, orthodox Sunni Islam. The origins of the Almoravid movement lay in the foundation by Abdullah of a small, militant sect that abided by a strict interpretation of Maliki ISLAMIC LAW. To join Abdullah's movement, new members were flogged for past sins, and infractions of Islamic law were severely punished.

The community was guided by the religious legal opinions of Abdullah and later by the legal rulings of Maliki jurists, who were paid for their services. In 1056

the Almoravids, who had developed into a strong and fanatical military movement, began to advance northward into Morocco, where they subjugated other Berber tribes and preached a strict version of Sunni Islam. Three years later, during a fierce war against the Barghawata Berber tribe, Abdullah was killed.

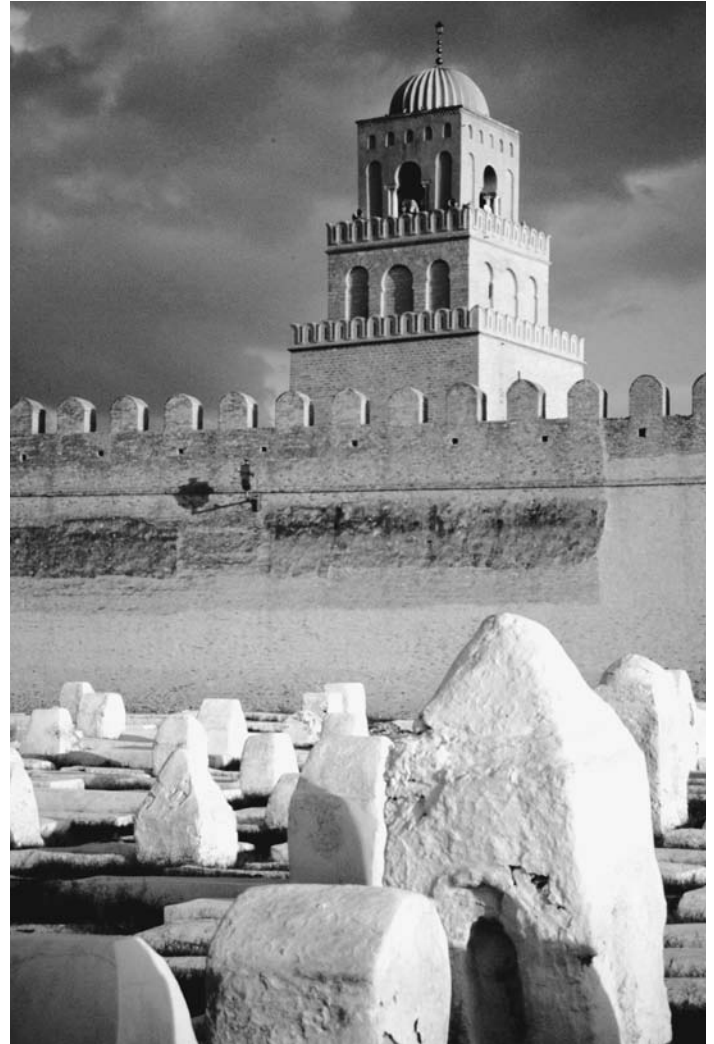
After the death of Abdullah, leadership of the Almoravid movement passed to two cousins, Yusuf ibn Tashfin and his cousin, Abu Bakr. In 1062 the city of Marrakesh was founded in southern Morocco, where it would serve as the Almoravid capital, followed in 1069 by the establishment of Fez. Under Yusuf and Abu Bakr, the Almoravid Empire expanded eastward into Algeria by the early 1080s. The conquest of Morocco was completed by 1084, and by 1075 Almoravid forces had expanded into the West African kingdom of Ghana.

While the Almoravids continued to expand their realm in North Africa, Christian states in Iberia began to chip away at the Iberian Muslim states. Under the leadership of Alfonso VI, the duke of Castile, Spanish Christian forces forced the Islamic city-states in the south, including Seville and Granada, to pay him tribute. In the late 1070s Iberian Muslims sent messengers to the Almoravids, requesting support against the Christians. However, it was not until 1086 that Yusuf crossed the Mediterranean into Iberia, where he defeated Alfonso VI's army at Sagrajas.

Between 1090 and 1092 Yusuf established Almoravid authority over the Muslim states in southern Iberia, forming a strong line of defense against further Christian expansion. Although the Almoravid leadership did not favor the secular arts, such as nonreligious poetry and music, other forms of art and architecture continued to receive government support. Christian and Jewish communities residing in the south were persecuted, and the cooperation and intellectual collaboration that had once existed between Iberia's Muslims, Christians, and Jews ended.

In 1106 Yusuf died of old age and was succeeded as Almoravid caliph by Ali ibn Yusuf. At the time of Yusuf's death, the Almoravid Empire was at the height of its power, stretching across Morocco south to Ghana, north into Iberia, and east into Algeria.

During his reign and that of his successor Ali, Maliki jurists served as paid participants in the government, and the influence of a strict version of Sunni Islam was increased. Although the Almoravids officially recognized the authority of the Abbasid Caliphate in BAGHDAD, Iraq, they ruled independently and without interference from Iraq. They also maintained generally cordial relations with the neighboring Fatimid Caliphate centered in Egypt.



The mosque and cemetery at Kairouan, Tunisia, is a Muslim holy city that ranks after Mecca and Medina as a place of pilgrimage.

Opposition to the Almoravid Empire had already taken root in North Africa by the time of Yusuf's death. The Almoravid caliph Ali's use of Christian mercenaries and foreign Turkish slave-soldiers raised the ire of a militant fundamentalist Berber movement, the Almohads, led by Muhammad ibn Tumart, a member of the Hargha tribe of Morocco's Atlas Mountains. The Almohads opposed the influence of the Almoravids' Maliki jurists, who Ibn Tumart argued had corrupted Sunni Islamic orthodoxy.

In 1100 Ibn Tumart returned to his native mountain village after spending years in Iberia and then further east studying Islamic theology, legal thought, and philosophy. He founded a mosque and school where he began to preach his interpretation of Sunni Islam. Ibn Tumart ordered that the call to prayer and the sermons during

Friday congregational prayers be delivered in Berber instead of Arabic, and it is reported that he wrote several religious treatises in Berber as well. The growing influence of the Almohads would continue and would come to threaten the authority and existence of the Almoravid Empire, which was further weakened in 1144 with the death of Caliph Ali.

It was during the reign of Ali that Almoravid power began to disintegrate, but it was under his successors that the empire would finally collapse. Faced with growing opposition in Iberia, the Almoravids were defeated in battle by Spanish, French, and Portuguese armies between 1138 and 1147, losing control of the cities of Zaragoza and Lisbon.

In Morocco, the Almoravid heartland, the increasing influence of the Almohads continued to loom, even after the death of Ibn Tumart in 1133. The successor to the Almohad throne, Abd al-Mu'min, supervised the final destruction of the Almoravid Empire, which finally collapsed in 1147 after the fall of its capital city of Marrakesh.

See also ABBASID DYNASTY; CHRISTIAN STATES OF SPAIN; FATIMID DYNASTY; MUSLIM SPAIN; RECONQUEST OF SPAIN.

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CHRISTOPHER ANZALONE

Andes: pre-Inca civilizations

Building on the economic, political, cultural, and ideological-religious developments that shaped Andean

prehistory from the Lithic Period to the mid-Early Intermediate Period (see Volume I), the eight centuries between 600 and 1400 C.E. saw the continuing expansion and contraction of kingdoms, states, and empires across large swaths of the Andean highlands and adjacent coastal lowlands. The three most prominent imperial states were the Huari, the Tiwanaku, and, later, the Chimor. These empires, in turn, laid the groundwork for the explosive expansion of the Inca Empire in the 15th century (see Volume III).

The Tiwanaku culture and polity, whose capital city of the same name was located some 15 kilometers southeast of Lake Titicaca, traced its origins to humble beginnings around 400 B.C.E., with the establishment of clusters of residential compounds along a small river draining into the giant lake. For the next eight centuries, the nascent Tiwanaku polity competed with numerous adjacent settlements for control over the rich and highly prized land in the Lake Titicaca basin, until the mid-300s C.E., when it came to dominate the entire basin and its hinterlands.

Lake Titicaca and its surrounding basin represent a singular feature in the mostly vertical Andean highland environment. The largest freshwater lake in South America (covering some 3,200 square miles and stretching for some 122 miles at its longest) and the highest commercially navigable lake in the world (at an elevation of 12,500 feet), Lake Titicaca tends to moderate temperature extremes throughout the basin while providing an ample supply of freshwater and a host of other material resources, especially reeds, fish, birds, and game. The basin itself covered some 22,000 square miles, significant portions of which were relatively flat and arable when modified with raised fields. All of these features rendered the zone unusually productive and highly coveted—not altogether unlike the Basin of Mexico—permitting it to support one of the highest population densities in all the pre-Columbian Americas.

Archaeologists divide Tiwanaku's growth into five distinct phases extending over a period of some 1,400 years, until the polity's collapse around 1000 C.E. Phases I and II saw the settlement's gradual expansion on the southern fringes of the lake. Phase III (c. 100–375 C.E.) saw extensive construction within the capital city. By Phase IV (c. 375–600 or 700), Tiwanaku had emerged as a true empire, dominating the entire Titicaca Basin and extending its imperial and administrative reach into windswept puna (high plains), throughout large parts of the surrounding altiplano, and south as far northern Chile. Phase V (c. 600/700–1000) was a period of grad-

ual decline, until the capital city itself was abandoned by around 1000. The empire's economic foundations were agropastoral, combining intensive and extensive agriculture with highland pastoralism.

The dominant feature of the capital city, a structure called the Akapana, consisted of an enormous stone platform measuring some 200 meters on a side and rising some 15 meters high. Evidently the ritual and ceremonial center of the city and empire, the flat summit of the Akapana held a sunken court with elaborate terraces and retaining walls in a style reminiscent of Chiripa and other Titicaca sites.

A nearby structure, called Kalasasaya, prominently displayed the famous Gateway of the Sun, chiseled from a single block of stone and featuring the so-called Gateway God, which some scholars interpret as a solar deity. A host of other buildings, walls, compounds, enclosures, and platforms graced the sprawling urban center, which housed an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. Like other Andean cities, Tiwanaku had no markets, its goods and services exchanged through complex webs of kinship networks and state-administered redistribution.

Covering a much larger territory than Tiwanaku was the Huari Empire, with its capital city Huari on the summit of Cerro Baul some 25 kilometers north of the present-day city of Ayacucho in the Central Highlands. The Huari state emerged toward the beginning of the Middle Horizon (c. 600 C.E.). At its height, around 750 C.E., the empire spanned more than 900 miles along the highlands and adjacent coastal plains, touching the northernmost fringe of the Tiwanaku Empire to the south and extending to the Sechura Desert in the north. The capital city, densely packed with walls and enclosures, covered around four square kilometers and is estimated to have housed some 20,000 to 30,000 people. The Huari elite ruled their vast empire through a series of administrative colonies or nodes that exercised political domination in the zones under Huari control.

The Huari Empire is perhaps best known for its extensive agricultural terracing and irrigation projects that spanned large parts of the highlands. Requiring enormous expenditures of labor, the Huari terraces, canals, and related reclamation projects transformed millions of hectares of steep arid hillsides into land suitable for cultivation.

Scholars hypothesize that the extensive terracing and irrigation works undertaken by the Huari state help to explain the empire's survival through the periodic El Niño-induced droughts and floods that comprise a

persistent feature of the highland and coastal environments, and that proved catastrophic for the Moche polity during the same period.

In order to acquire the vast amounts of labor necessary for the construction of such terraces, irrigation works, and other infrastructure, both the Huari and Tiwanaku Empires compelled subject communities to contribute substantial quantities of labor to the state—a kind of labor tax required of all subject peoples. Indeed, Andean polities were predicated on stark social inequalities and the division of society into two broad classes: elites and commoners. Public works such as terraces, canals, roads, and urban monumental architecture were built by commoners from *ayllus* and communities compelled to devote specified quantities of time annually to such endeavors. The state and its agents reciprocated by ensuring military security, food security, and other benefits, a reciprocity rooted, at bottom, in a fundamentally unequal relationship between the sociopolitically dominant and dominated.

With the demise of both the Tiwanaku and the Huari Empires by the end of the Middle Horizon, the Andes entered a period of political decentralization and reassertion of local and regional autonomies. An important exception unfolded along the North Coast and its adjacent highland, where the powerful Chimor Empire emerged around 900 C.E.

With its capital at Chan Chan near the mouth of the Moche River, at its height in the Late Intermediate Period the Chimor Empire spanned nearly 1,000 kilometers from the Gulf of Guayaquil in contemporary Ecuador to the Chillón River valley on the Central Coast. Like the Inca Empire that supplanted them in the mid-1400s, Chimor's rulers deployed a combination of conquest and alliance-building to bring large areas of both coast and highland under their dominion. The capital city of Chan Chan was a huge urban complex, housing upwards of 35,000 people and covering at least 20 square kilometers, while its civic core encompassed at least six square kilometers and housed some 6,000 rulers and nobility.

During the Late Horizon, the young and powerful Inca Empire swept down from its highland capital at Cuzco to bring Chimor, and the rest of highland and coastal Peru, under its dominion (see Volume III).

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M. J. SCHROEDER

Anglo-Norman culture

The Anglo-Norman culture resulted from the fusion of the culture brought over with William the Conqueror when he killed the last English king of England, Harold Godwinson, at the Battle of Hastings in October 1066, with the culture that existed in England. In the 11th and 12th centuries the Normans not only conquered England but also established a kingdom in Sicily. English culture had developed relatively independent of continental Europe since the time of the coming of the Angles and Saxons in the fifth century, who in turn had been influenced by the native British culture. British culture was a mixture of the Roman culture, which had come with the Roman conquest under Emperor Claudius (41–54), with that of the original Celtic inhabitants.

The English culture at the time of the Norman Conquest of 1066 was dominated by the warrior ethos that the Angles and Saxons had brought with them from mainly what is now Germany. Classics of this period were the poem of “The Battle of Maldon,” as well as the better-known saga of *Beowulf*. Heaney describes this militaristic society when he writes of how “the ‘Finnsburg episode’ envelops us in a society that is at once honor-bound and blood-stained, presided over by the laws of the blood-feud... the import of the Finnsburg passage is central to the historical and imaginative world of the poem as a whole.” The Anglo-Saxon tongue began to lose out to the Norman French, which also included the influence of Scandinavia, where the Normans had originally come from before settling in France in the 10th century.

It was the rising Anglo-Norman culture that created a hero out of King Arthur. Based on earlier writings, authors like Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote *History of the Kings of Britain* between 1136 and 1138. Arthur was a native British chieftain who fought the Angles and Saxons, thus giving them little cause to celebrate him. But in seeking to give legitimacy to the Norman kings, writers like Geoffrey sought to trace the monarchy back to its earliest days and thus found inspiration in

the earlier accounts of Arthur. According to Helen Hill Miller in *The Realms of Arthur*, “the Anglo-Norman kings... needed an independent source for their British sovereignty: as dukes of Normandy they were subject to the heirs of Charlemagne,” the kings of France. Geoffrey used accounts written by the monks Nennius in the ninth century and Gildas, who may have lived in the time of the historical Arthur, in the sixth and seventh centuries.

According to Helen Hill Miller in *The Realms of Arthur*, “by January 1139, a copy from his rather heavy Latin into Anglo-Norman verse was promptly undertaken at the request of the wife of an Anglo-Norman baron in Lincolnshire. By 1155, a further translation, likewise in verse, had been completed by Maistre de Wace of Caen, a Jerseyman who spent most of his life in France.” Geoffrey wrote during the reign of Henry I (1100–35), perhaps the first Norman king to see himself as English first and Norman secondarily. Writing at the same time on Arthurian topics were Walter Map and Maistre [Master] Wace, who wrote the *Roman de Brut* and *Roman de Rou*.

Other writers applied themselves to building up the Anglo-Norman civilization. William of Malmesbury wrote *Acts of the English Kings* and *On the Antiquity of the Church of Glastonbury*. William, like Geoffrey, consciously fused the Normans with the Celtic past, because Glastonbury was the holiest site in Celtic Britain. Tradition had it that Joseph of Arimathea, he who had given his tomb for Christ to be buried in after the Crucifixion, founded a small church at Glastonbury. The pious at the time also believed that Joseph, who traditionally in England had been seen as a merchant for English tin, had even brought the young Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth to visit Glastonbury. The church served as another institution in building a rising new culture in England, as memories of the conquest of 1066 dimmed with the passage of time. Symbolic of this was the actual building of churches in the Romanesque architecture, which the Normans had mainly brought with them from France.

The institution of the church was put to use by Henry I. The Cistercian order of monks arrived in England in 1128 and began development of advanced agriculture and sheep raising. In order to cement the church as an instrument of royal development, the king named the great prelates who ruled the church, to assure their support for his reign. William began this policy after the conquest. Along with the great bishoprics like York and Canterbury, monastic orders also flourished under Anglo-Norman rule and would be a central part of both English culture and economy

until the monastic system was destroyed during the reign of Henry VIII (1509–47).

Using Normandy as a model, Henry I and the kings who followed him freely granted charters to towns, enabling the establishment of a town life that would be one of the hallmarks of England during the Middle Ages. London, where William built his White Tower, gained the ascendancy in England in commercial life that it still enjoys today. Towns, the estates of the great feudal lords, and the church establishments were the pillars that formed the foundation of the Anglo-Norman culture that arose after the conquest of 1066. Feudalism, the system of lords holding their lands at the will of the king, really came to England with William, who granted land holdings to those Breton, French, and Norman warriors who had come with him to fight the Saxon King Harold in October 1066. By the end of Henry I's reign in 1135, only some 70 years after the conquest, the fusion between the old and the new was complete, and the Anglo-Norman culture flourished in England.

See also NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND; NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGDOM OF ENGLAND; NORMAN KINGDOMS OF ITALY AND SICILY.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Anglo-Saxon culture

The Anglo-Saxons were Germanic barbarians who invaded Britain and took over large parts of the island in the centuries following the withdrawal of the Roman Empire. They were initially less gentrified than other post-Roman barbarian groups such as the Franks or Ostrogoths because they had less contact with Mediterranean civilization. The Anglo-Saxons were originally pagan in religion. The main group, from northwestern Germany and Denmark, was divided into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. German tribal affiliations were loose and the original invaders included people from other Germanic groups as well. Although some of the early Anglo-Saxon invaders had Celtic-influenced names, such as Cedric, the founder of the house of Wessex, the Anglo-Saxons had a pronounced awareness of themselves as different from the peoples already inhabiting Britain. Their takeover led to the integration of Brit-

ain into a Germanic world. Unlike other groups such as the Franks they did not adopt the language of the conquered Celtic and Roman peoples, but continued speaking a Germanic dialect.

The early Anglo-Saxons highly valued courage and skill in battle, as reflected in the most significant surviving Anglo-Saxon poem, *Beowulf*. Their pagan religion was marked by a strong sense of fatalism and doom, but also by belief in the power of humans to manipulate supernatural forces through spells and charms. They shared a pantheon with other Germanic peoples, and many Anglo-Saxon royal houses boasted descent from Woden, chief of the Gods. Their religion was not oriented to an afterlife, although they may have believed in one.

The Anglo-Saxons strongly valued familial ties—the kinless man was an object of pity. If an Anglo-Saxon was killed, it was the duty of his or her family to attain vengeance or a monetary payment, *weregild*, from the killer. Anglo-Saxon kinship practices differed from those of the Christian British, adding to the difficulty of the assimilation of the two groups. For example, British Christians were horrified by the fact that the Anglo-Saxons allowed a man to marry his stepmother on his father's death. Anglo-Saxons also had relatively easy divorce customs.

The cultural differences between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons were particularly strong in the field of religion, as British Christians despised Anglo-Saxon paganism. The Anglo-Saxons reciprocated this dislike and did not assimilate as did continental Germanic groups. The extent to which the Anglo-Saxons simply displaced the British as opposed to the British assimilating to Anglo-Saxon culture remains a topic of debate among historians and archeologists of post-Roman Britain.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity owed more to missionary efforts from Ireland and Rome than it did to the indigenous British Church. Paganism held out longest among the common people and in the extreme south, in Sussex and the Isle of Wight. Some Anglo-Saxons were not converted until the middle of the eighth century. Some peculiar relics of paganism held out for centuries. For example Christian Anglo-Saxon kings continue to trace their descent from Woden long after conversion. The church waged a constant struggle against such surviving pagan Anglo-Saxon customs as men marrying their widowed stepmothers. Reconciling Irish and Roman influences was also a challenge, fought out largely on the question of the different Irish and Roman methods of calculating the date of Easter. Not until the Synod of Whitby in 664 did the Anglo-Saxon church firmly commit to the Roman obedience.

Conversion led to the opening of Anglo-Saxon England, until then a rather isolated culture, to a variety of foreign influences, particularly emanating from France and the Mediterranean. The leader of the missionary effort sent by Rome to Kent to begin the conversion, Augustine, was an Italian, and the most important archbishop of Canterbury in the following decades, Theodore, was a Greek from Cilicia in Asia Minor. Pilgrimages were also important in exposing Anglo-Saxons to more developed cultures.

The first recorded visit of an Anglo-Saxon to Rome occurred in 653 and was followed by thousands of others over the centuries. Since pilgrims needed to travel through France to get to Italy and other Mediterranean pilgrimage sites, pilgrimage also strengthened ties between Gaul and Britain. Anglo-Saxon churchmen found out about innovations or practices in other places, such as glass windows in churches, and came back to England eager to try them out. Despite these influences, Anglo-Saxon Christianity also drew from Germanic culture.

Like other Germanic peoples the Anglo-Saxons tended to view the Bible and the life of Christ through the lens of the heroic epic. Christ was portrayed as an epic hero, as in one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon religious poems, *The Dream of the Rood*. *The Dream of the Rood* recounts the Crucifixion from the seldom-used point of view of the cross itself, and represents Christ as a young hero and the leader of a group of followers resembling a Germanic war band. Another remarkable example of the blending of Germanic and Christian traditions is the longest surviving Anglo-Saxon poem, the epic *Beowulf*. Telling of a pagan hero in a pagan society, the epic is written from an explicitly Christian point of view and incorporates influences from the ancient Roman epic, Virgil's *Aeneid*.

As the Anglo-Saxon Church moved away from dependence on outside forces, Irish or Roman, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Christian Anglo-Saxon kingdoms produced their own saints, mostly from the upper classes. Anglo-Saxon saints such as Cuthbert (d. 687), a monk and hermit particularly popular in the north of England, attracted growing cults.

The highest point of Anglo-Saxon Christian culture was the Northumbrian Renaissance, an astonishing flowering of culture and thought in a poor borderland society. Northumbria was a kingdom in the north of the area of Anglo-Saxon settlement, an economically backward and primitive society even compared to the rest of early medieval Europe. It was also a place where Continental and Irish learning met. The Northumbrian Renaissance was based in monasteries, and

its most important representative was the monk BEDE, a historian, chronographer, and hagiographer. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* is the most important source for early Anglo-Saxon history. Another Northumbrian was Caedmon, the first Anglo-Saxon Christian religious poet whose works survive. Northumbria also displayed a rich body of Christian art, incorporating Anglo-Saxon and Celtic artistic influences, and some from foreign countries as far away as the Byzantine empire. An enormous amount of monastic labor went into the production of manuscripts.

Despite the importance of Northumbrian Renaissance, Northumbria was not the only place where Christian culture reached a high point. Another area was the West Country, where the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex encroached on the British territories of Devon and Cornwall. Curiously, Kent, still headquarters of the archbishop of Canterbury who claimed primacy over all the "English," became a cultural backwater after the death of Archbishop Theodore in 690.

The influence of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and the Northumbrian Renaissance spread to continental Europe. Anglo-Saxons, in alliance with the papacy, were concerned to spread the Christian method to culturally related peoples in Germany. The principal embodiment of this effort was the missionary Wynfrith, also known as St. BONIFACE (680–754), who was born in Wessex. His religious efforts began with assisting a Northumbrian missionary in an unsuccessful mission to the Frisians. He then went to Rome to receive authority from the pope. Boniface made many missionary journeys into Germany, where he became known for converting large numbers of Germans, and for a physical, confrontational missionary style that included chopping down the sacred trees that were a feature of Germanic paganism. Many English people followed Boniface to Germany, where they exerted a strong influence on the development of German Christianity. Boniface was also responsible for a reorganization of the Frankish Church to bring it more firmly under papal control. On another journey to Frisia angry pagans killed him. Anglo-Saxons, along with other people from the British Isles, were also prominent in the circle of learned men at the court of CHARLEMAGNE. The leading scholar at Charlemagne's court, ALCUIN of York, was a Northumbrian.

This high point of Anglo-Saxon Christian culture was terminated by the series of Viking raids and invasions beginning in the late eighth century. Unlike Christian Anglo-Saxon warriors, who usually respected monasteries, the pagan Vikings saw them as rich

repositories of treasure, and monastic life virtually disappeared from the areas under Scandinavian control. By the ninth century the leader of the English resurgence, King ALFRED THE GREAT of Wessex, lamented the passing of the golden age of English Christianity, claiming that there was hardly any one in England who could understand the Latin of the mass book. Alfred, an unusually learned king who had visited the European continent, made various attempts to restore English monasticism and learned culture.

He gathered in his court scholars from throughout the British Isles and the continent, as well as writing his own translations, such as that of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. Alfred also sponsored the translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and other works from Latin into Anglo-Saxon. The period also saw the beginnings of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a record of current events kept in Anglo-Saxon, eventually at monasteries. Like the political unification of England by Alfred's descendants, the creation of this body of Anglo-Saxon literature contributed to the creation of a common Anglo-Saxon or English identity. There was very little parallel for this elsewhere in Christian Europe at the time, when learned writing was almost entirely restricted to Latin. Alfred's patronage of men of letters was also important for the creation of his personal legend.

The unification of England did not end the Scandinavian impact on English culture, which revived with the conquest of England by the Danish king CANUTE in the 11th century. Canute, a Christian, respected the church and English institutions, and his reign was not destructive as the early Viking conquests had been. Scandinavian influence was particularly marked on the English language. Since it was already similar to the Scandinavian tongues, Anglo-Saxon or Old English adopted loanwords much more easily than did Celtic languages such as Irish. Since it was necessary to use English as a means of communication between people speaking different Germanic tongues, many complex features of the language were lost or simplified. English would make less use of gender and case endings than other Germanic or European languages.

Although Alfred had hoped to revive English monasticism, the true recreation of monastic communities would only occur in the 940s, with royal patronage and under the leadership of Dunstan, a man of royal descent who became archbishop of Canterbury and a saint. The English monastic revival was associated with the revival of Benedictine monasticism on the Continent, and the new monasteries followed the Rule of St. Benedict. Monasteries dominated the church in the

united Anglo-Saxon kingdom, with most bishops coming from monastic backgrounds and often serving as royal advisors.

The church generally prospered under the English kings—large cathedrals were built or rebuilt after the damage of the Scandinavian invasions. The copying and illumination of manuscripts was also revived, and reached a high degree of artistic excellence in Winchester. Continental influences preceded the NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND in 1066. The penultimate Anglo-Saxon king, Edward the Confessor, who had spent many years in France, built Westminster Abbey in a Norman Romanesque style.

Although Anglo-Saxon culture was displaced from its position of supremacy after the Norman Conquest of 1066, it did not disappear. At least one version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* continued to be compiled for nearly a century, and Anglo-Saxon poetry continued to be composed.

See also ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS; FRANKISH TRIBE; IRISH MONASTIC SCHOLARSHIP.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Following the decline of Roman power in Britain, political power rapidly decentralized, and several small kingdoms emerged to fill the political vacuum. These kingdoms, called the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, competed among themselves and with Danish invaders for power from the late sixth through the ninth centuries. Eventually they melded into one large kingdom that governed most of England until the NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND in 1066.

Throughout the fourth and fifth centuries a number of Germanic peoples invaded England. Some came

with military objectives in mind, but many others came as settlers, seeking peaceful colonization. These people came from several tribes, but the most famous were the Angels and Saxons, many of whom came as raiders and mercenaries seeking employment in Roman Britain's undermanned military outposts. Beyond this, details of the invasion are unclear. The invaders stamped out all vestiges of Roman culture, but the complex transition to Anglo-Saxon England occurred gradually.

How many small kingdoms existed during the sixth and seventh centuries is unknown, but as larger kingdoms eliminated rivals, the number shrank. This consolidation of power has led historians to identify the movement toward a territorial state as one of the main themes in Anglo-Saxon history. As post-Roman chaos subsided, Anglo-Saxon England painstakingly settled into seven or eight major kingdoms and several smaller ones. The kingdoms centered on the Thames, Wash, and Humber, the main entry points for the migrations. Factors influencing the shapes and formation of the kingdoms also included geography, defensibility, and the degree of resistance the inhabitants offered the invaders.

Four kingdoms developed around the Thames estuary. In the southeast, Kent arose with unique artistic, legal, and agrarian traditions, influenced by Jutish and, possibly, Frankish culture. West and northwest of Kent three kingdoms associated with the Saxon invasions developed: Essex (East Saxons), Wessex (West Saxons), and Sussex (South Saxons). Settlers who entered via the Wash founded East Anglia, forming groups called the North Folk and South Folk, whose territories became Norfolk and Suffolk. Those who entered by the Humber formed Mercia, which dominated the Midlands, and Northumbria, north of the Humber River, that grew from the unification of the smaller kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. These kingdoms are traditionally called the Heptarchy, a misleading term that implies seven essentially equal states. In fact at times many more than seven kingdoms existed, and the seven main kingdoms were rarely political equals.

Developments in the institution of kingship were vital in the political growth of the early kingdoms. Germanic peoples had a tradition of kingship, and as Roman institutions declined, they looked to their own heritage to replace Roman customs. The practical appeal of kingship is clear. It offered strong personal leadership and the kind of governing that led to success during the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement. The post-Roman political situation demanded similar leadership. Christian tradition held up biblical kings as examples of good leadership,

and as Anglo-Saxons converted, this bolstered Germanic notions about the institution.

By the mid-seventh century, royal houses had emerged, and a claim of royal lineage became necessary for a king to rule unchallenged. The bloodline was important, but other Western notions about kingship had not yet taken hold. The successor had to be both from the right line and the fittest to rule. How closely related to the previous king he had to be was debatable, and the right of the eldest son to succeed, the right to pass the succession through the female, the rights of a minor or female to inherit, or the right of a king to choose his successor were not guaranteed. In case of a disputed succession, kingdoms were divided or shared, which was risky but preferable to feud or civil war.

Toward the end of the seventh century a group of leaders emerged known as Bretwaldas. The first Bretwaldas were kings whose actions gained them fame and reputation and who had the political and military power to reach beyond their borders and collect tribute from neighbors. According to BEDE, by around 600 one king customarily received this title from his royal colleagues, giving him preeminence within the group. The position shifted from one dynasty to the next, with changing political and military successes. At first the title was largely honorary, and it is unclear whether other kings listened to the Bretwalda's demands, but as time passed the authority of the Bretwalda grew.

In the late sixth and early seventh centuries the eastern kingdoms had the political edge, but strong rivalries existed and power shifted frequently. England's population and prosperity grew in the seventh century, and much of England converted to Christianity. A common language, common social institutions, and, eventually, a common religion counterbalanced the political and military turbulence but did not stop it. As the seventh century progressed more powerful kingdoms absorbed smaller kingdoms, and by the end of the century Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex dominated the island. Northumbria dominated affairs in the seventh century; Mercia led the way in the eighth century; and Wessex emerged to dominate the events of the ninth century.

After King Oswy's (642–670) defeat of Mercia in 654, Northumbria exercised lordship over the other kingdoms. Although unable to control Mercia after about 658, Northumbria nevertheless remained pre-eminent through its great moral authority. For example, Northumbrian support ensured the Synod of Whitby's (663) success in promoting Roman Christian traditions

over the Celtic Church throughout England. However internal dissent and external defeats steadily drained Northumbrian political and military power. Unrest, violence, and political coups throughout the eighth century doomed Northumbrian culture, culminating with the Viking sack of Lindisfarne in 793.

Mercia began its rise under King Penda (628–654), and its political domination culminated under kings Ethelbald (716–757) and Offa (757–796). Many factors contributed to Mercia's success. It held prosperous agricultural territory in the Trent Valley. The people in the east Midlands, the Middle Angles of the Fens, Lindsey, and around the Wash accepted the dynasty, as did settlers in the Severn Valley and along the borders of modern Chester, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire. London and East Anglia fell to Mercia as well. After the death of King Ine in 725, no effective resistance to Mercia remained in Wessex. Eventually it subdued Kent and threatened Canterbury. This success led Ethelbald to claim he was king of all Britain. The actions of Mercian rulers bolstered the concept of kingship. Offa summoned papal legates, held church councils, created a new archbishopric in Lichfield, and asked the church to anoint his son Ecgrith, all of which shows a practical desire to cooperate and benefit from relations with the church, but it also did much to strengthen his position and the theory of monarchy throughout the land.

Mercia retained power in the Midlands throughout the reigns of Cenwulf (796–821) and Ceowulf (821–823), but their popularity faded in the south and south-east following the harsh tactics they used in building a defensive system within England. Kent and East Anglia resented Mercian overlordship and led the way in uprisings in the early ninth century. The primary beneficiary of these uprisings was the kingdom of Wessex.

The rise of Wessex began with King Egbert (802–839), who defeated the Mercians in 825, winning control of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, and continued with the arrival of the Vikings. The Vikings had been making raids on England since the 780s, but in the mid-ninth century their attacks changed from raids to campaigns of conquest. In the 850s they stayed between campaign seasons, and by 865 thousands of Danes undertook a conquest that ended with their control over nearly all of England except Wessex.

ALFRED THE GREAT

ALFRED THE GREAT (r. 871–899) came to power just after the Danish onslaught started. He was a talented king, warrior, able administrator, patron of the arts,

and a good political leader, but it was a desperate moment in Anglo-Saxon history. Danes controlled the most fertile parts of north and east England. The south held out, but it seemed only a matter of time until it too fell. To buy time while he mustered his army Alfred made a truce with the Danes in 872. He then reformed his army, fortified towns, and built a navy to meet the Viking threat.

To control his kingdom Alfred depended upon his royal court, made up of bishops, earls, king's reeves, and some important thanes. Councils, called Witenagemots, or Witan, discussed issues such as raising military forces, building fortresses, and finances. The king made the decisions, but he relied on the Witan for advice, support, and help making decisions known. Ealdormen, noblemen of great status who managed the shires or districts of Wessex for the king, played especially important roles.

In 876, the Danish leader, Guthrum, renewed the attack on Wessex, and by winter 878 Alfred retreated to the Isle of Athelney. In the spring he took the fight back to the Danes, defeating Guthrum and forcing him to promise to cease his attacks on Wessex and convert to Christianity. Following this, Alfred repeatedly beat back Danish attacks and gradually regained lost territory. Around 886, Alfred and Guthrum created a boundary running northwest, along an old Roman road known as Watling Street, from London to Chester that became the Anglo-Saxon–Danish border. The cultural influences of the Danish side, the DANELAW, affected England for centuries. The boundary also freed a large section of Mercia from Danish control, and Alfred installed a new ealdorman to control the area and married his daughter to him, uniting the kingdoms and setting the groundwork for a united England. Clashes with Danes continued, but the most severe crises had passed by Alfred's death in 899. Under his heirs, resistance to Vikings and pagan forces came to be associated with the royal house of Wessex.

From 899 to 1016 Alfred's descendants held the throne. They continued developing royal institutions and expanded their power base. In the late 10th century new Viking attacks coupled with internal divisions among noblemen led to the overthrow of Ethelred "the Unready" (978–1016). The Witan installed a Dane as king of England. CANUTE (1016–35) successfully managed Denmark, Norway, and Anglo-Saxon England and became a powerful political figure in Europe. While Canute ruled with a Scandinavian touch, creating nobles called "earls," most Anglo-Saxon governing institutions functioned unchanged. He brought together



To control his kingdom, Alfred the Great depended upon his royal court of bishops, earls, king's reeves, and thanes.

Anglo-Saxon and Danish nobles and won the loyalty of the Witan. When Canute died his sons ruled briefly, but each died without heir, and the Witan selected Edward, the son of Ethelred, to be king.

Edward the Confessor (1042–66) was more Norman than Anglo-Saxon, because he lived from ages 12 to 36 in Normandy. He installed Norman nobles as advisers, a move deeply resented by the Anglo-Saxon nobles. The earls owed everything to Canute and were very loyal to him, but they owed Edward nothing. Resenting Norman influences at court, they soon began acting with autonomy. Edward's father-in-law, Godwin, earl of Wessex, and his son, Harold, led the opposition. Their lands made them more powerful than the king, and as their power grew, Edward became a figurehead. When Edward died childless in 1066, the Witan chose Harold as king, but he faced challenges from Norway and Normandy. William of Normandy proved too much for Harold at the Battle of Hastings, bringing an end to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

On the eve of the Norman Conquest, Anglo-Saxon England was prosperous and well-governed by 11th-century standards. It had a thriving church, effective

military, and a healthy, growing economy. The English-Danish division caused diversity in legal and social traditions, but it possessed great unity for its time. Continental kingdoms rarely knew unity and experienced almost constant internal warfare.

By comparison, Anglo-Saxon England had evolved quickly from the days of the Heptarchy and through the rise of Wessex and unifying onslaught of the Danes to become the stable kingdom of 1066 that was so attractive to those who claimed it upon Edward the Confessor's death.

See also **ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE; NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS OF ENGLAND.**

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KEVIN D. HILL

An Lushan (An Lu-Shan) Rebellion

The An Lushan Rebellion (755–763 C.E.) occurred at the midpoint of the TANG (T'ANG) DYNASTY, 618–909, and marked a significant turning point in the fortunes of the regime. The rebellion marked the Tang's irreversible decline after one and half centuries of good governance, economic prosperity, and military success. An Lushan's (703–757) beginnings were humble. He was half Sogdian and half Turk, of the Khitan tribe, and was born beyond the Great Wall of China in present-day Manchuria. At an early age he was sold to a Chinese officer of the northern garrison and rose to the rank of general and commander of a region on the northeastern frontier of the Tang empire. By the mid-eighth century C.E. most of the frontier garrisons were under foreign (non-Han Chinese) generals.

An was introduced to the court of the aging Emperor XUANZONG (Hsuan-tsung, also known as Minghuang, or "Brilliant Emperor") and rapidly ingratiated himself to his young favorite concubine, the Lady Yang (known by her title Yang Guifei, or Kuei-fei; *Guifei* means "Exalted Consort") who adopted him as her son. Gross and fat,

An became a frequenter at court events, entertaining the emperor and his harem with his clowning and uncouth behavior. He was rewarded with the title of prince and given command of the empire's best troops. Protected by Lady Yang and her brother who was chief minister of the empire, reports of General An's treacherous intentions were not only unheeded by the emperor but the men who reported them were punished.

In 755 C.E. General An rose in rebellion. At the head of 150,000 troops, among them tribal units (he commanded a total of 200,000 troops), he marched from his base near modern Beijing toward the heartland of the empire. His success was immediate. The eastern capital, Luoyang (Loyang), fell. With the main capital Chang'an (Ch'ang-an), poorly defended by unseasoned troops, Xuanzong and his court beat a hasty retreat, heading for refuge in the southwestern province of Sichuan (Szechwan). En route the dispirited troops escorting the emperor mutinied. They blamed Lady Yang and her brother the chief minister for their plight, killed him, and forced the emperor to hand Yang over to them and strangled her. These humiliations led to the abdication of Xuanzong and the ascension of his son and crown prince as Emperor Suzong (Su-tsung). The doting, aged emperor's love for his favorite, his neglect of his duties and indulgence in a sybaritic life with Lady Yang, the disastrous consequences of their love, their flight, and her tragic death have inspired many poems by famous Tang poets and were the subject of many paintings.

An Lushan's troops entered Chang'an unopposed, and he proclaimed himself emperor, but his rebellion made little progress after that. He soon became blind and was murdered by his son in 757 C.E. The son, too, was murdered by one of his generals, and soon the rebellion degenerated into chaotic civil war as some of his early supporters defected and other rebels bands rose as opportunities offered.

The new emperor rallied loyal troops who outnumbered the rebels, but were scattered in different garrisons. He also obtained help from former vassals and allies, most notably from a Turkic tribe called the Uighurs and others in Central Asia, and even some Arab troops sent by the Islamic caliph. Some of the help came at a high price, for example the Uighur khan who twice helped to recapture Luoyang was repaid by permission for his men to rampage through and loot the city, including the palaces and Buddhist temples, and which cost thousands of lives.

Peace was finally restored in 766; however, the empire would never recover its previous prestige and prosperity. The following are some important results of the rebellion:

1. Growing importance of the army and military leaders. The army expanded to over 750,000 men. The military would remain a significant force, and regional commanders would become powerful and able to resist central control.
2. Restructuring of provincial administrations that became semiautonomous through the remainder of the dynasty. This is especially significant in the decreasing amounts of revenue that local authorities would turn over to the central government, further curtailing its authority.
3. Ending the land registration and distribution system in effect since the beginning of the dynasty that had ensured economic equity for the cultivators, maintained local infrastructure projects, and provided men for military service.
4. Accelerating the large-scale shift of population from war ravaged areas in the Yellow River valley in northern China to southern provinces in the Huai and Yangzi (Yangtze) valleys whose productivity became crucial to the economy of the empire.
5. Grievous loss of territory in the border regions because troops were withdrawn to defend the core of the empire. Central Asia was lost to Chinese control, as were Gansu (Kansu) and Ningxia (Ninghsia) Provinces. Both crucial links to the western regions were lost to the rising Tibetan state.

Nothing about the An Lushan rebellion was inevitable. However, it caused enormous disruption to the Tang Empire and acted as a powerful catalyst for the changes that characterized the Chinese world. Although the dynasty survived until 909 C.E. it never regained the prestige and power it had enjoyed before the rebellion.

See also UIGHUR EMPIRE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPHUR.

Anselm

(c. 1033–1109) *philosopher and theologian*

Anselm was a philosophical theologian and archbishop of Canterbury who is often dubbed the Father of

SCHOLASTICISM. Scholasticism is the system of education that characterized schools and universities during the High Middle Ages (12th–14th century) and that aimed principally at reconciling and ordering the numerous and divergent components of an ever-growing body of knowledge with dialectic (logic or reason). Anselm is best known for making several major contributions to early Scholastic theology, namely, his distinctive method of “faith seeking understanding,” his ontological argument for the existence of God, and his classic formulation of atonement theory.

Anselm was born into a wealthy family in Aosta in northern Italy. After his mother’s death in 1056 he left home, crossed the Alps into France, and in 1059 entered the Benedictine abbey school at Bec in Normandy, where Lanfranc taught him. In 1063 Anselm succeeded Lanfranc as prior and was consecrated abbot in 1078. Toward the end of his priorate Anselm produced two significant works: the *Monologion* (*Monologue on Reasons for the Faith*; 1076) and the *Proslogion* (*Address [to God], first titled Faith Seeking Understanding*; 1077–78). Although both works are intensely contemplative, Anselm proposes philosophical or rational proofs for God’s existence.

In both works he begins with the first article of the Christian faith—namely, that God exists—and then seeks to understand it by reason (without further recourse to scriptural or traditional authorities). The basic argument of the *Monologion*, later called the “ontological argument,” runs thus: God is that being than which nothing greater can be thought. Yet “that than which nothing greater can be thought” cannot exist only in human thought or understanding. Rather by definition, “that than which nothing greater can be thought” must also exist in reality. Hence God necessarily exists in reality. In the centuries after his death, Anselm’s method of “faith seeking understanding” (*fides quaerens intellectum*) became the basic model of inquiry into the divine and remains the classic definition of theology.

During his abbacy at Bec (1078–93), Anselm produced the treatises *On Grammar*, *On Truth*, *On Free Will*, and *On the Fall of the Devil*. As archbishop of Canterbury (1093–1109), Anselm composed several apologetic works, including his greatest theological treatise, *Why God Became Man* (or *Why the God-Man*; 1097–98), *On the Virginal Conception and Original Sin* (1099–1100), and *On the Sacraments of the Church* (1106–07).

In *Why God Became Man*, Anselm presents “necessary reasons” for the Incarnation. He argues that God

had to become human in order for humankind to be saved because the first sin offended God’s honor infinitely, yet the guilty party (humanity) is finite. Even if they gave their entire lives to God, humans could not thereby pay the penalty for sin because even prior to sin they owed everything to their Creator. Although humans are obliged to make satisfaction, then, only God (who is not a creature and therefore owes nothing) is actually able to do so—hence the God-man. Anselm’s treatise, which rejected the widely held ransom theory, made the most significant contribution to atonement theology in the Middle Ages.

During Lent in 1109 Anselm became seriously ill and died on Wednesday of Holy Week, April 21, 1109. His cult became firmly established in the Late Middle Ages, and his feast day continues to be celebrated on April 21. In 1720 Pope Clement XI declared Anselm a Doctor of the Church.

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FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

anti-Jewish pogroms

Jewry suffered a reversal of fate during the High Middle Ages that can only be compared to the destruction of Jerusalem 1,000 years before and the oppression by Nazis 1,000 years after. The turning point in the Middle Ages can be located in the pogroms carried out in May 1096 by gangs and mobs en route to the First Crusade. These events signaled that the stability that Jews enjoyed under Western Christendom during the first millennium was about to end.

There were telltale signs that things were about to change in the century before the First Crusade. Jews were accused of colluding with the Muslims to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, undertaken in fact by the mad Caliph Hakim in 1009. For another thing, a pre-crusade campaign to cast out the Saracens from Spain in 1063 revealed that Jews did not take up the fight alongside of the Christian soldiers. In fact, Jews had prospered and integrated well under the Umayyads of Spain.

When Pope URBAN II issued the summons to fight for the Holy Land, the first to respond in France and

Germany were paupers and peasants who had been stirred up by monks and preachers. The church hierarchy did not effectively counter a populist piety that the killing of Jews expiated sins and atoned for the crucifixion of Christ. Mobs also felt that Jews were legitimate targets because they lived within Christendom and constituted an immediate threat, whereas the Muslims were far away.

The first pogroms broke out in Rouen in French Lorraine. Jews were forced into baptism or slaughtered. Though warnings were sent out from France to beware the onslaught of the mobs, the German Jews dismissed them and trusted in their fellow countrymen. When Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless led their forces there, their brutal intentions were quickly made known.

Though many bishops and priests tried to protect them, it is estimated that up to 10,000 Jews who lived in settlements around the Rhine and Danube Rivers perished. Cities affected included Treves, Meuss, Ratisbon, and Prague. The more disciplined crusader armies took anti-Semitism with them into the Holy Land when they finally arrived and burned Jews in their synagogues. Later crusades did not witness the same degree of bloodshed against Jews in Europe. Nonetheless, the earlier massacres unleashed bitterness and tension between the two religious groups, especially evident among the intellectuals and hierarchy, for the next few centuries.

When the Second Crusade was proclaimed, Pope Eugenius III (1145–53) suggested that Jewish moneylenders cancel the debts of Christian crusaders. Influential abbot Peter of Cluny wrote Louis IX of France that European Jews finance the war effort. A French monk named Radulph traveled around Germany—without his monastery’s approval—preaching that the Jews were the enemies of God.

At the risk of his life, the saintly and respected BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX confronted and condemned Radulph but still urged that Jews not collect interest on crusaders’ debts. Since Jews could not count on the protection of the church, they were forced to accept a special legal status in the eyes of the civil government. This new identity meant that Jews now were quarantined in ghettos, bound to wear badges or unique clothing, and even kept from reading the Talmud. By the end of the Middle Ages, western European Jewry was in ruins, and Jews fled eastward to Poland and Russia.

See also CRUSADES; Umayyad Dynasty.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Aquinas, Thomas

(1225–1274) *philosopher and theologian*

St. Thomas Aquinas was born at Roccasecca, Italy, to Count Landulf and Countess Theodora. From early on, Thomas was diligent in his studies and had a meditative mindset. He received his education from the monastery of Monte Cassino and the University of Naples. Thomas entered the Dominican Order and then studied in Paris from 1245 under the well-known philosopher Albertus Magnus (1195–1280). He spent 10 years visiting Italy, France, and Germany. In 1248 he lectured on the Bible at a college in Cologne, Germany. He was in Paris from 1252 C.E., eventually becoming a professor of theology and writing books. He was awarded the degree of doctor in theology in 1257. Between 1259 and 1268 he lectured as professor in the Dominican convents of Rome and Naples. Thomas also worked at the papal court as an adviser. He was a well-known figure by the time he came to Paris in 1269.

His intellectual inquiries about the relationship between philosophy and theology made Thomas a controversial figure. His Scholasticism made him an avid reader of works pertaining to Christian theologians, Greek thinkers, Jewish philosophy, and Islamic philosophy. Thomas wrote his first book as a commentary on *Sentences*, a seminal book on theology by PETER LOMBARD (1095–1161). Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) influenced him greatly, and his comments on *Sentences* contained about 2,000 references to Aristotle. Critics also associate Thomas with the doctrine of AVERROËS (1126–98), distinguishing between knowledge of philosophy and religion. The Dominicans sent Thomas to Naples in 1272 to organize a *studium generale* (a house of studies). The pope had asked him to attend the Council of Lyon on May 1, 1274, and to bring his book *Contra errores Graecorum* (Against the errors of the Greeks). In spite of his deteriorating health, he started the journey in January. He died on his way there on March 7, 1274, at the Cistercian abbey of Fossanova.

In Christian theology the 13th century was an important time, as two schools of thought were raging with controversy. The Averroists separated philosophical truths



Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* became the standard textbook in theology in universities all over Europe.

from faith. They did not believe in divine revelations and believed that reason was paramount. The Augustinians gave faith the predominant position. For Thomas both reason and faith were important. Both were complementary to each other, and the nature of their relationship did not conflict. He believed that the truths of philosophy and religion were gifts from God. The moderate realism of Thomas postulated that both the medium of thought and that of the senses led to knowledge of the intelligible world or the universal. Thomas was a sharp thinker, combining philosophical truths with theological postulations. His natural law accommodated the divine law. He synthesized Christian theology with the philosophy of Aristotle, the Stoics, and Ibn Rushd.

Thomas was a prolific writer, penning 60 works. His manuscripts were preserved in the libraries of Europe,

and multiple copies came out after the invention of printing. The first published work of Thomas was *Secunda Secundae* (1467). The *Summa Theologica*, one of his best-known works, was also printed. It brought out great debate between the rational inquiry of Thomas and the Catholic doctrines. He defended the Christian faith in *Summa de veritate catholicae fidei contra gentiles* (Treatise on the truth of the Catholic faith against unbelievers). In the *Quaestiones disputatae* (Disputed questions), he gave his opinion on various topics. The pernicious theory that there was only one soul for all persons was refuted brilliantly in *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*. He proved in *Opusculum contra errores Graecorum* that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. His deep knowledge of the fathers of the church was found in *Catena Aurea*.

Pope John XXII canonized Thomas Aquinas on July 18, 1323. In 1567 he was made a Doctor of the Church. The *Summa Theologica* became the standard textbook in theology in the syllabus of universities all over Europe. There was renewed interest in his writings after the papal bull of 1879. Leo XIII, in his *Providentissimus Deus* (November 1893), took the principles behind his criticism of the sacred books from Thomas. St. Thomas Aquinas was the "Christian Aristotle" who wielded immense influence on future popes, universities, and academia. He combined the best of faith and reason with a careful synthesis.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Aquitaine, Eleanor of

(1122–1204) *duchess of Aquitaine, queen of France and England*

Eleanor of Aquitaine was born in 1122 to William X, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou, and Aenor, daughter of the viscountess of Châtellerault. At the death

of her younger brother, Eleanor became the wealthy heiress of Aquitaine. Groomed by her father, she frequently accompanied him on trips throughout his lands as he administered justice and faced down rebellious vassals. On his deathbed in April 1137, William entrusted her to his feudal lord, the Capetian monarch Louis VI, to arrange her marriage, which he did to his 17-year-old son and heir Prince Louis. When Louis VI died in August 1137 the young prince became King Louis VII of France and Eleanor his queen.

The two were ill-matched. Louis, as the second son, had originally been groomed for a career in the church. Eleanor had been raised in one of the most sophisticated households in all of Europe. Her grandfather William IX is credited with creating the literary genre of courtly love and had welcomed minstrels, poets, and troubadours to his court. Eleanor was frequently able to convince Louis to intervene in affairs that concerned her own interests, to the detriment of the crown. All of this might not have mattered had Eleanor been able to provide Louis with a male heir who would have inherited the lands of both his parents. Unfortunately Eleanor bore Louis only two daughters, Marie and Alix.

The breaking point in their marriage occurred during the Second Crusade, which both Eleanor and Louis agreed to undertake in 1146 in response to the preaching of St. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. Their goal was to rescue the crusader-state of Edessa that had fallen to the Muslims. Presumably Eleanor's offer of a thousand knights from Aquitaine and Poitou had helped to assuage misgivings about allowing her and numerous other noblewomen to accompany Louis and his warriors on their journey. In March 1148 the French army arrived at Antioch, just to the southwest of the kingdom of Edessa. Here Louis and Eleanor were greeted by the queen's uncle, Raymond of Poitiers, ruler of the principality. Rumors began to circulate about an affair between Eleanor and her uncle. When Louis rejected Raymond's strategically sound plan of taking back Edessa in favor of marching on Jerusalem, Eleanor exploded against the king, and demanded that their marriage be annulled. Although Louis wrenched her away from Antioch and forced her to march southward on Jerusalem, their marriage was over. The two boarded separate ships and sailed for home in 1149–50. In 1152 their marriage was annulled on grounds of consanguinity, and Eleanor regained control of her lands.

Later in 1152 she married the 18-year-old count of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet, whose extensive land holdings in France also included the duchy of Normandy



Enameled stone effigy of Eleanor of Aquitaine from her tomb in the Abbey of Fontevrault, France.

and the counties of Maine and Touraine. Their marriage created a formidable counterweight to the authority and power of Louis VII of France. Moreover, in 1154 Henry made good his claim to the English throne through his mother Matilda. In December 1154 Eleanor was crowned queen of England, consort to HENRY II (1154–89) of the house of Plantagenet. Over the next 13 years Eleanor bore Henry five sons and three daughters, two of whom, RICHARD (1189–99) and John, (1199–1216) would rule England.

Initially Eleanor played a substantial role in administering their combined lands in France while Henry secured England, but as his power and authority grew, he had less use for his independent-minded queen. Disenchanted with Henry and perturbed by his numerous affairs, Eleanor left England with her two sons Richard and Geoffrey for Poitiers in 1168. Here over the next several years she established a flourishing court that became a cultural center for troubadours and poets singing of courtly love. Meanwhile Richard and Geoffrey increasingly chafed at their father's unwillingness to give them real authority in ruling lands that they nominally held.

They joined their older brother Henry in revolting against Henry II in 1173, with Eleanor's backing. Henry crushed this revolt, and for her part in it, he placed Eleanor under close house arrest in England for the next 16 years.

When Henry died in 1189 Eleanor resumed her active role in political and familial affairs. In 1189 her favorite son, Richard, became king of England, and when he departed on the Third Crusade in December of that year, he left Eleanor as regent in England. On his return from the crusade in 1192 Richard fell into the hands of his enemy the German emperor Henry VI (1190–97), and Eleanor took charge of raising his ransom and negotiating his release.

When Richard died in 1199 she supported her youngest son, John, as his successor, undertaking a diplomatic mission to the court of Castile, and coming to his aid when war broke out between him and PHILIP II AUGUSTUS, king of France, in 1201. She died in March 1204 at the age of 83 and is buried alongside Richard and Henry in the nunnery at Fontevrault in Anjou.

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RONALD K. DELPH

Ashikaga Shogunate

This shogunate saw the Ashikaga family dominate Japanese society, ruling for much of the period from their headquarters in the Muromachi district of Kyoto. As a result the shogunate, or *bakufu* (“tent government,” in

effect a military dictatorship), with military power controlled by the *seii tai shogun* or *shogun* (“general who subdues barbarians”)—is called either the Ashikaga or the Muromachi Shogunate.

The Ashikaga Shogunate lasted from 1336 until, officially, 1588, although the last of the family was ousted from Kyoto in 1573, and it did not have much military power after the 1520s. The period when the Ashikaga family dominated Japanese politics reached its peak when Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–90) held the hereditary title of shogun (military dictator) of Japan from 1449 to 1473, although the last years of his shogunate were dominated by a succession of crises leading to the ONIN WAR (1467–77). Yoshimasa's period as shogun—or, strictly speaking, the time after his abdication—represented an important period for the development of Japanese fine arts.

The Ashikaga was a warrior family that had been prominent in Japanese society since the 12th century, when Yoshiyasu (d. 1157) took as his family name that of their residence in Ashikaga. They trace their ancestry back further to Minamoto Yoshiie (1039–1106), also known as Hachiman Taro Yoshiie, the grandfather of Yoshiyasu. From the Seiwa Genji branch of the famous Minamoto family, he was one of the great warriors of the Later Three Years' War that raged from 1083 to 1087.

Yoshiyasu's son took an active part in the TAIRA-MINAMOTO WAR of 1180–85, and six generations later Ashikaga Takauji became the first shogun, from 1338 to 1358. This came about after Emperor Go-Daigo (r. 1318–39) was exiled to the Oki Islands after being accused of plotting against the KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE that controlled the army. The emperor rallied some loyal forces with the aim of ending the dominance of the Kamakura family.

ASHIKAGA TAKAUJI

The emperor put his troops under the command of Ashikaga Takauji and sent them to the central provinces. The choice of Takauji was interesting, as he had taken part in plots against the shogunate in 1324 and again seven years later. Put in charge of an army to defeat the enemies of the shogun, Takauji changed sides and decided to support the emperor. He took Kyoto and ousted the shogun, ushering in what became known as the KEMMU RESTORATION. However, rivalries quickly broke out between Takauji and another warlord, Nitta Yoshisada. By this time the prestige of the throne was suffering after major administrative failures had clearly resulted in Go-Daigo being unable to protect his supporters. Takauji led his men to Kyoto, which he captured

in July 1336, forcing Emperor Go-Daigo to flee to Yoshino in the south.

In 1338 Takauji established what became known as the Ashikaga (or Muromachi) Shogunate, based in Kyoto. Takauji controlled the army and his brother Ashikaga Tadayoshi controlled the bureaucracy, with additional responsibility for the judiciary. The shogunate initially resulted in a split in the imperial family, with the Kyoto wing supporting it and Go-Daigo and his faction ruling from the southern court at Yoshino. This continued until 1392 when the policy of alternate succession to the throne was reintroduced. After a short period of stability, there was an attempt at an insurrection by Ashikaga Tadayoshi, who seized Kyoto in 1351. Takauji was able to drive him out, and Tadayoshi fled to Kamakura. Takauji established a “reconciliation,” during which Tadayoshi suddenly died, probably from poisoning. This left Takauji in control of the north, but he died in 1358 and was succeeded by his son Yoshiakira (1330–67), who was shogun until his death in 1367. There was then a short period with no shogun.

ASHIKAGA YOSHIMITSU

When Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) became shogun in 1369, a position he held until 1395, he was able to develop a system by which families loyal to him held much regional power, and the office of military governor was rotated between the Hosokawa, Hatakeyama, and Shiba families. Yoshimitsu may have been planning to start a new dynasty. This theory comes from the fact that he was no longer administering territory in the name of the sovereign. Certainly he did try to break the power of the court nobility, occasionally having them publicly perform menial tasks. When he went on long pilgrimages, he took so many nobles with him that the procession, to many onlookers, seemed to resemble an imperial parade. Yoshimitsu was able to build a rapport with Emperor Go-Kogon.

His main achievement, involving considerable diplomatic skill, was to end the Northern and Southern Courts by persuading the southern emperor to return to Kyoto in 1392, ending the schism created during his grandfather’s shogunate. Yoshimitsu also had to deal with two rebellions—the Meitoku Rebellion of Yamana Ujikiyo in 1391–92 and the Oei Rebellion of 1400 led by Ouchi Yoshihiro (1356–1400). Ouchi Yoshihiro had relied on support from pirates who had attacked Korea and also, occasionally, parts of China, but his rebellion came about when he did not want to contribute to the building of a new villa for the shogun. He had long



Ashikaga Yoshimitsu had a villa in Kyoto that combined Japanese and Chinese architecture. It is now known as the Golden Pavilion.

harbored resentment against the Ashikaga family, and in some ways the villa was merely an excuse for war. However, very quickly Ouchi Yoshihiro was betrayed by people he thought would support him, and after he was killed in battle, the rebellion ended quickly.

In order to ensure an easy succession Yoshimitsu abdicated the office of the shogun to his son Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386–1428), who was shogun from 1395 to 1423, while he, himself, remained in Kyoto, where he made vast sums of money monopolizing the import of copper needed for the Japanese currency and negotiating a trade agreement with China in 1401. He also created a minor controversy by sending a letter to the Ming emperor of China, which he signed with the title “king of Japan.” In his latter years Yoshimitsu became a prominent patron of the arts, supporting painters, calligraphers, potters, landscape gardeners, and flower arrangers. Many of the artists that Yoshimitsu encouraged became interested in Chinese designs and were influenced by their Chinese contemporaries—this became known as the *karayo* style.

The system of control established by Yoshimitsu continued under Ashikaga Yoshimochi, and his son Yoshikazu (1407–25), who was shogun from 1423–25. However, it was also a period when the Kanto region of Japan started to move out of the control of the shogunate. Yoshikazu's uncle Yoshinori (1394–1441) succeeded him, taking over as shogun in 1428. Yoshinori had been a Buddhist monk from childhood and ended up as leader of the Tendai sect, having to give up the life of a monk when his nephew died. Because of his background, he was determined to establish a better system of justice for the poorer people and overhauled the judiciary.

He also strengthened the shogun's control of the military, making new appointments of people loyal to the Ashikaga family. Many nobles disliked him because he was seen as aloof and arrogant, and in 1441 a general from Honshu, Akamatsu Mitsusuke, assassinated Yoshinori. In what became known as the Kakitsu incident, Akamatsu Mitsusuke was hunted down by supporters of the shogunate and was forced to commit suicide. Yoshinori's oldest son, Yoshikatsu (1434–43), succeeded him and was shogun for only two years. With his death, there was no shogun from 1443 to 1449, when Yoshikatsu's 13-year-old brother, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, became shogun.

THE ONIN WAR

Ashikaga Yoshimasa was born on January 20, 1436, at Kyoto, and when he became shogun, the shogunate was declining in importance with widespread food shortages and people dying of starvation. Yoshimasa was not that interested in politics and devoted most of his life to being a patron of the arts. He despaired of the political situation, and without any children, when he was 29 years old he named his younger brother, Yoshimi (1439–91), as his successor and prepared for a lavish retirement. However, in 1465 he and his wife, Hino Tomiko, had a son. His wife was adamant that the boy should be the next shogun, and a conflict between supporters of the two sides—that of Yoshimasa's wife and that of his brother—started in 1467.

Known as the ONIN WAR, most of the fighting took place around Kyoto, where many historical buildings and temples were destroyed and vast tracts of land were devastated. More important, it showed the relative military impotence of the shogun, and the power of the military governors, and quickly changed from being a dynastic squabble to being a proxy war. It then became a conflict between the two great warlords in western Japan, Yamana Mochitoyo, who supported the wife

and infant son, and his son-in-law, Hosokawa Katsumoto, who supported Yoshimi. Both died during the war, and there was no attempt by either side to end the conflict until, finally, exhausted by the 10 years of conflict, in 1477 the fighting came to an end. By this time Yoshimasa, anxious to avoid a difficult succession, had stood down as shogun in 1473 in favor of his son. His son, Yoshihisa, was shogun from 1474 until his own death in 1489, whereupon, to heal the wounds of the Onin War, Yoshimasa named his brother's son as the next shogun. Yoshimi's son, Yoshitane (1466–1523), was shogun from 1490 until 1493.

In retirement, Yoshimasa moved to the Higashiyama (Eastern Hills) section of Kyoto, where he built a villa that later became the Ginkakuji (Silver Pavilion). There he developed the Japanese tea ceremony into a complicated series of ritualized steps and was a patron to many artists, potters, and actors. This flowering of the arts became known as the Higashiyama period. Yoshimasa died on January 27, 1490.

From the shogunate of Yoshitane, the family was fast losing its political power. Yoshitane's cousin Yoshizumi (1480–1511) became shogun from 1495 to 1508 and was succeeded, after a long interregnum, by his son Yoshiharu (1511–50), who became shogun in 1522, aged 11, and remained in that position until 1547. His son Yoshiteru (1536–65) succeeded him from 1547 to 1565, and, after his murder, was then succeeded by a cousin, Yoshihide (1540–68), who was shogun for less than a year. Yoshiteru's brother Yoshiaki (1537–97) then became the 15th and last shogun of the Ashikaga family. He had been abbot of a Buddhist monastery at Nara, and when he became shogun renounced his life as a monk and tried to rally his family's supporters against a sustained attack by Oda Nobunaga. In early 1573 Nobunaga attacked Kyoto and burned down much of the city. In another attack in August of the same year, he was finally able to drive Yoshiaki from Kyoto. Going into exile, in 1588 Yoshiaki formally abdicated as shogun, allowing Toyotomi Hideyoshi to take over. He then returned to his life as a Buddhist priest. In at least its last 50 years—and arguably for longer—the shogunate had become ineffective, and warlords had once again emerged, often financing their operations by not only pillaging parts of Japan itself but with piratical raids on outlying parts of Japan and Korea.

The Ashikaga Shogunate remains a controversial period of Japanese history. During the 1930s Takauji was heavily criticized in school textbooks for his disrespect to Emperor Go-Daigo. Many historians now recognize him as the man who brought some degree of

stability to the country. The attitude toward Yoshimasa has also changed. Because he concentrated so heavily on the arts, he neglected running the country. He is now recognized as heading an inept administration that saw great suffering in much of Japan. It would lead to a period of great instability that only came to an end when Tokugawa Ieyasu became shogun in 1603.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Athos, Mount

Christian monasticism began in the eastern Christian world when St. Antony of Egypt, who exemplified the solitary form of monastic life, entered the Egyptian desert in the late third century C.E. Soon afterwards, Pachomius of Egypt and the Desert Fathers developed the communal life. From here, early monasticism spread to Palestine, Syria, and the West. Monasticism's birthplace was vastly affected by the Islamic conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries and declined in its wider historical significance. The heart of (Chalcedonian) Orthodox monasticism is Mt. Athos in northern Greece, on a rugged peninsula extending 35 miles into the Aegean Sea. It is the easternmost of three such "fingers" that stretch out from the Chalkidike Peninsula. The name of this promontory is derived from its highest peak, the nearly 7,000-foot Mount Athos. The Orthodox refer to this region as the "Holy Mountain" because of its spiritual significance over the past millennium.

In the eighth and ninth centuries monks journeyed to Mount Athos to find refuge during the controversy of Iconoclasm when the state forbade icon veneration. By the later ninth century C.E. the area was already becoming known for its reputation for holiness. In 963 C.E. the monk Athanasios of Trebizond created the first communal monastery there, the Great Lavra. Several Byzantine emperors supported Athanasios, endowing the monastery with wealth, privileges, and land. Other monasteries quickly followed. In less than 40 years, there were almost 50

monasteries, with the *hegoumenos* (abbot or presiding father) of the Great Lavra holding the preeminent position. Mount Athos sprouted communal monasteries as well as *sketes*, small groups of monks who lived separately from a general community but came together for worship and feast days. Mount Athos was also home to many *anchorites*, or hermits. Monastic life, in all its variety, blossomed on Athos, but it did so with strict gender separation, for, in 1045 C.E., the emperor banned all females and even female animals. Women were, and still are, excluded both as members and even as visitors.

Patronage continued from Byzantine emperors as well as from Slavic rulers in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Russia. Mt. Athos became a truly international community where monks from all over the Orthodox world mingled together: Italians, Greeks, Georgians (Iveron Monastery), Russians (Panteleimon), Serbs (Chilandar), Bulgarians (Zographou), and Orthodox Armenians. Theological ideas quickly passed, via Mount Athos, from one part of the Orthodox world to another. Such was the case in the 14th century when the controversy over Hesychasm (the "Jesus Prayer") led to its defense by Athosite Gregory Palamas and its spread throughout Orthodoxy. Its accumulated wealth made the peninsula attractive to invaders. In the 13th century Athos fell into the hands of western European crusaders and, after the 14th century, to the Ottoman Turks, who, after accepting tribute and depriving the monasteries of their estates outside, respected the autonomy of the region.

While Mount Athos was the heart of Orthodox monasticism, it was not the only center of monastic life—many other areas, Meteora in central Greece, for example, were well known. Monasteries (ranging in size from a few monks to hundreds) sprouted up wherever there were Orthodox communities. So, not surprisingly, when the town of Mystras, located west of ancient Sparta, became an important Byzantine cultural and political center in the 13th–15th centuries C.E., monasteries (like the Brontocheion) appeared as well. Unlike Athos, however, this region lost its wider importance after the Ottoman conquest of 1460 C.E.

See also OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Averroës

(1126–1198) *religious philosopher*

Abu Al-Walid Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rushd, Ibn Rushd for short, or Averroës, as he is known to the West, was born in Córdoba (Qurtuba), Spain, in 1126 to a family of distinguished Andalusian scholar-jurists. Ibn Rushd was to become a famous philosopher, theologian, physician, and royal consultant. He was a scholar of the natural sciences, namely biology, astronomy, medicine, physics, and the Qur'anic sciences.

His grandfather, after whom he was named, was a renowned chief justice (*qadi*) in Córdoba and an authority on Malikite jurisprudence, having written two famous books on the subject. At the same time, he was the imam of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Ibn Rushd's father was also a judge. Having grown up in a family of scholars, Ibn Rushd received an excellent education in Córdoba in linguistics, Islamic jurisprudence, and theology.

He became very knowledgeable in these subjects, evident through his many writings. He was especially competent in the subject of *khilaf*, which dealt with controversies in legal sciences. Ibn Rushd had profound knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy, possibly introduced to the subject by one of his teachers or one of the leading scholars in Córdoba. He was educated in medicine and accomplished a major work known as the *Al-Kulliyat fi 'l tibb* translated as *General Medicine* in 1169. Ibn Rushd's writings were so widely celebrated at one time that it was claimed that medieval Islamic philosophy was an earlier version of the European Enlightenment.

In 1153 Ibn Rushd moved to Marrakech, where he met the Almohad ruler Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, who was very impressed with the young Ibn Rushd's intellect and deep knowledge of philosophy. It is interesting to note that Ibn Rushd was initially reluctant to reveal the extent of his knowledge to the prince because at the time strict Muslim leaders frowned on philosophy, which was considered anti-Islamic. Ibn Rushd had to fight against this prevalent belief by asserting that philosophy could be compatible with religion, if both were properly understood. He had nothing to fear with regards to the Almohad prince, who admired his wide knowledge. In fact, the ruler consulted Ibn Rushd on philosophical matters from then on and became his patron. It was also because of Abu Ya'qub's prompting that Ibn Rushd summarized the works of Aristotle in a clear manner. During this time he also provided detailed commentaries of

his Aristotelian philosophy, such that he is popularly known as the Commentator of Aristotle.

In Marrakech, Ibn Rushd remained active in other areas beside writing and philosophy. He also made astronomical observations. In 1182 he was appointed chief physician in Marrakech. He then became the chief justice in Córdoba. In 1195 Ibn Rushd fell out of favor with the new Almohad prince during the latter years of his reign. His works were considered contrary to religion, and the Caliph passed edicts forbidding their study. He was banished to Lucena near Córdoba but later returned to Marrakech. He died soon after in December 1198.

See also ISLAMIC LAW.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Avignonese papacy

The Avignonese papacy (1304–78) and the Great Schism (1378–1414) are regarded as two of the most dramatic events in the history of Christianity that further undermined and diminished the prestige of the papacy and the authority of the Western Latin Church. The first episode refers to the nearly century-long pontificate of eight popes, who from the beginning of the 14th century until 1378 ruled the Christian world from the French town of Avignon, being held captive by PHILIP IV the Fair; because of its forced nature, the Avignonese papacy is also called the Avignonesse Captivity, or Exile.

Historians attribute the cause of the Avignonesse Exile of the papacy to the earlier conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and the young French king Philip the Fair in the preceding century, when the king and the pope were struggling to proclaim their rule over Europe. In the center of the conflict stood new military taxes the king levied on French monasteries, requiring new subsidies to fight his wars with the English. Boniface rejected the king's claims for financing his army

on account of the church in the bull *Clericis laicos* from 1290 and later paid for his stubbornness with his own life, literally terrified to death by the king's chancellor William of Nogaret. Boniface's direct successor, Benedict XI (1303–04), did not live long enough to pacify the spirits, supposedly having been poisoned by an unidentified monk; a new pope, old and gravely ill, Bertrand de Got, who assumed the name Clement V, led the papacy into exile. Residing in France at the time of his election, weakened by what was likely cancer, and discouraged by the fate of his predecessor, Clement V capitulated to Philip's demands that he should be crowned at Lyon. He established the tradition of the Avignonese papacy, never setting foot in the ancient city of Rome.

Clement's Avignon successors (seven popes, among whom the most famous were John XXII and Benedict XII) all remained loyal to the French rulers, playing whenever necessary against the German emperor and the English, which outwardly may have been seen as an ordinary state of affairs had it not been for the fact of direct influence the French kings exercised in the curia. Throughout the 14th century the Avignonese papacy was continuously showing signs of decline of papal authority, which was becoming increasingly undermined by the feudal monarchy. In 1312 the papacy surrendered to the will of Philip IV and dismissed the Order of the Templars, famous for its wealth, with thousands of its members accused of heresy, witchcraft, and sodomy and all its treasures



The Avignonese papacy refers to the pontificate of eight popes, who from the beginning of the 14th century until 1378 ruled the Christian world from the French town of Avignon. They built themselves a fortified palace within the walls of Avignon and lived in luxury.

confiscated by the crown. The fiscal oppression of the curia (chiefly through control over the sale of benefices and indulgences but also over tithes and annates) became more amplified during the Avignonese papacy, despite the heavy French presence in the College of Cardinals (seven out of eight Avignonese popes and almost all of the important cardinals were Frenchmen by the middle of 14th century).

In due course the popes built themselves a fortified palace behind the walls of Avignon and lived there surrounded by luxury in the midst of magnificent artificial gardens. The luxurious lifestyle of the popes was subject to constant complaints and gossip. Contemporaries, including such important thinkers as PETRARCH, Marsilius of Padua, and Catherine of Siena, relentlessly criticized the Avignonese popes. The image of the papacy during those years changed sharply, having lost its unconditional spiritual authority and its control over the brethren. Petrarch called the Avignonese papacy “the Babylonian Captivity of the Church” and Avignon popes “wolves in shepherds’ clothing.” The Avignonese papacy was detested by most social sectors—from peasants who suffered the ever-increasing taxation to intellectuals and theologians who wrote against the moral and spiritual degradation of the Holy Office. In the next centuries the Avignonese papacy was described as totally deprived of spirituality. Subservience to a secular ruler, nepotism, and rapacity of the “puppet-popes” seriously undermined the reputation of papacy in the eyes of Europe, marking at the same time the end of the reign of Church Universal and the beginning of a new epoch, where ultimate power belonged with the national ruler.

The Avignon church underwent a complete makeover. Despite criticisms, almost all Avignon popes undertook serious attempts at reform. They created a sophisticated and effective administration that surpassed anything previously known in the European states. The popes’ involvement in secular politics also grew during these years, despite the forced capitulation to France. Both developments effectively turned the church into a modern, secularized, and politicized organization. The last years of the popes’ stay at Avignon are also marked by their recurring attempts to strengthen their position in Italy. Quite unsuccessfully they tried to turn the outcome of the revolt of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 to their favor, but even after this failure popes continued to maintain close economic and political relations with Italy. Their final success and return to Rome is indebted to the activity

of Cardinal Albornozy and Pope Urban V, who gave constitution to the PAPAL STATES. Taking advantage of the difficulties France was experiencing during the HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR (1337–1453), Pope Gregory XI (1370–78) transferred the papal residence back to Rome in 1378, dying just a few months after this historic reunion of the church with its ancient capital. This move, however, was attempted too late to save the papacy from disaster: Its return was blackened by the shadow of the Great Schism.

Soon after Gregory XI died, the Roman people, fearing that a new pope might leave them for France once again, gathered under the walls of the conclave, demanding election of an Italian to the Holy See. Cardinals, the majority of whom were Frenchmen, chose the archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, Bartholomew Prignano, to be elected the next pope. He accepted the Holy Office, taking the name of Urban VI. No doubt that Prignano, who had previously held a position of a vice chancellor of the curia, seemed an excellent choice to the cardinals.

They were confident they could control the “little archbishop” (as they nicknamed their candidate), who would be grateful for this unexpected promotion. Later the cardinals would announce that they had elected Prignano under threats and for fear of the reaction of the angry mob that was raging on the streets surrounding the palace during the election.

From the very start the pontificate of the new pope was stained with a most bitter struggle with the cardinals and members of the curia of non-Italian origin. Harsh reform measures of the new pontiff, who was irritated at the slightest pretext, and physically assaulted cardinals on several occasions (publicly announcing their lifestyle of pomposity and splendor as sinful), caused the French party to flee from Rome. Urban soon found himself at daggers drawn with everyone around him, managing to deprive the Holy See of a number of its most loyal supporters, such as Joanna, queen of Naples; her husband, Duke Otto of Brunswick; and the powerful duke of Fondi, not to mention the king of France. On August 9, 1378, under a pretext that Urban’s appointment was forced, the conclave of the fugitive cardinals issued a lengthy document, entitled *Declaratio*, where they declared the election invalid and the Holy Office vacant. At the same sitting they unanimously voted for the Gallic cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the office under the name of Clement VII (1378–94), thus becoming an “anti-pope.”

The following 40 years were characterized by almost constant warfare between pope and anti-pope, in which the Papal States were the chief playground. The schism left no one sitting on the fence. Having unparalleled impact on political allegiances, it reshaped European geopolitics, changing cultural boundaries and paving the way for the upcoming Reformation.

With every passing year the split went deeper. On the side of the “French” Pope Clement VII fought such powerful allies as the king of France, the kings of NAPLES and SCOTLAND, and half of the rulers of Germany; Urban was supported by England, PORTUGAL, and Hungary. The legal pope continued to be tactless and inconsiderate to his allies, and gradually his authority grew weak. Appointing new cardinals to replace the rebels was not a sufficient measure to keep discipline among the supporters; constantly suspecting treachery, Urban did not hesitate to send several cardinals to be executed for “disobedience” to his will. Isolated and defeated in most of his battles, Urban locked himself up in his castle—mainly to hide from the French king who had announced a huge prize for the pope’s head. In 1389 Urban VI came back to Rome, where he died, according to one source, surrounded by followers; according to another, he was poisoned by enemies.

Soon after Urban’s funeral it became clear that even the disappearance of one of the ruling pontiffs would not save the situation—the “Italian” party immediately appointed a successor. Thus receiving a precedent, the schism continued—Clement VII was succeeded by Benedict XIII (from 1394); Urban VI by Boniface IX (1389–1404), Innocent VII (1404–06), and Gregory XII (from 1406). The conflict deteriorated when the Council of Pisa in 1409 deposed both Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, selecting new pope Alexander V (1409–10). The deposed popes refused to recognize the decision of the Council, and the Holy See became occupied by three popes at once.

This development was very favorable to the heretical movements that rose in large quantities all across Europe, preaching noninstitutional evangelism and unbalancing the old feudal system. Secular lords and princes who supported the establishment and the unity of the church were greatly concerned, despite the fact that the decrease in the papal authority contributed to consolidation of power in the hands of secular rulers.

The schism continued well into the 15th century, until, finally, the COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE (1414–18) put an end to it, having deposed three popes at once: John XXIII (successor of Alexander V), Gregory XII, and

Benedict XIII, and selecting, to the great relief of everyone involved, a single pontiff—Martin V (1417–31).

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VICTORIA DUROFF

al-Azhar

The Fatimids established al-Azhar, one of the oldest universities in the world, in Cairo in 970. Built around a large mosque with an open courtyard surrounded by columned walkways where classes were taught, al-Azhar quickly became one of the premier educational centers in the entire Islamic world, attracting students from Asia, Africa, and, in subsequent centuries, the Western Hemisphere.

Originally, the university focused on the tenets of the Isma’ili sect of Islam followed by the Fatimid rulers, but over the following centuries the university became a center for orthodox Sunni belief. By the 1600s the Shaykh al-Azhar, leader of al-Azhar, was chosen from among the shaykhs of the university. Generations of legal scholars and judges were educated in theology and ISLAMIC LAW at al-Azhar. In the 15th century C.E., the Mamluk sultan Qaitbey financed the construction of an inner gate and elaborate minaret overlooking the courtyard. Following sultans added further buildings and ornamentation to the sprawling complex, including living quarters for students, libraries, and the mosque. After the 1952 C.E. revolution in Egypt, Gamal Nasser modernized and instituted major reforms including the creation of a College of Islamic Women and the addition of colleges in medicine and engineering.

See also FATIMID DYNASTY; ISLAM; ISMA’ILIS.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Bacon, Roger

(1214–1294) *philosopher and theologian*

Known as *doctor mirabilis* (“wonderful teacher”), Roger Bacon was born to wealthy parents at Ilchester, Somersetshire, England in 1214. He was educated at Oxford and later went to Paris in 1235. Bacon was proficient in arithmetic, astronomy, classics, geometry, and music. After receiving his master of arts, he lectured on Aristotle. Between 1247 and 1257 he was deeply involved in study of alchemy and mathematics. He did not believe in claims made by contemporaries and loved doing scientific experiments. He argued strongly for his beliefs. Some give him credit for laying the foundation of modern science three centuries later. Bacon gave hints for making gunpowder. His experiments on the nature of light were notable. He observed the eclipses of the Sun by means of a device that projected images through a pinhole. A practicing alchemist, Bacon believed in the elixir of life and also tried to create the philosopher’s stone (which would change base metals into gold). His powers of observation led him to anticipate later inventions like flying machines, spectacles, steam ships, and microscopes.

Bacon was greatly influenced by the Franciscans in his student days and entered the Franciscan order in 1255. Bacon had contempt for those not sharing his views, and criticized them harshly. His works were banned by superiors, who directed their members not to publish anything without permission. He appealed to Pope Clement IV against this prohibition and it was revoked in 1266. Within two years he finished a three-

volume work, with volumes entitled *Opus Majus* (great work), *Opus Minus* (lesser work), and *Opus Terilium* (third work). Clement IV was a supporter of Bacon, but after his death in 1268, Pope Nicholas IV condemned his ideas. The friars, having different views from their superiors of the Franciscan order, were put behind bars. Bacon was imprisoned in the covenant of Ancona, Italy around 1278. After 12 years he was released, and returned to England. Bacon had not changed his convictions in prison. He wrote about his sufferings in 1293 in his last book entitled *Compendium studii theologiae*. Some scholars do not believe that Bacon was really imprisoned.

Bacon held his views in spite of adverse circumstances. One of the greatest scholars, he was against subscribing to preconceived notions. Bacon tried his best to urge theologians to study the sciences, and called for reform in the study of theology. He recommended the study of language in order to read original documents. Bacon saw the Bible as the focus of attention, and not a minor distinction in philosophical discourse. The medieval monk and proponent of experimental science died at Oxford on June 11, 1294, a legendary figure in the world of scholarship and science.

See also SCHOLASTICISM.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Baghdad

The ABBASID DYNASTY founded the city of Baghdad as a new capital in 762, shortly after the overthrow of the Umayyad Dynasty. This shift of the center of power in the Muslim world from Syria toward the Abbasid support base in Persia allowed the young dynasty to establish its dominance under the leadership of the caliph, al-Mansur. However, the move from Syria also saw the caliphate's influence in Mediterranean affairs decline and rival dynasties emerge as far away as Spain, where the Umayyad dynasty regrouped, and as near as Egypt, from where the FATIMID DYNASTY dominated much of North Africa from the 10th through the 12th century.

The first two centuries of Baghdad's history were marked by political strife as the Abbasids repressed revolts; the dynasty underwent civil war from 811 to 819. During this civil war the caliph Amin besieged the city. Despite this unrest, Baghdad found itself at the center of a Muslim cultural golden age during these centuries. In the 940s a group of soldiers, the Buyid princes, who had been gaining in strength for a decade, took power in Baghdad; lacking legitimate claim to rule, they became protectors of the caliphate and ruled through Abbasid puppet caliphs.

In 1055 the Seljuk Turk Toghrulbeg came to Baghdad and ultimately relieved the caliph of the Buyid protectorate. Toghrulbeg was named sultan, and the caliph was again reduced to little more than a puppet. But the Seljuk leader's ambitions led him to rule from outside of Baghdad, visiting only on occasion, and this would give future caliphs at least some small measure of freedom. The Crusades and internal turmoil challenged the Seljuks' control of the region, and the caliphs began to challenge their overlords. The breakup of Turkish rule in the late 12th century saw a renewal on a regional scale of the city's importance, but the city and the

region were continually plagued by conflicts between Sunnis and Shi'i.

THE MONGOLS

In faraway Mongolia, warring Turko-Mongol tribes were uniting under the leadership of one man, Temuchin. In 1206 an assembly of tribal nobility awarded him the title GENGHIS KHAN—Universal Ruler. From central Mongolia, Genghis set out on a mission of world conquest. He immediately began consolidating his power for an attack against the Chinese kingdoms to the south, but full control of China was far off. The Mongols would invade western Asia and establish a dynasty in Iran before they unified China under their rule.

During the early years of Mongol expansion Genghis Khan led armies against the sultan Ala ad-Din Muhammad, Khwarazm Shah, as a punishment for his challenge to Mongol authority in the region of Central Asia. Genghis's punishment of the Persian leader helped establish a reputation for Mongol brutality. The caliph in Baghdad, al-Nasr, felt threatened by the onslaught against Sultan Muhammad and appealed to the Ayyubids in Syria for aid. The Ayyubids were battling the crusaders and did not send aid, but the threat of Genghis Khan never materialized. Genghis died in 1227, and OGOTAI KHAN, his son, succeeded him.

In 1232 Mongol forces had penetrated as far as Azerbaijan, and the caliph annexed Arbela in Upper Mesopotamia, possibly as a defensive measure. In 1236 the caliph mobilized his armies against the Mongols, who were moving south into Upper Mesopotamia, and in 1238 the caliph went to Baghdad's great mosque and called for holy war against the invaders. This time Ayyubid reinforcements arrived, but the ensuing battle was a defeat for the caliph. The Mongols withdrew deep into Persia, and terms were reached, though raids into Mesopotamia continued with accounts of the period reporting various Mongol harassments of Baghdad.

The Mongol conquest of the Middle East began during the reign of MONGKE KHAN. In 1252 Mongke dispatched his brother HULAGU KHAN to take control of the region. Some sources suggest that the arrival of Hulagu in Azerbaijan was instigated by a mission by the Qadi of Qazvin, in an attempt to subdue the ISMA'ILIS, known as the Assassins for their frequent tactic of the same name. The Isma'ilis operated from their stronghold in the mountainous region of northern Iran. The repression of the Isma'ilis was one of Hulagu's first goals. Hulagu dispatched Baichu to the west to repress the Seljuks in Rum, and in 1256 Mongol forces defeated the sultan and recognized his younger brother,

establishing Mongol overlordship of Rum. In the same year, the Mongols completed their mission against the Isma'ilis, destroying the last of their mountain strongholds and executing their leader, Khurshah.

Having secured his base and the vicinity to its west, Hulagu focused his attention on the caliphate in Baghdad. Hulagu sought to dominate both Baghdad and its caliph, despite their dramatic decline in prestige. The court of the caliph, al-Musta'sim, was divided over how to respond. The caliph, presented with an ultimatum, could surrender—saving his life, his position, and his city—or resist. Indecision left al-Musta'sim largely unprepared for the onslaught that would follow his disregard and disrespect of Hulagu and his armies. The Mongol forces besieged the city for several weeks before storming it on February 6, 1258. The damage to the city was extensive. Al-Musta'sim, his sons, and much of their entourage were killed; as it was against Mongol belief to shed royal blood on the ground, the caliph was rolled into a carpet and trampled to death by horses. Al-Musta'sim was the last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad.

From Baghdad, Hulagu's forces moved into northern Syria, taking Aleppo in January of 1260. The Ayyubid ruler in Damascus, An-Nasir Yusuf, fled his capital, and the city surrendered to Hulagu's general Kitbuqa. Hebron, Jerusalem, and Ashkalon were raided, and various Ayyubid princes submitted to the invaders. Again, much of the Mongol army was unilaterally withdrawn to Azerbaijan, where Maragheh was chosen as the capital of the new Il-Khanate (one of four khanates of the Mongol Empire). The Ayyubids's conquest by the Mongols marked the end of their dynasty, as they had already been replaced in Egypt by the Mamluk dynasty. General Kitbuqa remained to solidify the new conquests in Syria, while Hulagu became embroiled in the Mongol succession crisis and began to battle the Golden Horde to his north.

In the eastern Mediterranean region the crusaders in Jerusalem were not prepared to surrender to the Mongols and issued calls for reinforcements to the western European kingdoms, while they temporarily tried to appease Kitbuqa. When the crusaders did not dismantle their fortresses, however, Kitbuqa retaliated, sacking Sidon in August 1260. The crusaders responded by allowing the Mamluks of Egypt to dispatch troops through their territory and even provided the Muslim forces with supplies to battle the Mongols. In September 1260 the Egyptian army defeated the Mongols in Galilee, and Kitbuqa was either killed in the battle or executed after his defeat.

The Il-Khanid Mongols retreated beyond the Euphrates to their power base. Within the Il-Khanate,



Sitt Zumurrud Khatun's tomb is the most famous mausoleum in Baghdad and was constructed before 1202.

Hulagu and his son Abaqa would enjoy stability despite threats at the border. The Il-Khanids continued to work diplomatically against their Mamluk enemies in Syria, at times approaching the crusaders to propose coordinated attacks. In 1299 Ghazan Khan, a Muslim convert, attacked the Mamluk forces, which retreated to Egypt in defeat. Syria and Palestine were briefly reoccupied until Ghazan withdrew to Mesopotamia, and it was not until 1320 that the Mongols made peace with the Mamluks. After the death of Abu Sa'id in 1235, the Il-Khanate disintegrated into rival, mostly non-Mongol, dynasties.

The Mongol leader TIMURLANE emerged as a great force in the region at the end of the 14th century, regaining Mongol control of Persia and doing battle as far east as the Ottoman Empire. But Timurlane's death in 1405 saw the Mongolian empire in Persia again disintegrate and effectively ended Mongolian influence in the region of the Middle East.

The immediate and lasting effects of the Mongols in the Middle East are varied in degree. The Mongol conquest of Hulagu ended two institutions of Islamic rule, finally ending the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad and Ayyubid dynasty, the realm of which was already confined to Syria and parts of Palestine. This allowed Mamluk rule to fill the power vacuum. A century and a half later that power vacuum would be re-created by Timurlane's temporary conquests and the subsequent disintegration of Mongol rule in the Middle East following his death, only to be filled by the Ottomans. Culturally, the impact of the Mongols was minimal, with the exception of Persia, to which area their lasting presence in western Asia was confined. It is in the period of the

Il-Khanate that the greatest impact of far eastern culture on Persia is witnessed.

See also CRUSADES; SHI'ISM.

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JAMES A. GRADY

Bantu

The Bantu people of the African continent include some 400 different ethnic groups that cover most of sub-Saharan Africa and speak a tongue from a common language group. The first time the word *Bantu* (meaning “people” in many Bantu languages) was used in its current sense was by Dr. Wilhelm Bleek in his book *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* (1862). Up to that point, few linguists had tried to draw similarities between the different languages in Africa on such a wide scale. Much of what is known about Africa before the 11th century has been surmised by linguistic analysis, which, along with recent archaeology, has shown a clear picture of society and life in prehistoric Africa.

Before the spread of the Bantu much of central and southern Africa is believed to have been populated by the Khoisan-speaking people who still exist around the Kalahari Desert in modern-day Namibia and Botswana, and also in some isolated pockets of modern-day Tanzania. There were (and still are) pygmies in Central Africa, and the northern and northeastern parts of Africa were dominated by people who spoke Afro-Asiatic languages, who have retained their identity from the Bantu. Gradually from the first millennium B.C.E. to the first millennium C.E., the Bantu spread out throughout much of the African continent.

The origins of the Bantu were first raised by Joseph H. Greenberg (1915–2001) in 1963, based on linguistic theories. Using dictionaries and work lists of these lan-

guages, he was able to isolate the 500 different distinct languages of the Bantu subgroup. Many showed regional and geographical variations—including the names of crops and/or animals not found elsewhere in Africa—and Greenberg's thesis was that there was an original language, which he called Proto-Bantu, from which the others were derived. As the languages spoken in the southeastern part of Nigeria, and along the border with Cameroon, contain more words similar to those used elsewhere in the continent, and that the Bantu languages spoken further away have more variations, he concluded that the Bantu had their origins along the modern-day Nigeria-Cameroon border. However, the theories of Greenberg were quickly challenged by Malcolm Guthrie, whose research pointed to the Bantu language having originated in Zambia and the southern part of modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo.

If the origins of the Bantu are disputed, the reason for the migration of the Bantu throughout Africa is generally accepted. George P. Murdock (1897–1985), an American scholar, argued that it was influenced by the availability of crops. Murdock felt that it was the Bantu acquisition of crops from the East Indies—through trade with Madagascar—such as banana, taro, and yam, which helped a spread westwards from the first millennium B.C.E. onwards. It was the cultivation of these crops, Murdock felt, that enabled the Bantu to start settling in the previously largely impenetrable tropical rain forest of central Africa, and from there southwards, establishing the civilization of Great Zimbabwe in the 10th century C.E. Others saw the migratory route, following the ideas of Greenberg, lay in the move east across the southern area of what is now the Sahara, into southern Sudan, and from there south past the Great Lakes.

If the Bantu originated in the area of southeastern Nigeria and the borders with Cameroon, they would have gradually spread eastwards to the Great Lakes, where, on Lake Victoria, the settlement of Katuruka has been dated to the fifth century B.C.E. A separate group also spread southwards through Gabon and the Congo and to modern-day Angola—the settlement at the Funa River, in modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo, dating from 270 B.C.E. That group gradually spread south into modern-day Angola, while the eastern migration split south of Lake Victoria, with some heading for the coast and establishing a settlement near Kwale, near Mombasa. Another group moved south, along the eastern shores of Lake Nyassa, forming the civilization of Great Zimbabwe by the 10th century C.E., with a third group heading inland, into modern-day Zambia. The result of this migration was that, by about 1000 C.E., the Bantu domi-

nated central and southern Africa, except for much of modern-day South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana. The survival of the Khoisan people in these places is pointed to as further evidence of this migration.

Knowledge about the divisions within Bantu tribes is known from archaeological evidence. The existence of tribal chiefs can be assumed from early settlements where wealth inequality was seen through the existence of larger and smaller residences. Similarly the objects that were found, made from precious metals, and pots of intricate design, were too few to sustain an entire village with the view adopted by archaeologists that poorer members of Bantu tribes would have had wooden objects that have not survived. However, it is also clear that some tribes, such as the Kikuyu in modern-day Kenya, did not have hereditary chiefs but, rather, a person who assumed the role of an elder and was responsible for tax collection and family counseling.

Unlike the Khoisan and pygmies, the Bantu fought in conflicts and maintained armies. Many of the tribal chiefs maintained large numbers of wives and hence had many children who were often assimilated with commoners. The nature of the rule of the tribes has been surmised through linguistic evidence of the Bantu kinship terminology. Although some groups, such as the Masai, use the standard patrilineal system, many others follow matrilineal traditions. In addition the Mayombe people of modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo believe that their “blood,” and hence their descent, goes through a woman, with villagers tracing the origin of their village to an ancestress. This is also believed to be the system used by the Bantu in the Kongo (modern-day Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo). As a result the chief in wartime was often the husband of the senior woman, with the government operating through the female line.

Few archaeological remains have been found of early Bantu civilization, when compared to Europe of the same period. This may have been because of the Bantu use of wood for their buildings. Some 85 million Bantu people now exist in Africa, with most divisions of the Bantu being largely linguistic. Although the term has been used for 150 years, because of its pejorative use by the apartheid government in South Africa—whereby blacks were designated as “Bantu”—it is not used much today except as a cultural term to describe the great migration that took place in ancient and medieval Africa.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Bayezid I

(c. 1360–1403) *Ottoman sultan*

Bayezid I was declared sultan following the death of Sultan Murad on the battlefield at Kosovo in 1389. To ensure his uncontested succession to the sultanate, Bayezid had his brother Yakub assassinated; subsequently the practice of fratricide became commonplace among heirs to the Ottoman throne.

To cement Ottoman control over Serbia, Bayezid married a Serbian royal princess. Bayezid immediately embarked on a series of successful military conquests, personally leading his troops throughout Thrace. Under Bayezid’s rule, only the heavily fortified cities on the coast, including Athens and Constantinople, remained outside Ottoman control. Recognizing the importance of sea power in any attempt to seize Constantinople, the Ottomans began to build up their navy. Fearful of the mounting Ottoman threat, the Hungarian king and later Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund rallied Christian forces in Europe to attack the Ottomans at Nicopolis in 1396. The Europeans were resoundingly defeated by the Ottoman troops, who were personally led on the battlefield by Bayezid who then conquered virtually all of the Balkans, the Turkoman areas of Karaman, Anatolia, and the eastern Mediterranean. Because of his military prowess, Ottoman troops called Bayezid the “thunderbolt” (*yildirim*).

However, Bayezid's love of luxury and increasing arrogance alienated many of his subjects and offended many traditional Muslims. Some amirs (local governors) fled to the court of TIMURLANE, whose mounting power posed a serious threat to Bayezid's conquests. In 1402 Ottoman and Mongol forces met on the battlefield at Ankara, where Bayezid was captured. Brought before Timurlane, Bayezid was initially treated with respect, but after a failed attempt to escape, he was placed in an iron cage; he died several months later. Timurlane went on to conquer the rest of Anatolia but divided his newly gained territories among four of Bayezid's sons. Although they pledged loyalty to Timurlane, upon his death three years later, they promptly resumed the Ottoman quest for empire.

See also OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Becket, Thomas (Thomas à Becket)

(1118–1170) *archbishop, martyr, saint*

Saint Thomas Becket was the archbishop of Canterbury in England during the reign of King HENRY II. He was the son of Gilbert Becket, who was born in Rouen, but became a merchant in London. Becket received an excellent education despite his middle-class origins. He completed his degree at the University of Paris and then studied law at Bologna and Auxerre. Theobald of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury since 1139, made him deacon and assistant archbishop of Canterbury. Becket and Henry became close friends and spent considerable time together. Henry made Becket chancellor. Theobald was seriously concerned that the trappings of the royal lifestyle would turn Becket against the needs of the church. Upon Theobald's death in 1163, Henry offered Becket the position of archbishop of Canterbury, but he initially declined, realizing it would cause great havoc between Henry and himself.

Once Becket became archbishop in 1164, he set aside the hedonistic lifestyle, became excessively ascetic, and resigned as chancellor. His efforts focused on the



Becket was murdered by four knights of Henry II in Canterbury cathedral, which astonished and repulsed Christians.

church rather than on the interests of the man who had befriended and promoted him. In 1163 at the Council of Westminster, Henry passed a law that would try “criminous clerks” who had already been tried by the ecclesiastical courts. Some of the canonical laws were ambiguous, imprecise, and contradictory, and Henry wanted clearly stated laws that would govern accurately. Becket disagreed, but withdrew his dissent when Pope Alexander III (pope from 1159 to 1181) pressured him. Henry then implemented the constitutions of Clarendon to which Becket orally agreed. The constitutions accurately reflected traditional church and state relations, which Henry II wished to guarantee. When Becket discovered that some of the sections would reduce ecclesiastical power, he vehemently objected to the changes. However, several of the Crown's practices were quite divergent from canon law, so that Alexander refused to assent. Becket had little choice but to admit publicly that he had committed perjury regarding the Constitution of Clarendon.

Becket was forced to appear at the Council of Northampton in October 1164 and was charged with misappropriating funds during his chancellorship. He quickly contravened the Constitutions of Clarendon, denying its jurisdiction and declaring that the church and the pope had greater jurisdiction than the Constitutions. Becket had no option but to flee abroad.

While Becket lived in exile for six years, he garnered scant support from Alexander because the pope and Henry had their own disagreements to solve. Yet both Henry and Becket went to extremes to maintain their quarrel. The situation was exacerbated when

Henry, who was quite ill, had his son and heir, Henry the Younger, (1155–83) crowned as joint king by the archbishop of York in June 1170; this was a direct violation of customary practices. Becket threatened an interdict with Alexander's support and then aggravated the situation by suspending and excommunicating the bishops who had partaken in the coronation. The irate Henry then uttered the phrase "Will no one rid me of this troublesome priest?" Four knights took this phrase literally, traveled to Canterbury, and murdered Becket on December 29, 1170. This event astonished and repulsed Christians everywhere. Becket was canonized three years later; his tomb became a well-visited shrine. In 1174 Henry was forced to offer penance publicly at Becket's tomb.

See also ENGLISH COMMON LAW.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Bede

(c. 673–735) *historian and scholar*

A monk, teacher, historian, and biblical interpreter usually called "the Venerable," Saint Bede was the most influential scholar from Anglo-Saxon England. At the age of seven, Bede was given as an oblate (child dedicated to religious life) to the monastery of Wearmouth, newly founded by Benedict Biscop. When Jarrow was founded in 682, Bede was transferred to this abbey and to Ceolfrith, its abbot. Bede was ordained a deacon at age 19 and a priest at 30. He never traveled beyond Northumbria (northeast England) and spent the remainder of his life at Jarrow reading, writing, teaching, and explicating Scripture.

Bede was a prolific writer whose interests and expertise were wide-ranging. He wrote treatises on grammar, poetry, computation, and natural phenomena (for example, *On Orthography*, *On Metrical Art*, *On Time*, *On the Nature of Things*). Each of these works survives in many manuscript copies, suggesting the important role they played in the medieval liberal arts curriculum. Bede was also well known as an hagiographer (a biographer of saints's lives), composing works on Saints Felix and Cuthbert as well as revising Jerome's *Martyrology*. Yet Bede was perhaps most renowned in the medieval period for his commentaries on biblical books, which were based largely on the prior interpretive work of Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose, and Gregory the

Great. Bede composed commentaries on the Old Testament books of Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job, Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah, the 12 Minor Prophets, and Daniel. In the New Testament he commented formally on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles (James; 1 and 2 Peter; 1, 2 and 3 John; and Jude), and the Apocalypse (Revelation).

Bede is best known as a historian, and is sometimes described as the "Father of English History." His *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, completed in 731, remains one of the great works of medieval historiography and the single most important source for our understanding of the religious history of early England. The *Ecclesiastical History* is also particularly noteworthy because it introduces *anno Domini* (abbreviated A.D., meaning "in the year of the Lord") as a way of dating events in the Christian era.

We know from the eyewitness account of one of his devoted students (the *Letter of Cuthbert on the Death of Bede*) that Bede continued to teach, write, and interpret Scripture until the end of his life. Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwin, another of Bede's disciples, relates that their teacher was producing an Old English translation of the Gospel of John when he died on May 26, 735. Bede was buried at Jarrow, the place of his death, but in the 11th century his relics (bones) were moved to Durham, where a conspicuous tomb in the cathedral still commemorates him. Within a century after his death Bede was honored with the title "Venerable," and in 1899 Pope Leo XIII declared him a "Doctor of the Church" (a title given since the medieval period to certain Christian theologians of outstanding merit and remarkable saintliness). Bede's feast day is celebrated on May 25 (formerly May 27).

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FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

Benin

Extending at its peak from the Niger River in the east to the port of Lagos on the western coast, Benin was a dynastic kingdom in what is now southern Nigeria, in the West African forested region. Present-day Benin City (called Ibinu; it was founded in 1180) was once where the kingdom was centered, and the modern Benin kings trace their lineage to its original dynasties.

Early southern Nigeria had been inhabited since 9000 B.C.E., with the Iron Age beginning around the second

century B.C.E. Ironworking appears to have displaced Neolithic techniques without an intermediate bronze period, suggesting that iron smelting was probably introduced by outsiders, perhaps the Berbers of early antiquity. There is little information about the first millennium C.E. in the area, other than the prosperity and subsequent disappearance from the historical record of the Nok people in what is now northeastern Nigeria. The founders of the Benin kingdom were the Bini (an ethnic subgroup of the Edo language group to which many modern inhabitants belong), but they or their ruling dynasties had a significant relationship to the Yoruba people of Ife. According to one version of the founding of Benin, people called for the Ife prince Oranmiyan to come to their aid and displace the tyrannical rule of the Ogisos dynasty, which founded the city of Ibinu and had ruled the area for the previous few centuries or more (36 Ogiso dynastic rulers are known). Another version omits the plea for help, painting Oranmiyan as a simple invader.

At the time of the Ife incursion—whether it was invited or not—most of the power in Benin rested in the hands of the council of chiefs, the *uzama*. Beginning with Oranmiyan's son Eweka (1180–1246), the *uzama* was presided over by the oba, a war leader who over time became a more powerful monarch with religious significance. As the oba became paramount, the kingdom became an empire. Beginning with Ewuare (1440–73), the title of oba became a hereditary one, while Ibinu was rebuilt with military fortifications in order to protect the Benin center of power, as Ewuare's forces expanded to conquer the lands surrounding them. The port of Lagos was established around this time, and diplomatic and trade relations began with Europe, beginning with the Portuguese. Early trade was primarily in ivory, pepper, and palm oil, before the slave trade became prominent.

The kingdom of Benin is not related to the modern-day Republic of Benin, except insofar as that nation took its name in 1975 from the Bight of Benin, the bay along which both entities are or were situated.

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BILL KTE'PI

Berbers

The Berbers are the earliest known inhabitants of northwestern Africa's Mediterranean coast, plains, and mountain ranges. Living as nomadic herders or farmers

in Morocco's Atlas and Rif mountain ranges, Algeria, the Sahara Desert, east into Libya and Egypt, the exact ethnic and cultural origins of the Berbers is unknown, though their languages, called Tamazight, belongs to a family of Afro-Asiatic languages. In ancient times, Berber religions were polytheistic.

Although ancient Berber history is sketchy because of the fact that there was no written form of their languages, references to them do exist in chronicles from ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Beginning around 600 B.C.E. some Berber regions of North Africa came under foreign occupation, first by the mighty city-state of Carthage, and then by the Roman republic. Under Carthaginian and Roman rule, Berber merchants linked the Mediterranean coastal settlements with West Africa, trading in slaves, gold, and ivory. Under the Roman Empire, some Berbers residing on the Mediterranean coast became imperial citizens, though Berber communities living in the North African interior mountain ranges and other rural areas remained largely independent. After the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, large sections of North Africa's seacoast remained under the control of the Byzantine Empire of Asia Minor.

After the rise of ISLAM in the first half of the seventh century C.E. Arab Muslim expansion into North Africa began in earnest, beginning in 642 during the reign of the second al-Rashidun caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. The new religion slowly spread among segments of the Berber tribes, replacing Byzantine Christianity, which many Berbers practiced in some form, and Judaism. Although many Berbers accepted the basic tenets of Islam, their method of practice generally remained unorthodox. This led to a growing level of tension between them and the Arab Umayyad Caliphate of Syria by the middle of the eighth century. A large number of Berbers joined the fundamentalist movement of the Kharijites, who opposed the Umayyads and preached that any qualified Muslim could lead the community. Berber opposition to the centralized power of the caliphate continued after the collapse of the Umayyads in 750 by the Abbasid Revolution. The Fatimids, an ISMA'ILI Shi'i movement that arose in 969, received substantial Berber support in their takeover of Egypt and parts of North Africa from the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad, Iraq. During the FATIMID DYNASTY, there is evidence that there was an attempt to instill Arab culture within Berber societies, which had largely retained their own cultural practices and languages.

In 711 during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, the first Muslim expeditions to the Iberian Peninsula were launched under the command of a Berber, Tariq ibn al-Ziyad, and other Berber Muslims. A mixed party of Arabs and Berbers under the Umayy-



Berber cave dwellings and mosque on a hill in Chenini, Tunisia. Berbers continue to live in modern North Africa and form a large segment of the populations in Morocco and Algeria, with some tribes continuing to reside in Mauritania, Tunisia, and Mali.

ad commander Musa ibn Nusayr followed al-Ziyad's landing the next year and Berber soldiers continued to play a major role in Muslim expansion throughout Iberia and southern France for centuries.

The first major Berber political-military state to emerge was the ALMORAVID EMPIRE, which was founded in Mauritania and the Sahara around 1050 and practiced a more orthodox form of Sunni Islam. With the founding of their capital city, Marrakesh, in Morocco in 1062, Almoravid expansion continued under the joint rule of Yusuf ibn Tashfin and his cousin, Abu Bakr. In 1086 Almoravid armies landed in Iberia, where Yusuf defeated Alfonso VI, the Christian king of Castile, which allowed the Berber empire to establish a fundamentalist Sunni Muslim state with control over much of southern Iberia, all of Morocco, and parts of West Africa.

By 1150 another Berber movement, the Almohads, under 'Abd al-Mu'min overthrew the Almoravids, taking over Morocco and southern Spain while expanding east across North Africa. Like their predecessors, the Almohads founded a fundamentalist and militaristic Sunni Muslim state, and Christians and Jews often faced imperial persecution. Unlike the Almoravids the Almohad Empire slowly broke apart into smaller states, and the last Almohad caliph, Idris

II, ruled only the city of Marrakesh before his murder in 1269. Under the Almoravid and Almohad periods, the majority of the Berber tribes converted to Sunni Islam, following the Maliki School of Islamic jurisprudence. Although the Berbers continued to hold onto aspects of their culture and continued to speak Berber languages, many also adopted some Arab cultural practices. Berbers continue to live throughout present-day North Africa and form a large segment of the populations in Morocco and Algeria, with some tribes continuing to reside in Mauritania, Tunisia, and Mali.

See also ABBASID DYNASTY; MUSLIM SPAIN; Umayyad DYNASTY.

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CHRISTOPHER ANZALONE

Bernard of Clairvaux

(1090–1153) *religious leader*

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was born in 1090 in Fontaine (now a suburb of Dijon in Burgundy, France) of noble parents: Tescelin, a relative of the lord of Châtillon, and Aleth, daughter of the lord of Montbard. His five brothers trained for military careers, but Bernard had fragile health and enrolled in the religious institute of Saint-Vorles (at Châtillon) for instruction leading to an ecclesiastical profession. He studied there for 10 years. Hesitating about his future, he finally decided to embrace the monastic life. Even before he entered the monastery, he convinced many relatives and friends to join him in the preparation for religious calling. He entered the abbey of Cîteaux (close to Dijon) in 1113. The so-called New Monastery had been founded 15 years before by former Benedictine monks from Molesme, eager to follow the Rule of Saint Benedict more authentically. Cîteaux is the cradle of the Cistercian Order.

Two years later the abbot sent Bernard to be the founding superior of a new monastery, Clairvaux, in the region of Champagne. It rapidly became economically and spiritually prosperous. Bernard's zeal attracted many young people, and Clairvaux counted more than 60 foundations or affiliated religious communities at his death. This success disturbed some more conservative monks and involved Bernard in a controversy with the Benedictine abbey of CLUNY. Advised by his close Benedictine friend and first biographer William of Saint-Thierry, he wrote the *Apology* to defend the Cistercian reform.

Renowned as a reformer, he was often invited by councils bishops to help carry out policies of ecclesial change within the church. Civil authorities even consulted Bernard to find solutions that would bring peace and justice. In 1130, as the church faced a major crisis with the election of two popes, he was consulted about a way to reunite the church.

Innocent II, the pope confirmed instead of Anacletus II, then asked Bernard to accompany him throughout Europe and to consolidate the church by his skillful preaching. For eight years he served in this way. Meanwhile, he remained abbot of Clairvaux and kept on writ-

ing major spiritual works, especially his 86 *Sermons on the Song of Songs*.

In the last period of his life he was involved in various ecclesial forays. He formally criticized the writings of the theologians PETER ABELARD and Arnold of Brescia at the Council of Sens (1140), leading to their judicially questionable censure. He also participated in Gilbert de la Porée's condemnation in 1141. He defended the church against heretics. He preached on the eve of the Second Crusade at Vézelay in 1146. In spite of his powerful spiritual message and appeal to inner conversion, the crusade was a total failure and left Bernard embittered.

He died on August 20, 1153, and was recognized as a saint 21 years later. In 1830 he was declared a Doctor of the Church. Apart from his many treatises and sermons overflowing with biblical references, more than 300 of his letters are extant. His spiritual influence has been constant and extensive, even touching the Protestant reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546). His message inspires many scholars and religious teachers to this day.

See also CRUSADES.

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EMMANUELLE CAZABONNE

bhakti movements (devotional Hinduism)

The word *bhakti* is derived from a Sanskrit word for "sharing." It was used to describe a new type of path to *moksha* ("liberation from the cycle of reincarnations"). Bhakti devotees (*bhaktas*) usually committed themselves to one of the Trimurti of Brahman ("the supreme spirit reality"). The three gods of the Trimurti are BRAHMA, Vishnu or SHIVA, or in many cases *bhaktas* devoted themselves to some *avatar*, like Krishna, of the Trimurti in an emotional way. This emotional commitment marked the *bhaktas* as followers of *bhaktimarga*.

Bhakti movements called people to ardent devotion to a god or goddess as a thankful expression of gratitude for benefits received. Or it could express the hope for aid to be received. Most commonly it took the form of a passionate love of the deity. As they developed the bhakti movements became the *bhaktimarga*, or one of the three Hindu paths (*margas*) for escaping from the

wheel of reincarnation. The *margas* were “paths” or “roads” or “ways” for achieving the final liberation of the soul from the karma-caused cycle of repeated reincarnations. The basic problem of human life was suffering. To escape the repeated cycles of reincarnation was the goal of life. Until the development of the *bhaktimarga* there were only the two paths of *karmamarga* (“religion of rituals and ethical deeds”) and the *gyanamarga* (*jnanamarga*, or “religion of the head through meditation”). The path of bhakti was the religious way of the heart, the way of loving devotion.

The bhakti movements arose in South India among Tamil-speaking people at some time in the seventh to ninth centuries. It provides its devotees salvation through loving devotion to the ultimate deity. The Alvars (“one who had dived” or “one who is immersed”) were Tamil-speaking poets whose works promoted bhakti worship in South India. The Alvars are counted as 12 poets of the bhakti movement who lived in South India between 650 and 940. They promoted the worship of Vishnu using poetry as a vehicle for expressing a passionate love of the god. The object of the writing was to show how any *bhakta* could express deep devotion to the god as a path to the god’s or goddess’s heaven. The Alvas and other wandering singers of the times included people from all castes. They used the inclusion of outcasts to show the potential for universal salvation (universalism).

Monotheistic challenges from ISLAM with its firm emphasis on the unity of God may have influenced bhakti movements in northern India. However, Hinduism, while not Vedic religion, takes its starting point from the Vedas, so bhakti scholars have found their roots in the Vedic worship of the Rig Veda god Veruna. Vedic knowledge was passed from guru to disciple through the centuries. This spiritual lineage is called *sampradayas*. Others see bhakti in portions of the Sanskrit texts the *Ramayana* or the Bhagavad Gita or in other portions of the *Mahabharata*. Still others see its origin in the Padma Purana. Bhakti worship tended toward monotheistic practice. Bhakti also suppressed the numerous iconographic expressions of the multiple expressions of the Brahma, which outsiders regarded as idolatry. Some bhakti movements were connected with Shiva, the god of sexuality, fertility, and destruction. Others are connected with Krishna worship. The defining characteristic of Tamil Bhakti was its expression of devotion in songs sung in vernacular languages. Singing in the languages of the common people was not only very egalitarian but also very emotional. Those who advanced in devotion became bhakti saints. Around them communities (*satsang*) of

good people would gather. It was believed that the gathering together of goodness would overcome evil and would also have the power to transform lives.

Bhakti movements combined songs (*bhajan*) with devotion. Two groups of singer-saints, the Alvars and the Nayanars, flourished in South India after the 600s. These two groups, the Alvars and the Nayanars, were devoted to promoting the worship of Shiva and the other the worship of Vishnu. At times the singing was chanting that continued for a very long period of time. Many of the *bhajans* contain elements of love expressed passionately and may be compared to the passionate love expressed in the Song of Solomon. Others are more explicitly sexual deriving their themes from the stories of Krishna cavorting with the *gopis* (cow girls) or Krishna as a divine lover. Some bhakti devotees have produced love poetry. For example, Jayadeva produced the *Gita-govinda* (Song of Govinda) in the 12th century. Women have been heavily involved in bhakti movements since the beginning, with some becoming poetesses. Other bhakti practices have included recitation of the name of the devotee’s God.

During the medieval period the bhakti schools developed devotional practices based upon the emotions of relationships. These emotional expressions were interpreted as analogous of the relationship of the devotee with the god. Among these emotional expressions is that of a woman’s love for her beloved. A feature of the bhakti movements was the making of bhakti saints. For example, Purandaradas (c. 1540) was a great literary figure of the bhakti movement. He was revered as the father of Carnatic classical that is called Karnataka music of South India. His classification of *swaravali*, *jantivarase*, *alamkara*, and *lakshana* factors are the standard today throughout South India.

Most Hindus chose the Trimurti gods of Vishnu or Shiva. Few chose Brahma. Those who chose Vishnu or his avatars are called Vaishnavites. Among Vishnu’s avatars were Krishna, Rama, and Buddha. Consorts included Radha the beloved of Krishna, and Sita an incarnation of Lakshmi. In the *Ramayana* Sita and Rama are presented as the perfect couple. Their mutual devotion in love is offered as the example to follow. *Bhaktas* who follow Shiva are called Shaivites. They are devoted to the lord of the dance who in Kapalakunda-la’ hymn in *Bhavabhuti’s Malatimadhava* has Shiva engaged in a mad dance that destroys worlds, but also renews them. Shiva’s consorts include Parvati who is kind and gentle, Kali who spreads disease and death, and Durga who is a warrior goddess that seeks sacrifices, including human sacrifices.

Another form of bhakti is yoga bhakti. In yoga bhakti the yogin meditates in order to find release into a meditative absorption with the deity. Many ascetics (sadhus) and yogins are devotees of Shiva because he is known as the great yogin. In the 16th century the famous saint Chaitanya (1486–1533) added devotional singing, chanting, and dancing in the streets. Along with his followers numerous Krishna temples were built. Chaitanya promoted Vishnu bhakti widely across northern India, particularly in Bengal. From this group came the International Society for Krishna Consciousness that is popularly known as the Hare Krishnas.

See also HINDU EPIC LITERATURE.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Black Death

The Black Death (Black Plague, The Plague, Bubonic Plague) was so named because the skin on many of its victims turned black, a result of massive blood clots. Although there have been many plagues throughout history, the three most associated with the term *Black Plague* are pandemics (epidemics that affect huge geographic areas) that occurred in Byzantium during the sixth century B.C.E., throughout Europe and the British Isles during the 14th century, and in 1894 in Asia. The first outbreak in 540 C.E., often referred to as the Plague of Justinian, began in Egypt, according to Procopius.

The disease spread from the coasts to inland areas, killing thousands of people each day. Allegedly, corpses were put on ships and sent out to sea to be abandoned. The power shift from south to north and from the Mediterranean to the British Isles is attributed to this devastation. It was the second pandemic—a series of outbreaks that escalated from an early episode in 1331 to the disastrous events in 1346—that is most frequently referred to as the Black Death. In 1346 a Mongol prince and his armies attempted to lay siege to Caffa, in the Crimea. However, the soldiers were stricken with this dreadful disease and withdrew, but not before catapulting infected corpses over the city wall. The Christian defenders, who thought they were now safe from attack, left to return home but perished from the plague. The few who reached home spread the disease throughout Europe and as far north as GREENLAND. Within a year 80 percent of Marseille had died. According to various sources, the death rate varied from 12 to 50 percent. It is estimated that in Europe 20–25 million, and throughout the world 42 million people died.

There are three forms or types of the disease: bubonic, pneumonic, and septicemic. The most dramatic is the septicemic version. Immense numbers of bacteria cause DIC (disseminated intravascular coagulation), a condition where there is so much debris in the bloodstream, the blood hemorrhages under the skin and the afflicted person's body, or parts of it, becomes black. These victims died almost immediately, within one to three days after they showed symptoms of the disease.

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO (1313–75), the author of the *Decameron*, a bawdy collection of stories that were told by Italian travelers trying to escape the plague in Florence, wrote, "They generally died the third day after the appearance without fever." In the bubonic form of the disease, victims were stricken with a headache, nausea, achy joints, high fevers, vomiting, and a general feeling of malaise. It took from one day to one week for the patient to exhibit the characteristic symptoms after being exposed.

The most painful symptom was swelling of the lymph glands in the armpit, groin, and neck. These enlargements would become buboes, painful abscesses; skin infections filled with pus. When the bubo broke and drained, the purulent material inside was infectious and therefore spread to whomever touched the patient or the anything the patient's clothing, bedding, or items that he handled. Boccaccio wrote, ". . . in men and women alike there appeared, at the beginning of the malady, certain swellings, either on the groin or under the armpits, whereof some waxed of the bigness

of a common apple, others like unto an egg, some more and some less, and these the vulgar named plague-boils . . . to appear and come indifferently in every part of the body; wherefrom, after awhile, the fashion of the contagion began to change into black or livid blotches, which showed themselves in many, first on the arms and about the thighs and after spread to every other part of the person . . . a very certain token of coming death . . .” Patients with the bubonic form spread the pneumonic form via fine droplets from a cough or sneeze. Although it was less lethal than the septicemic version, victims suffered from painful coughing episodes and eventually they coughed so much that the lining of their lungs became irritated and they coughed up blood.

People were so fearful of catching the plague that they abandoned their own family members, friends, homes, and public spaces in order to escape contact with anyone stricken with the disease. Doctors who were still willing to treat patients donned hoods with masks, beaks and hats in order to avoid breathing the air around a plague victim. They had no way of understanding the natural history or cause of this disease. They blamed an unlucky conjunction of astrological influences, such as Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and poison from the tails of comets, or blamed Jews for allegedly poisoned the wells. But even after the wells had been sealed, people continued to get the plague. Some of the treatments such as cupping, purging and bleeding, although acceptable in the 14th century, did more harm than good and weakened anyone who remained alive after such insults to their feeble bodies. Amazingly some people survived and because of their illness, developed antibodies that provided immunity against a future attack.

THE SPREAD OF THE BLACK PLAGUE

This second pandemic was facilitated by a number of factors. Populations had reached such high numbers in Europe that there was not enough food to feed everyone. Consequently those who could not afford the rising cost of food lacked adequate nutrition, and became easy targets for any new threat to health. There were trade routes connecting urban centers and increased travel in the form of caravans. Returning crusaders were spreading Christianity and, at the same time, the plague.

The causative organism *Pasturella pestis* (now called *Yersinia pestis*) was already present in the burrowing rodents of the Manchurian-Mongolian steppes but did not create a plague until the black rat (*Rattus rattus*) spread to Europe with a specific kind of flea. *Rattus rattus* originated in Asia but reached Europe during the

early Middle Ages. They thrived in environments where people lived, near water, and traveled by ship. The black rat’s flea *Xenophylla cheopsis* would bite the rat, but instead of being satisfied with its blood meal, its digestive tract would get plugged with plague bacteria, thus creating a constant hunger. It would voraciously bite anything in its path, including humans. When it found a human host, it spread the disease through repeated bites.

Europe had eradicated both the opportunity and the infection, but Asia suffered acutely. In the early 1890s an epidemic broke out in southern China, then in the city of Guangzhou in January of 1894, where 100,000 were reported dead. By May it had spread to the Tai Ping Shan area of Hong Kong. As in any epidemic high population density, poor hygiene, inadequate health education, and the government’s inability to maintain a decent water supply and sewer treatment facility added to the poor defenses of the population. That year, 2,552 people died. Trade was affected and many Chinese left the colony. Plague continued to be a problem in Asia for the next 30 years.

The causative organism of the plague was not isolated and described until the third pandemic in 1894. Shibasaburo Kitasato and Alexandre Yersin simultaneously discovered the bacteria responsible for the plague, soon after they arrived in Hong Kong to assist in the eradication of the plague there. Originally named *Pasturella pestis*, the organism responsible for causing the Black Death was renamed *Yersinia pestis* after it was reclassified into a different genus on the basis of its similarities to other Enterobacteriaceae species.

See also CRUSADES; MEDIEVAL EUROPE: SCIENCES AND MEDICINE.

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LANA THOMPSON

Blanche of Castile

(1185–1252) *French queen*

Blanche was born in Palencia, present-day Spain, the third daughter of Alfonso VIII, the king of Castile, and Eleanor, daughter of English king HENRY II and

Queen ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. She married Louis VIII (1187–1226) of France, the son of PHILIP II (1165–1223) of France, on May 23, 1200 at Portsmouth, in English territory, as part of a treaty between Philip and King John of England (1167–1216). The aging Queen Eleanor (1122–1204), her maternal grandmother, personally escorted the vivacious Blanche to France. John granted to Blanche as fiefs Gracay and Issoudun, as well as some English Crown lands. Blanche and Louis had 12 children over an 18-year period, but six children died. Their son LOUIS IX (1214–70) was the heir to the French throne and was later canonized as Saint Louis because of his pious and kind-hearted nature.

While waiting for the French crown, Louis claimed the English crown in Blanche's name and she offered him her avid support, although Philip dissented. Blanche worked tirelessly and organized the invasion from Calais. Louis's invasion of England was initially well received by the barons, but he later received only scant support from the other inhabitants. It was also unsuccessful because King John died, and after 18 months the novelty wore off and most people offered allegiance to young King Henry III (1206–72). The Treaty of Lambeth ended Louis's English adventure. Louis was crowned on July 14, 1223. He became ill with dysentery upon his return to Paris from the ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE that he had quelled and died at Montpensier on November 8, 1226. Blanche was left to act as regent for 12-year-old Louis, and she served as legal guardian of the other children.

Seeing an opportunity, the barons and the counts of Champagne, Brittany, and LaMarche (to name a few) revolted against Blanche's somewhat suppressive hand, secretly aided by Henry. With astounding capability Blanche broke up the league of barons. She also repeatedly repelled assaults by Henry III, who fought to have lands obtained by Philip returned to England. Blanche forced Robert de Sorbon (1201–74), founder of the University of Paris, to accept her authority. Blanche also extended French territory by adding the area of the Midi to the Crown lands, and made beneficial alliances.

Upon Louis's service on the Seventh Crusade, Blanche served as regent from 1248 until 1250, when she served as co-regent with her son Alphonse until 1252. Blanche helped raise the exorbitant ransom for Louis's release from prison in the Holy Land. Her influence on Louis remained strong until her death. Blanche's health failed on November 1252 at Melun. She was moved to Paris but died soon thereafter and was buried at Maubuisson. Blanche is remembered as one of the most capable rulers of the Middle Ages.

Saint Louis, known in history as the best of France's medieval monarchs, was aided during his reign by Blanche's advice and determination.

See also CRUSADES.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Boccaccio, Giovanni

(1313–1375) *Italian humanist and author*

Boccaccio is the most recent of the three “great minds” of 14th-century Italian humanism, after DANTE ALIGHIERI and PETRARCH. He was a poet, a scientist, and, most important, a creator of the early modern short story genre. Boccaccio's ancestors were peasants, but his father became a wealthy merchant in Florence not long before his son's birth. Boccaccio's mother is unknown. Some reports suggest the writer's birthplace was Paris, but most historians agree that it was either Florence or Certaldo (Tuscany). Born illegitimately, Boccaccio was nevertheless officially recognized by his father, who was reported to have been a crude and ill-mannered man.

Wishing Giovanni to enter business, his father sent him to NAPLES to learn the profession. Soon, however, it became evident that the boy had no aspiration to follow in his father's footsteps and greatly disliked mercantile business. He was then ordered to study canon law, but this discipline was equally incompatible with Boccaccio's demeanor, which was better suited to the vocation of poetry and letters.

His father's money and position gave Boccaccio access to Naples's high society and introduced him into the literary-scientific circle gathered around King Robert of Anjou. Naples of the first half of the 14th century was one of the largest cultural centers of western Europe, and Boccaccio's affiliation with it, as well as his love affair with the king's daughter Fiammetta, greatly stimulated the young man's literary and poetic talent.

During this first Neapolitan period of creativity, Boccaccio wrote numerous poems eulogizing Fiammetta, then produced the novel *Filocolo* (1336–39) and two lengthy poems, *Filostrato* and *Teseida* (both finished in 1340). Today almost forgotten, these works were widely read by Boccaccio's contemporaries and played an

important role in the development of Italian literature. In 1333–34 Boccaccio was first exposed to the poetry of Petrarch, whose verses began to reach Naples. After having heard Petrarch's sonnets for the first time, Boccaccio went home and burned all his youthful works, disgusted with his own "petty" attempts at verse composition.

In 1340 two major Florentine banks collapsed, and Boccaccio's father lost almost all his savings; the young poet returned to Florence to assist his suddenly poor family. The BLACK DEATH of 1348, which took the lives of his father, stepmother, and numerous friends, crashed Boccaccio emotionally and took what was left of his family's money. In spite (or maybe because of) these disasters, the Florentine period was especially productive for Boccaccio. In Florence he created his most important works: *Comedia Ninfе* (1341–42), also known as the *Commedia delle ninfe fiorentine* (dedicated to Niccolò di Bartolo Del Buono); the first draft of *De vita et moribus domini Francisci Petracchi*; the first version of the *Amorosa visione* (1342–43); *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343–44); *Ninfale fiesolano* (1344–45); and, finally, the *Decameron* (1349–51), Boccaccio's most mature masterpiece of witty satire that greatly influenced further development of Italian literature.

From the 1350s Boccaccio fell increasingly under the influence of Petrarch and began to write more in Latin and more on religious, devotional, and philosophical subjects. His last years were dedicated to Dante, whose works he studied and conducted a series of lectures on the *Divine Comedy*. Italian humanism is greatly indebted to the author of the *Decameron*. Boccaccio died on December 21, 1375 in Certaldo.

See also FLORENTINE NEOPLATONISM; ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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VICTORIA DUROFF

Bohemia

Bohemia was a kingdom in central Europe, a vassal from the 10th century and later an electorate of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. The earliest known historical inhabitants

of the country were the Boii, a Celtic tribe, from whom Bohemia derives its name. By the first century Slavic tribes, including the Czechs, arrived, becoming predominant in the region from the sixth century. The only early Slavic rulers known by name are Samo, who defeated the neighboring Avars and Franks and established the first strong Slavic kingdom in Bohemia in the early seventh century, and the semimythical Krok, whose daughter Libusa, according to legend, married a plowman named Přemysl, founding the Přemyslid dynasty.

In the ninth century the still-pagan Bohemians were subject to increasing political and religious pressure from the Christianized Franks active in southwest Germany. Resistant to the missionary efforts of the German bishops, the Bohemians were more receptive to the Christian message delivered through Moravia by the Greek monks CYRIL AND METHODIOS. In 873 Methodios baptized the Bohemian duke Bořioj, leading to the rapid conversion of the Bohemians to Christianity. Continued disagreement in the Bohemian court about the degree of German influence led to the murder of Duke Václav (St. Wenceslas) by his brother Bolesław I in 935.

Under Bolesław I and his son, Bolesław II, Bohemian rule expanded to include Moravia, Silesia, and part of southeastern Poland. The establishment of the bishopric of Prague secured ecclesiastical independence. At Bolesław II's death, the kingdom was split by civil war among his sons Bolesław III, Jaromir, and Ulrich and lost territory to Bolesław I (the Brave) of Poland. In 1003–04, with Bohemian support, the Polish king briefly established his brother Vladivoj in Prague and consented to his vassalage to the German emperor as duke of Bohemia. This arrangement continued after Vladivoj's death, though Přemyslid rule of Bohemia was restored.

Under Břetislav I (1037–55), Bohemia recovered Moravia and Silesia, and the Bohemian nobles accepted hereditary rule in the Přemyslid dynasty. Břetislav's son Vratislav supported HENRY IV in the investiture struggle with Pope Gregory VII, obtaining recognition as king of Bohemia in return (1086). Emperor FREDERICK I Barbarossa made the title hereditary in 1156 as a condition for Vladislav (Ladislav) II's participation in his Italian campaigns. Vladislav II's abdication in 1173 was followed by an extended struggle for the crown. In this conflict, the nobles gained power at the expense of the contesting royal candidates, who were obliged to extend new privileges in exchange for continued support. German influence, too, increased in the absence of a strong and independent Bohemian monarch. In 1197 Otokar I defeated his rivals and emerged as the unchallenged ruler, reestablishing the sovereignty of the Bohemian king.

The medieval kingdom of Bohemia reached a height of power under Přemysl Otokar II. Otokar II's rule began with a brief struggle against his father, Václav I, followed by a reconciliation and orderly succession. During his reign he sought to reduce the influence of the nobles by encouraging the immigration of German settlers to towns to which he gave legal privileges. Otokar II also extended Bohemian rule over much of central Europe, through possession of the Austrian archduchies and the counties of Carinthia, Istria, and Styria. In 1260 he defeated Hungarian King Béla IV, his most serious rival. Otokar faced a stronger enemy in the first Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolph I, who reclaimed for the empire most of Otokar's possessions outside Bohemia. At Dürnkrut in 1278 Rudolph's army defeated the Bohemian and Moravian forces; Otokar II was killed in the battle, leaving the kingdom to his seven-year-old son, Václav II. After a troubled regency during which the nobles again asserted their independence from the central authority of the crown, Václav II assumed personal rule in 1290. Under his rule, order was restored in the countryside and Bohemia regained a measure of its earlier power, subjugating Poland and intervening in the succession struggle that followed the death of András III of Hungary. Václav II died in 1305 while preparing for war with Archduke Albrecht of Austria (later Holy Roman Emperor), and his son Václav III was assassinated the following year, ending the Přemyslid dynasty.

A brief succession of royal candidates followed, with the Bohemian estates insisting on their right to elect the king, over the objections of Emperor Albrecht who declared the throne vacant and awarded the crown to his son Rudolf. The new king died within the year, followed by his father, but the Bohemian candidate, Duke Henry of Carinthia, proved to be unpopular and after a short reign was deposed by the estates in 1310. His replacement was John of Luxemburg, the husband of Václav II's daughter Elizabeth and the son of the new emperor, Henry VII. John spent little time in the kingdom during his long reign, preferring to involve himself in wars throughout western Europe. In his absence, the power of the wealthiest nobles and the church increased, leading to frequent feuds among the Bohemian nobles and towns. In 1346, aged and blind, John died fighting for France in the Battle of Crécy.

His son, Emperor Charles IV, succeeded him. Unlike his father, Charles devoted considerable attention to his Bohemian possessions, making Prague his chief residence. He founded the University of Prague and built the landmark bridge across the Vltava River, both of

which bear his name. Charles's extended presence in the country restored order, though the king was ultimately unsuccessful in reforming the kingdom's laws in the face of powerful resistance by the nobility. He rejected his father's support of France and opened closer relations with England, leading to scholarly exchanges between Prague and Cambridge. Charles promoted the early activities of religious reformers, including the popular preacher Ján Milíč of Kromeríž, laying the groundwork for subsequent theological debate.

The reign of Charles's son Václav IV was marked by a gradual decline in the authority of the crown and increasing tensions between the church and nobles on the one hand and religious reformers, lesser nobility, and townsmen on the other. Václav's weak efforts to retain his authority provoked further disputes, leading to the formation of a baronial party led by his cousin Jobst of Moravia. The barons twice captured the king and forced him to renounce his centralizing policies, which he quickly restored under pressure from the towns and gentry. Relations with the church were threatened by the execution of John of Nepomuk, the vicar of the archbishop of Prague, and Václav's support for religious reformers led by JOHN HUSS, a master of theology at the University of Prague. Huss and his colleagues and followers condemned the immorality of the clergy and the worldliness of the church authorities. Called by the church to recant certain of his teachings, Huss refused and was brought before the Council of Constance under a safe passage granted by Václav's brother, Emperor Sigismund.

The trial and execution of Huss by the council in 1415 provoked popular unrest in the kingdom. In July 1419 a public procession of Huss's adherents in Prague led to a riot in which the magistrates of the new town were thrown from the windows of the town hall (the Defenestration of Prague). Václav died soon after, and Sigismund claimed the crown, leading a crusade against the Hussites in 1420. Sigismund failed in this and in a second attempt in 1422. In subsequent crusades the Hussites easily defeated their enemies and even took the offensive, launching raids into Hungary and neighboring German states. Convinced of the impossibility of conquering Bohemia by force, Sigismund agreed to negotiations with the Hussites at the Council of Basel in 1431. A split within the Hussite movement between moderates and radicals ended in 1434 with the victory of the moderate party at the Battle of Lipany. This opened the path to a settlement with Sigismund and the church, by which the emperor was recognized by the Hussites as king of Bohemia. Hussites were granted

religious concessions by the council in return, ending the Hussite wars. Sigismund died in 1437, ending the reign of the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE; HABSBURG DYNASTY.

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BRIAN A. HODSON

Boniface

(c. 675–754) *missionary*

Known as the Apostle of the Germans, Saint Boniface was educated in England under the influence of Benedictine monasteries in the late seventh century. He could have followed in the steps of the Venerable BEDE, so polished was his Latin, but the monks instilled in him a zeal for spreading the Christian faith to the European continent, in the throes of the Dark Ages. He, along with many Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries, brought back to Europe a semblance of religion, education, and culture before the emergence of CHARLEMAGNE and the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

His missionary career had three phases, punctuated by visits to Rome for consultation and patronage. First, the pope delegated him for work over a broad area, and he targeted Frisia, Hesse, and Thuringia (719–735). Second, he received a special papal commission to penetrate Germany, and he concentrated on Bavaria for establishing monasteries (738–742). Third, he settled in the western part of the Frankish territory (742–747), where he organized the church and encouraged accountability and training for its leaders. As an old man, he retired from his official duties and pioneered again as a simple missionary to Frisia on the German coast of the North Sea. Here he encountered fierce opposition from the natives, who martyred him along with 53 of his companions in 754.

Early on in his career (722) he gained advantages for his missionary program because of Charles Martel and his line. He had won their guarantees for safety during a time of constant invasion and terrorism by marauding tribes. In his initial work in Frisia legend has it that he cut down the sacred oak tree of Thor, and when no adverse reaction occurred, the locals flocked to him.

One of his most famous monasteries was the Abbey of Fulda, founded to consolidate the gains he had made in Bavaria. Fulda was put directly under the pope, and for centuries it was the center of German religious and intellectual life. Here Boniface's body was transported and buried. It is the site for the German Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Boniface epitomizes the return of civilization to Europe in several respects. First, he represents centralized discipline and accountability by his emphasis on unity with the Roman pontiff. It must be remembered that the people had long since seen the demise of the Roman Empire, and there was as yet no overarching political structure to unite the disparate towns and regions. Second, he represents culture by his embracing the Benedictine ideals of literacy and art in all of his monasteries. Again, the classical notion of the “good life” had been defunct for many generations, and the output of literary compositions and visual art had diminished considerably.

Third, he believed that all of his clergy must be educated. Boniface had to drive out rustic church leaders so that the Continental church could cooperate with his bishops and pope. In addition he set up institutions for women, who throughout this period had been denied the privileges of men, and he made education available. In his home country of England, it was the custom to train convent leaders (abbesses) to appreciate books and music and art so that they could run their own communities of women. This practice spilled over into Boniface's mission land of Germany.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Borobudur

Borobudur, the largest Buddhist monument in the world, is located in central Java. Surrounded by fertile rice fields and coconut plantations, the Buddhist stupa is located on a small hill above Kedu Plain.

It was built in 760 to resemble a mountain and was completed in 830. Borobudur is associated with two Buddhist powers—the Sanjaya rulers and the Sailendra

dynasty—which displaced the Sanjayas in 780, though the latter regained power in 850. The monument is made from more than a million blocks of stone, each weighing about 100 kilograms. These stones were arduously carried up a hill from a nearby riverbed. These blocks of stone were then cut and carved by skilled Javanese craftsmen to form rich artistic depictions of stories familiar to Buddhist pilgrims. These bas-relief panels relate ancient fables, fairytales, and the life of Buddha. The panel reliefs were based on earlier Tantric designs.

The complex meaning of Borobudur is found in deciphering the architecture and the reliefs carved into stone. Borobudur yields multiple layers of meaning rather than one single concept, although the skilful builders managed to combine different elements into a harmonious whole. The impressive structure was built in the Mahayana tradition of Buddhism, which focuses on the personal, solitary, ascetic journey to achieve Nirvana. Ancient pilgrims made their way up the stupa to attain spiritual merit. Borobudur has a simple structure, consisting of a series of concentric terraces.

An aerial view reveals that the Borobudur temple is actually a large mandala, often employed to initiate Buddhists into higher levels of consciousness and spiritual power. As Buddhist pilgrims progress upwards, they are moving through increasingly higher planes of consciousness, with the aim of ultimately attaining Nirvana. In order to achieve enlightenment, pilgrims had to make 10 rounds in the monument. At the summit, there is a large stupa surrounded by 72 smaller stupas. Built to visually stimulate, Borobudur enables pilgrims to forget the outside world, as the visitor walks through enclosed galleries. On the round terraces the pilgrim witnesses a view of surrounding green fields, feeling a sense of elation symbolizing enlightenment, the ultimate aim of such a pilgrimage. The awesome structure of Borobudur provides Buddhist pilgrims with physical space to achieve spiritual enlightenment as they pass through 10 stages of development. It was a place to achieve the practical end of becoming a *bodhisattva*, an exalted being who is actively seeking enlightenment.

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Brahma

Brahma is one of the three major gods of the Hindu religion, together with SHIVA and Vishnu. Worship of Brahma began in the Vedic Age of Indian history and its importance was gradually outweighed by the worship of Shiva and Vishnu over time. Brahma the god should be distinguished from Brahman the embodiment of the universal spirit—the two words derive from a common source, but have been attached to separate concepts subsequently. Temples dedicated to either Shiva or Vishnu must contain a representation of Brahma, but temples specifically dedicated to him are rare, with only two still active in modern India. He is often remembered in rites for other deities.

Brahma is the creator god of the Hindu Trimurti (a triune of gods). He is commonly identified with the Vedic deity Prajapati, and the two share similar features. Brahma is most commonly represented with four faces and arms. Each face speaks one of the four Vedas, which are the most sacred of the Indian scriptures and is further redolent of the four ages of the world and the four classes in Indian society. His consort Saraswati, a female deity associated with learning, frequently accompanies him. His mount is a swan, which represents a spirit of discrimination and of justice. Brahma is also considered the lord of sacrifices and, by reference to the PURANAS, to have been self-creating; without parents. The Vedic deity Prajapati had become identified as the lord of creation and all of the creatures within it, through the performance of ascetic rites and feats known as *tapas*. The worship of Brahma eventually saw that god supersede the role of Prajapati, who became identified with a series of 10 children born from the mind of Brahma.

Brahma is represented in the great Sanskrit epics of Indian literature, although his role in intervening within the realms of humanity or the gods is limited. Once he created something, Brahma tended to permit the preservative force of Vishnu and the destructive force of Shiva to take the foreground. Modern scientists have used this conception as a metaphor for the nature of the universe, which exists according to particle physics in a form of stasis in which creative and destructive forces contend.

See also HINDU EPIC LITERATURE.

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Brunelleschi, Filippo

(1377–1446) *architect*

Born the son of a lawyer in Florence in 1377, Filippo Brunelleschi rejected his father's choice of a law career and trained as a goldsmith and sculptor. After six years of his apprenticeship he passed the exam and officially became a master in the goldsmith's guild. During his apprenticeship, he was a student of Polo Pozzo Toscanelli, a merchant and medical doctor, who taught him the principles of mathematics and geometry and how to use the latest technology. Goldsmithing gave him the opportunity to work with clocks, wheels, gears, and weights, a skill that would come in handy for an architect destined to design his innovative dome of the cathedral in Florence. In 1401–02, he entered a competition for the design of the new Florence Baptistery doors, but he was defeated by another goldsmith and sculptor, LORENZO Ghiberti. This failure led him to architecture in addition to his artistic career.

In 1418 he entered another competition to design the dome of the Cathedral Maria del Fiore, (also known as the Duomo), in Florence. His design for the octagonal ribbed dome, not finished until 1434, is the work for which he is best known and one of his most important contributions to architecture and construction engineering. Brunelleschi designed special hoisting machines to raise the huge wood and stone elements into place. He solved the problem of constructing a huge cupola (dome) without a supporting framework and invented a belt-like reinforcement of iron and sandstone chains to stabilize the outward thrusts at the base of the great dome. His innovative brick-laying techniques were refined in response to the requirements of the steep angles of the vaulting in the dome. It remains the largest masonry dome in the world.

In 1430 and again in 1432 Brunelleschi visited Rome with his friend, DONATELLO, where he became interested in Roman engineering, especially the use of vaulting and proportion. Influenced by Roman architecture, he used ancient principles in his projects, using Corinthian columns, geometrical balance, and symmetrical order.

Brunelleschi's oeuvre includes the Ospedale degli Innocenti (Foundling Hospital, 1419–45), the reconstruction of San Lorenzo (1421–60), the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo (1421), the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo (now known as the Old Sacristy; 1428), the Pazzi Chapel in the Cloisters of Santa Croce (1430), and Santo Spirito (1436). These works renewed the appearance of Florence. His architectural works in other cities include the Ponte a Mare at Pisa, Palazzo

di Parte Guelfa (1425), the unfinished Rotonda degli Angeli (1434), and the Pitti Palace (commissioned by Luca Pitti in 1440 when Brunelleschi was 60 years old) in Rome.

Brunelleschi's design for the Ospedale degli Innocenti is mathematically based on repeated squares, and by a series of arches supported on columns—a motif later widely borrowed by renaissance architects. Brunelleschi often used the simplest materials: local gray stone (*pietra serena*) and whitewashed plaster. The sober, muted colors give an air of peaceful tranquility to the walls of Brunelleschi's buildings. Brunelleschi reintroduced the pendentive dome (developed long before by the Byzantines) in the Old Sacristy. The arched colonnade from the Ospedale degli Innocenti is again repeated inside the Church of San Lorenzo.

After his death in 1446, Brunelleschi was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore in a tomb that, though it lay unrecognized for centuries, was identified in 1972. There is also a commemorative statue of the architect in the Piazza del Duomo, facing the cathedral. He was a well-known and widely respected designer during his lifetime, and his fame continued long after his death.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR AND MARIETTA MONAGHAN

Bruni, Leonardo

(1370–1444) *Italian humanist*

Leonardo Bruni was one of the foremost humanists of the early 15th century in Italy. He dedicated himself to a career of studying and writing about classical Greek and Roman culture and drawing lessons from the era of the Roman republic that he felt could be applied to

the circumstances of his adopted city of Florence in the early 15th century. His translations of numerous classical Greek works made many of these available for the first time in Europe and helped to bring attention to several classical Greek authors whose writings had been lost during the Middle Ages. Because of his skills as an orator and his knowledge of Latin, Bruni twice served as chancellor of the Florentine republic (in 1410 and again from 1427–44) and also served as apostolic secretary for four different popes.

Born in Arezzo, not far from Florence, Bruni moved to the latter city at an early age, where he initially began studying rhetoric and law. However, he soon came under the influence of the Florentine humanist COLUCCIO SALUTATI (1331–1406) who represented the first generation of Florentine humanists who strove to renew the study of the Roman poets and historians and who polished their rhetorical skills by studying classical oratory. From Salutati, who served as an early apologist for the liberty and freedom of the Florentine republic, Bruni received his lifelong belief that humanism, with its emphasis upon rhetoric and classical learning, should serve the state. He, probably more than any other humanist in the Italian Renaissance, embodied the idea of “civic humanism.” In 1397 the Greek scholar Manuel Crisoloras took up residence in Florence and began teaching Greek there. He quickly attracted a group of young humanists around him, eager to learn the language, and Bruni was among them. Bruni subsequently made excellent use of his command of the Greek language, translating a number of the works of Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, and Demosthenes into Latin.

One of Bruni’s most original and influential writings was his *Laudatio florentiae urbis* (*Panegyric to the City of Florence*, 1401–06), in which he attempted to refute the long-held notion that Florence had been founded by Julius Caesar. A strong backer of an independent republic of Florence, Bruni felt that it ill suited the city to tie its founding to a man he considered a tyrant and destroyer of the Roman republic. Basing his arguments upon the recently discovered manuscript of Tacitus’s *Historiae* and the writings of Sallust and Cicero, Bruni argued that Florence had been founded during the flourishing of the Roman republic by veterans of Sulla’s army. Direct heirs to these sturdy Romans from republican times, the Florentines were quick to defend their liberties against all aggression. In both this work and especially in his *Historiae florentini populi* (*History of the Florentine people*, 1414), Bruni helped to pioneer new standards in historical writing and scholarship. He eschewed the notion that providence was the driving

force behind causality and events, and instead looked to solid historical records and documentation to uncover the course of history, as well as to explain why events had unfolded.

Because of his learning and service to the republic of Florence, upon his death, he was given a state funeral and buried in the church of Santa Croce, with a marble tomb sculpted by Bernardo Rossellino.

See also FLORENTINE NEOPLATONISM.

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RONALD K. DELPH

Bulgarian Empire

The origins of the Bulgarian Empire are usually traced to the Bulgaro-Slavic state established by an alliance between the Bulgar Khan Asparuh and the league of the seven Slavic tribes around 679. Although this state had been founded within the bounds of the Byzantine Empire, Emperor Constantine IV was compelled to make a treaty with Asparuh in 681, which acknowledged the existence of the Bulgaro-Slavic state and agreed to pay it an annual tribute. Slavs made up an overwhelming part of the population of the new state, but its leadership was Bulgar. What differentiated the Bulgars from the Slavs, apart from language and ethnicity, was their highly developed sense of political organization, in addition to a formidable military reputation. The assimilatory processes between the two groups were long and not always smooth, but by the 10th century the Slavic language had become the official language of the state, while Bulgarian became its official appellation.

The study of the Bulgarian Empire is generally divided into two periods: the First Bulgarian Empire (681–1018) and the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1393). In both periods, the Bulgarian Empire had to contend with external pressures coming from Byzantium in the south and various migratory invaders from the north, as well as domestic dissent among the aristocracy.

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

Initially the First Bulgarian Empire enjoyed almost a century of expansion. After Asparuh’s death, supreme power passed to Khan Tervel (700–721). He not only continued to expand the new state in the Balkans but

also intervened in the internal affairs of Byzantium. Tervel sheltered the exiled Emperor Justinian II and assisted him to regain his throne in Constantinople in 704. In 716 Tervel forced a treaty on Byzantium, which awarded northern Thrace to Bulgaria and reiterated Constantinople's annual tribute.

Because of this treaty, Tervel came to the aid of Byzantium during the Arab siege of the town in 717, crucial to averting the fall of Constantinople. Tervel's attack surprised the Arab forces, and many of them were slaughtered (some count 100,000). After Tervel's death the remainder of the eighth century was a time of internal strife, until the rule of Khan Kardam (777–802). Kardam inflicted a number of severe defeats on the Byzantine army and in 796 forced Constantinople to renew its annual tribute to Bulgaria. It was Kardam's successor Khan Krum (803–814) who achieved one of the greatest expanses of the First Bulgarian Empire.

Krum is believed to have spent his youth establishing his authority over large swaths of modern-day Hungary and Transylvania. When he became khan, Krum added these territories to Bulgaria. Thus his realm stretched from Thrace to the northern Carpathians and from the lower Sava River to the Dniester, and bordered the Frankish Empire of CHARLEMAGNE along the river Tisza. Krum's expansionist policy brought him into conflict with Byzantium. In 809 he sacked the newly fortified town of Serdica (present-day Sofia) and surged into the territory of Macedonia. The imperial army destroyed the Bulgarian capital at Pliska. Krum, however, besieged the Byzantine troops in a mountain pass, where most of them were massacred. Emperor Nikephoros I lost his life, and Krum ordered that Nikephoros's skull be encrusted in silver and used it as a drinking cup. After his military success Krum unleashed a total war against Byzantium, laying waste to most of its territory outside the protected walls of Constantinople. He died unexpectedly in 814 in the midst of preparations for an attack on the metropolis.

The emphasis on Krum's military prowess often neglects his prescience as state-builder. He was the first Bulgarian ruler that began centralizing his empire by providing a common administrative and legal framework. His son Khan Omurtag (r. 814–831) followed his father in further consolidating the state. Omurtag's main achievement was to improve the legal system developed by Krum. He was also an avid builder of fortresses.

Under Omurtag's successors, Malamir (r. 831–836) and Pressian (r. 836–852), the First Bulgarian Empire penetrated further into Macedonia. Their reign, however, saw an increase in the internal crisis of the state

because of the spread of Christianity. Both the Slavs and the Bulgars practiced paganism, but a large number of the Slavs had begun converting to Christianity. However, the Bulgars and especially their boyars (the aristocracy) remained zealously pagan. Krum and, in particular, Omurtag became notorious for their persecution of Christians. A new era in the history of the First Bulgarian Empire was inaugurated with the accession of Khan Boris (r. 852–888). Boris confronted the social tensions within his state as a result of the distinct religious beliefs of the population. In 864 he accepted Christianity for himself and his country. With this act, Boris increased the cohesion of his people. Internationally he also ensured the recognition of his empire, as all the powers of the day were Christian.

In 888 Boris abdicated and retired to a monastery. The throne passed to his eldest son, Vladimir (r. 889–893), who immediately abandoned Christianity and reverted to paganism, forcing Boris to come out of his retirement in 893. He removed and blinded Vladimir and installed his second son, Simeon, to the throne. The reign of Simeon the Great (893–927) is known as a golden age. Simeon extended the boundaries of the Bulgarian Empire west to the Adriatic, south to the Aegean, and northwest to incorporate most of present-day Serbia and Montenegro. He besieged Constantinople twice, and Byzantium had to recognize him as *basileus* (czar, or emperor); the only other ruler to whom Constantinople extended such recognition was the Holy Roman Emperor. In order to indicate the break with the pagan past, Simeon moved the Bulgarian capital from Pliska to nearby Preslav. In Preslav, Bulgarian art and literature flourished with unprecedented brilliance.

Despite these exceptional developments, Simeon's reign was followed by a period of political and social decay. His son Petar (927–970) was involved in almost constant warfare; the nobility was engaged in factionalist strife, and the church fell to corruption. The general corrosion of the state was reflected by the spread of heresies among the Bulgarians. By the end of the 10th century the Bulgarian Empire was in rapid decline. In 971 the capital, Preslav, and much of eastern Bulgaria was conquered by Byzantium. Under the leadership of Czar Samuil (997–1014), Bulgaria had a momentary resurgence, with the capital moving to Ohrid. Under Samuil the country expanded into present-day Albania, Montenegro, and parts of Thrace. However, in 1014 Emperor Basil II "Bulgaroktonus" (the Bulgarian-slayer) captured 15,000 Bulgarian troops and blinded 99 out of every 100; the remainder were left with one eye to guide their comrades back to their czar. When Samuil

saw his blinded soldiers he immediately died. By 1018 the last remnants of Bulgarian resistance were quashed and the First Bulgarian Empire came to an end.

THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE

The Bulgarian state disappeared until 1185, when the brothers Petar and Asen organized a rebellion against Byzantium. The revolt initiated the Second Bulgarian Empire, whose capital became Turnovo (present-day Veliko Turnovo). In a pattern that became characteristic of the reconstituted state, first Asen and then Petar were assassinated by disgruntled boyars. It was their youngest brother, Kaloyan (r. 1197–1207), who managed to introduce temporary stability to Bulgaria.

At the time, most of the troubles in the Balkans were coming from the crusaders. In 1204 they captured Constantinople and proclaimed that the Bulgarian czar was their vassal. Offended, Kaloyan marched against the armies of the Fourth Crusade and defeated them in a battle near Adrianople (present-day Edirne). Kaloyan captured Emperor Baldwin and took him as prisoner to his capital, Turnovo, where he died. The Bulgarian forces also decapitated the leader of the Fourth Crusade, Boniface. Kaloyan himself was assassinated shortly afterwards, by dissident nobles, while besieging Thessalonica.

After Kaloyan, Boril took the throne (1207–18). In 1218 the son of Asen, Ivan Asen II, returned from exile and deposed Boril. His reign (1218–41) saw the greatest expansion of the Second Bulgarian Empire which reached the Adriatic and the Aegean. Besides his military successes, Ivan Asen II also reorganized the financial system of Bulgaria and was the first Bulgarian ruler to mint his own coins. After his death, decline quickly set in. The external sources for this decay were the Mongol onslaught of Europe and the rise of Serbia as a major power in the Balkans.

The royal palace in Turnovo saw 13 czars in less than a century. Perhaps the most colorful of those was the swine-herder Ivailo, who rose from a common peasant to the Bulgarian throne. With a band of determined followers, he managed to defeat local detachments of the Mongol Golden Horde and push them across the Danube. In 1277 he entered Turnovo and personally killed the czar. His rule lasted only two years, and he was removed by troops dispatched from Constantinople.

The end of the Second Bulgarian Empire came during the rule of Czar Ivan Alexander (1331–71). He managed to consolidate the territory of Bulgaria, and the country enjoyed economic recovery. Ivan Alexander was also a

great patron of the arts. However, he contributed to the breakup of the Bulgarian realm. He separated the region of Vidin from the Bulgarian monarchy and set up his eldest son, Ivan Stratsimir, as a ruler there. He proclaimed the son from his second marriage, Ivan Shishman, as the inheritor of the Bulgarian throne. As czar, Ivan Shishman (1371–93) fought a losing battle both against the Ottoman Turks and against the breakaway ambitions of Bulgarian boyars. Turnovo fell to the Ottomans in 1393, and three years later Vidin also succumbed, causing the end of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

See also BULGAR INVASIONS; BYZANTINE EMPIRE; CONSTANTINOPLE, MASSACRE OF; CRUSADES.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI

Bulgar invasions

The earliest records of Bulgar invasions in Europe come from the fifth century. In 481 Emperor Zeno employed Bulgar mercenaries against the Ostrogoths who had invaded the Danubian provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire. During the reign of Emperor Anastasius (491–518), the Bulgars made several incursions into Thrace and Illyricum. During the sixth century the Bulgars raided the Balkan Peninsula twice, and in 568 hordes of them surged into Italy from central Europe. Further invasions of Bulgars into present-day Italy took place around 630. At the time, the bulk of Bulgar invasions were focused on the lands of Byzantium south of the Danube River.

The original homeland of the Bulgars was somewhere between the northern coast of the Caspian Sea and the expanses of Central Asia and China. The name “Bulgar” is of Turkic origin—from the word *Bulgha*, which means “to mix.” This derivation underlines the complex ethnic makeup of the Bulgars and suggests that they were a hybrid people with a Central Asian, Turkic, or Mongol core combined with Iranian elements. The Bulgars were stockbreeders, who chiefly raised horses. The Bulgar army was dominated by its fast-moving cavalry. It is often argued that the semi-legendary leader of the Bulgars, Avitokhol, who alleg-

edly commanded them into Europe, was none other than Attila the Hun (406–453).

During the sixth century the Bulgars consolidated much of their European possessions into a state called Great Bulgaria, which extended over the North Caucasian steppe and what is now Ukraine. The capital of this state was at Phanagoria (modern-day Taman in Russia). The leader of Great Bulgaria was Khan Kubrat (c. 585–650). After his death his five sons divided the Bulgar tribes and continued invading European territories. The eldest son, Baian, remained in Great Bulgaria. The second son, Kotrag, crossed the river Don and settled on its far side. The descendants of either Kotrag's or Baian's Bulgars (or both) are reputed to be the founders of Volga Bulgaria in the eighth century, which is considered to be the cultural and ethnic predecessor of the present-day Tatarstan in the Russian Federation. Kubrat's fourth son, Kubert, moved to Pannonia and later settled in the area of present-day Transylvania. The fifth son, Altchek, moved on to Italy and took Pentapolis, near Ravenna.

Kubrat's third son, Khan Asparuh (644–701), moved his part of the Bulgar tribes in southern Bessarabia and established himself on an island at the mouth of the river Danube. From there he began attacks against the territory of Byzantium. By that time, Slavs had colonized most of the territory of the Balkan Peninsula. Asparuh entered into an alliance against Byzantium with the league of the seven Slavic tribes, which occupied the territory between the Danube and the Balkan mountain range.

Soon the Bulgars began settling in the territory south of the Danube River. Around 679 a Bulgaro-Slavic state was formed with its center at Pliska (in modern-day northern Bulgaria). Under the leadership of Asparuh the new state defeated the armies of Emperor Constantine IV in 680. This forced Byzantium to recognize the existence of an independent Bulgaro-Slavic state within the territory of its empire in 681. Although the Bulgar invasions were to continue in the following decades, these became wars for the establishment and enlargement of the new Bulgaro-Slavic state. The Bulgaro-Slavic state established by Asparuh grew into the BULGARIAN EMPIRE and became the predecessor of modern-day Bulgaria.

See also BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI

Burma

The classical civilization of Burma (Myanmar) is centered at Pagan. After the collapse of the Pyu state, the Mrammas (Sanskritized Brahma), or Burmans, founded their chief city, Pagan (Arimarddanapura or "City Where Enemies Were Exterminated") around 849 C.E. The ethnic Chinese had pushed them back around the second millennium B.C.E. from Northwest China to eastern Tibet, after which they moved to Myanmar over several centuries. The first Burman center developed in the rice-growing Kyawkse Plain at the confluence of the Irrawaddy and Chindwin Rivers. According to the local chronicles, Pagan began as a group of 19 villages, each having its *nat*, or local spirit, which were later fused into a cult of a common spirit. Burmese legends speak of intrigue and bloodshed in the early Pagan history until the emergence of King Anawratha, or Aniruddha (1044–77).

Aniruddha conquered the MON country of Thaton in 1057 C.E., resulting in an infusion of Mon culture into Pagan. He maintained friendly contact with King Vijayabahu of Sri Lanka. The Cola ruler Kulottunga I was threatening the latter. Vijayabahu asked for help from the Pagan king, who sent military supplies. Sri Lanka's king sent Aniruddha the tooth relic of Buddha, which was enshrined in the Shwezigon Pagoda. Pagan was brought into the maritime trading network linked to the eastern coast of India.

Along with the Mon monk and scholar Shin Arhan, Aniruddha was responsible for spreading Hinayana Buddhism among his people. This quickly spread all over Myanmar and eventually to mainland Southeast Asia. Aniruddha also is credited with constructing a large number of pagodas, including the Shwezigon Pagoda. He visited the Bengal region and married an Indian princess. Aniruddha developed the small principality of Pagan into an extensive kingdom, and a distinct Burmese civilization grew based on Mon literature, script, art, and architecture.

The second prominent king of Pagan was Thileuin Man (Kyanzittha), who ruled from 1084 to 1112. He crushed the Mon uprising that had claimed the life of the earlier king's son and successor, Man Lulan, and made peace with the rival Thaton faction of the Mons through matrimonial alliances. The Thervada monkhood

flourished under his patronage. He even fed eight Indian monks daily for three months. Having heard about Buddhist monuments like the famous Ananta Temple in the Udayagiri hills of Orissa, he constructed the magnificent Ananda Temple in imitation. Kyanzittha also visited Bodhgaya and helped repair Buddhist shrines. He tried to bring assimilation of different cultural traditions prevalent in Myanmar, and the Myazedi pillar of 1113 C.E. had identical inscriptions in four languages: Burmese, Pali, Pyu, and Mon. He sent a mission to China, which recognized the sovereignty of Pagan.

The transition from Mon to Burman culture occurred during the rule of the grandson of Kyanzittha, Alaungsithu (Cansu I), who had a long reign from 1112 to 1165. He undertook punitive expeditions to Arakan and Tenasserim. Relations with Sri Lanka deteriorated over interference with trade between Angkor and Sri Lanka. Alaungsithu nurtured Buddhism and completed the imposing Thatpinnyu Temple in 1144. The last of the important kings of Myanmar was Narapatisithu (Cansu II, 1174–1211), who ended the Mon influence in the Pagan court. Relations with Sri Lanka improved, resulting in the end of the friendship of Burmans with Colas and a promise of noninterference by Pagan in Sri Lanka's trade over the isthmus region. The king also introduced reforms in monkhood. However his successors were unsuccessful, and gradual deterioration started in the Pagan kingdom.

The shrinking of central authority resulted in Arakan and Pegu becoming independent. The Thai people known as Shans began to enter Pagan. There were also subsequent Mongol expeditions against the kingdom. The last king of the dynasty, Narasimhapati (Cansu IV), was a boastful ruler, and his subjects murdered him for his flight during a Mongol invasion. Under the leadership of the Shans, the kings of Pagan were forced into a ceremonial role only. The problem facing Myanmar had been to hold together different ethnic groups, and this was evident in the Toungoot (Tungut) dynasty of the 16th century and the Konbaung dynasty (1792–1885).

The prevalence of Sanskritized names and commercial relations point to the close link between India and Myanmar. The region was geographically nearest to India among Southeast Asian countries, and there were land and sea routes through which cultural relations developed. From very early on Indians traveled these routes to Southeast Asia. Cultural intercourse between the two regions grew, probably through traders and Buddhist missionaries reaching lower Myanmar. Adopting Indian practices, women were given a higher place in society, and the caste system was rejected.

Though Buddhism dominated daily life, it was mingled with Brahmanism. At the site of King Kyanzittha's palace, *naga* spirits were propitiated, and the services of Brahmins were required. The king was proclaimed an avatar (incarnation) of Vishnu after his death. The name of one of the early cities of the Pyu people was Visnupura (modern Beikthano), and it was a center of Vishnuite influence. Images of Brahmanical gods such as Vishnu, BRAHMA, and SHIVA are found throughout Myanmar. Compared to Brahmanism, the influence of Buddhism in Myanmar was greater. In the Buddhist Jatakas there are frequent references to the sea voyage to Suvarnabhumi, or the golden land, which has been identified with Myanmar. Kings like Aniruddha and Kyanzittha were patrons of Buddhism, and because of their endeavor, the religion took firm roots in Myanmar.

See also CHAMPA KINGDOM.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Byzantine Empire: architecture, culture, and the arts

Byzantine history spans the period from the late Roman Empire to the beginning of the modern age. Constantine the Great, first Christian ruler of the Roman Empire, moved his capital to Byzantium in 330, renaming the city Constantinople. The state he ruled was Byzant, but the citizens called themselves Rhomaioi (Romans). The Byzantine Empire was heir to the Roman Empire. With the passage of time Byzantine civilization became distinct, as Greek influence increased and it dealt with the cultural impacts of Europe, Asia, and, after the seventh century, ISLAM. During the Middle Ages, when the concept of Eu-

rope developed, Byzantium was in decline and isolated from the West. Thus Europe came into being without Byzantium, the successor to the Roman Empire. By the time Europe was a full-blown concept, Byzantium was no longer a remnant of the Roman Empire, and Constantinople was part of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Constantine established Constantinople as Rome's capital, so the fall of Rome to the Goths did not end the empire, it merely relocated its center. Byzantine culture was a continuation of classical Greece and Rome but was distinctive in the way that it synthesized those influences with European and Islamic ones. The early Byzantine period saw the replacement of the ancient gods by Christianity and the establishment of Roman law and Greek and Roman culture. The golden age lasted until the Arab and Persian invasions in the seventh century and the ICONOCLASM of the eighth century. The Byzantine emperors instituted administrative and financial reforms. Eschewing the western approach of hiring foreign troops and lacking the tax base of the West, the emperors in Constantinople kept a small military. Although the western area lacked an emperor after 476, Byzantine emperors claimed to be rulers of the entire old Roman Empire, even though Byzantium's military was insufficient for the reconquest of the West.

For most Byzantine emperors the rhetorical commitment to recapturing Rome was sufficient. Justinian I (527–565) undertook expeditions with some success, taking North Africa and Italy, but Justinian's wars against the Ostrogoths destroyed Italy economically, devastating its urban culture. His wars were also a great burden on the treasury. Justinian's successors had to focus on reestablishing Byzantine finances destroyed by Justinian. They also had to deal with Persians in the east and Germans, Slavs, and Mongolians in the west. Heraclius I (610–641) settled Huns in the Balkans to thwart the western threat. Then he bested the Persians, ending that empire. The year of Heraclius's ascent to the throne, in Arabia MUHAMMAD first heard the message that would send the forces of Islam across the world. By the end of Heraclius's reign, the Muslim threat in Syria and Persia would force Byzantine attention away from the west and toward the east and south.

After initial Muslim successes in Syria and Egypt the Muslims took Persia and pressed into Byzantium several times in the seventh and eighth centuries. Leo the Isaurian (717–741) defeated the final Muslim effort to take Byzantium, and the empire stabilized. Taking advantage of unsettled conditions in the Muslim Caliphate the

empire retook most of Syria and reestablished itself as dominant until the 11th century.

After besting the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuk Turks controlled Byzantium's eastern territory. Byzantium called on its coreligionists in Europe for help against the Turks, sparking the CRUSADES, which produced European kingdoms in Syria and Palestine and the taking of Constantinople in 1204. Byzantium continued in Greece and retook Constantinople in 1261, but the reestablished kingdom was a small city-centered entity, and Ottoman Turks absorbed it in 1453, renaming it Istanbul.

The empire was Christian but its Christianity differed from that of the West. The Latin popes won primacy in a Europe with no centralized secular ruler, but in Byzantium the emperor kept a powerful role in the church. The Byzantine retention of the Roman concept that the emperor was nearly divine would generate a split with the West, particularly through the Iconoclastic Controversy.

THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY

During the fourth century in the Roman Empire, classical forms declined and eastern influences became more important. Constantinople became a new center for artists in the eastern part of the empire, especially Christians. Other centers included Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. When the first two fell to the Arabs and Rome to the Goths, Constantinople was alone and supreme. The first great age came during the reign of Justinian I (483–565). He established a code of law that imposed his religion on his subjects and set the stage for absolutism. He built the Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna (in Italy). After Justinian the empire declined, with Justinian's conquests lost and Avars, Slavs, and Arabs threatening. Religious and political conflict also disturbed the capital.

In 730 Leo III the Isaurian came into contact with Islamic beliefs during his successful wars against the Muslims. Accepting the purity of the Muslim rejection of idols and images, he banned images of Jesus, Mary, and the saints. The Iconoclastic period lasted until 843. Iconoclastic theologians regarded the worship of icons or images as pagan. Worship was reserved for Christ and God, not for the product of human hands, during the Iconoclastic Controversy.

The Iconoclastic Controversy disoriented the Byzantine Church. Byzantine religious culture and intellectual life, previously known for innovation and speculation, were stagnant from that point. A wholesale destruction



Justinian I built the Hagia Sophia in sixth century. The minarets were added later by the Ottomans.

of art showing inappropriate figures occurred. Restrictions on content meant that ornamental designs and symbols such as the cross were about the limit of expression. Without human figures, mosaicists borrowed Persian and Arab designs, such as florals, and the minor arts remained vibrant.

The papacy adamantly rejected **ICONOCLASM** as a threat to the authority of the pope. Leo's son Constantine V (740–775) was more adamantly iconoclastic than Leo. Although Byzantium abandoned iconoclasm in the ninth century, the breach persisted. The end of iconoclasm brought about the Macedonian Renaissance, beginning under Basil I, the Macedonian, in 867. The ninth and 10th centuries were times of improved military circumstances, and art and architecture rebounded. Byzantine mosaic style became standardized, with revived interest in classical themes and more sophisticated techniques in human figures.

After the Iconoclastic Controversy resolved itself in favor of using icons, the empire flourished from 843 to 1261. During this period the arts prospered, the official language was Greek, and Christianity solidified its hold from the capital through the northern Slavic lands.

After the Macedonians came the Komnenian dynasty, starting in 1081 under Alexios I Komnenos. This dynasty reestablished stability after the major dislocations of Manzikert, which cost Byzantium Asia Minor. Between 1081 and 1185 the Komnenoi patronized the arts, and a period of increased humanism and emotion occurred. Examples are the Theotokos of Vladimir and the Murals

at Nerezi. As well as painted icons, this period saw mosaic and ceramic examples, and for the first time the iconic form became popular through the empire.

Excellent Byzantine work of this period is also found in Kiev, Venice, Palermo, and other places outside the empire. Venice's Basilica of St. Mark, begun in 1063, was modeled on the now destroyed Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The Crusades, specifically the **MASSACRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE** in 1204, ended eight centuries of Byzantine culture. The Frankish crusaders of the Fourth Crusade pillaged Constantinople, generating even more destruction of Byzantine art than did the iconoclastic period.

PALAEOLOGAN MANNERISM

The state reestablished in 1261 included only the Greek Peninsula and Aegean Islands. After the crusader period (1204–61), Byzantium had a final surge until the Ottoman conquest. The final bloom of Byzantine art, the Palaeologan Mannerism, occurred under the Palaeologan dynasty, founded by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1259. This era saw increased exchange between Byzantine and Italian artists, new interest in pastorals and landscapes, and the replacement of masterful mosaic work such as the Chora Church in Constantinople by narrative frescoes. Byzantine culture included women and men alike, unlike practices in classical Greece and Rome or in medieval Europe. Women could not attend school, but aristocratic females received tutoring in history, literature, philosophy, and composition. The greatest Byzantine writer was the female historian Anna Komnene, whose biography of her father, Emperor Alexios, is among the best of medieval histories.

Byzantine art was underpinned by the art of ancient Greece, and until at least 1453 it remained strongly classical yet unique. One difference was that the ancient Greek humanistic ethic gave way to the Christian ethic. That meant that the classical glorification of man became the glorification of God, particularly Jesus. Byzantine art replaced the classical nude with figures of God the Father, Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth, the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. Byzantine art emphasized strongly the icon, an image of Christ, Mary, a saint, or Madonna and Child used as an object of veneration either in church or at home.

Byzantine miniatures showed both Hellenistic and Asian influences. Byzantine architecture rested on Roman technical developments. Proximity to the Hellenized East meant that Constantinople's architecture showed Eastern influences. The Basilica of St. John of the Studion, dating from the fifth century, exemplifies

the Byzantine use of Roman models. Some criticize Byzantine art as lacking in realistic depictions of humans. Byzantine art lacked some of the naturalism of ancient Greek art. Particularly in sculpture, technical expertise declined as emphasis shifted to Christian themes. However, Byzantine art had periodic technical revivals, and it maintained enough of the Greek classical influence to allow the Renaissance to happen. Rejecting sensual pleasure, pagan idols, and personal vanity, Byzantine artists worked to serve Christianity by showing not the external perfect human form but the internal, spiritual element of the subject. Stylized and simplified representations were appropriate to this purpose.

New techniques and new levels of accomplishment characterized Byzantine silver- and goldsmithing, enamel, jewelry, and textiles. Byzantine mosaics and icons showed high levels of originality. Architecture found its highest expression in the Hagia Sophia, superior in scale and magnificence to anything in the ancient world. Although skill levels fluctuated over time, in most Byzantine art forms certain usages, patterns, and practices remained constant. Mosaics served as the predominant decorative art for domes, half-domes, and other available surfaces of Byzantine churches.

Byzantine painting concentrated to a great extent on devotional panels. Icons were vital to both religious and secular life. Icons lacked individuality, their effectiveness resting on faithfulness to a prototype. Byzantine painting also included manuscript illumination. Byzantine art continues in some aspects in the art of Greece, Russia, and the modern Eastern Orthodox countries. Enamel, ivory, and metal reliquaries and devotional panels were highly valued through the Middle Ages in the West. Byzantine silk was a state monopoly and a highly prized luxury.

In Italy Byzantine art was a major contributor to the Romanesque style in the 10th and 11th centuries. In the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, CHARLEMAGNE had close ties to Byzantium; he and other Frankish and Salic emperors transmitted the Byzantine influence through their domains.

The official end to Byzantium came with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, but in the meantime the culture had diffused with Orthodox Christianity to Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and, most significantly, Russia, which took the mantle from Constantinople after 1453. The Ottomans allowed Byzantine icon painting and small-scale arts to continue. Byzantium transmitted classical culture to Islam and to the West. More important, Byzantine culture and religion strongly influenced the Slavs, particularly the Russians.



The interior of the Hagia Sophia (now a museum in Istanbul), considered more magnificent than anything in the ancient world.

Around 988 the Russian VLADIMIR converted to Byzantine Christianity. When Byzantium collapsed in 1453, Russia's rulers took the title "caesar" (czar), that of the Byzantine emperors. The Russian czar proclaimed Moscow the "Third Rome," after Rome and Byzantium. The Byzantines also preserved culture, pursuing science, philosophy, and classical studies. Byzantine basic education entailed mastery of classical Greek literature, including the works of Homer, largely unknown in the West. Byzantine scholars studied and preserved the works of Plato and Aristotle, making them available to first the Islamic world and then western Europe.

See also BYZANTINE EMPIRE: POLITICAL HISTORY.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Byzantine Empire: political history

The city of Constantinople, or Byzantium, was founded, according to legend, in 667 B.C.E., by Greeks from Megara and gradually rose in importance during the Roman Empire. Its initial importance was its position on the trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean, especially its close access to the land routes to Persia, Central Asia, India, and China, as well as guarding the entrance to the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea).

During the second century the Roman Empire had grown so substantially that there were moves to split it into an eastern and a western empire. This concept was introduced by Diocletian, who looked to the past for ideas to resolve the problems facing the Roman Empire. His idea was that two emperors (each known as an *augustus*) would rule the two halves of the Roman Empire. Each *augustus* would then nominate a younger man, known as a *caesar*, to share the ruling of the empire and succeed to the post of *augustus*. This reduced the Roman emperors to the equivalent of chief executive officers who nominated their successors. Diocletian then moved his capital to Nicomedia in modern-day Turkey. The idea did work briefly, but there were enormous problems, and it was left to Emperor Constantine the Great to rework the system. In 330 Constantine established the eastern capital at Byzantium, which he called Constantinople. He also reintroduced a hereditary succession to try to stop the strife caused by contending *caesars*. Although his successors ruled over what became known as the Byzantine Empire, those living in Constantinople never saw themselves as Byzantines, the name coming from the Thracian-Greek name for the city. Instead they regarded themselves as Romans (or *Romaioi*), and direct lineal descendants of the power, traditions, and prestige of the Roman Empire.

ORIGINS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Essentially the Byzantine Empire owes its origins to Constantine the Great who ruled from 324 to 337. The emperor drew up plans for enlarging his city with the building of a large palace, a forum, a hippodrome, and government departments. To protect the city from attack, Constantine also supervised the building of large walls across the isthmus. Constantine died at Ancyrona, near

Nicomedia, and his body was brought back to Constantinople, where it was buried. He was then succeeded by his eldest son, Constantius (or Constantine II), who reigned from 337 to 340. He was succeeded by his brother Constantius II, who ruled until his death in 361 and as sole emperor from 353 to 361. He died of fever near Tarsus in modern-day Turkey. The next emperor was Julian the Apostate, (r. 361–363). He was the son of Julius Constantius, half brother of Constantius II. The last pagan emperor; he tried to restore religious traditions of Rome in an effort to try to restore his empire to its former glory.

When Julian died in a battle against the Sassanid Persians, a prominent Roman general, Flavius Iovianus, was elected Roman emperor, becoming the emperor Jovian. He was a Christian and is best remembered for being outmaneuvered in a peace agreement with the Sassanids. He died on February 17, 364, after a reign of only eight months. His successors were Valentinian I, another successful general, and his younger brother Valens, Valens becoming emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire. Valens reigned for 14 years, and his first task was to withdraw from Mesopotamia and parts of Armenia, which Jovian had ceded to the Sassanids. However, Valens also had to deal with a revolt by Procopius, a maternal cousin of Julian. Procopius managed to raise two army legions to support his proclamation as emperor, and Valens considered abdicating to prevent a civil war. When Valens sent two legions against Procopius, both mutinied and joined the rebellion. However, by the middle of 366 Valens had managed to raise a large enough army to defeat the forces of Procopius at the Battle of Thyatira. Procopius was captured soon afterwards and executed.

The revolt of Procopius encouraged the Goths to attack the Eastern Roman Empire. This meant that Valens had to lead his successful army north, and after defeating a Goth army, he concluded a peace treaty that allowed Roman traders access to the lands controlled by the Goths. War with Sassanid Persia broke out, forcing him to lead his armies back toward Persia. His campaign was cut short when the Visigoths threatened the northern frontier. They had lost lands to the Huns and were anxious to compensate themselves with Roman lands. Eventually the Visigoths allied with the Huns, and along with the Ostrogoths, attacked the Romans. A massive Byzantine army moved against them, leading to the Battle of Adrianople, August 9, 378. The Goths and their allies destroyed the Roman army, and Valens was killed during the battle. It left the Byzantines exposed, and with Gratian, the 19-year-old nephew of Valens, as the emperor of the Western Roman Empire, there was the need for a strong ruler to save the empires.

THEODOSIUS I

Theodosius I, born in Galicia, in modern-day Spain, was the son of a senior military officer who was executed after being involved in political intrigues. Theodosius was made commander of Moesia, on the Danube (in modern-day Serbia and Bulgaria). After Adrianople, Gratian appointed him as the co-augustus for the East, and he co-ruled with Gratian and Valentinian II. On a political level, Theodosius was a Christian and made Christianity the official state religion of the Roman Empire. In 381 he helped convene the second general council of the Christian Church, held at Constantinople, where some of the decisions of the Council of Nicaea in 325 were confirmed.

The main task of Theodosius was to ensure the military survival of the Roman Empire, and he immediately went to war in the Balkans with the Sarmatians. He had defeated them six years earlier, and another victory led to his being proclaimed as co-emperor on January 19, 379. He was given the provinces of Dacia (modern-day Romania) and Macedonia, both areas having been attacked many times in the previous decades. Living at Thessalonica, Theodosius built up his army. To raise more soldiers, he allowed for Teutons to be recruited, rewarding many of them with senior administrative positions. Theodosius also sought a compromise with the Visigoths and assigned lands to the Goths in the Balkans in return for peace. It was the first time that an entire people were settled on Roman soil and able to maintain their autonomy. It avoided war with the Goths, many of whom converted to Christianity.

These moves were unpopular with some in Rome, and later historians have blamed these positions on making Rome vulnerable to attack. However, Theodosius was able to use this newfound military force to great effect. When a usurper, Maximus the Confessor, gained support in the Western Roman Empire and invaded Italy, Theodosius was the only commander with enough soldiers to check his advances. In 378 he defeated Maximus and, later, the forces of another usurper, Eugenius. Theodosius crushed his rebellion at the Battle of Frigidus on September 5–6, 394. By this time Theodosius was sole emperor. He was subsequently known to history as Theodosius the Great.

When Theodosius I died, his younger son, Honorius, succeeded him in the West, and his eldest son, Arcadius, succeeded him in the East. Arcadius appears to have been a weak ruler, and for much of his reign, a minister, Flavius Rufinus, a politician of Gaulish ancestry, made the decisions. With Honorius being dominated by his minister Flavius Stilicho, the position of emperor was

in danger of becoming symbolic. According to some accounts, it was rivalry between the ministers that led to Stilicho having Rufinus assassinated by Goths. However, a new minister, Eutropius, took over for Rufinus until, in 399, the wife of Arcadius persuaded her husband to remove Eutropius, who was later executed. The Praetorian commander, Anthemius, took over, with Arcadius retreating from the political scene until his death on May 1, 408. His son Flavius Theodosius, who became Theodosius II, succeeded him.

Theodosius II was only seven when he became emperor, but on the reputation of the military buildup by his grandfather, the boy had a trouble-free minority, and the empire remained safe from attack through his long reign, which ended with his death on July 28, 450. His older sister, Pulcheria, whose interpretation of Christianity was anti-Jewish, heavily influenced Theodosius. Under Pulcheria's influence, the Christian Church condemned the Nestorian viewpoint of the dual nature of Christ as heretical, and Nestorius, its proponent, was exiled to Egypt.

In 425 the University of Constantinople was founded as a center for Christian learning. Theodosius II is best remembered for his codification of the laws of the Roman Empire. In 429 he ordered that copies of all laws be brought to Constantinople, and nine years later the *Codex Theodosianus* was published. Although the Eastern Roman Empire was safe, the Western Roman Empire crumbled during this period, resulting in much power reverting to Constantinople. During the last years of the reign of Theodosius II, the Byzantine Empire came under attack from Attila the Hun, and the Byzantines responded by paying large tribute to the Huns to stop the attacks.

On the death of Theodosius II in 450, Pulcheria chose as her brother's successor Flavius Marcianus, her husband, who became Emperor Marcian. Marcian stopped the payments to the Huns, who, by this time, were more concerned with attacking Gaul and Italy. Marcian also fortified Syria and Egypt to prevent attacks and was thought to have distanced himself from events in the Western Roman Empire. It appears that Marcian may have been involved in the death of Attila in 452, even though he did not send aid to Rome, which was sacked by the Vandals in 455. Marcian and his wife are both recognized as saints by the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Marcian died in 457, and Flavius Valerius Leo Augustus (Leo the Thracian) became the new emperor. He was a successful general who had led campaigns in the Balkans and against the Goths. Leo I sent a large army against the Vandals, under the command of his brother-in-law Basiliscus, but it was decisively defeated in 468. He died in 474 and was succeeded by his



An illustrated manuscript showing Byzantine cavalrymen overwhelming enemy cavalry and foot soldiers. The Byzantine Empire was officially dissolved in 1204, though its culture remained much the same for the next 200 years.

seven-year-old grandson, Leo II, who died 10 months later. Leo II's father, Zeno, became emperor. Initially he had success leading his armies against the Vandals and the Huns in the Balkans. In January 475 he was deposed by Basiliscus, who took control of Constantinople for his reign, which lasted 19 months. In August 476 Zeno took over again, exiling Basiliscus and his wife and son to Cappadocia, where they died from exposure. Zeno managed to build up the Byzantine finances. When he died in April 491, his widow, Ariadne, chose an important courtier, Anastasius, to succeed him.

Anastasius was involved in the Isaurian War from 492 to 496, where forces loyal to Longinus of Cardala, a brother of Zeno, revolted. Many rebels were defeated at the battle of Cotyaeum, and although guerrilla war continued for some years, Anastasius was never in serious danger from them again. From 502 to 505 he was involved in a war with the Sassanid Empire of Persia. Initially the Sassanids were victorious, but the war

ended in a stalemate. Anastasius then spent much of the rest of his reign building defenses. These included the Anastasian Wall, which stretched from Propontis to the Euxine, protecting the western approaches to Constantinople. Anastasius died on July 9, 518, the last Roman or Byzantine emperor to be deified.

Justin I was nearly 70 when he became emperor. He was illiterate but was a successful career soldier. The last years of his reign saw attacks by Ostrogoths and Persians. In 526 he formally named Justinian, his nephew, as co-emperor and his successor.

JUSTINIAN I

Justinian I was one of the most famous Byzantine rulers and is best remembered for his legal reforms that saw the establishment of a new legal code. He gained a reputation for working hard, being affable but unscrupulous when necessary. His early military moves were to try to regain the lost lands of Theodosius I. He failed

in this but quickly gained a reputation for surrounding himself with advisers who achieved their status through merit.

One of these was Tribonian, who had the task of codifying the law—the first time all of Roman law was written down in one code. At the same time Justinian's general Belisarius decided to launch an attack on the Sassanid Persians and against the Vandals in North Africa, recapturing Carthage. In what became known as the Gothic War, Belisarius retook Rome in 536, and four years later he took the Ostrogoth's capital, Ravenna. The 540s saw parts of the Byzantine Empire ravaged by bubonic plague.

In 565 Justinian I died and his nephew Flavius Iustinus became Emperor Justin II. The Byzantines lost land to the Sassanids in a disastrous war with Persia. Justin II became troubled by mental problems and may have been going senile. He appointed a general named Tiberius as his successor. Tiberius II Constantine was the first truly Greek emperor, and he continued the war with the Persians in Armenia. He was succeeded in 582 by a prominent general, Maurice, who subsequently married the daughter of his predecessor.

The Emperor Maurice reigned from 582 to 602, a time when the empire was constantly attacked. When the Romans intervened in a dynastic war in Persia, they were amply rewarded by the return of eastern Mesopotamia and Armenia. However, while the Byzantines were involved in Persia, the Slavs took control of much of the Balkans. In 602 a mutiny by troops led to a general called Phokas (Phocas) entering Constantinople and killing Maurice, after forcing the deposed emperor to watch the execution of five of his sons.

Phokas was from Thrace and was a successful general of obscure origins before he seized the throne. The seizing of power by Phokas was the first bloody coup d'état since Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. Phokas was initially popular because he lowered taxes and introduced reforms that benefited the Christian Church. However, on a military front, the Eastern Roman Empire faced invasion, especially in the northern Balkans, and raiders did reach as far as Athens. In addition, King Khosrow II of Persia, installed by Maurice, started to conspire against the man who overthrew him. The Persians championed a young man whom they claimed was a son of Maurice, taking over some of Anatolia. In addition, trouble brewed in Egypt and Syria. In 610 Heraclius, the exarch (proconsul) of Africa, staged a rebellion that ended with Phocas being put to death.

Heraclius I was emperor from 610 to 641 and tried to reunite the empire that was still under attack in the

Balkans and from the Persians. The latter managed to capture Damascus in 613, Jerusalem in the following year, and in 616 invaded Egypt. Their raids deep into Anatolia caused Heraclius to consider moving the capital from Constantinople to Carthage, but his reorganization of the military allowed him to stop the invading forces. Much of this centered on land grants to families in return for having them serve in the military when the empire was in danger. In 626 Constantinople itself was attacked, but in the following year at the Battle of Nineveh, the Byzantines defeated the Persians, leading to the deposing of Khosrow II of Persia and the Byzantines gaining all the land they had lost.

Heraclius started to use the Persian title king of kings, and no longer used the term *augustus*, preferring *basileus*, Greek for “monarch.” During the 630s the Arabs proved to be a major threat to the Byzantines, who were decisively defeated in the Battle of Yarmuk in 636. Heraklonas's two sons succeeded him, Heraklonas Constantine (Constantine III) and Constantine Heraklonas (Heraclius). The former ruled for only four months before succumbing to tuberculosis. His younger half brother became the sole emperor; however, there were rumors that Constantine III had been poisoned, and a rebellion led to the deposing of Heraklonas four months later, and the son of Constantine III became Emperor Constans II.

Under Constans II, the Byzantines were on the retreat, having to withdraw from Egypt with the Arabs quickly capturing parts of North Africa. The Arabs also destroyed much of the Byzantine fleet off Lycia. Later the Arabs split into what became the Sunni and Shi'ite factions, and were unable to carry out their plan of attacking Constantinople. Constans II was assassinated by his palace chamberlain in 668, and a usurper, Mezezius, was emperor for a year until Constans II's son became Constantine IV and reigned until 685. By now the Arabs attacked Carthage, Sicily, and captured Smyrna and other ports in Anatolia. The Slavs also used the opportunity to attack Thessalonica. The Byzantines were able to successfully use Greek Fire against the Arabs at the sea battle of Syllaenum. Constantine was worried that his two brothers, crowned with him as co-emperors, would pose a threat to him, and he had them both mutilated. This allowed his son Justinian II to succeed to the throne (r. 685–695 and 705–711). In the interval two successful generals, Leontios and Tiberios III, were briefly emperors.

Justinian became increasingly unpopular and was killed by rebels, with Philippikos becoming emperor 711–713. He managed to stabilize the political situation

and was succeeded by his secretary Artemios, who became Emperor Anastasius II. After two years a rebel leader and former tax collector deposed him, capturing Constantinople and proclaiming himself Emperor Theodosius III. He only lasted two years; a rebel commander took control of Constantinople and forced Theodosius to abdicate. He later became bishop of Ephesus.

LEO III

The new emperor, Leo III, was able to stabilize the Byzantine Empire, and he remained emperor from 717 until his death in 741. He immediately set about a reorganization of the empire's administration. Much of this centered on the elevation of serfs to become tenant farmers. Making alliances with the Khazars and the Georgians, he was able to defeat the Arabs. Leo III, however, is best known for his **ICONOCLASM** when, from 726 to 729 he ordered the destruction of the worshipping of images. His son, who became Emperor Constantine V, succeeded him at his death. He reigned until 775, managing to continue with the reforms and iconoclasm of his father and also defeat the Arabs and the Bulgars. He died while campaigning against the latter and was succeeded by a son who became Emperor Leo IV. Although Leo IV only reigned for five years, he managed to send his soldiers on several campaigns against the Arabs. When he died, his son, aged only nine, became Emperor Constantine VI. Scheming led to him being taken prisoner and blinded by his mother, who succeeded as Empress Irene, the widow of Leo IV. Her finance minister deposed her in 802. He became Emperor Nikephoros I and continued the wars against the Bulgars and the Arabs until he was killed in Bulgaria in 811.

The son of Nikephoros I became Emperor Staurakios, but he reigned only for just over two months until he was forced to abdicate. He went to live in a monastery, where he died soon afterwards. His brother-in-law then became Emperor Michael I. Eager to become popular, Michael reduced the high levels of taxation imposed by Nikephoros I. He also sought a compromise with **CHARLEMAGNE**.

Abdicating, he retired to a monastery, and Leo V, an Armenian, became the next emperor. He was assassinated in 820, leading to the Phrygian dynasty of Michael II coming to power. Michael II was emperor from 820 to 829, and his son Theophilos succeeded him, ruling until 842. His wife then ruled, and then his son Michael III "The Drunkard," who was assassinated in 867, ushering in Basil I and the Macedonian dynasty.

Basil I was believed to have been of Armenian ancestry, and he lived in Bulgaria, leading an expedition against the Arabs in 866. He helped in the assassination of his predecessor and became one of the greatest Byzantine rulers. Apart from codifying the laws, he also built the Byzantines into a major military power. His reign also coincided with the Great Schism, in which Basil determined that Constantinople should remain the center of Christianity, not Rome. Basil allied the Byzantines to the forces of Louis II, the Holy Roman Emperor. Their combined fleets were able to defeat the Arabs, and although the Byzantines lost much of Sicily, the eastern frontier was heavily reinforced, and Arab attacks against the Byzantines were unsuccessful. When Basil died in 886, his son Leo VI succeeded him, although some accounts identify Leo VI as a son of Michael III.

Leo VI, who was the son of a mistress of Michael III and later mistress of Basil I, ended up at war with the Bulgarians, although his tactical alliance to the Magyars was successful for a period. The Byzantine defeat in 896 was a reverse that was followed by the Arabs capturing the last Byzantine-held bases on Sicily. A Byzantine expedition tried to recapture Crete but failed, and Leo VI died in 912, succeeded by his younger brother Alexander. Emperor Alexander was extremely unpopular, and his death after a polo match ended his reign of 13 months. Leo VI's illegitimate son then succeeded as Constantine VII in 913, inheriting a war with Bulgaria. Constantine was deposed in 920 by Romanos I, the son of a member of the Imperial Guard who was deposed in 944, leading to Constantine VII returning as emperor. He then reigned for 14 years, and when he died, his son Romanos II became the next emperor.

As soon as Romanos II took over, he purged the court of his father's friends, and allegations were made that he had poisoned his father to gain the throne. Although Romanos II was indolent and lazy, he left the army in the command of capable generals. He died after a reign of four years, succeeded initially by his five-year-old son, Basil II. Nikephoros II quickly deposed Basil, reigning for six years until he was assassinated. It was during his reign, in 961, that the famous monastery complex on Mount Athos was founded. The next emperor was John I, who reigned for six years, until he died. During his reign he trained ex-emperor Basil to rule, and Basil II became emperor again, reigning for 49 years.

Basil II formed a strong alliance with Prince **VLADIMIR I** of Kiev, and together they managed to stabilize the northern borders of the Byzantine Empire. Basil II also took back large parts of Syria, although he did not manage to retake Jerusalem. War in Thrace against the

Bulgarians saw the Byzantines destroy their opponents at the battle of Kleidion on July 29, 1014. Basil II was succeeded by his younger brother, Constantine VIII, who reigned for only three years, being succeeded by Romanos III, a great-grandson of the usurper Romanos I.

As the first in a new dynasty Romanos III tried to change many aspects of Byzantine rule. He financed many new buildings, including monasteries. He abandoned plans by Constantine VII to curtail the privileges of the nobles but faced many conspiracies, which led to his overthrow after a reign of fewer than six years. Michael IV, a friend of the daughter of Constantine VIII, ascended the throne. Military reforms were pressing, with the Byzantines under attack from Serbs, Bulgarians, and, more menacingly, the Arabs.

It was also a period when the Normans were a rising military power. Michael IV defeated the Bulgarians and died in 1041, succeeded by his nephew Michael V, who only ruled for four months. Deposed, blinded, and castrated, Michael V was succeeded by Zoe, his adoptive mother. Constantine IX, the son of a senior civil servant, ruled from 1042 until 1055. A patron of the arts, he was subject to scheming and internal revolts. He was succeeded briefly by Michael VI and then by Isaac I Komnenos. In 1059 Constantine X became emperor and inaugurated the Doukid dynasty. After his reign of eight years, his son Michael VII ruled for 11 years. For three of those years, Romanos IV, the second husband of Constantine X's widow, was also emperor. In 1081 Alexios Komnenos, nephew of Isaac I, restored the Komnenid dynasty. Alexios was worried about the Turks controlling the Holy Land and decided to ask Pope URBAN II for some military help from western Europe, resulting in the launching of the First Crusade.

Over the next two centuries, as battles with Turks continued over Asia Minor, the empire's relationship to the West deteriorated. During the Crusades the empire's lands were meant to be used as a staging ground for the

war to "reclaim" the Christian holy lands, but bored, undisciplined crusaders frequently wound up sacking and pillaging Byzantine cities when they were too impatient to wait for their arrival in Muslim territories. The Byzantine renaissance of the 12th century was an artistic and economic one—an inward-facing revival rather than a return to the sort of diplomatic fervor that had marked the empire's earlier centuries. At the turn of the very next century, the soldiers of the failed Fourth Crusade were hired by Alexios IV, the son of the deposed Byzantine emperor Isaac II, to restore his father's throne. Constantinople fell to the crusaders in 1204, and the Latin Empire was established to govern formerly Byzantine lands, with many territories apportioned to Venice.

The Byzantine Empire was officially dissolved, though its culture remained much the same for the next 200 years—through shifting governments, as the Latin Empire never stabilized and was followed by brief-lived successors—until 1453, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople and all its lands.

See also BYZANTINE EMPIRE: ARCHITECTURE, CULTURE, AND THE ARTS.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

BILL KTE'PI



Caesaropapism

Caesaropapism is the idea that the emperor had complete control over the Orthodox Greek Church in the Roman/Byzantine Empire, relegating the church to something like a department of state, subordinate to, rather than independent from, imperial power. This is a western perspective never found in Byzantine sources. In the Byzantine/Orthodox perspective there was, ideally, a harmony between emperor/imperial power (*imperium*) and church/ecclesiastical power (*sacerdotium*), not a domination and subordination, respectively.

The relationship of church and Roman state changed drastically after the conversion of Emperor Constantine the Great (d. 337). Up to this time Christianity had been a persecuted minority sect far from the wealth and power of the imperial palace and Roman aristocracy. By that time the church had developed a strong and effective organizational structure and leadership as well as a means of regulating problems (though these did not always prove successful) through local councils. After Constantine's conversion the church was raised to a new level of affluence and power, as bishops now became figures of wealth and influence. Imperial patronage of the church also meant imperial involvement in the church and, conversely, church involvement in politics.

The emperor was constantly concerned to ensure peace in the church and took action when theological controversies threatened to rend it into competing factions because these quickly devolved into quasi-political factions. The emperor did not decide such contro-

versies unilaterally. Instead, he relied on the church. The emperor, starting with Constantine I, summoned all bishops together to an ecumenical ("universal") council where they could officially establish Orthodox doctrine and practice. The Orthodox Church recognizes seven such councils (Council of Nicaea, 325; Council of Constantinople, 381; Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, 431, 451; Constantinople, 551; Constantinople, 680; Nicaea, 787). Nevertheless, these councils did not always lead to harmony, since those condemned often broke away (like Monophysites in Syria and Egypt after the Fourth Ecumenical Council). In the later fourth century Emperor Theodosius I (d. 395) proclaimed the Orthodox Christian faith the only legal religion of the empire. Afterwards, adherence to the Orthodox theology of the emperor was the measuring stick for loyalty and citizenship in the empire. Church and state in Byzantium were thoroughly intertwined.

The emperor's power was perceived as granted by God and visibly shown by his coronation at the hands of the patriarch in the great cathedral of Hagia Sophia. The emperor demonstrated his God-given duty by promoting Christianity, protecting the church, and enforcing its regulations. The emperor's role in the church continued beyond calling ecumenical councils. He also selected the patriarch of Constantinople, the leading cleric in the Orthodox Church. Usually the emperor selected him from a short list provided by a synod of clergy, but he could also choose another candidate altogether. Sometimes in fact, he chose a layperson, as he did with the ninth-century Patriarch Photius.

The emperor acted as an overseer of the church and was granted special privileges. He could enter the sanctuary (the area that is today behind the iconostasis), which was reserved only for clerics. He could also receive communion in the same fashion as priests. In addition, the emperor could preach sermons, as did Emperor Leo VI (d. 912), and bless the congregation. He also enacted legislation regulating church activities and even, at times, on theology. The emperor could not, however, celebrate the Divine Liturgy; that was reserved only for ordained clergy. Here was one area distinguishing imperial (*imperium*) and the clerical power (*sacerdotium*). Yet, as is clear, in Byzantium, church and state were linked together in an inseparable fashion. There was no clear-cut distinction between the impact of canon (*kanon*) and civil (*nomos*) law on the Byzantine community. In the 12th century canonist Theodore Balsamon declared that the emperor regulated both civil and canon law and argued that the emperor himself was not limited by canon law. Yet, this was only in theory.

In reality, the emperor was indeed limited in his control over orthodoxy. While he could remove bishops and appoint their replacements, he answered to the church. When the popular patriarch John Chrysostom was removed in the early fifth century, the rioting in Constantinople burned whole regions of the city. Moreover, the emperor could not permanently alter doctrine without the support of the church and especially the great defenders of orthodoxy, monks. In the seventh century emperors championed the doctrine of Monotheletism (which asserted that Christ had only one will for both his divine and human nature); despite their efforts it failed, because of the opposition clergy and monks, like Maximus. In the eighth and ninth centuries the controversy over ICONOCLASM was driven by the imperial palace and opposed fiercely by monks like JOHN DAMASCENE and Theodore the Stoudite. This too failed. In the 10th century, Emperor Nikephoros Phokas wanted the church to recognize as martyrs all Christians who died fighting Muslims. The patriarch rejected this. In the 11th century, tension between the bishops of Rome (of the Latin Church) and Constantinople (of the Greek Church) led to the Schism of 1054 that separated the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches—despite imperial efforts to prevent it.

In the 13th–15th centuries Byzantine emperors, desperate for military support from the west, attempted to submit the Orthodox Church to the papacy (at the Council of Lyons in 1274 and the COUNCIL OF FLORENCE in 1438–1939) but were foiled by monks and clerics unwilling to yield theologically. While the emperor

had a level of practical power, this power was checked by the tradition of the church and by the unyielding commitment to principle of monastic and clerical defenders. Finally, despite the name (Caesaropapism) emperors never claimed to have the authority over the church as the pope, the bishop of Rome, did in the west. Despite the power of the emperor, he did not have complete control over the church, as the word implies. He was not pope and emperor of the Orthodox Church.

See also GRATIAN.

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MATTHEW HERBST

Caliphs, first four

Muslim leaders

After the prophet MUHAMMAD’s death in 632, the elder statesman Abu Bakr (r. 632–34) was selected as the new caliph or representative of the Muslim community. The first four caliphs were known as the Rashidun or rightly guided ones. Abu Bakr irritated Muhammad’s daughter, Fatima, and her husband, Ali, by declaring that the Prophet’s estate belonged to the Muslim community and not to the family. Although Ali’s supporters reluctantly accepted Abu Bakr as the caliph they would ultimately split from the majority Muslim community.

In what were known as the Ridda wars (wars against apostasy), Abu Bakr’s first major challenge was to put down a number of rebellions by tribal nomads who opposed the central control of the Islamic state. Within two years, the Muslim forces had secured the entire Arabian Peninsula and ruled from the capital of Medina. With Abu Bakr’s death Omar was selected as the second caliph in 634. For his achievements as a ruler and administrator, Omar has been called the second founder of Islam.

Under Omar (r. 634–44), the Arab forces, imbued with religious fervor and desire for wealth, embarked on a series of dynamic and swift wars against the neighboring Byzantine and Sassanid Empires. The plunder from these conquests was divided with one-fifth going to the state and the rest apportioned among the warriors.

Ownership of conquered lands reverted back to previous owners with payment of a tax or went to the state. As a result the new Islamic/Arab empire became increasingly wealthy.

At the Battle of Yarmuk the Arab Muslim forces decisively defeated the Byzantine emperor Heraclius and Damascus was taken in 636. The city's grand Byzantine church was turned into a mosque and subsequently expanded. The Muslim forces swiftly moved on to Palestine, taking Jerusalem in 637. Omar visited the city and proclaimed that Christians, the majority population at the time, and Jews, as people of the book, had protected status as *Dhimmi*s under Qur'anic injunctions; they therefore were to be treated with tolerance and no forced conversions were to be undertaken. Although over time many willingly converted to Islam, the population of the area remained predominantly Christian until the Crusades. Although the BYZANTINE EMPIRE survived with its capital at Constantinople, the new Muslim/Arab empire now controlled the eastern Mediterranean coast and plains.

After initial reluctance Omar agreed that the commander Amr ibn al-'As could move on to the conquest of Egypt. Amr took Alexandria with relative ease in 642 and established Fustat, outside modern Cairo, as the new Muslim administrative center. His forces also pushed into Libya, taking the port of Tripoli.

Muslim forces were equally successful in their battles against the weakened Sassanid Empire in the east. They won a decisive battle at Qadisiyyah in 637 and moved on to the Sassanid capital of Ctesiphon, where the warriors collected enormous quantities of plunder in gold, silver, and jewels. In keeping with tradition regarding the apportioning of booty, the fabulous jeweled carpet from the palace was cut into pieces and given to the conquering soldiers. By 638 the Arabs controlled all of the Tigris and Euphrates and by 644 had effectively taken Persia (present-day Iran). Within a decade Persia had become a predominantly Muslim nation. The Muslim state absorbed many of the administrative and economic practices of both the older Byzantine and Sassanid Empires.

Following Omar's murder by a slave, the Muslim community again gathered to choose a successor. After some acrimonious debate, Uthman (r. 644–656), a member of the powerful Umayyad family, was selected as the new caliph. In his 70s Uthman was not as capable or popular a leader as his predecessors. After he appointed Muaw'iyah, a member of his own family, as governor of Syria, Uthman was accused of nepotism. Ali and his supporters were also angry that he had again been passed

over as caliph. Opposition to Uthman grew and in 656 rebellious troops returning from Egypt assassinated him and declared Ali (r. 656–661) the new caliph.

Muaw'iyah and the Umayyad family criticized Ali for his reluctance to prosecute the assassins; A'isha, the Prophet's widow, also opposed Ali and mounted troops to fight against him. However Ali and his supporters defeated A'isha at the Battle of the Camel in 656, but in face of the open hostility in Medina, Ali moved his capital to Kufa. As opposition from Syria continued to mount, Ali prepared to fight Muaw'iyah's opposing claims to the caliphate. The two sides met at the Battle of Siffin in 657. The fighting continued for several months and at one point Muaw'iyah's forces raised parts of the QUR'AN to demand negotiations in accordance with Muslim tradition. Mediators, including Amr ibn al-'As, declared that Ali would continue to rule from Kufa and Muaw'iyah would rule from Damascus; this essentially meant that the Muslim community now had two caliphs. Some seceders (Kharijites) blamed Ali for his willingness to negotiate and in 661 a Kharijite assassinated Ali in Kufa. However the division between the Muslim believers over who was the legitimate ruler proved to be a lasting one.

See also A'ISHA; DHIMMI; SHI'ISM; Umayyad Dynasty; Yarmuk, Battle of.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Canute

(c. 995–1035) *king of England*

Canute was the younger son of Sweyn Forkbeard (c. 960–1014) and Princess Gunhild, and the grandson of Harold Bluetooth, king of the Danes. In 1013 Canute joined Sweyn on his third attempt to invade England. Sweyn forced the incompetent King Ethelred II the Unready (968–1016) to escape to the homeland of his second wife, Emma (c. 988–1052), daughter of Duke Richard of Normandy. The demoralized English Witanagemot (the governing assembly) acknowledged Sweyn as king. Upon Sweyn's death in 1014, the inexperienced 18-year-old Canute fled to Denmark when

Ethelred returned to England, reclaimed the throne, and was crowned on April 23, 1016. Ethelred died a few months later and his eldest surviving son, Edmund Ironside (c. 980–1016), was chosen as king by the Londoners, although the general population outside of London wanted Canute as king. Canute vanquished Edmund at the Battle of Assandurea (Ashingdon) on October 18, 1016. Edmund and Canute agreed to divide the country; Edmund took present-day Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, and London and Canute received all the other territories. This agreement ended the civil war. Edmund died on November 30, 1016. The Witangemot allowed Canute to succeed to the throne as king of a united England.

Canute's reign from 1016 to 1035 was initially problematic and engendered a considerable amount of bloodshed because of some resistance. Ultimately he was successful because he was deemed a Christian rather than a conqueror. Canute capably and fairly utilized the wealth of the immensely prosperous country. He gained the support of the aristocracy and realized his strength would lie in a strong alliance with England. Moreover, he respected England's Anglo-Saxon customs and institutions. Canute issued dooms, supported the church by erecting churches, granted the clergy lands, gave them considerable treasure, and a peaceful environment in their monasteries. He brought unity to a land previously torn apart by centuries of Viking invasions, thus obtaining both English and Anglo-Danish support.

Canute's greatest contribution to the administrative development of England was arbitrarily to declare the administrative districts of Northumbria, Wessex, Mercia, and East Anglia. He placed them under the authority of a Danish earl, or *jarl*, who were under Canute's firm control. After banishing his first wife and their son Sweyn, Canute married the strong-minded Emma, widow of Ethelred the Unready. They had a son, Harthacanute (1018–42), and a daughter, Gunhild, who would later marry Holy Roman Emperor Henry III. His other son was Harold Harefoot (c. 1016–40) by his mistress, Elfgifu of Northampton. Canute also introduced trained infantrymen known as *housecarls*. These elite, honored, and privileged men formed the basis of the future English army and soon became wealthy—the English people were heavily taxed to support them. The housecarls were an entity unto themselves; they had their own regulations, judicial system, and huge arsenal of weapons.

Canute promulgated a revised Anglo-Saxon legal code that respected Anglo-Saxon continuity. Economically, many towns emerged in England because of the vigorous North Sea trade. Socially the English people were content with their capable ruler. Harold,

Canute's brother, died in 1018 and Canute became king of Denmark. He was equally capable of ruling in Denmark as in England. Canute issued Denmark's first national coinage, separated the clergy from the realm, and declared peace and friendship between the Danes and the English. However England was forced to pay a Danegeld sum (tax) of £82,500 to Denmark. In 1027 Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome and visited holy places, sanctuaries, and the tombs of various apostles. He also attended the coronation of Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II (c. 990–1039). Conrad asked Canute to administer parts of present-day Germany. Canute gained control over the Danish parts of Norway in 1028 when the Norwegian nobles supported him in expelling Olaf II (Saint Olaf, 995–1030). Canute made his son Sweyn subking in 1029 with Sweyn's mother acting as regent. They were driven out in 1035.

Ultimately Canute's huge Scandinavian empire was only held together by a fragile allegiance and was financially supported by a bountiful England. Canute died in 1035 and was buried at Winchester. He had failed to leave a succession provision and his sons initially jointly ruled. Harthacanute took power in Denmark. Harold proclaimed himself king of England but died five years later after a calamitous reign. Harthacanute then took over as king of England. Canute's North Sea kingdom fell apart and his line ended in 1042. At Harthacanute's suggestion the Witangemot chose Edward the Confessor (1003–66) as its king in 1043.

See also ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE; ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

Capet, Hugh

(c. 940–996) *French king*

The founder of the Capetian dynasty of French kings (987–1328), Hugh Capet was born the second son of Hugh the Great, duke of Francia and count of Paris, and Hedwig, sister of Otto I, the emperor of Germany.

In 961 he was made duke of Francia, holding vast fiefs in these regions and administering considerable power over the Neustrian nobility. Around 970 he married Adelaide, sister of William IV, duke of Aquitaine and Poitou. The union with Adelaide added influence and prestige to Hugh, whose powers already were superior to those of the nominal king of France, Lothair (954–986). Hugh's rising power provoked a conflict with the king, which became especially apparent from c. 980. In May 985 Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Pope SYLVESTER II (999–1003), spoke of Hugh as "king...not in name, but in effect and deed," while Lothair was "king of France in name alone." A year later Lothair died and his son Louis V the "Sluggard" ascended the throne, only to die a year later without an heir. Upon his death, on May 21, 987, Hugh was unanimously elected as the king and on July 3 he was crowned at Noyons.

His power extended over feudal domains and towns in the areas of Paris, Orléans, Senlis, Chartres, Touraine, and Anjou, while vassals, who might challenge his authority, held other parts of France. Shortly after his coronation Charles of Lorraine, Louis V's uncle, presented his claims to the throne, although Adalberon dissuaded him from using force against the new king. In 988 the townsmen of Laon handed their city over to Charles, and Hugh failed to recapture it. Hugh's power was challenged not only by his lay rivals, but also by some ecclesiastical authorities. In 989 Adalberon, bishop of Reims, died and his place was taken by Arnoulf, who refused to acknowledge the Capetian rule and attempted to restore the CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY, with Charles of Lorraine as the king. Gerbert switched sides too, for a brief time, proclaiming Charles as the legitimate king and calling Hugh the "interrex," or temporary king.

Charles had Laon and Reims in his hands. The significance of the control over the latter city was twofold, for Charles exercised his power not only over his secular subjects, but also over the archbishop, who crowned kings. The situation was highly unfavorable to Hugh, who acted decisively to restore his power. On March 991 Arnoulf and Charles were captured and imprisoned. In the same month the bishop of Laon returned to Hugh and left his town exposed to the king's mercy. The Council of St. Basle (June 17–18, 991) deposed Arnoulf and elevated Gerbert, who changed sides again, to the archbishopric. The deposition of Arnoulf and installation of Gerbert consolidated Hugh's royal power, while the cities of Reims and Laon seemed to stay loyal to him. Charles and his family died in captivity.

The papacy remained silent regarding the deposition of Arnoulf. It was probably under the influence

of Otto III, the German emperor (983–1002) that John XVI (985–996) banned the appointment of Gerbert. Hugh sought to gain the support of the French churchmen against the pope, who was in that time a puppet in the hands of the German emperor. He bequeathed lands to monasteries and defended their rights against lay lords and bishops. Between 991 and 996 Hugh and his son issued a number of charters. Most of Hugh's barons recognized his authority and suzerainty, but there was one last attempt to overthrow him. In 995 Odo of Blois and Adalberon, bishop of Laon, attempted to reinstall a son of Charles of Lorraine as the king. Their plan was revealed and crushed.

In order to consolidate the power of the nascent dynasty, Hugh sought a suitable mate for his son, Prince Robert, later Robert II the Pious (996–1031). After he failed to obtain him a bride from the Byzantine court, he married him to Rozola Susanna, the widow of the count of Flanders and daughter of a former king of Italy. The marriage likely took place in 989 and lasted until 992, when Robert divorced his wife, who was about 15 years older than he. Hugh died in October 996, while on a military campaign near Tours. Perhaps an insignificant figure compared to his later descendants, Hugh was remembered as a symbol of the French monarchy and was commemorated in the literature of the High and Late Middle Ages, chiefly in the *chanson de geste* genre, as well as in some English literary sources.

The Capetian dynasty ruled in France until 1328. Their authority was largely decentralized until the end of the 12th century, mainly because of the emerging power of the Norman dukes, who also ruled as kings of England since the NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND of 1066 and exercised control over Normandy, Anjou, and AQUITAINE from the ascension of HENRY II Plantagenet in 1154. The Aragonese Crown periodically encroached on some of southern territories. Royal power became increasingly centralizing under PHILIP II AUGUSTUS (1180–1223), who reconquered Normandy from the hands of John the Lackland of England (1199–1216) in 1204 and annexed considerable territories of Languedoc, in the course of the ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE (1209–29) and the war against Pedro of Aragon (1213). Philip's heirs adopted the same policy of expansion and consolidation, including Louis VIII (1223–26), LOUIS IX the Saint (1226–70), Philip III the Bold (1270–85), and PHILIP IV the Fair (1285–1314). The latter had three sons, Louis X (1314–16), Philip V (1316–22), and Charles IV (1322–28), who died without heirs. As the result, the rule of the direct Capetian kings came to its end and the Crown passed to the dynasty of Valois, a branch

of the Capetian family. The death of the last Capetian led also to the outburst of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337–1453) between England and France.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE.

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PHILIP SLAVIN

Carolingian dynasty

The Carolingian dynasty was a family of FRANKISH TRIBE nobles who came to rule over much of western Europe from 751 to 987. The dynasty's most prominent member was CHARLEMAGNE. The family originally served as hereditary mayors of the palace of Austrasia, the northeastern section of the kingdom of the Franks comprising modern-day eastern France, western Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands, under the ruling MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY. Pepin (or Pippin) I of Landen (580–640) assumed the position of mayor of the palace during the reign of the Merovingian king, Clotaire II (584–629). The post of mayor of the palace, known in Latin as *maior domus*, came to hold decision-making authority, while the king served as a reigning figurehead. Pepin I's daughter married the son of Saint Arnulf, bishop of Metz (582–640), uniting two of the most prominent Frankish noble families. Their son, Pepin II of Herstal (c. 635–714), continued the family's dominance, conquering Neustria, the western section of the kingdom of the Franks comprising most of present-day northern France, in 687.

He became mayor of the palace in Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. The names used to identify the family (Pippinid or Arnulfing) derived from one of Pepin II's grandfathers. Later known as the Carolingian family, the Pippinid family made the post of mayor of the palace hereditary. The most famous Carolingian mayor of the palace was Charles Martel (686–791)—known

variously as Carolus Martellus in Latin or Charles "the Hammer" in English—who served as mayor of the palace of the three Frankish kingdoms. In 732 he won the Battle of Tours, which halted an advancing Muslim army from overrunning western Europe. According to Frankish custom, following Charles Martel's death, his position was divided between his two sons, Pepin III (714–768), known as "the Short," in Neustria, and Carloman (710–754) in Austrasia.

Pepin III secured papal and noble support to seize power. Pepin III, reuniting Austrasia and Neustria into one kingdom, usurped the Crown of the Merovingians to become the ruling king in 751. He became the founder of the Carolingian dynasty as King Pepin I. The pope anointed Pepin I, also granting him the title of Roman Patrician. Pepin I also created the PAPAL STATES out of conquered territory in central Italy, giving it to the pope to administer. Following Pepin I's death, his kingdom was divided equally among his two sons, Carloman (755–771) and Charlemagne (c. 742–814). Following Carloman's death in 771, Charlemagne became sole ruler.

Charlemagne (known as Carolus Magnus in Latin, Charles the Great in English, and Karl der Grosse in German) expanded the Frankish empire toward the south, conquering much of southern Germany, including Bavaria and Saxony, and northern and central Italy, to reunite most of the former Western Roman Empire. Charlemagne's empire came to include present-day France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and parts of Italy and Spain. He continued his alliance with the pope in Rome, promoting religious reform and cultural growth. Consequently Pope Leo III (d. 816) crowned Charlemagne Roman emperor on December 25, 800. The coronation solidified the alliance between the Carolingian emperors and the pope, who provided his blessing on Frankish conquests, which resulted in the spread of Christianity.

In 806 Charlemagne created a plan for the division of his empire among his sons. However on Charlemagne's death in 814, his sole surviving son, Louis I (778–840), known as "the Pious," came to the throne. Both Charlemagne and Louis I worked to centralize authority throughout the empire. They appointed nobles as administrators, leading to the development of a feudalistic society under the emperor. After Louis I's death, his three sons, Lothair (795–855), Louis "the German" (804–876), and Charles "the Bald" (823–877), fought for control of the Frankish empire. In 843 the TREATY OF VERDUN divided the empire into three segments (West Francia, Middle Francia, and East Francia) among each of Louis I's sons. Under Carolingian rule, cultural and

linguistic divisions occurred within the Frankish Empire. The eastern Frankish people retained their Germanic dialects, while the western Franks spoke a language that developed into Old French, an amalgam of Gallo-Latin and Germanic dialects. The division of the Frankish Empire was not only a political delineation, but also a cultural and linguistic one. Following Lothair I's death in 855, Middle Francia was divided among his sons and renewed tensions arose between the various factions of the Carolingians. The Carolingians maintained control of Middle Francia, which became the kingdoms of Lotharingia and Provence, and Lombardy, the eldest retaining the empty title of emperor until 899.

Despite ensuing rivalries and invasions, the Carolingians retained control of the eastern portion of the Frankish Empire until 911. East Francia served as the nucleus for the later HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, sometimes referred to as the First Reich (First Empire). Over time East Francia's political centralization dissolved into regional duchies, which operated as petty kingdoms. Such fragmentation continued, with local rulers promoting their own interests and autonomy within the kingdom as a whole. Following the death of Louis "the Child" (893–911), the last Carolingian ruler, nobles eventually elected Henry the Fowler (876–936), duke of Saxony, to succeed. Sometimes referred to as the Ottonians, after Henry I's son Otto I (912–973), who was crowned first Holy Roman Emperor in 962, the dynasty presented themselves as continuous successors to the Carolingians. The duchies' powers increased as the Holy Roman Emperors did not assume their position through a blood link, but rather by election from the rulers of the most prominent kingdoms within the empire. Consequently they ruled over a confederation of sovereign territories, rather than a feudal empire.

West Francia (known variously as Francia Occidentalis and the Kingdom of the West Franks), the western portion of the former Frankish Empire, was dominated by several feudal lords, who elected the count of Paris, HUGH CAPET (938–996), as king of France in 987 following the death of the last Carolingian ruler. He became the founder of the French royal house, the Capetians (987–1328), which included the later cadet branches: the Valois (1328–1589), the Bourbons (1589–1792, 1814, 1815–30), and the Bourbon-Orléans (1830–48).

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; PEPIN, DONATION OF.

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Charlemagne's empire included today's France, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and parts of Italy and Spain.

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ERIC MARTONE

Carolingian Renaissance

The Carolingian Renaissance is the name given to the revival of classical learning and culture that occurred during the late eighth and ninth centuries, a period that roughly corresponds to the rule of the Frankish emperor CHARLEMAGNE (768–814) and his successors during the CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY. Prior to Charlemagne's ascension to the throne, the MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY had established a court school (known as the *scola palatina*) in order to prepare young Frankish nobles for their future political roles. Literary education remained, however, the responsibility of the monastic and cathedral schools. Charlemagne vastly increased the responsibilities of the palace school, which became an important repository of learning and a center of educational reform. He also issued a series of royal decrees calling for the general improvement of all schools throughout the empire. To help him in these efforts, he recruited the English monk ALCUIN of York (c. 730–804) to become head of the palace school in 782.

With Alcuin's guidance Charlemagne initiated a generalized reform of the church. This bold venture began with the moral and intellectual schooling of the monastic and secular clergy. The famous edict of 785, known as the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (Epistle on cultivating letters), called for the clergy to study Latin to understand Christian doctrine. Charlemagne voiced his disapproval that many written communications received from his monasteries contained grammatical errors and uncouth language. Once they had mastered correct Latin syntax and style, he noted, the clergy must teach all those who were able and willing to learn. In 789 the Council of Aachen reinforced that each monastery and abbey ought to have a school. Charlemagne sought to make education available to all children throughout his territories, whether they intended to enter the cloister or not. The rise of Latin literacy among the lay population attests to the success of these efforts.

Charlemagne also understood that his clergymen could not become effective preachers if they did not have access to authoritative, reliable copies of the Holy Scriptures. He commissioned Alcuin to ensure that every monastery and church receive a copy of the Vulgate that was free from scribal errors. The copying and distribution of basic texts placed new pressure on the manuscript *scriptoria* (or "copying rooms"). In an effort to harmonize the quality of preaching, Charlemagne commissioned Paul the Deacon (c. 720–799) to compile sermons for all the feast days. These were to serve as models for the local priests to implement and

rework. Emphasis was also placed on monastic reform. In an effort to enforce the Rule of St. Benedict, Charlemagne ordered that an error-free manuscript of the Rule be brought from Monte Cassino in Italy, and that copies of it be distributed to all of his monasteries.

The school curriculum, inspired by the writings of Augustine of Hippo, focused on a close study of Christian doctrine and classical authors, which served as models of good style. Students studied and learned the Psalms and were initiated—through works like Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (fl. 430), and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (c. 615–630)—to the seven liberal arts. Special attention was given to the three arts belonging to Boethius's *trivium*: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. More advanced students were also introduced to the scientific arts of the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and harmony (or music). Ferrières gained renown for its meticulous study of classical literature; the schools of Laon and Fulda were centers of biblical exegesis; St. Wandrille surpassed all others in the study of music; Tours and Reichenau were famous for their copying and editing of manuscripts. Approximately 70 schools—located throughout Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and northern Spain—have left us some record of their activities during the ninth century.

Charlemagne's library included works of Horace, Lucan, Terence, Statius, Juvenal, Tibullus, Claudian, Martial, Cicero, Servius, Sallust, Virgil, Macrobius, Ovid, and Priscian. Abbots in the provinces could enrich their collections by ordering copies of books in the palace library, or in other surrounding monastic and cathedral libraries. Alcuin believed it was important to make manuscripts easier to read, by adopting punctuation and adding spaces between words. Furthermore since writing materials were scarce and expensive, developing a clear and compact script was a high priority.

Medieval scribes had inherited several scripts from the Romans, such as rustic capitals, uncial, half-uncial, and cursive. Rustic capitals are frequently found in inscriptions and law codes. The script consists of large, narrow capital letters placed side by side. Uncial and half-uncial used more rounded letters. All three of these scripts were cumbersome and occupied a large amount of space. In an effort to make the most out of an expensive sheet of parchment (sheep's skin) or vellum (calf's skin), legal documents and business records were generally written in cursive hand, which was particularly difficult to read. Irish bookhand, for example, was a beautiful and elaborate script, but it was difficult to write and the letters remained very large. In the

770s, the monks of Corbie—a sister-establishment of Luxeuil, the Irish abbey founded in the sixth century by St. Columba—developed a compact, rounded, regular and very legible script, which became known as “Carolingian minuscule,” because of its small size. Alcuin immediately introduced the script to the palace school and *scriptorium*, where it was used to copy the Bible, writings of the church fathers, and classical works. Carolingian minuscule quickly spread throughout the empire. During the 20th century, it continued to survive as the standard typewriter font, and it forms the basis of the Times New Roman computer font.

Carolingian scholars did not limit themselves to copying manuscripts. They also composed their own works: textbooks for the study of the liberal arts, biblical commentaries, dictionaries, glossaries, bilingual word lists, compilations, spelling handbooks, commentaries, and summaries of ancient works. An impressive body of hagiographical literature (such as saints’ lives) also dates from the Carolingian revival. Numerous political and historical writings inspired by classical models have survived, including Einhard’s *Life of Charlemagne* (based on the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*) and Paul the Deacon’s *History of the Lombards*. Carolingian authors like Walafred Strabo (c. 808–899), Sedulius Scottus (fl. 848–874) and Lupus of Ferrières (c. 805–862), wrote more than 3,200 pages of original Latin poetry.

Although men remained the most active players in the Carolingian Renaissance, study programs for women were implemented in female monasteries, and women played an important role as teachers outside their religious communities. A female hermit educated St. Wiborada, and in the early 840s a woman named Dhuoba composed a *Liber Manualis* (a sort of grammar book) to instruct her son, William. The granddaughters of Judith, second wife of Louis the Pious, inherited part of their father’s library; female monasteries—like Chelles, Jouarre, Säckingén, Remiremont, Herford, Poitiers, Soissons, Essen, and Brescia—had their own *scriptoria*.

Irish scholars (known as the *scholastici*) also played an important role. Toward the end of the ninth century the monk Notker—a teacher, scribe, and librarian at the Irish monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland—commemorated their influence in a famous anecdote. Two Irishmen, he claims, went to the court of Charlemagne and so greatly impressed the emperor that he extended his patronage to them. Einhard confirms that Charlemagne “held the Irish in special esteem.” After Alcuin’s retirement from public life to the monastery of Tours, an Irishman, Clement, became head of the palace school. The lasting relationship between Carolingian mon-

archs and the Irish continued long after Charlemagne’s death, under Louis the Pious, Lothair II, and Charles the Bald (who becomes the patron of the famous Irish scholar John Scotus Eriugena). Under Charlemagne and his descendents, the Frankish court became a center of interaction between scholars and poets from all over Europe. The influences of the Carolingian Renaissance continued to be felt well into the 10th, and even into the 12th century, as the cathedral and monastic schools continued to teach a curriculum based on the church fathers, the Latin authors, and the liberal arts.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE; IRISH MONASTIC SCHOLARSHIP, GOLDEN AGE OF; MEDIEVAL EUROPE: EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

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K. SARAH-JANE MURRAY

Celtic Christianity

A variety of modern sectarian and special interest groups, from New Age cults to Irish nationalists to feminists to independent Christians, claim Celtic roots for their drive and inspiration. With so many competing claims it is difficult to clear away the partisan fervor from the historical realities surrounding Celtic spirituality and cultural identity. Among the giants in this tradition are the likes of Patrick (d. 461 C.E.), Brendan the Navigator (d. 577 C.E.), COLUMBAN (d. 615 C.E.), and Brigid (legendary). Among its gigantic achievements are the Book of Kells and a corpus of ballads and stories that make it one of the earliest European vernacular literatures.

Celtic spirituality is an inexact term reflecting the identity of an emigrating and outgoing people who adapted well wherever they wandered. It is usually applied to the native peoples of Ireland, Britain, and Brittany, bound by the language of Gaelic and (later) Hiberno-Latin. These people spread into ancient Gaul

(France), Spain, Italy, and even Galatia in present-day Turkey; their religious pilgrims were known in the ancient world for their visits throughout the lands of the Middle East. Eventually Christian preachers from Celtic lands were known for re-Christianizing and recivilizing Europe after the so-called Dark Ages, so it is no wonder that Celtic spirituality is claimed by many groups.

No one is sure when Christianity reached western Celtic parts, but some Christian presence must have been established by 431 C.E. when Pope Celestine I sent a bishop to Ireland. Perhaps shortly thereafter the Western Latin Church commissioned the legendary Patrick for missionary work on the island. Thus, though Celtic spirituality shows some native distinctiveness, it was from the beginning associated with the ecclesial structure and faith of the Western Church and not just an indigenous and autonomous Christianity. In fact the earliest artifacts discovered show Irish Christianity to be found among the wealthy classes, who used typical icons and conventional symbols to show their spirituality. Most likely they owed their faith to the fervor of the Western Church to spread Christianity, even if most of their land never was under the Roman Empire.

After the mid-400s C.E. when the Romans retreated from Britain to the European continent, contacts with the Western world diminished. The Celts were forced more wholly to reconnect with their native roots. This tendency was intensified when the Saxons arose in Britain and threatened to take Celtic lands. Meanwhile the minority Christian population repudiated residual Western Church influences because of the worldliness and corruption of many of its institutions and personnel. The church did not respond to the alienation of the Celtic Christians until 605 C.E. when Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine of Canterbury to parley with the Irish. The pope recognized the need for a council, showing that Celtic Christianity was a force to be reckoned with. Unfortunately, the talks completely broke down. Finally in 640 C.E. the Irish Church acceded to some of the pope's requests.

Celtic spirituality developed in a window of time from the mid-fifth century to the mid-seventh century C.E. Its features included a different religious calendar (meaning that the Irish celebrated Easter on a different date), a different pastoral structure (meaning that the Irish had their own pastors and pastoral jurisdictions), and a different popular piety (meaning that native Irish myths became incorporated into Celtic Christianity).

The pastoral system of the Irish recognized the authority of pious monks and their monasteries and

did not pay attention to formal boundaries of parish and diocese as the Western Church normally did. Instead of bishops and theologies they esteemed abbots and superiors, both men and women, who proved that they could preserve cosmic order through their personal sanctity and mystical powers. The Celtic Church never rejected the office of the pope and institutions of the Western Church, but it tended to downplay their role and effectiveness in true spirituality. Its pastoral system bears remarkable similarity to that of the Desert Fathers and Oriental Orthodox churches (of the Copts, Syrian Orthodox, and others). There may have been limited and organic exchanges based on Celtic wanderings and pilgrimages.

The popular piety of the Irish shows the incorporation of mythic Celtic heroes into Christian stories. The story of St. Brigid, for example, founder of Kildare Abbey, may well be based on Brigid, daughter of the Celtic god Dagda, whose name graces so many places in Ireland. St. Brigid is not based on the traditional Mary, mother of Jesus, but on her namesake, who was a healer and creative force for the gods. Celts also had less a sense of the Latin notion of original sin. The world is not cursed with the fall of the human parents Adam and Eve, as the great Western Church thinker Augustine said. It is rather a place for humans to steward and show personal discipline so as to go to heaven.

There is a heightened sense of the nearness of the divine to the created order. The ideal Christian in Celtic spirituality is the monk in the monastery who lives a life of self-control and prayer: The monk shows that his or her life can be disciplined and the world can be civilized and ordered.

If nothing else, Celtic spirituality shows an alternative to the logic-driven and doctrinal approach of the West. It values independence of thought and the Power of personal sanctity. However, it is hardly nonstructured or spontaneous or wholly unique. It is not separate from the Christian religion, and probably is best viewed as a hybrid of Latin theology and native beliefs. By the 11th–12th centuries the special characteristics of Celtic spirituality were completely submerged in the Western Church, much as the Desert Father spirituality is a part of the Eastern Greek Church.

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Chagatai Khanate

GENGHIS KHAN (c. 1167–1227) had four sons by his principal wife, Borte. The eldest son, Juji, and second son, Chagatai, were such fierce rivals that Genghis decided to bypass both in favor of his third son, OGOTAI KHAN as his successor khaghan (Grand Khan), and all of his sons agreed with his choice. Genghis also assigned territories to each son to govern, although all would acknowledge the leadership of the khaghan and cooperate with him in expanding the Mongol Empire. Juji received land farthest from the paternal homeland—the western territories that would include Russia and eastern Europe; his followers were called the Golden Horde. Chagatai received west Turkestan, the Tarim Basin, and the western Tian Shan (T'ien Shan) region. Ogotai received Dzungaria and part of Central Asia, while the youngest son, Tului, received the Mongolian homeland. This arrangement was confirmed just before Genghis Khan died in 1227. Two years later the Kuriltai (council of nobles) elected Ogotai the next khaghan.

Chagatai's allotment, which was enlarged later, also included the Ili River valley, Kashgaria, Turfan and Kucha in present-day northwestern China, and Transoxiana, including the towns of Bukhara and SAMARKAND. These disparate lands became known as the Chagatai Khanate. Except for the oasis towns most of the khanate was steppe land inhabited by various nomads, most of Turkic ethnicity. Chagatai was a warrior and also a staunch upholder of Mongol traditions. Genghis had appointed him guardian of the Mongolian law code called "Yasa" which he had sternly administered. Chagatai and his successors kept up a seminomadic lifestyle, changing from winter to summer camp as the seasons dictated. Whereas the Mongol realms under KUBILAI KHAN and his heirs in China, the YUAN DYNASTY (1279–1368), and the il-khanate of HULAGU KHAN and his successors in Persia and the Middle East had fixed boundaries, rich resources, large sedentary populations, and long established traditions of governance, the Chagatai Khanate had shifting boundaries, tribal populations with weak state institutions, and relatively sparse resources.

It was hemmed in by other Mongol dominions ruled by branches of Genghis Khan's descendants in three directions—the Yuan dynasty, the Il-Khanate, and the Golden Horde in Russia. The only direction for expansion was into Afghanistan and India. Beginning in the 1290s Chagatai Khanate forces took control of eastern Afghanistan from which they raided northwestern India. In 1303 an expedition of 120,000

men besieged Delhi for two months and devastated a wide area. Another force of 40,000 horsemen returned to India in 1304 but was defeated and 9,000 prisoners were trampled to death by elephants. A similar fate befell the men of the last attacking army in 1305–1306. Not able to expand outward the heirs of Chagatai were constantly embroiled in wars and rivalries of the other three branches of the family, and among themselves. Although the Chagatai Khanate was poor in resources, its central location along the Silk Road allowed it to collect abundant taxes and tolls. Frequent wars and predatory policy toward trade and sedentary people often resulted in the breakdown and ultimately decline in international trade by land routes. Major differences and incompatibilities divided the eastern and western halves of the khanate. The western part, originally part of the Khwarazm kingdom, was Islamized, urbanized, and more advanced than the eastern region, which was more pastoral, nomadic, and animistic. Lacking a cohesive government, each went its own way.

Chagatai died in 1242 and was succeeded by his grandson Kara Hulagu. Interference by the khaghan and involvement by the Chagatai Khanid rulers in the dynastic struggle of other branches of the family resulted in many upheavals. Leaders of the Chagatai Khanate became involved when Mongke Khaghan died in 1259 and a succession struggle erupted between his brothers Kubilai and Arik Boke; they sided with the winner Kubilai. Later they supported Kaidu Khan, a grandson of Ogotai, who challenged Kubilai for the throne of the khaghan. The destructive wars continued until Kaidu's death in 1301. Although Kubilai won against his rivals, the unity of the Mongol Empire was fractured forever, and even though the Chagatai rulers were not in contention for overall leadership, their central position in the line of communications between the different branches of the family played a significant role in the breakdown of unity of the Mongol Empire.

The frequent civil wars and changes of rulers (there were 30 khan up to 1230) fatally weakened the central authority at the expense of local leaders. As the Chagatai Khanate was disintegrating in 1369, there rose in Samarkand a Mongol-Turkic leader who claimed descent from Genghis Khan. His name was TIMURLANE (TAMERLANE), meaning Timur the lame. His military career that ended with his death in 1403 would replicate that of his famous ancestor. In the 14th century Chagatai rulers converted to Islam, the religion of many of the Turkic peoples they ruled. The official language of the khanate was changed from Mongolian to Chagatai

Turkic. It continued to be used in the region they ruled until modern times.

See also MONGKE KHAN.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Champa kingdom

According to Chinese texts, in 192 C.E., Champa was formed during the aftermath of the breakup of the Han dynasty of China. The Champa kingdom was situated along the coastal plains of present-day central and

southern Vietnam. The Chams shared many biological traits with the Malays and Polynesians. After years of fighting with rival Chinese factions in Tonkin, the Chams came to be under Indian cultural influence. Elements of Indian culture formed a huge part of Cham culture, as a result. The Champa kingdom was divided into four regions with Hindu names—Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, and Panduranga. The four, which were already powerful, were reunited under King Bhadravarman in 400. Located between India and China, the Chams were in a strategic position to conduct trade between West and East Asia. The kingdom played a key role along this trade route, which became known as the Silk Route of the Sea. At the height of their success, they became a prosperous seafaring power that actively participated in commerce and piracy along the coastline.

Because of its strategic location, the Chams were constantly under threat of attack from their neighbors. Cham-Chinese rivalry persisted for centuries and featured prominently in Cham history. In order to stop repeated destructive Cham raids on their coasts, the Chinese invaded Champa territory in 446. Champa was made subservient to China but by the sixth century the Chams achieved independence from China rule. Champa trade and culture flourished during this era. Champa success was however disrupted by Javanese invasions in the eighth century, which they managed to stave off. In the ninth century under King Indravarman II, the Chams relocated their capital farther north in Amaravati. During this period, the Chams built beautiful temples and palaces, many of which survive today.

By the 10th century the Champa kingdom faced another adversary from Hanoi in the form of the Dai Viet, who wanted the territories of Amaravati and a few decades later, Vijaya. Later the Cambodians launched attacks on their kingdom, along with the Vietnamese. Even though the Cham king Harivarman managed to fend off attacks from these two invading forces in 1145, the Khmers returned under a new more aggressive king and managed to bring Champa under his leadership. But two years later, a new Cham leader successfully defeated the Khmers. In 1177 the next Cham king even invaded the Cambodian capital of Angkor.

This victorious period was extremely brief, as the Chams were once again subjected to Cambodian rule in 1190 until 1220. The Chams would never again experience a period of resurgence and instead suffered successive invasions by foreign forces. After 1220, Vietnamese kings, who were members of the Tran dynasty, attacked Champa. The Champa kingdom was further weakened by the Mongol invasion in 1284. By the end of the 15th



An ancient Cham structure in central Vietnam, one of the remains of the Cham civilization that was conquered by foreign invaders.

century very little of the Champa kingdom was left as their territories were being conquered by foreign invaders, who completed the conquest of Cham territory during the 17th century.

See also VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Charlemagne

(c. 742–814) *king of the Franks and emperor of the West*

Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, was born the eldest son of Pepin the Short, king of the Franks (751–768), and his wife, Bertrada of Laon. Upon his father's death the Frankish kingdom was divided between Charlemagne and his younger brother Carloman in 768. When Carloman died suddenly in 771, Charlemagne seized control of his brother's lands and reunified the Frankish realm.

Charlemagne's kingdom grew to an empire under his relentless and resourceful military campaigns. Beginning in 772 he initiated a campaign to subdue the Saxons, a task he would only complete in 804. Soon after becoming sole ruler of the Franks, he invaded Italy and crushed the Lombard Kingdom, taking the Crown of the Lombards for himself (773–774). An initial foray against the Muslims into Spain in 778 ended in disaster when Charlemagne's rearguard was ambushed and destroyed at Roncesvalles, while returning home from this expedition. But by 811 Charlemagne had extended his sway south of the Pyrenees down to the Ebro River and had created the Spanish March to act as a buffer zone between the Moors in Spain and his own lands north of the Pyrenees.

On his eastern front Charlemagne deposed his onetime ally the duke of Bavaria (787), and incorporated his territory into his own lands. This brought him into contact with the fierce Slavic people known as the Avars, who held sizable lands in the areas of modern day Austria and Hungary. Charlemagne inflicted a massive defeat on these people in 796 and created another heavily defended march known as the Ostmark (Austria), to protect his eastern border against marauding Avars. In helping him overcome and rule such disparate foes and lands, Charlemagne was fortunate in having three capable and loyal sons. His son Charles (d. 811) ruled the northwest part of

Charlemagne's Frankish lands known as Neustria, while Pepin (d. 810) administered Italy, and Louis (d. 840) ruled over Aquitaine. The latter two in particular fought long, hard campaigns either with their father or on his behalf.

The strength of Charlemagne's empire depended in part upon his reputation and success as a warlord, together with the tight bonds of personal loyalty that existed between him and his chief administrators. In addition to his three sons who ruled as cadet kings, Charlemagne also relied heavily upon the margraves who ruled over the marks/marches that he created along volatile border areas. In less troublesome areas in the interior of his lands Charlemagne posted counts to keep the peace, administer imperial laws, and protect the realm. To ensure the loyalty of these and other top officials Charlemagne created the office of the *missi dominici*, whose duty it was to ride circuit throughout the realm inquiring as to the honesty and efficiency of his royal officials.

Another reason for Charlemagne's success was his approach to justice throughout his realm. Religion aside, he respected the traditions, tribal laws, and rights of the various Germanic peoples under his authority, and rather than replace tribal laws, he sought to codify them in writing. He did however issue a number of imperial laws called capitularies, which laid out regulations for his own royal officials or administrators or which touched upon religious issues. Historians have long acknowledged the important role that Christianity and the institutional church played in enabling Charlemagne to maintain a firm hold on both his throne and his empire. His conquest and eventual integration of Saxony into his empire are illustrative in this regard. Charlemagne relied upon a combination of military offensives against the Saxons and the missionary activities of Benedictine monks finally to pacify this belligerent tribe. In 782 he issued a series of laws forbidding the practice of pagan religion among the Saxons, with harsh penalties for those caught transgressing. The overall effect of these measures was slowly to saturate Saxon tribal culture with the religion and culture that Charlemagne endorsed.

Charlemagne also engaged in a vigorous attempt to improve the level of morality and education among the clergy throughout his realm. To this end he utilized the talents of ALCUIN of York (735–804), who, beginning in 781, undertook the arduous process of bringing discipline to the monastic houses throughout the empire and introducing the classical Roman program of the liberal arts as the educational curriculum used throughout the Carolingian monastic schools. For 15 years Alcuin himself oversaw a school at Charlemagne's palace at Aachen. The results of this educational program were impressive

and produced a flourishing of culture and learning that has been termed the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE. A number of Carolingian Benedictine monasteries became vibrant centers of learning, such as Fulda, St. Gall, and Reichenau. Monks at these institutions assiduously set about learning classical Latin grammar and rhetoric and in the process copied and preserved for posterity numerous works from classical Rome. Scholarship and literature flourished in this era, as is evident from such works as Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.

On Christmas Day in the year 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne Roman emperor (Imperator Romanorum). Historians have long quarreled over the significance of the coronation, and even whether Charlemagne himself approved. The Roman Empire at the time of Charlemagne's coronation referred to the Greek or Byzantine Empire, which was under the control of the empress Irene (797–802). Through his actions the pope may well have been seeking to curry favor with Charlemagne and ensure his aid in maintaining the pope's temporal control over recently annexed lands in Italy.

Or, absent a male ruler on the Byzantine throne, he may actually have thought he was creating a legitimate emperor who could unite the Carolingian territories in the west with the Byzantine lands in the east. If so, he seriously miscalculated, for initial overtures between Charlemagne's court and that of the empress Irene created an uproar among the people of the Byzantine Empire. Charlemagne himself actually disliked the title of emperor, and it certainly added nothing to his power or ability to rule over his own lands. At the same time, the fact that the pope felt emboldened enough to proclaim this Germanic king a Roman emperor provides clear evidence of the spectacular political, military, religious, and cultural achievements Charlemagne realized during his rule over western Europe. In 813 Charlemagne designated his son Louis I as coemperor and his successor and crowned him at Aachen.

See also CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

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RONALD K. DELPH

Chaucer, Geoffrey

(c. 1340–1400) *English author*

Geoffrey Chaucer was the son of John Chaucer, a prosperous wine merchant, and Agnes de Copton. Around 1355 his fairly wealthy parents secured a position for the young Geoffrey as a page in a household of royal rank, that of Prince Lionel, the earl of Ulster, the future duke of Clarence and son of Edward III. This provided a suitable environment to cultivate their son's talents as he was exposed to the world of aristocracy and developed an appreciation for manners of the court. Chaucer was known for his keen observation of his surroundings. In such a setting, he would have also acquired knowledge of French and Latin, and he made his first acquaintance with his future patron, John of Gaunt.

After serving as a page Chaucer joined military service and fought in France. In 1360 he was captured but was released upon payment of ransom by Edward III. From 1374 to 1386 Chaucer was a customs controller in the port of London. It was an important post as the king's revenue came mainly from customs duties. Later he became a clerk of the King's Works. In 1367 he became a yeoman in the king's household and two years later was promoted to esquire. Chaucer married Philippa Roet in 1366, the sister of the mistress and future wife of his patron, John of Gaunt. Philippa Roet served the queen as a lady-in-waiting. Their marriage lasted until her death in 1387. In his work for the king, Chaucer engaged in diplomatic missions to France, Italy, and Spain—centers of learning and literary production far more renowned than London at the time. It was in Italy that he met GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO, the Italian novelist, whose writings he admired. Not surprisingly, continental European influences are found in his works.

Early in his career Chaucer displayed a tendency to adopt the French style. He was heavily influenced by French works such as the *Roman de la Rose*, an allegory about love written in eight-syllable couplets by two poets—Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. In 1369 Chaucer wrote *The Book of the Duchess*, likely for John of Gaunt's first wife, Blanche, who died in the same year. While keeping the French influence, Chaucer began to be influenced by Italian authors such as DANTE ALIGHIERI and Boccaccio. One of his works, *Troilus and Criseyde*, was in fact based on Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. Boccaccio provides the basis for four of Chaucer's characters in his most famous work *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer died on October 25, 1400. His body was buried in Westminster Abbey and was later moved to Poets' Corner at the east aisle of the south transept.

The 14th century was a golden period when the literary arts flourished in England. During this era known as the Middle Ages, literature in the English language enjoyed an unprecedented popularity. The English language became a source of pride for the English people. The new status accorded to the language was due in no small part to Chaucer's choice of the English language as the worthy medium of his own artistic expression. The intellectual milieu during the Middle Ages was very much characterized by philosophical concerns provided by Christianity. Christian allegory thus became a major feature of medieval literature. Allegory is polysemous, in that multiple levels of meaning can be discerned. Sets of meanings are also intricately connected with other sets of meanings, creating a text that is significantly rich. All the meanings relate to a central theme, which is repeatedly alluded to in the text. Chaucer succeeded in marrying philosophical ruminations in a creative manner.

Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales* between 1387 and 1400 during the aftermath of the BLACK DEATH and the PEASANTS' REVOLT. It is a collection of 24 tales recounted by different characters who are pilgrims. He adopts a powerful satirical style in writing *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer draws upon contemporary persons commonly found in medieval society, so his audience would be familiar with them. Chaucer's literary style was revolutionary in that he incorporated local dialects in his writing, such as in the "Miller's Tale," part of *The Canterbury Tales*. In the "Knight's Tale," the miller, who speaks in a drunken style, actually interrupts the protagonist. As a complex collection of stories of various characters from all social strata, male and female, *The Canterbury Tales* forms a valuable view of the workings of society during this volatile period in history.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Chenla

Two successive kingdoms with strong Indian influence emerged during the pre-Angkorean centuries of Khmer history. These were the Funan, from the second to sixth centuries, and Kambuja (Chenla, Zhenla in Chinese) from

the sixth to the eighth centuries. A vassal state of Funan, Chenla emerged as an independent state in the middle of the sixth century. A sea route developed between India and China by this time. The shift from the coastal trade route coincided with the appearance of conquerors from the mid-Mekong area, the brothers Bhavavarman (r. 550–600) and Mahendravarman (r. 600–611). They focused on the rice-growing areas of the Mekong basin, rather than maritime trade. The new kingdom, called Kambuja, traced its origin from the sage Kambu Svayambhuva and the daughter of Nagas, Mera

According to the Chinese chronicle the *History of Sui*, Chenla was a feudatory state of Funan, covering roughly northern Cambodia and southern Laos of modern times. Its capital was at Lingaparvata with a Hindu temple dedicated to the god Bhadresvara. Chenla became a separate state after seceding from Funan in 550 with the accession of Bhadravarman I as the first ruler of the newly independent kingdom. He was the grandson of Funanese ruler Rudravarman (r. 514–539) and had married a Chenla princess named Lakshmi, who was heir apparent to the throne. Bhadravarman became the independent king of Chenla in 550, when the ruler died. In his long reign, Chenla was engaged in warfare, and Chitrasena was in charge of the army. The kingdom of Chenla covered the whole of Cambodia, southern Thailand, Laos, and the Mekong Delta region.

Bhadravarman's brother Chitrasena, with the title of Mahendravarman, succeeded him and ruled for 11 years. He was a brave king and conqueror. The reign of his son Isanvarman I (r. 611–635) was marked by extension of the kingdom westward, and establishment of a new capital, Isanapura at Sambor Prei Kuk (the Kompong Thom province of modern Cambodia), in 613. Like his father, he followed a policy of friendship toward the CHAMPA KINGDOM and married a Champa princess. Bhavavarman II was the next ruler (r. 635–650), who was succeeded by Jayavarman (650–690). He consolidated the Chenla kingdom. After his death, Queen Jayadevi controlled the affairs of the state. Imminent civil war led to the disintegration of the Chenla kingdom.

Factional disputes in the court resulted in the splitting of the kingdom in 706 into Land Chenla (Upper Chenla) and Water Chenla (Lower Chenla). Upper Chenla, with its capital in the Champassak province of modern Laos, was a somewhat centralized state with 30 provincial headquarters operating as administrative centers. It also sent embassies to China. Lower Chenla, occupying the former Funan kingdom along the Mekong Delta and the coast, had a turbulent existence with constant pirate raids from Java. The minor

Khmer states like Aninditapura and Sambhupura were locked in rivalry over the control of Lower Chenla. Pressure also mounted against Chenla by the Sailendra kings of Java. The last of the rulers was killed in 790 and it became a vassal state of the Sailendras. A prince from Sambhupura, who was in Java, took the reins as a puppet ruler. But Jayavarman II asserted his independence in 802, becoming the founder of great Angkorean empire that lasted until the early 15th century.

The Cambodian civilization in Chenla, like that of the Funan and Angkor periods, witnessed a good deal of Indian influence. Indian elements were mixed with indigenous myths of the Moon and serpent. Building a royal *lingas* (phallus symbol of SHIVA) on mountains was a blending of the autochthonous mountain cult with Hindu beliefs. Shiva in his *linga* form was connected with *devaraja* cult, which was used by Jayvarman II afterward to proclaim his sovereignty from Java. The Chenla kings were deified. Lord Shiva was worshipped under different names such as Bhadresvara, Sambhu, Girisa, and Tribhubanesvara.

Inscriptions from Cambodia attest to the prevalence of Sanskrit. Rhetorical and literary conventions were well known to writers of epigraphs in Chenla. They were also well acquainted with Indian epics, *kavyas* and *puranas*. The inscriptions refer to the *Vedas*, *Vedantas*, and *Smritis*. Many Sanskrit words were absorbed into old Khmer, relating to geographical names, the names of divinities and persons, administrative terms, and terms relating to the calendar and numbers. Another Indian custom persisted in the marrying princesses to *brahmans* (Hindu priests). The *brahmans* played an important role in the religious life of the people.

The chief priest or *purohita* had a powerful influence on the royalty. This sacerdotal office passed from uncle to nephew in the maternal line, which was an example of an indigenous matrilineal social system. Kings sought to ally themselves to a particular priestly family by matrimonial alliance. Buddhism was also prevalent in Chenla. The Mahayana faith came to Cambodia from Java as well as India. Buddhist statues are found at the time of Bhavavarman II. Influences from India, the megalithic culture of Southeast Asia, China, and neighboring regions in Southeast Asia enriched the culture of Chenla.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Chinese poetry, golden age of

The three centuries of the TANG (T'ANG) DYNASTY (618–909) represent the golden age of Chinese poetry. Chinese poetry reached its pinnacle during the reign of Minghuang (r. 712–756, also known as XUANZONG (HSUAN-TSUNG)). About 3,000 poets' names have survived from the Tang dynasty; many of those works are extant. The Tang poets' brilliance and inspiration have never been surpassed and have been the model for poets of later eras to emulate. During the long reigns of Empress Wu and Minghuang culture flourished and upper class life was cosmopolitan. Confucian philosophy provided moral grounding and objectivity, while Daoism (Taoism) favored introspection, and Buddhism brought otherworldliness to the era.

Most Chinese poems were short, with romantic love, a frequent theme of European poetry, rarely a subject. Friendship between men is a dominant theme and the emotional trauma of parting between friends is the inspiration of many poems. This is hardly surprising because most poets were educated men from among whom officials were drawn, and officials were regularly rotated throughout the empire. War as a subject of poems did not deal with heroism or conquest, but focused on the desolation and sorrows that accompanied invasions and losses. Nature is also often the subject of poetic inspiration. Among the galaxy of Tang poets this essay will feature three of the greatest: Li Bo (Li Po), also known as Li Taibo (Li T'ai-po), 701–762; Du Fu (Tu Fu), 712–770; and Bo Juyi (Po Chu-i) 772–846.

Li Bo was born in Sichuan (Szechwan) Province in southwestern China. A man of great vitality and a lover of nature, he traveled widely, studied Daoism, and characterized himself as an "an immortal banished from heaven." However, Li was best known as a heroic drinker and versified while sober and drunk. He is

believed to have written 20,000 poems; 1,800 among them have survived and are still widely memorized. Li briefly enjoyed court favor and lived in the Tang capital Chang'an (Ch'ang-an) for three years under the emperor's patronage. However he fell out of favor when a poem he wrote in praise of Minghuang's favorite, Lady Yang, was interpreted to be an insult. The story of his death, perhaps untrue, had him leaning out of a boat to embrace the Moon while at an outing with friends on a lake and drowning. The following short poem has Li celebrating the Moon and wine:

Drinking Alone in Moonlight
 Among the flowers, with a jug of wine,
 I drink all alone—no one to share.
 Raising my cup, I welcome the moon,
 And my shadow joins us, making a threesome....
 As I sing the moon seems to sway back and forth;
 As I dance my shadow goes flopping about.
 As long as I'm sober we'll enjoy one another,
 And when I get drunk, we'll go our own ways:
 Forever committed to carefree play,
 We'll all meet again in the Milky Way!

Du Fu was more serious than Li Bo and was considered a scholar's poet. He served the government but never attained major posts. Du and his family suffered terribly during the AN LUSHAN (AN LU-SHAN) REBELLION. The following is by Du describing the black goshawk, a forest hunting bird:

A black goshawk is not to be found staying among
 humankind;
 She passed over the seas, I suspect, coming from the
 North Pole;
 Her straightened quills beat the wind as she crossed
 over the purple borderland,
 At winter's onset she stayed some nights at the Solar
 Terrace.
 The foresters' nets were all out for her—but they
 applied their nets in vain;
 The geese of spring which go back with her surely
 see her with misgivings.
 A myriad miles in the cold void—it takes just a single
 day;
 But these golden eyeballs and these jade talons are
 of no usual stock.

Bo Juyi was a brilliant student, passing the doctoral exams at age 18, and he enjoyed a successful official career. He was noted for the simplicity of language in

his short poems. Reputedly he would read a new piece to an old peasant woman and would discard any that she could not understand. But he was most famous for a long poem titled "The Everlasting Sorrow," which recounted Minghuang's love for Lady Yang, their flight from Chang'an before An Lushan's rebel army, her execution by Minghuang's mutinous soldiers, and his sorrow and longing for her. The following poem celebrated Bo's passing the doctoral examination:

After Passing the Examination
 For ten years I never left my books;
 I went up... and won unmerited praise.
 My high place I do not much prize;
 The joy of my parents will make me proud.
 Fellow students, six or seven men,
 See me off as I leave the City gate.
 My covered coach is ready to drive away;
 Flutes and strings blend their parting tune.
 Hopes achieved dull the pains of parting;
 Fumes of wine shorten the long road....
 Shod with wings is the horse of him who rides
 On a Spring day the road that leads to home.

Poetry is very difficult to appreciate in translation because translations lose the form of the poem itself even when they successfully convey its spirit. But for those acquainted with the beauty of written Chinese the works of great Tang poets have never been surpassed.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

chivalry

During the Middle Ages chivalry (derived from Latin *caballus*, "nag," and closely related to French *chevalier*, Spanish *caballero*, and English *cavalier*) denoted the class of knighthood and the ideals associated with it. The noble knight was distinguished from the peasant infantryman by several attributes: his horse, weapons

(sword and lance), banner, and attendants. Medieval chivalry became closely associated with the church and the CRUSADES. Whereas the early church believed Christianity and the profession of arms to be incompatible, medieval church leaders encouraged the development of a new, Christian order of knighthood. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX's treatise *In Praise of the New Knighthood* (c. 1128–31) commends the Knights Templar, a crusading order of soldiers who drew their strength in battle from their fervent faith.

Christian knights continued to swear allegiance to a liege-lord but also received a blessing from the church. This was known as the *Benedictio novi militis* (benediction for new soldiers). Before participating in the ritual a candidate typically confessed his sins, fasted, and prayed during a night-long vigil. His sword was placed on the altar and blessed. Kneeling and dressed in white, he swore the oath of chivalry and at the same time renewed his baptismal vow. Echoes of St. Bernard's exhortation to fight and live for Christ made their way into 12th century literature, as evidenced by Chrétien de Troyes's last Arthurian romance, *The Quest for the Grail* (*Perceval*) (c. 1190).

Chivalry was not only associated, however, with religion and the crusades. Certain 12th century vernacular poets—like Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France—praised the virtues and courtesy of knightly society, thereby contributing to the rise of courtly romance, a genre that exalts the refined or pure love (*fin' amors*) between a knight and his lady. The audiences of these early vernacular works were largely feminine, and throughout the stories, women play an important role. This contrasts sharply with the relative absence of female characters from the French *chansons de geste* (such as the *Song of Roland*) and Germanic epics (such as *Beowulf*). The cult of *fin' amors* (or *courtly love*, as the 19th-century philologist Gaston Paris named it) originated in the 11th century with the lyric poetry of the troubadours and *trouvères*. (Troubadours wrote in the Provençal *langue d'oc* of southern France; *trouvères* composed their works in the *langue d'oïl* of the north.) These poets were typically noblemen, like William IX of Aquitaine, who is often described as the first troubadour. The works of several female troubadours—or *trobairitz*—have also survived (such as the countess of Dia).

Under the influence of powerful patrons of the arts—such as Queen ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE (granddaughter of William IX) and her daughter, Marie, countess of Champagne—the cult of courtly love spread throughout medieval Europe. At the end of the 12th century Andreas Capellanus, writing for the countess

Marie, composed a Latin treatise commonly referred to as the *Art of Courtly Love* (c. 1184–86). Andreas draws upon the writings of Ovid and the conventions of Provençal poetry in order to outline the proper behavior and attitudes of courtly lovers. According to Andreas, love is an “inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex,” which ennoble the lover's character and drives him to great accomplishments. Chrétien de Troyes's *Knight of the Cart* (c. 1180)—also dedicated to Marie of Champagne—provides a good case in point: Lancelot accomplishes great feats because his faithful (yet adulterous) love for Guinevere pushes him to surpass all other knights at King Arthur's court.

Courtly love relationships existed mainly outside marriage. Andreas insists that the man must initiate the love affair by declaring his devotion. He fully submits to the will of the lady, who has the power to accept or to deny her suitor. In either case, the knight will continue to serve her. The courtly love relationship thus mirrors the feudal bond between the knight and his liege-lord. At the end of his book, Andreas rejects love. For this reason, some scholars believe that his whole work constitutes a parody of courtly love and must not be taken seriously. Indeed later authors, like Alain Chartier in the *Belle dame sans merci*, do not hesitate to expose the excesses associated with courtly love, such as the unfair treatment of men by merciless and fickle women.

Much vernacular literature of the 13th and 14th centuries also celebrates the paradigms of courtly love. The *Romance of the Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun describes the efforts of the narrator to attain the love of “she who is worthy to be called Rose.” GEOFFREY CHAUCER (who translated the *Romance of the Rose*) makes the courtly love tradition the central theme of his *Troilus and Criseyde*. “The Knight's Tale” (from the *Canterbury Tales*) warns of the dangers of falling prey to the “amor de lonh.” Two male cousins, Arcite and Palamon, fall in love with a beautiful young woman they have spied from afar. This infatuation for the fair Emelye ultimately leads to the death of Arcite. Through the “Knight's Tale,” Chaucer mocks the place of the lady within the courtly relationship: Emelye is reduced to a passive bystander, forced to marry against her will. Although she is idealized and even worshipped by Arcite and Palamon, she has no control over her own destiny.

Chaucer's false idolatry provides a sharp contrast to DANTE ALIGHIERI's love for Beatrice, whom he woos in *La Vita Nuova*, and whose grace and beauty eventually

lead him to the contemplation of God in the third book of the *Divine Comedy*. For Dante, who draws on St. Bernard's treatise *On Loving God*, the courtly relationship guides the lover not only to accomplish great feats but also to grow close to God through his chaste and pure love for a lady. (Meanwhile lustful lovers who do not repent of their sins—like Paolo and Francesca—are condemned to eternal suffering in the *Inferno*.)

The influence of medieval chivalry and courtly love on western Europe was lasting and profound. In the 16th-century *Book of the Courtier*, Baldassare Castiglione models his advice for male and female courtiers in Renaissance Italy on knightly etiquette. Famous poets like PETRARCH, Ronsard, Donne, and Shakespeare continued to woo ladies in the fashion of the troubadours for centuries. In the 19th century Walter Scott and Tennyson contributed to a veritable rebirth of chivalric—and highly romanticized—literature; throughout the 20th century, stories of medieval knights fighting for the love of their ladies (such as White's *Once and Future King*) flourished.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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K. SARAH-JANE MURRAY AND JENNIFER BOULANGER

Chola kingdom

The Chola kingdom was a medieval Indian state, which saw most of southern India being brought under a united government for the first time. At its greatest extent, Chola covered not just the south of India but also Sri Lanka, peninsular Malaya, western Borneo, and other islands of archipelago Southeast Asia. The Chola used



The Sri Brahdeswarar Temple was built by the great Chola king Raja Raja I in the 10th century.

the Tamil language and religious and cultural concepts. The origins of the state are unclear, although the Chola King Raja Raja I invaded the southern Deccan region in 993 in a series of campaigns that lasted for nearly 30 years. This contributed to the downfall of the Calukya dynasty and provided opportunities for Chola and Deccan rulers to contest former Calukya territory. In 1070 Chola King Rajendra II united the existing holdings into a unitary state, which was then free to expand its holdings across the trade routes that stretched across the Indian Ocean to Southeast Asia.

The next centuries were something of a golden age for southern India, with religious and artistic expression reaching high levels of achievement. Although caste-based societies such as that of the Chola are often thought of as lacking social mobility and the ability to innovate, this was not the case. Instead, creation of new crafts and skills enabled the reordering of society and the classes within it to a considerable extent. The fact that so many different sets of people from many different homelands were a part of the Chola kingdom contributed to this mobility. The social mobility extended to women as well as men and a number of new occupations and ranks were made available to them. Specific areas of achievement included literature, bronze statuary and works, and architecture, particularly in terms of temple architecture. The temple of SHIVA at Thanjavur, which was completed in 1009, is regarded as a noted masterpiece demonstrating characteristic styles of southern India. The pantheon of Hindu gods provided numerous opportunities for artistic creativity, and the combination of creativity

and incoming influences helped to create a number of exquisite creations.

Inscriptions found on Southeast Asian islands show the progress of Chola domination across the ocean. Raja Raja and Rajendra both persecuted a fierce campaign against the SRIVIJAYA KINGDOM and ultimately destroyed it. This allowed Chola to take over a monopoly of trade in the region and to gain greater access to Chinese markets and the burgeoning city-states of mainland Southeast Asia. However, as in the case of the Indian homeland, evidence concerning the actual nature of who governed where and when is unclear. Inscriptions make grandiose claims, which in some cases are not substantiated. The end of the Chola empire is variously given as either in the 12th or 13th century, most often in 1279. The arrival of Mongol Yuan troops in Southeast Asia radically changed the balance of power in the region while, in India, the rise of Hosalya and Pandya polities ultimately eroded the economic basis of the Chola empire and it was subsumed by successors.

See also TAMIL CULTURE; YUAN DYNASTY (1279–1368).

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JOHN WALSH

Christian states of Spain

When the Moors from Morocco invaded Spain in 711, they easily managed to capture most of the Iberian Peninsula with the exception of the area around the Asturian Mountains in the north. When they did get around to attacking that region in 718, the Christians defeated the Moors at the Battle of Covadonga, near Asturias. The Moors decided to leave that part of Spain unconquered, marking what became the first battle in what the Spanish called the “Reconquista,” or RECONQUEST OF SPAIN for Christendom. Over the next centuries several Christian kingdoms emerged in Spain, notably Asturias, León, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre.

These gradually expanded and eventually managed to defeat the Moors using their alliances. They ejected them from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, when Isabella, heir to the throne of Castile, and Ferdinand II, king of

Aragon, captured Granada, the last Muslim possession on the peninsula.

KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS

The kingdom of Asturias was, in origin, a Visigoth kingdom of Spain created by Pelayo (Pelagius), a grandson of King Chindaswinth, who had been defeated by the Moors. Pelayo established his capital at Cangas de Onis, securing his independence with a victory at the Battle of Covadonga. The Moors, rather than sending more soldiers into Asturias, headed into France and in 732 were defeated at the Battle of Tours. For the next century the Moors were on the defensive and this allowed Pelayo and his successors to rebuild their strength. Pelayo’s son, Favila, became king on his father’s death in 737 but died two years later in a boar hunt. He had no son so his brother-in-law was proclaimed King Alfonso I.

He enlarged the kingdom of Asturias by annexing Galicia in the west, and León in the south. He also extended his lands in the east to the borders of Navarre. When Alfonso died, his cruel son Fruela I came to the throne. One of Fruela’s first acts was to kill his own brother, Bimarano, who he thought wanted the throne. After reigning for 11 years, Fruela was murdered on January 14, 768, and was succeeded by his cousin Aurelius (son of Alfonso’s brother Fruela). He was, in turn, succeeded by Silo, a nephew, who had married Alfonso I’s daughter. Aurelius had managed to prevent the Moors from attacking by paying them tribute, and all that is known about Silo is that he moved the kingdom’s capital from Cangas de Onis to Pravia. This period coincided with CHARLEMAGNE’s invasion of Spain, and his capture of Barcelona.

Silo’s successor, Mauregato, was an illegitimate son of Alfonso I (his mother allegedly being a slave) (r. 783–788) and was alleged to have offered 100 beautiful maidens annually as tribute to the Moors. The next king, Bermudo I, a brother of Aurelius, had been ordained deacon and reluctantly accepted the position as king, abdicating three years later and allowing Alfonso II “The Chaste,” a son of Fruela I, to become king. Initially people were worried that Alfonso might try to avenge the murder of his father—instead he ruled for 51 years. He had been married to Berta, said to have been a daughter of Pepin, king of the FRANKISH TRIBE, but they had no children as he had taken a vow of celibacy.

During his long reign he stabilized the country’s political system and attacked the Moors, defeating them near the town of Oviedo, which they had recently sacked. Alfonso II was so impressed by the beauty of Oviedo that he moved his court there and proclaimed

it his capital. It was to remain capital of the kingdom of Asturias until 910, when León became the new capital. Work began on the construction of the Oviedo Cathedral, where Alfonso II was eventually buried. Alfonso's main achievement was that he conquered territory from the Moors, moving the reach of his Christian kingdom into the edges of central Spain. The Moorish king Abd ar-Rahman II (r. 822–852) was, however, able to check the advances of Alfonso, drive back the Franks, and stop a rebellion by Christians and Jews in Toledo.

The next king of Asturias was Ramiro I, a son of Bermudo I. He began his reign by capturing several other claimants to the throne, blinding them, and then confining them to monasteries. As a warrior he managed to defeat a Norman invasion after the Normans had landed at Corunna, and also fought several battles against the Moors. His son, Ordoño I, became the next king and was the first to be known as king of Asturias and of León. Ordoño extended the kingdom to Salamanca and was succeeded by his son Alfonso III "The Great." Alfonso III reigned for 44 years (866–910) and during that time consolidated the kingdom by overhauling the bureaucracy and, then fought the Moors. He managed to enlarge his lands to cover the whole of Asturias, Biscay, Galicia, and the northern part of modern-day PORTUGAL. The southern boundary of his kingdom was along the Duero (Douro) River.

KINGDOM OF LEÓN

Alfonso had three feuding sons who plotted against each other and then against their father. To try to placate them all, Alfonso divided his kingdom into three parts. García became king of León, Ordoño became king of Galicia, and Fruela became king of Oviedo (ruling Asturias). This division was short-lived as wars among the young men resulted in all the lands eventually coming together under one ruler. García only reigned for four years before he died, without any children. Ordoño II ruled in Galicia before dying 14 years later and eventually Fruela II "The Cruel," Alfonso III's fourth son, who had outlived the others, reunited the kingdom in 924. However he died of leprosy in the following year, with Ordoño II's son's becoming King Alfonso IV. He did not want to rule and abdicated in order to spend the rest of his life as a monk. This allowed Alfonso IV's brother to become King Ramiro II. Soon after this, Alfonso tried to regain the throne, only to be taken by his brother, blinded, and left at the Monastery of St. Julian, where he died soon afterward. Ramiro II was succeeded by his elder son, Ordoño III, and then by a younger son, Sancho I "The Fat." There were two years when Ordoño IV

"The Wicked," a son of Alfonso IV, was king, but then Sancho I's only son became King Ramiro III. He was five when he became king and the Normans decided to attack again, destroying many coastal towns. Eventually he abdicated and allowed his cousin, Bermudo II, son of Ordoño III, to become king.

It was during the reign of Bermudo II that the Moors attacked and managed to get as far as León. When Bermudo II died in 999, his son Alfonso V was only five, and Don Melindo González, count of Galicia, became regent. In his 20s Alfonso V led his armies into battle against the Moors, recaptured much of León, but was killed in battle with the Moors at Viseu in Portugal, on May 5, 1028. His only son, Bermudo III, was 13 and during his nine year reign faced more threats from the neighboring Christian kingdom of Castile. In 1037 he was killed at the Battle of the River Carrion fighting King Ferdinand I of Castile, and the kingdom of León, as it was then known, was absorbed into Castile.

KINGDOM OF CASTILE AND GRANADA

The kingdom of Castile began as a dependency of León and was controlled by counts. However in 1035 Ferdinand I "The Great" was proclaimed king of Castile and two years later after defeating and killing Bermudo III, became king of Castile and León, ruling for the next 27 years. These new kings saw themselves as lineal descendants of the heritage of Asturias, even if not by blood. When Ferdinand I died he divided his lands among his children and Sancho received Castile, Alfonso received León and Asturias, García was given Galicia and northern Portugal, his daughter Urraca was given Zamora, and Elvira was given Toro. This was meant to end squabbling by them but only ended up with much fighting. At this time, a nobleman, Rodrigo Díaz de Bibar, emerged as the great Spanish hero EL CID. Interestingly he later tried to set up his own kingdom of Valencia, which ended in his death. Eventually Alfonso ruled all the lands as Alfonso VI "The Brave," king of Castile.

Alfonso VI launched a number of attacks on the Moors but most of these were overshadowed by the efforts of El Cid. In 1085 the Christians were able to capture the city of Toledo, and Alfonso reigned until his death in June 1109 at the age of 70. He had five or six wives. His daughter Urraca succeeded Alfonso VI. She married first Raymond, count of Burgundy, and later Alfonso I, king of Aragon. Her successor was Alfonso VII (r. 1126–1157), titling himself as "Emperor of All Spain." When he died his lands were divided between his eldest son, Sancho III "the Desired," who was given Castile; and his second son, Ferdinand II, who was given León.

Sancho III only reigned for a year and his only surviving son became Alfonso VIII, r. 1158–1214. In 1212 he defeated the Moors at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, giving Castile control over central Spain. When he died, Henry I, his youngest but only surviving son, succeeded him. He died and was succeeded as king of Castile by his nephew Ferdinand III. Meanwhile in León, Ferdinand II had reigned for 31 years, and when he died in 1188, his brother, Alfonso IX, succeeded him. Alfonso IX's first wife Teresa, from whom he was divorced, was later canonized as Saint Teresa in 1705. His eldest surviving son with his second wife was Ferdinand, who had already become king of Castile. When Alfonso IX died in 1230, the kingdoms of Castile and León were reunited.

Ferdinand III embarked on a series of wars against the Moors, managing to capture the cities of Córdoba (1236), Jaen (1246), and Seville (1248). With the capture of Seville, the "Reconquista" was almost complete—the Moors held only the city of Granada. The forces of Ferdinand were unable to take that city, although the emir of Granada did acknowledge his overlordship. Ferdinand III also founded the University of Salamanca, died on May 30, 1252, and was buried in Seville Cathedral. In 1671 Pope Clement X canonized him, and he became St. Ferdinand (San Fernando). Ferdinand's son, Alfonso X, had two titles, "The Wise," and "The Astrologer." During his reign he codified the laws, wrote poems, and had a large number of scholars produce a great chronicle of Spanish history. One of his advisers, Jehuda ben Moses Cohen, wrote that the king was someone "in whom God and placed intelligence, and understanding and knowledge above all princes of his time."

He was also elected as King of the Romans in 1257, renouncing the title of Holy Roman Emperor in 1275. However Alfonso X was faced with a dynastic succession crisis. His eldest son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, died in 1275, leaving two young sons, Alfonso X did not want a young boy on the throne so nominated as his successor his second son, Sancho. Ferdinand's wife championed the cause of her two boys, and Alfonso X's wife sided with her. The conflict continued when the French—Ferdinand's wife was a French princess—declared war on Sancho, who had the support of the Spanish parliament, the Cortes. War seemed inevitable, but when news arrived that Sancho was ill, Alfonso died of grief and despair.

Sancho IV "The Brave" became the next king, his illness being not as serious as was first thought, and after reigning for 11 years, he was succeeded by his son Ferdinand IV "The Summoned," who was only nine when he became king—his mother ruled ably as regent. Little of

note happened during Ferdinand IV's reign and he gained his title from sentencing to death two brothers who had been accused of murdering a courtier. They went to their execution protesting their innocence and "summoned" Ferdinand to appear at God's court of judgment in 30 days. As Ferdinand was only 26 years old at the time he was unconcerned, but on the 30th day after the execution his servants found him dead in bed.

His one-year-old son, Alfonso XI "The Just," became the next king and in 1337, when he was 13 years old, attacked the Moors of Granada. At the Battle of Río Salado on October 30, 1340, the Spanish, supported by the Portuguese, defeated a Moorish army. It was said to have been the first European battle where cannons were used. Alfonso XI reigned until 1350 when he was 39. Alfonso was married to Maria of Portugal but spent most of his reign with Leonor de Guzmán, a noble woman who had recently been widowed. Alfonso and Leonor had a large family but when Alfonso died, Leonor was arrested on orders of the queen and taken to Talavera, where she was strangled. The next king was the son of Alfonso and Maria, Pedro I "The Cruel," who reigned from 1350 until 1366.

During the reign of Pedro I he also married Blanche of Bourbon, cousin of the king of France, but fell in love with Maria de Padilla. Initially Pedro appointed Maria's friends and family to positions of influence, but some nobles forced the dismissal of supporters and relatives of Maria. In 1355 he had four of these noblemen stabbed to death, and apparently blood splattered over the dress of his wife, earning Pedro his title "The Cruel." In 1366 he was deposed by his half brother Henry II of Trastámara, "The Bastard," but managed to oust Henry and returned as king in the following year, spending the next two years in battles with his half brothers, and assisted by the English led by Edward the "Black Prince." These events formed the backdrop of the French novel *Agénor de Mauleon* (1846) by Alexander Dumas. Eventually Pedro was murdered and Henry II was restored to the throne. Over the next 10 years, until Henry died, attempts were made, ultimately successful, to prevent John of Gaunt from invading Spain.

Henry II's only legitimate son, was John I, 21 years old, and he became king when his father died. Some 11 years later, while watching a military exercise, John I fell from his horse and was killed. His 11-year-old son, Henry III "The Infirm," became the next king. When he died in December 1406, his one-year-old son was proclaimed John II. When he was 13 years old, the Cortes declared the teenager to be "of age," and John II ruled in his own right. The king had many favorites, one of whom was

Don Alvaro de Luna, who later writers suggested was a boyfriend of the young king. John II reigned until his death in 1454, was succeeded by his son, Henry IV, who reigned until 1474. He had a daughter and before Henry IV died, the heiress, Isabella, married Ferdinand of Aragon, uniting Christian Spain.

KINGDOMS OF ARAGON AND NAVARRE

The royal House of Aragon, in northeastern Spain, traces its origins back to Ramiro I (r. 1035–1063). His father, Sancho III, king of Navarre, had left him Aragon, as Ramiro was illegitimate. Ramiro was a warrior prince and quickly extended his lands, even briefly taking part in forays into the land of his half brother Garcia III, who had inherited the rest of Navarre. In a war with the Moorish emir of Saragossa over tribute, Ramiro was killed in battle on May 8, 1063. Ramiro's successor was his eldest son, Sancho I, who managed to recapture lands from the Moors, pushing the boundaries of Aragon to the north bank of the river Ebro. In 1076 when his cousin, the king of Navarre, died, Sancho succeeded to the throne of Navarre.

In June 1094 Sancho was killed during the siege of Huesca. His son and successor, Pedro I, then became king of Aragon and Navarre, carrying on the siege of Huesca for another two years. In 1096 he defeated a large Moorish army and its Castilian allies, at the Battle of Alcoraz, with help, legends state, from St. George. Pedro's two children died young, and in grief both he and his wife died soon afterward. Pedro was succeeded by his brother Alfonso I "The Warrior." Having no children he was succeeded by his younger brother, Ramiro II "The Monk." Ramiro was only king for three years, abdicating to spend the remaining 10 years of his life in a monastery.

His only child, Petronilla, became queen, when she was one year old. When she turned 15 in 1151, she married Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona. Twelve years later she abdicated the throne in favor of her son Alfonso II (r. 1163–96). His eldest son and successor was Pedro II, who was alleged to have kept scandalous company with many women. With the outbreak of the ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE in France, and the persecution of the Cathars in southern France, Pedro II led his army into the region to demonstrate the historical ties of Aragon to the region. He tried to stop the carnage that was taking place around Carcassonne and urged the pope to recognize the area as a part of Aragon, not France, which would have ended the crusade. He failed and on September 13, 1213, at the Battle of Muret, was killed in battle with the crusaders led by Simon de Montfort.

Pedro's son James I "The Conqueror" was only five when he succeeded his father. After a terrible regency, James took control and led his armies in taking the Balearic Islands (1229–35), conquering Valencia from the Moors in 1233–45, and also in the campaign against Murcia in 1266. When James died his son, Pedro III, succeeded him, leading his armies against the Moors. He had a claim to the kingdom of Sicily through his wife and invaded the island in 1282, earning the title "The Great." He was badly injured in the eye during fighting with the French and died soon afterward to be succeeded by his son Alfonso III "The Do-Gooder." This interesting title came from the fact that he granted his subjects the right to bear arms. His brother and successor James II "The Just" conquered more land from the Moors and was in frequent disputes with the papacy. In 1310 he conquered Gibraltar, and possibly to placate Pope Clement V, two years later he suppressed the Order of the Knights Templar.

James II was succeeded by his son Alfonso IV "The Debonair" or "The Good." Most of his reign was spent in disputes over the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, which were captured by the Genoese. His son and successor, Pedro IV, held a huge coronation, apparently with as many as 10,000 guests, and earned the title "The Ceremonious." He managed to lead his army into Sicily, which he recaptured, and when he died in 1387, his feeble son John I succeeded to the throne. His wife, Iolande de Bar, was actually in control of the kingdom. John died after being gored by a boar during a hunt, and his younger brother Martin "The Humane" became king. It was during his reign that the famous *santo cáliz* was transferred to Valencia Cathedral, where it is still revered by many as the Holy Grail. It was said that St. Peter took it from the Holy Land to Rome, and it was taken to Valencia. Martin lost the throne of Sicily and when he died in 1410, there was a brief interregnum until Ferdinand I "The Just" was proclaimed king.

Ferdinand I was the son of John I and was elected king by the nobles. When Ferdinand I died in 1416, after reigning for just four years, his eldest son, Alfonso V "The Magnanimous," became king. There was a plot to overthrow him, and he refused to hear the names of the conspirators, allowing them to go unpunished. He spent much of his time and energy in his possessions in Italy: Naples and Sicily. When he died, his lands in Spain went to his brother John, who had been king of Navarre, and he became king of Aragon and Navarre. His Italian lands went to his illegitimate son Ferdinand. John II reigned from 1458 until 1479. His greatest achievement was arranging the marriage of his son, Ferdinand, to

Isabella, heir to the throne of Castile. They were married in 1469 at Valladolid. When John died on January 19, 1479, the Christian kingdoms of Spain were united with Ferdinand and Isabella as joint rulers. In 1492 the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella finally took Granada, the last Moorish part of the Iberian Peninsula, ending the "Reconquista."

See also MUSLIM SPAIN.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Chrysoloras, Manuel

(c. 1350–c. 1415) *scholar, humanist, and emissary*

Manuel Chrysoloras was born in approximately 1350, in Constantinople, only about a century before the city—and its Eastern Roman Empire, or Byzantine Empire—fell to the Ottoman Turks under Mehmed II in 1453. He became a student of Georgius Gemisthos Pletho, who represented the Greek Church at the COUNCIL OF FLORENCE in 1439. The ITALIAN RENAISSANCE had brought to Italy a great respect for the teachings of the ancient world, which had been kept intact in Constantinople for over 1,000 years. Under Pletho's inspiration, Cosimo de' Medici founded the famous Academy in Florence.

In 1390 Chrysoloras went to Venice to try to rouse the western Europeans against the menace posed by the Turks, then ruled by Sultan BAYEZID I. He was sent as the personal emissary of Emperor Manuel I Palaeologus. There was much enmity between the west and the Byzantine Empire, and a large cause of it was the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Instead of sailing for the Holy Land to fight the Muslims, the ruling doge of VENICE, Enrico Dandolo, had used the crusaders to conquer and sack Constantinople, which Venice saw as its chief rival for trade with the east. Manuel's Palaeologus dynasty had come to power in 1261, when the Byzantines rallied under Michael Palaeologus to throw the western European knights out of Constantinople, who had ruled it since the Fourth Crusade.

But as with Pletho before him any lingering ill feelings did not prevent the Italians from giving Chrysoloras a warm welcome. After his diplomatic mission,

he returned to Constantinople, but the impression he had made remained. In 1396 the chancellor of the University of Florence, COLUCCIO SALUTATI, invited him back to teach. He became a highly respected teacher in Florence, continuing to teach the works of Greece and Rome. He wrote the *Erotemata*, the original Greek grammar and vocabulary text. The *Erotemata* became the basic reader of the great humanists. Chrysoloras insisted on expressing a sentence in the same grammar of the translated language. Because of this he is considered to be the father of modern translation. He taught many people but had only five full-time disciples.

He became one of the leaders of the humanist movement in Europe and, as with Pletho before him, most likely represented a great stimulus to the revival of ancient learning that marked the entire Renaissance in western Europe. He spent the rest of his life teaching in the west, serving at the universities of Florence, Bologna, and Rome. Later in his career the scholar resumed diplomatic work. In 1408 he represented Manuel again in an embassy to the court of France's King Charles VI. He was chosen to represent the Greek Orthodox Church in an embassy to the Emperor Sigismund of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in 1413.

Chrysoloras sought a church council to help heal the wounds between the western and eastern Christian churches that dated from the Great Schism of 1054. This was especially needed after the failure of the crusade that had set forth in 1396 to fight the Turks. However, on his last diplomatic mission to see Emperor Sigismund, Manuel Chrysoloras died in the city of Constance, where the council was to be held, in 1415.

See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MASSACRE OF; COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE; CRUSADES; OTTOMAN EMPIRE: 1299–1453.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Cluny

At the end of the ninth and beginning of the 10th century, European society faced the turbulent effects of the destruction of central authority in civil government. This major crisis was not without repercussion in the

ecclesial sphere, including: schisms and scandals in the papacy, seizure of church power—even in monasteries—by the laity, and simony and sins against celibacy among the clergy.

Paradoxically a religious monastic movement marked the same period. The first and most influential center of reform was the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny (in Burgundy, France), founded in 910 by the monk Berno. The spiritual movement that began with Cluny promoted a renewal of religious life based on the Rule of Saint Benedict (sixth century) and contributed to the vigorous affirmation of the ideals proposed by Pope Gregory VII (c. 1020–85) for the reform of the whole church. Characteristics of this new monastic trend were regularizing monastic duties, development of liturgical ritual, monastic culture based upon the study of the Bible and the church fathers, and charitable activity.

To achieve exemption from control by lay people or even bishops, the Cluniac monks established a congregation of monasteries under the control and guidance of Cluny and placed themselves under the immediate jurisdiction of the pope. Thanks to outstanding abbots, Cluny and its congregation turned into something like a monastic empire and contributed to a most powerful reform of monks, diocesan clergy, and ordinary faithful. But the strength of Cluny became its weakness. The emphasis put on prayer became so exaggerated that there was no time left for the other monastic ideal of manual labor; this in turn opened the door of the monastery to feudal and political affairs.

To remedy the crisis of authority facing the church, Cluny chose a strongly hierarchical and centralized organization with a head (the abbot) that ruled over the local communities. It had nevertheless become too much involved in the political establishment linked to the ruling powers of civil society. Consequently the 11th century saw the development of a widespread desire for a simpler and less institutionalized monastic life. It led to the rediscovery of eremitical life, that is, the life of solitude, and produced a variety of new orders.

The Cistercians were one of them, ready to offer another solution to the problem. In 1098 Robert, the Benedictine abbot of Molesme (in Champagne, France), left his monastery with a score of brothers and established a new monastery at Cîteaux (near Dijon, about 30 miles away from Cluny). Their goal was to promote a community way of life involving greater separation from the feudal society, poverty, simplicity, return to manual labor, and authentic conformity to the Rule of Saint Benedict. At Cluny the abbot had become the head

of a congregation of monasteries with great temporal power; the dependent houses had no abbots. By contrast, each Cistercian monastery founded and guided by Cîteaux was autonomous and required its own abbot to live a regular monastic life. To guarantee the return to sound traditions, the network of monasteries held themselves accountable to their way of life: Every year, another abbot visited each monastery; all the abbots would also meet together annually. Both these measures aimed at mutual aid, assurance of regular observance, and remedying of abuses and failures. This federalist type of organization, as opposed to the centralization of Cluny, better safeguarded the spiritual and material interests of each monastery.

The difference of perspective however became a significant source of tension and jealousy among Cistercians and Cluniacs. It was epitomized in the correspondence, for over 20 years, between Saint Bernard, abbot (1115–53) of Clairvaux (founded by Cîteaux) and spokesman for the Cistercian order, and Peter the Venerable, abbot (1122–56) of Cluny. Both were proponents for change. Peter was aware of the need for change at Cluny. He had already modified obsolete customs, shortened some of the prayer services, and emphasized precepts concerning fasting, silence, and clothing. But Bernard and Peter could not agree on what constituted true monasticism.

What the Cistercians considered as an authentic return to the Rule of Saint Benedict, the Cluniacs perceived as novelty and self-righteousness. Bernard's impetuous character did not make the conflict easier. When the Cluniacs stressed moderation, he saw laxity. A well-known document of the controversy is Bernard's satirical treatise *The Apology* (1125), in which he actually also criticized those of his own monks who did not share his zeal for reform. Both men finally developed a more friendly relationship, but the rivalry between both orders lasted for quite some time.

In the 13th century the Cistercians' influence began to wane, partly because of internal decline. In the 15th century there were again serious efforts to reform Cluny. As for the later history of the Cistercians, it is largely one of repeated attempts at revival; the most famous began at the Cistercian monastery of La Trappe (France) in the 17th century by De Rancé. The houses that embraced his reform were called Trappists for the men, and Trappistines for the women. Nowadays, their official title is Cistercians of the Strict Observance.

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EMMANUELLE CAZABONNE

Columban of Leinster

(543–615) *Irish missionary*

Also known as St. Columbanus, Columban of Leinster was born in West Leinster, Ireland, in 543. He died in Bobbio, Italy, on November 21, 615. Early in life, Columban entered religious life under Sinell, an abbot in Lough Erne. He then left for the monastery of Bangor and studied under St. Comgall. He embraced the Irish form of monastic life and undertook a life of fervor, regularity, and learning.

At the age of 40 Columban decided to leave the monastery and become a missionary, preaching the Gospel in foreign lands. In 585 he sailed with 12 companions and landed on the coast of Scotland, then moved on to France. The French people converted to Christianity in large numbers and clergy in that area were reformed from their worldly ways. The companions traveled together to Burgundy and with the blessing of King Gontram, settled in an old Roman fortress and began a monastery. So many noblemen and peasants flocked to Columban, wishing to join his monastery, that the saint was forced to start a second monastery at Luxeuil in 590. Columban spent much of his time in solitary prayer and fasting in a cave, but superiors of both monasteries remained subordinate to him. He wrote his rule of monastic life for these two communities while living in the cave.

In 602 Columban was at the center of a controversy over the right of monasteries in Gaul to be independent of the area bishops. The bishops of Gaul had retained control over monasteries in their territories, unlike the bishops of Ireland, who allowed monasteries varying degrees of independence. In 602 the bishops of Gaul met to judge Columban and his control of monasteries. His appeals to successive popes went unanswered and the question was never definitively answered.

Columban also advised the nobility of Gaul. In one instance, he sought to keep Thierry, heir to Burgundy, steadfast in opposition to concubinage, a policy set forth by the queen-regent to prevent the possible influence of another queen over her minor son's life. The queen-regent, Brunehild, had Columban and his monastic rules condemned by the Burgundian bishops.

Columban refused to conform to their decrees and was imprisoned, but escaped and returned to his monastery. Thierry, who had never followed the advice of the saint, conspired to have Columban and his Irish monks driven to the sea and sent back to Ireland. Their ship never got far from shore and was driven back by a storm. Columban escaped to Neustria and then to Austrasia in 611. He proceeded to Mainz and went into the countryside to preach the Gospel to the Suevi and Alamanni tribes. His zeal did not convert the Swiss and he was persecuted. He converted some in other regions and established at least one more monastery but was again persecuted and crossed the Alps into Italy.

Once in Milan, Columban was befriended by the king and began to argue against the Arian heresy. All he wrote against them has been lost. He also fought Nestorianism with Gregory the Great and submitted the Irish church to the decisions of the papacy, saying the Irish were disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, not of heretics. For his efforts, the pope gave Columban a piece of land called Bobbio, near GENOA. On his way to settling this land, he preached so well at the town of Mombrione that the town changed its name to San Colombano. The monastery Columban founded at Bobbio was for centuries the center of Catholic orthodoxy in northern Italy. He died at Bobbio and his body is preserved in the church there.

See also IRISH MONASTIC SCHOLARSHIP, GOLDEN AGE OF.

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RUSSELL JAMES

Constance, Council of

The Council of Constance was the last and most successful of a series of church councils called to heal the division in the Catholic Church between followers of the popes in Avignon and followers of the popes in Rome. By the time the council was actually convened, on November 1, 1414, there was also a third, consiliar papacy, set up by the Council of Pisa in 1409, in a failed attempt at a fresh start. Unlike Pisa the new council involved secular princes as well as ecclesiastics, convoked by the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund as well as by the antipope John XXIII. John, who held the loyalty of the ecclesiastics attending the council,

hoped to use it to his own ends, but the council went against him, partly because of the scandalous life that made him seem unfit for the position of vicar of Christ. John's plan to have the council vote by head, which would enable him to use the majority of Italians loyal to him, was defeated in favor a plan to vote by nation. Each national delegation (Italian, German, French, and English) would decide its position, and a majority of nations would carry the vote.

After John fled the council and was forcibly returned, he was formally deposed in May 1415, and the church was declared without a head. The problem of the Roman line was settled when Gregory XII abdicated on July 4, although not before his representative had formally reconvened the council, giving it legitimacy in Roman eyes. The Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, never formally abandoned power. However, his (principally Spanish) allies quietly deserted him and generally acquiesced in the election of Cardinal Odo Colonna as Pope Martin V in 1417.

The other great problem the council faced was the growth of heresy, particularly that of the Wycliffites or Lollards in England and the Hussites in Bohemia. JOHN HUSS had traveled to the council on a vow of safe conduct granted by Sigismund. He hoped to explain and vindicate his positions, but once in Constance he found himself subject to an ecclesiastical trial carried on by the council. (There was a legal argument that church authorities were not bound by a safe conduct vow given by a secular prince like Sigismund to a man suspected of heresy.) Huss was burned on July 6, 1415. The next year Huss's disciple, Jerome of Prague, who had fled the council and been taken back in chains, followed him into the flames. The council also condemned JOHN WYCLIFFE's teachings and ordered his body removed from consecrated ground.

Some hoped that the council could reform the church and exert an authority superior to the popes'. The conciliar decree *Haec Sancta*, passed in 1415, declared that the council derived its power from Christ and that all Christians, including the pope, owed it obedience. In 1417 the council passed a decree providing for regular councils, but Pope Martin took a high view of papal supremacy over the church. A struggle between the council and the pope was averted when Martin offered concessions to national delegations in return for agreeing in the council's dissolution and declared the council dissolved in May 1418.

See also HERESIES, PRE-REFORMATION.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

Constantinople, massacre of

The Fourth Crusade had a devastating impact on the Byzantine Empire and its capital, Constantinople. For an enormous charge, the Venetians offered to transport the forces of the Fourth Crusade to Egypt to fight the Muslim "infidels." But the Venetians never intended to attack the Egyptian Muslim rulers, with whom they had an extensive and lucrative trade. Instead after some maneuvering, the Venetians convinced the crusaders to attack and take Zara, a strategic and rich Adriatic port. The spoils from Zara were divided among the Venetians and the crusaders.

The crusaders then ignored the orders of Pope INNOCENT III not to attack Byzantium. In 1204 the crusaders, aboard Venetian ships, landed at Constantinople, then the richest city in Europe. The aged Venetian doge, Enrico Dandolo, personally led the crusaders, mostly French, into the city. Hundreds of Muslim worshippers were killed as well as several thousand Greek Christians, considered as heretics by Latin Catholics. Having traded extensively with Byzantine merchants, the Venetians were familiar with the city and its treasures and embarked on extensive and systematic destruction, pillaging, and theft of the city's wealth. To the present day, many art collections in Venice, including the famous bronze horses overlooking Piazza di San Marco, were stolen from Constantinople in 1204. The crusaders installed Baldwin of Flanders as head of the new Latin Kingdom of Constantinople and replaced the Greek clergy with Latin clergy. The Latin Kingdom proved short-lived and after its collapse Greek Byzantine rulers returned to Constantinople, but the city never regained its former glory or power.

See also BYZANTINE EMPIRE: POLITICAL HISTORY; CRUSADES; VENICE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Crusades

In 1095 Pope URBAN II incited the Crusades with a speech urging Christian armies to free the holy sites, especially Jerusalem, from Muslim control. The Crusades sparked a fire of religious fervor among thousands of young knights and other Christian believers. Other crusaders were adventurers, fortune seekers, and the poor and destitute. In part the Roman Catholic Church sought the return of the Holy Land to Christian rule because the Seljuk Turks could not ensure the safety of Christian pilgrims. The SELJUK DYNASTY also extracted high taxes from and sometimes persecuted Christian pilgrims. The success of the early Crusades also reflected the disarray and weakness of the Arab-Muslim world in the 11th century.

The First Crusade (1096–99) was preceded by the Peasant Crusade, a crusade of hungry peasants; most died on the way to the Holy Land. Some 30,000 soldiers, mostly Franks and Germans, participated in the First Crusade. The crusaders crossed the Anatolia Peninsula and took Antioch in 1097. They then moved on to take Jerusalem in 1099 where they massacred thousands of civilians, mostly Eastern Orthodox Christians, considered as heretics by the Catholics, and Jews. First hand accounts describe the city running with blood knee-deep for several days. After taking the city, the crusading knights gathered in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and proclaimed GODFREY OF BOUILLON as king. Godfrey continued the war and extended crusader territory. Some knights settled more or less permanently in the new Crusader States, that at its greatest extent included the Syrian coast and Palestine.

The Crusader States replicated the feudal system prevalent in Europe. Fiefs were given to favored knights who were tied together for common defense. The crusaders built huge castles, often enlarging older Arab fortresses on high ground in strategic locations. Some of these castles, such as Beaufort Castle in Lebanon and the Krak des Chevaliers (Qala'at al-Husn) in Syria, still stand. Indigenous Arab villagers were little affected by the crusader rule as they were accustomed to giving tribute to local lords and fulfilling obligations of service during wartime. Likewise the Crusader States had little or no impact on the vast interior regions of the Arab-Muslim world. Under the crusaders, agriculture remained the mainstay of the economy. However the Crusader States were strategically and economically vulnerable. Church and military orders were exempt from taxation and the Italians enjoyed special extra-territorial rights. Indeed the ITALIAN CITY-STATES who provided transportation at high costs for many cru-

saders and financial backing, at high interest rates, for expeditions were among the chief beneficiaries of the Crusades. The Crusader States were also dependent on Italian city-states for supplies from Europe.

The Second Crusade (1146–48) led by King Louis VII of France and Emperor Conrad III followed the same geographic route as the First Crusade, but attempts to take Damascus failed. Conrad returned to Germany because of sickness, but Louis remained to make pilgrimages to the holy sites. At the time of the First Crusade Syria had been close to political collapse as rival powers struggled for ascendancy throughout the eastern Mediterranean after the collapse of the Abbasids. However Muslims challenged the crusaders and launched a series of counterattacks to regain control of Jerusalem and Syria. SALADIN proved the most formidable Muslim opponent. He united the Muslims and at the BATTLE OF HORNS OF HATTIN in the summer of 1187 stopped crusader expansion into the heartland of the Arab world. He then attacked crusader strongholds and took Jerusalem in 1187.

The fall of Jerusalem provoked the Third Crusade led by King RICHARD I of England, the Holy Roman Emperor FREDERICK I Barbarossa, and Philip II of France. Frederick drowned in Asia Minor in 1190 and after Philip and Richard quarreled, Philip returned to France. Without taking Jerusalem, Richard negotiated a truce with Saladin that ensured safe passage of Christian pilgrims into the city. Although Pope INNOCENT III called for new attacks on Jerusalem, the crusading zeal was beginning to wane. When the Venetians demanded a high price to take crusading troops to Egypt, the Muslim military stronghold, the crusaders moved against Constantinople, the famed capital of the Byzantine Empire. In the Fourth Crusade, the crusaders looted Constantinople and established a short-lived (1204–1261) Latin Empire there. The attack on Constantinople undermined the papacy and crippled the Byzantine Empire, which became more vulnerable to subsequent attacks by the Ottoman Turks. It also exacerbated animosities between Eastern Orthodox believers and the Roman Catholic Church. That schism persisted into the 21st century.

After Saladin's death, divisions within the Muslim world enabled the crusaders to retain tenuous control of their territory, but Mamluk rulers resumed attacks from Egypt in the mid-13th century. Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) launched annual attacks against the Frankish kingdoms, taking most of the Palestinian coastal cities. He also defeated the Mongols, thereby preventing them from taking the coast. His military exploits were often favorably compared to those of Saladin. The Mamluks captured the city of Tripoli in 1289. The Mamluk Sultan



The Krak des Chevaliers, or knight's fortress, in Syria, built during the Crusades. Krak des Chevaliers was the headquarters of the Knights Hospitaller. It was expanded between 1150 and 1250; the fortress has outer walls 100 feet thick.

al-Ashraf Khalil took Acre, the last crusader outpost, in 1291. Signifying the end of the crusader presence, the city was looted and razed. Sultan Khalil was feted as a conquering hero on his return to Cairo. However as with many Mamluk rulers, rivals to the throne assassinated Khalil within a year of his victory.

The Crusades marked almost 200 years of intermittent warfare and sporadic coexistence between Christian Europe and the Muslim East. The exchanges fostered many negative cultural and religious stereotypes. Positive results included the introduction of many new goods, including brocades, perfumes, soaps, and foodstuffs, especially spices, to the West. Damascus retained its importance as a center for industry and commerce while Jerusalem was a religious center. Some crusaders remained, intermarried, and assimilated into Muslim society. The Italian city-states established long-lasting commercial ties that continued even during times of open warfare. The wealth from this trade helped to finance the cultural flowering of the Renaissance. In the long term, the Crusades worsened Christian-Muslim relations and intensified religious animosities. In spite of having been

under Muslim rule for over 400 years, most of the population in the eastern Mediterranean was still Christian when the crusaders arrived. However the massacres of Eastern Orthodox Christians by the crusaders and their rude treatment of the local population ironically contributed to a massive conversion of Christians to Islam after the fall of the Crusader States.

See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MASSACRE OF; FEUDALISM: EUROPE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Cyril and Methodios

Christian missionaries and scholars

The brothers Saint Cyril and Saint Methodios were born around 827 and 825, respectively, in the bilingual (Greek and Slav) city of Thessalonika to a prominent Byzantine family. They were educated in Constantinople, where Cyril was a professor at the patriarchal school, and Methodios entered the religious life, rapidly becoming an archimandrite (abbot) of one of the city's monasteries.

Their first missionary endeavor, to the Khazars north-east of the Black Sea, was a failure, with many of the Khazars converting to Judaism. In 862 Prince Rostislav of Great MORAVIA asked the Byzantine emperor Michael III for missionaries and Photius the Great, patriarch of Constantinople, sent Cyril and Methodios. Immediately the brothers set to translating the Byzantine liturgy and New Testament into a language later called Church Slavonic, even developing an alphabet based on the Greek alphabet for the Slavic tribes. In 863 the brothers arrived in Great Moravia and achieved extensive success.

This led to conflict with German bishops who claimed authority over the Moravian territory. Because of this dispute, the brothers were invited to Rome, where Pope Adrian II accepted the brothers' work and authorized the Slavonic liturgy. Cyril died in Rome on February 14, 869. Methodios returned to Great Moravia as the pope's representative and archbishop

of Sirmium. Unfortunately this did not end the abuse from the German bishops, who tried him for heresy and imprisoned him until he was ordered released by Pope John VIII.

In 880 he again traveled to Rome, where the pope again approved the liturgical innovations. After an 882 trip to Constantinople to attend a church council called to support the missionary effort, he returned to Moravia, where he died on April 6, 885. After Methodios's death Pope Stephen V forbade the use of the Slavic liturgy, and the disciples of the brothers were forced into exile outside Great Moravia. These disciples spread Byzantine Christianity to the Carpathian Mountains, Poland, and eventually distant Kiev in modern-day Ukraine, using the Slavonic language of Cyril and Methodios.

The Cyrillic alphabet, developed by the brothers, continues to be the basis of the alphabets used in a number of traditionally Byzantine Catholic and Orthodox countries. The original alphabet contained 44 letters. Today the modern languages of Russian, Ukrainian, Carpatho-Rusyn, Serbian, and Bulgarian have used modified versions of the Cyrillic alphabet. The Byzantine Church rapidly canonized the brothers for their missionary work and created their principal feast day on May 11. In 1880 the Roman Catholic Church began to celebrate their feast on February 14.

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BRYAN R. EYMAN



Damascene, John

(c. 650–c. 749 C.E.) *theologian*

John Damascene is one of the great fathers of the church for the Byzantine East. His contributions include several influential, even fundamental theological works, apologetic literature, and hymnography, all in Greek. John was the son of a wealthy mercantile family that served at the court of the Umayyad caliph in Damascus. He received an education in Greek and Arabic but gave up his position in government and retired to the monastery of St. Sabas in the Judean desert. He was eventually ordained a priest. John was active during the iconoclast controversy of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Isaurian (717–741 C.E.). John strongly defended the ancient Christian practice of veneration of holy images and composed in his *Three Orations* a reasoned defense of this practice. His work supported the later defenders of the veneration of icons following the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787 C.E.). Since John was outside the Byzantine territory he could continue to write against ICONOCLASM and the iconoclastic Byzantine emperors without fear of reprisal.

His monumental work is the *Fount of Knowledge*, a collection of Christian knowledge in three parts. The first book, the *Dialektika*, is essentially a definition of philosophical terminology. The second is a compilation of HERESIES based on the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, the bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (c. 315–403 C.E.). The final section and the core synthesis of the work is entitled *On the Orthodox Faith* (*De fide orthodoxa*), a summary of

doctrinal positions on a wide array of theological topics designed to help Chalcedonian Christians respond to claims of ISLAM and other Christian churches. The theology of these responses is a summary of earlier Greek theologians. The most important figures in this summary are Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius of Alexandria, and the Latin theologian Leo the Great of Rome. Since the theology of Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth's human and divine natures was the area of greatest disagreement among Christians, John addresses many doctrinal concerns in this area. *On the Orthodox Faith* was translated into Slavonic in the ninth century C.E. and into Arabic in the early 10th century C.E. Latin translations were made in the 12th and 13th centuries C.E., and THOMAS AQUINAS cited *On the Orthodox Faith* in the *Summa Theologiae* with significant frequency.

John composed the earliest Christian apologetic literature in Greek addressed to Islam, although it is uncertain to what form of the QUR'AN he had access. The influence of John was immediately felt on the Syriac theologian Theodore Abu Qurra' (fl. 780–820 C.E.), another monk of St. Sabas, who wrote defenses, of the veneration of images and apologetic literature addressed to Islam in Arabic, Greek, and Syriac, although only his Arabic and Greek writings survive. John made substantial contributions to the development of the Byzantine liturgical offices. The system of daily and weekly hymnography based on 12 tones in Byzantine liturgy known as the Octoechos is attributed to him. In addition, he composed hymnography for saints' days and for other occasions; a good portion

of this material is still sung as part of the Byzantine liturgy today.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

Danelaw

Danelaw encompassed the areas of northeast England where Danish customs had a strong political and cultural influence throughout much of the early Middle Ages. The area included Yorkshire (southern Northumbria), East Anglia, and the Five Boroughs, named for its main centers of settlement: Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby. All these territories bore influence of Scandinavian culture from Viking invaders in the late-ninth century, who then became settlers and who drove the political leadership of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms into retreat to the south and west.

In c. 865 an army of between 500 and 1,000 Vikings arrived in England and began a systematic attack on the island. Their leaders were three brothers, Ivar the Boneless, Ubbi, and Halfdan, who had allegedly come to avenge the death of their father, Ragnar. They secured horses in East Anglia and proceeded to York, finding that infighting among local Anglo-Saxon leaders made conquest easy in Northumbria. The invaders next attacked west into Mercia and by 869 defeated East Anglia. The following year Halfdan attacked the kingdom of Wessex, seizing Reading and fighting nine pitched battles against Wessex. The Anglo-Saxons won only one battle, and the onslaught devastated the ranks of their nobility. Despite their unequivocal success, when Wessex offered a treaty the Vikings readily agreed and refocused their efforts north toward the kingdom of Mercia.

Throughout the 870s the Danish army continued to conquer territory in England, dividing and redividing the lands they acquired. They split Mercia with a puppet Anglo-Saxon king, Ceowulf, who held the territory on their behalf from 874 to 877 while they completed their conquests. However by 876 Halfdan and his men had occupied and divided Northumbria, settled into

farming, and started a permanent settlement. In effect, the Danes had politically removed Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Derby, and Leicestershire from the rest of England. Historians believe that the Danish settlement proceeded in two waves and probably did not displace the English people living in the area. The first wave of Danish settlers came as invaders, increasing in number over time. The second wave came as emigrants from Denmark, who settled in the areas protected by the military forces of the first wave, and who subsequently pushed colonization into new areas.

Early in the winter of 878 a Viking leader named Guthrum launched an attack on the kingdom of Wessex, catching it almost completely off guard and forcing its king, ALFRED THE GREAT (r. 871–899), to retreat to the island of Athelney. The Vikings proceeded to conquer the lands of Wessex, while Alfred gathered support and built reinforcements in the southwest, preparing for a counterattack. Later in the year Alfred defeated the Danes at Eddington and drove them back to Chippenham. Eventually Alfred and Guthrum settled their differences and established a treaty for what would become the Danelaw, the main boundary for the division between English England and Anglo-Danish England. The area became a kind of “Denmark overseas,” which Danes organized and administered and which was different from the rest of England in ethnicity, culture, law, language, and social custom. Although the formal division lasted only about five years, through the 11th century Danish law and customs prevailed in this area and the rulers continued to recognize the special and separate nature of Danish England.

The term *Danelaw* first appears in the time of CANUTE (1016–35) to distinguish the area’s different legal system, but it is incorrect to categorize Danelaw as a homogeneous territory. The differences in custom, law, and political allegiance varied with the density of the Norse population, but the area’s internal divisions never trumped its separateness from English England. The Scandinavian language permeated the area, as is most commonly observed in the frequent place names ending in *by* or *thorp*. Cultural differences also appear in land tenure. Rather than dividing their land into units known as *hundreds* used to administer the English shires, Yorkshire and the Five Boroughs settlers divided their land into units known as *wapantakes*. The term, never used in Scandinavia, is related to “weapon taking,” the Viking custom of brandishing one’s weapon to show approval of council decisions and is unique to the Danelaw. Likewise, they divided agricultural land into *ploughlands*, rather than using the Anglo-Saxon unit known as *hide*.

The Danelaw's legal codes also showed a great deal of Scandinavian influence, not only in terminology but in concepts that differed from those of Anglo-Saxon England. For example, in the Danelaw, *wergild* fines related to a man's rank, rather the rank of his lord, and the laws punished violations against the king's peace more severely than in English territories. Courts and legal assemblies reflected Scandinavian roots as well. To investigate crimes, 12 *thegns* in each *wapentake* formed a jury of presentment, and the opinion of the majority prevailed in making its decision. They ultimately settled the fate of the accused by ordeal, as in Anglo-Saxon areas, but the notion of a jury of locals charged with investigating a crime was not an Anglo-Saxon concept.

Historians note the positive influence of the Scandinavian culture on the island, from the intensification of agriculture that made Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk among the most prosperous shires of the period and the political success of King Canute to the regular commerce that emerged in the North Sea. Although the formal boundary of the Danelaw lasted only a few years, the impact of the Danes on England's culture, economy, and political system remained strong throughout the Middle Ages.

See also ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE; ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS; VIKINGS: NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

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KEVIN D. HILL

Dante Alighieri

(1265–1321) *Florentine author*

Dante Alighieri was born in 1265 in Florence to a family of noble lineage. His father made a living through property rental and moneylending. His mother, Bella degli Abati, died when he was seven years old, and his father also died when he was young, before 1283. Dante found father figures in his mentor Bruno Latini, and in Guido Cavalcanti, both of whom shaped Dante's early cultural development. Dante was betrothed to his wife, Gemma Donati, when he was 12 years old, although he



An illustration by Gustave Doré of the guilty being buried head first, from a scene out of *Inferno*: Canto XIX.

had fallen in love with another girl named Beatrice Portinari. He married Gemma Donati in 1285 but Beatrice became his muse, even after her death at the age of 24 in 1290. His early 1292 work, *La Vita Nuova*, was a tribute to his love for Beatrice.

During his lifetime two powerful supranational institutions that had been prominent features of the medieval world, the Catholic Church and the empire, collapsed. These two entities faced challenges in the developing urban centers, as well as in the autonomous national state. Dante recognized the importance of these two events and dedicated his works to understanding the ambiguous connections between these two great powers, through the use of metaphor or historical examples in the form of allegory and other literary devices.

In his writing Dante wished to communicate philosophical and theological ideas to as many people as possible, unlike most contemporary scriptures, in which truth is mysteriously encrypted. The *Comedy* was written in Italian instead of Latin, as Dante intended to exalt the use of this vernacular language in literature. The *Comedy* successfully proved the ability of the Italian language in the hands of a skilled poet-theologian, for the language managed to express its complex ideas.

Dante's magnum opus was originally known as the *Comedy* (*Commedia*) even though it also contains elements of tragedy and satire. Dante explores the depths

of human actions and emotion in this Christian epic. The poem has a ternary structure, which highlights the importance of the number 3, associated with the theological concept of the Trinity. He began writing the epic in 1307 or 1308. In the Venetian edition of 1555, the work became known as the *Divine Comedy*, as it is commonly referred to today. This relates to Dante's view of his work as the "sacred poem." The poem, with over 14,000 lines of verse, tells of a pilgrim's fictional journey from hell to purgatory to paradise, in the year 1300. The pilgrim descends to Hell on Good Friday, only to leave it on Easter Sunday to reach Purgatory. Three days later he passes through the Earthly Paradise, before rising up to the limits of the universe to witness ethereal Godly visions.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Delhi Sultanate

The influx of Muslim Turks into the Indian subcontinent began in the 11th and 12th centuries. It was spearheaded by a series of military dynasties, including the GHAZNAVIDS, who ruled parts of Persia and invaded northern India, and the Ghurids, who started off as allies of the great Ghaznavid ruler MAHMUD OF GHAZNI, but broke away after his death in 1030 and conquered much of northern India for themselves.

Aibak, a Turk born in Central Asia and taken to Nishapur as a slave of the Ghurid ruling house, served as a Ghurid administrator from 1192 until 1206, when he was freed and named sultan, or ruler, of a new dynasty based in the city of Delhi by his former masters. While in the service of the Ghurids, he led a series of military campaigns in India, expanding the empire's territory significantly and subjugating most of the land between the Indus and Ganges Rivers. Aibak's reign, during which he spent the majority of his time trying to establish political institutions and geographic boundaries, was relatively short and he died in 1210.

Aibak was succeeded by his son, Aram in Lahore, who had little experience in politics and was overthrown and killed in 1211 by Aibak's son-in-law, Shams ud-Din

Iltutmish, who was favored by the army. Immediately upon assuming control of the sultanate, Iltutmish was faced with military challenges from both the neighboring Ghaznavids and the Muslim state in Sind. In a series of wars against them, Iltutmish reasserted his authority and by 1228 had conquered all of Sind. According to the Muslim historian IBN BATUTA, Iltutmish was the first ruler of Delhi to reign independently of a larger state and in 1228–29 he received emissaries from the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, the premier Muslim state, at least in name, of this period. Under his leadership, the Delhi Sultanate escaped destruction when the Mongol leader GENGHIS KHAN swept westward through Central Asia.

Iltutmish died in 1236 and was succeeded by a series of weak rulers and the Turkish nobility, nicknamed "the Forty," who controlled the sultanate's most important provinces. His son Rukn ad-Din Firuz Shah ruled for seven months before being deposed by his sister, Raziyya, whom their father had initially chosen as the new ruler before his death. The sultana had been trained in political administration during periods when her father went off on military campaigns and left her in charge of maintaining the government. Raziyya encountered stiff opposition from many of the sultanate's officials, and she was overthrown in 1240. Iltutmish's youngest son, Mu'izz ad-Din Bahram Shah, ascended the throne and worked to strengthen the northern frontier against the Mongols. He stopped an attempt by his sister to regain control of the sultanate. However he too was overthrown in 1242 by senior government officials and was subsequently executed. The new sultan, Nasir ud-Din Mahmud, was a recluse and granted political authority to Ghiyath ad-Din Balban, his slave and future son-in-law.

Under Balban, the sultanate continued to ward off Mongol raiding parties and stopped revolts by rebellious Hindu rulers. When Sultan Nasir ud-Din, who had no children, died in 1265, Balban formally assumed the title of sultan, ruling for two decades until 1286. The sultanate's army was reorganized and improved under Balban and he ordered the construction of forts in and around Lahore in order to present a defensive line against the Mongol leader HULAGU KHAN, who had invaded Iran in 1256 and was actively campaigning throughout Persia and the Arab Middle East during the second half of the 1250s. Between 1280 and 1283 one of the sultanate's governors, Tughril, rebelled against Balban and the sultan led a military campaign against him, which resulted in the governor's death during a raid by Balban's forces on his camp.

The early period of the Delhi Sultanate came to an end in 1290 when Balban's son, Bughra Khan, refused

the throne and Malik Firuz Khalji overthrew Balban's teenage grandson, Kaiqubad. The Turk Khaljids adopted Afghan customs after occupying Afghanistan and oversaw the rapid expansion of the sultanate, conquering Gujarat and Deccan during their reign from 1290 to 1320. Sultan Ala ud-Din Khalji (r. 1296–1316) enlarged the army and introduced economic and tax reforms. Upon his death, he was succeeded by a series of inept rulers and internal strife led to the downfall of the Khaljids soon after his death.

The TUGHLAQ DYNASTY (1320–1412) rose to power and Sultan Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq (r. 1325–51) founded a second capital city at Deogir in order to control an increasingly vast empire. By moving the active capital south, the sultan could oversee the continued military campaigns in Deccan. Under Muhammad a system of currency was introduced and taxes were increased to meet the sultan's military expenditures. Much of the later years of his reign was spent dealing with revolts, trying to head off dissension from the clergy (*ulama*), and handling external threats, which resulted in the reduction of the empire's territory.

Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (r. 1351–88) was not as militarily successful as his predecessors, but was perhaps the dynasty's greatest administrator-ruler. He reintroduced the *jagir* system, which paid army officers in grants of land rather than cash salaries, and introduced a justice system that rigorously enforced the laws. Firuz Shah also focused on improving social services and opened up a large hospital, Dar us-Shafa, in Delhi and founded bureaus of employment and marriage. During his reign the state financed the expansion of existing cities, the construction of new ones, and the building of mosques, bathhouses, and canals. The religious policy of the sultanate under Firuz Shah was strictly Sunni and non-Muslims were required to pay the *jizya* tax and Shi'ite Muslims were placed under restrictions.

Upon Firuz Shah's death in 1388, a succession crisis led to the downfall of the Tughlaq dynasty. In the midst of this crisis, TIMURLANE (TAMERLANE) the ruler of SAMARKAND who was forging an empire in Central Asia, invaded India and captured and sacked Delhi in 1398. Famine and the spread of disease followed the Timurid invasion, with thousands of slaves and much of the city's wealth being taken back to Central Asia. The Tughlaq dynasty was no longer a single entity and several competing states were left to squabble over Muslim India. With the fall of the Tughlaqs, the Turkish sultanate of Delhi began its steady decline.

Despite periods of revival under the Sayyid dynasty (1414–1451) and the Lodi dynasty (1451–1526),

the centralized sultanate no longer existed and both dynasties were faced with opposition from India's Hindu population and rival Indian Muslim states. The sultanate was formally ended in 1526 when Zahir ud-Din Muhammad Babur, a Chaghatai Turk who ruled in Kabul, ushered in the period of the great Mughal Empire.

See also ABBASID DYNASTY; SIND, ARAB CONQUEST OF.

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CHRISTOPHER ANZALONE

Dhimmi

In Islamic ruled territories, Dhimmis were those religious minorities, or People of the Book (*ahl al-kitab*), who were protected under ISLAMIC LAW. People of the Book included Jews, Christians (of all denominations), and sometimes Zoroastrians. As polytheists Hindus were not usually granted protected minority status.

Under Islamic law and customs adult males of sound mind who had protected status paid a poll tax in addition to the customary land tax but were exempt from military service. In Muslim societies nonbelievers were not forced to convert and had freedom of religious practice as well as extensive communal autonomy including education for their children; however, they were not considered as equals to their Muslim counterparts. Sometimes stipulations regarding the height of bell towers on churches and dress were enforced, particularly under intolerant or dogmatic rulers. Nor were nonbelievers allowed to proselytize. The treatment and status of nonbelievers in Muslim realms varied with

time and place but was usually more open and tolerant than anywhere in medieval Europe.

See also ISLAM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Divine Caliphate and the Ummah

In June 632 the prophet MUHAMMAD, the founder and last prophet of ISLAM, died of natural causes. He left behind a nascent Islamic state within the Arabian Peninsula. Although some Muslim sources state that there had been a premonition of his death, the confusion and divisions within the Muslim community or Ummah suggest that Muhammad's death was unexpected.

In the wake of the Prophet's death the general consensus was that, since Muhammad did not leave explicit instructions on how to choose a successor, such a leader should be elected. Despite this consensus not all factions agreed.

One group, which later came to be known as the Partisans of Ali or Shiat Ali, claimed that ALI IBN ABU TALIB, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, was designated as the prophet's successor at a place called Ghadir Khumm during his last hajj pilgrimage. The four successors to Muhammad as leaders of the Ummah—Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn al-Affan, and Ali ibn Abu Talib—formed what is now known as the al-Rashidun or "Rightly Divinely Guided" Caliphate.

Originally many believed that the caliph was the political, but not the religious, successor to Muhammad. However other scholars have argued that the caliph, at least initially during the al-Rashidun period and Umayyad DYNASTY, held both political and religious authority, though they did not claim prophetic powers, since Muhammad was considered the "seal" of the prophetic line that began with Adam, the first man in the Islamic tradition.

ABU BAKR AL-SIDDIQ

Umar ibn al-Khattab, Abu Ubayda ibn al-Jarrah, and Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, three of Muhammad's closest companions and allies, decided that Abu Bakr should take over as head of the Ummah. As a member of the influential tribe of Quraysh, of which Muhammad was also a member, Abu Bakr was an early convert to Islam and father of A'ISHA, one of the prophet's wives. In 622 when Muhammad was compelled to leave his native city of Mecca for the oasis city of Yathrib (later renamed Medina) to the north, because of the death of his uncle and protector Abu Talib ibn Abd al-Muttalib and threats from the city's polytheistic leaders, Abu Bakr was his trusted lieutenant and traveling companion.

As word of Muhammad's death spread throughout Arabia, several Arab tribes that had pledged allegiance to Muhammad refused to obey the new caliph, Abu Bakr, who ruled from Medina. Although some of these tribes openly rejected Islam, despite having converted during Muhammad's lifetime, other rebellious tribes objected to the continuation of political subjugation to the caliphate in Medina. Abu Bakr moved swiftly against the rebels, stopping the rebellion with military force in what came to be known as the Ridda Wars, or the Wars of Apostasy. The struggle against the Hanifa clan, led by their leader Musaylimah, who claimed to be Muhammad's prophetic successor, was the bloodiest, finally ending in 633 with the defeat of the Hanifa and the death of Musaylimah at the Battle of Aqraba.

The larger result of the triumph of the al-Rashidun Caliphate over its challengers was the first major expansion of the Islamic state since the death of Muhammad, as the Muslims were in firm control over the vast majority of the Arabian Peninsula. After his victory in the Ridda Wars, Abu Bakr turned his attention to the north and east, directing Muslim armies to begin moving against the Byzantine Empire and its Arab allies in Palestine and Syria and the Persian Sassanid Empire's landholdings in Mesopotamia. The first Muslim military expeditions into Byzantine and Sassanid lands occurred during Abu Bakr's reign. Before he was able to continue the caliphate's expansion, Abu Bakr died of old age in August 634, after nominating Umar as his successor.

UMAR IBN AL-KHATTAB

Umar ibn al-Khattab, one of Muhammad's greatest critics and persecutors before converting to Islam, oversaw the caliphate's first great expansion. It was during his reign as caliph that Islam's political and religious authority spread by leaps and bounds outside its Arabian homeland. In fairly short succession,

the Byzantine Empire was driven out of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and parts of southern Asia Minor while the Sassanid Empire was pushed out of Mesopotamia by Muslim armies. After entering Iran and forcing the Sassanid government to flee farther east, the Muslims established new settlements at Kufah and Basra in present-day Iraq, which would act as garrisons to safeguard the caliphate's new conquests. Under Umar, the administration of the caliphate began to develop, with its soldiers paid varying rates according to the length and nature of their service, and local subjugated non-Muslim populations required to pay taxes, while Muslims were required to pay religious taxes. In 644 Umar was mortally wounded by Abu Lululah, a Persian slave, while leading communal prayers in Medina, for personal and not political reasons.

UTHMAN IBN AL-AFFAN

Before he died Umar appointed a six-member council of Muhammad's Companions, all members of the tribe of Quraysh, to elect the next caliph. Ali was offered the position if he would agree to follow the edicts of his two predecessors. After Ali declined, the council elected Uthman ibn al-Affan, an early convert to Islam and a member of the powerful Umayyad clan, as the new caliph. During his reign the authority of the central government in Medina was enhanced and a conference of scholars was called to codify an official version of the QUR'AN, placing the chapters in the order in which they appear today. During Uthman's reign the caliphate continued to expand, with Muslim armies moving farther east into Sassanid Iran. Through treaties and military conquest, the Muslims established their control over the region's urban centers, though in the mountains and rural areas, traditional societies continued to exist and non-Muslim peoples, such as the Turks of Central Asia, were prone to occasional revolt. The Sassanid empire, which had been in power since 224, was unable to maintain centralized control and by 651 it had collapsed.

Three regions in particular opposed Uthman's reign: Medina, where non-Umayyad members of the Quraysh were dismayed at the caliph's favoritism; and Kufah and Egypt, where the caliph had attempted to revoke longstanding privileges and increased taxation. In 656 opposition to the caliph came to a head when several hundred Muslim soldiers stationed in Egypt returned to Medina to protest Uthman's policies. He talked them into returning to Egypt but sent an order to that region's governor instructing him to punish the soldiers. The caliph's message was intercepted and the soldiers returned, enraged, and assassinated Uthman as

he sat reading the Qur'an. Uthman's nepotism led to his downfall and further divisions in the Muslim Ummah.

ALI IBN ABI TALIB

After Uthman's assassination, Ali became the fourth al-Rashidun caliph. Although he had not faced open opposition to his ascension to the seat of caliph, opposition to his rule soon coalesced around the Prophet's widow A'isha, and two of Muhammad's Companions, al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwam and Talha ibn Ubayd Allah, who objected to Ali's close alliance with prominent factions of Muslim converts. Fearing that the influence of the Quraysh would be eclipsed, A'isha, al-Zubayr, and Talha led a rebellion against Ali. In December 656 at the Battle of the Camel outside Basra in Iraq, Ali's forces defeated the rebellion, killing al-Zubayr and Talha. A'isha was sent back to Medina, where she was placed under house arrest.

The main bases of Ali's support were in Iraq; however in Syria, Ali was faced with open opposition from that province's governor, Muawiya, an Umayyad relative of Uthman, who criticized the caliph for refusing to punish Uthman's assassins. Muawiya was in command of a powerful military force and in 657 the armies of Muawiya and Ali met at Siffin. A full-scale fight eventually ensued, but was soon ended when Muawiya's soldiers held up pages from the Qu'ran and called out for a peaceful settlement. Ali, to the dismay of some of his more zealous followers, agreed to have his dispute with Muawiya arbitrated. In the end Muawiya remained governor of Syria and Ali was left unchallenged as the caliph, though his position had been severely weakened. A group of zealots, the Kharijites, previously staunch supporters of Ali, claimed that by agreeing to arbitration, Ali had circumvented the will of God. Although he later defeated the bulk of the Kharijites's military forces, Ali failed to stamp out their rebellion. Kharijite assassination attempts against Muawiya and other senior Umayyad leaders failed, but in 661 Ali was mortally wounded by the Kharijite Abdur-Rahman ibn Muljam while leading the predawn prayers at the central mosque in Kufah. With his assassination, the al-Rashidun Caliphate came to an end and Muawiya and the Umayyad dynasty of Syria rose in its place. The Umayyads would continue expanding the Islamic state until the ABBASID DYNASTY overthrew them in a violent revolution in 750.

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CHRISTOPHER ANZALONE

Donatello

(c. 1382–1466) *Renaissance sculptor*

Donato di Niccolode Bettto Bardi (Donatello) is one of the greatest and most famous Italian sculptors of the 15th century, whose work was greatly influenced by the early European Renaissance. He was born in Florence (or in its vicinities) between the years 1382 and 1387, in the family of Niccolò di Betto Bardi, a Florentine wool carder. He studied in the workshop of LORENZO Ghiberti, a bronze sculptor, who in 1402 had won the competition to make the doors of the Florentine baptistery. Donatello's first works, the marble *David* and *St. John the Evangelist* for the cathedral façade, show the influence of Ghiberti and of the Gothic style. The young sculptor's artistic development was greatly stimulated by his friendship with FILIPPO Brunelleschi, a sculptor and an architect, who later stayed with Donatello during his years of studies in Rome. Most of his adult life was spent in Florence, where he worked under the patronage of first Cosimo, then Piero de' Medici, but during the years 1444–55 he lived in Padua, commissioned to work on bronze statue of a famous Venetian condottiere, popularly called Gattamelata, who had died shortly before.

Donatello's style may be described as classical realism: He had a strong proclivity to depict life as it is and, attempting to link between the medieval art and the classical antiquity, took great interest in the peculiarities of human body and facial expressions. (A closer study of the ancient models eventually taught Donatello to refrain from overly expressive radical realism.) It is possible to divide Donatello's work into two substyles: the pure realistic style and the neoclassical style, with great allusion to the Greco-Roman ideals. The statue of *Mary Magda-*

lene created for the Florentine baptistery in 1434 shows an old, skeletal, hairy woman, and Donatello's *King David*, nicknamed *Zuccone*, or pumpkin (1427–35) (for his large, bold head), may be grouped under Donatello's realistic style. These works tend to reject the traditional iconography. On the contrary, the *Triumph of Bacchus* in Museo Borgello, Florence, the bronze *David* (c. 1469), and the half-bust of *Selena* on a bronze vase (Kensington Museum, London) imitate ancient art.

The best of Donatello's works, however, are those in which he followed his own ideas, which in many ways corresponded with the pursuits and innovations of the Italian humanists—a careful exploration of human body and psyche, the interrelationship between human beings, and the human interaction with nature and the higher spheres. Donatello's genuine interest in psychology and his desire to bring to light the inwardness of things are evident in the statue *John the Baptist*, exhibited in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (Venice), which he created in Padua; this extraordinary figure clearly shows new insight into psychological reality as constantly plagued by emotional anxieties. Donatello is also credited with the invention of the *schacciato* (“flattened out”) technique, a new mode of bas-relief, applied to his marble panel *St. George Killing the Dragon* (1416–17) and other works. The technique involved more shallow carving than was customary, which created a sharp contrast between bodies and surrounding landscape, making the relief more dependent on visual perception.

Donatello's great fascination with human emotions continued throughout most of his work but was intensified after the artistic crisis he experienced during his last years in Padua. From the magnificent bronze *David* (influenced, apparently, by Etruscan figurines) to the dancing children in the relief of the Duomo di Prato (1434)—Donatello's creations are lively, energetic, and gracious. His works are rendered extraordinary for their individuality, and for their ability to create a dialogue between the composition and its onlooker. Donatello was said to treat human passions somewhat obsessively, more often than not showing them in repellent forms, as, for example, in the *Entombment of Christ*, a bas-relief made of painted plaster for the Church of St. Anthony in Padua. The same expressiveness can be discerned in Donatello's last work, which was finished by his pupil Bertoldo after the master's death—two great bronze pulpits showing the *Passion of Christ*, work of tremendous complexity. The great Renaissance sculptor died in 1466, being once again employed by his old patrons the Medici, and was buried with great honors

in the Church of St. Lorenzo, covered with the same bronze pulpits.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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VICTORIA DUROFF

Dvaravati

The MON kingdom of Dvaravati (also called Siam) flourished in what is now Thailand from the sixth century C.E. to around the 11th century. The kingdom covered the political area of Nakhon Pathom (west of present-day Bangkok), U-Thong, and Khu Bua. Dvaravati extended outward from the lower Chao Phraya River valley, to the westward Tenasserim Yoma, and then southward to the Isthmus of Kra. The kingdom also consisted of towns immediately outside this perimeter that paid tribute to the kingdom, while not necessarily considering themselves under its direct rule. Dvaravati did not yield strong political influence on other established Mon kingdoms or states such as Myanmar or the Mon in northern Thailand. This was because of its isolated geographical location (surrounded by mountainous regions). Dvaravati is considered to be the epicenter of the spread of Indian culture in the region.

The Dvaravati kingdom's capital was Nakhon Pathom, a city archaeologists and historians believe to have been established around 3 B.C.E. Around 607 Chinese pilgrims wrote of a kingdom called To-lo-poti, which practiced Buddhism. It is widely believed that they wrote of Dvaravati. While the name *Dvaravati* is of Sanskrit origins, the kingdom was only referred to as such by the Western world in 1964 when anthropologists and archaeologists found coins in the area inscribed with the words *sridvaravati*. The presence of coins indicates trade, and the Dvaravati kingdom was famed for its trading culture with India, and its sophisticated economic infrastructure.

The kingdom of Dvaravati actively practiced Buddhism, albeit with a mixture of indigenous Mon and

Indic culture. Buddhist pilgrims belonging to Emperor Ashoka disseminated it within Southeast Asia. The kingdom was also the center of Buddhist devotion in Southeast Asia at that time. Numerous Buddhist artifacts have been found in Dvaravati and range in style and influence by the trends found within the Gupta empire (Hindu elements), Theravada, and Mahayana Buddhist tradition. Various objects have been found in Nakhon Pathom that point toward ritual offerings as part of the belief structure.

The period of Dvaravati rule was greatly influenced by Vedic and Indic principles within a Buddhist framework. It maintained strong cultural and religious ties to India, reflected through the use of architecture, art, and language. Pali and Sanskrit were spoken, as was the indigenous Mon language. Art flourished, as did intellectual pursuits such as literature and poetry. Dvaravati was a highly organized and political society and modeled itself upon the Gupta style of organization where minor princes ruled outer provinces and the king directly presided over his locality. Dvaravati employed the use of councils and administrative regions to govern the wide area. Moats uncovered by archaeological research point toward a sophisticated system of agriculture and as such agricultural development allowed the kingdom to be relatively self-sufficient. Dvaravati was able to sustain its population for centuries.

The kingdom of Dvaravati predated the Khmers by at least 100 years; however it was eventually eclipsed and absorbed into Khmer and Thai religion and culture. Dvaravati had a tumultuous history from the 10th century onward when it was first conquered by the Burmese, and then captured by the Khmer in the 11th century, who dominated the area right up to the 13th century when it was taken over by the Thai kingdom.

See also KHMER KINGDOM.

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SAMAYA L. SUKHA



East African city-states

The BANTU migration from the central Sahara, perhaps the defining event in the history of Africa south of the Sahara, brought people to the region of East Africa as the nucleus of the emerging city-states. From the 10th century, Arab traders noticed the importance of such settlements to their trade. From the onset the city-states were fiercely independent, and no East African empires emerged in the way that GHANA, MALI, AND SONGHAI did in the west. As Richard Hooker wrote in *Civilizations in Africa: The Swahili Kingdoms*: “The major Swahili city-states were Mogadishu, Barawa, Mombasa (Kenya), Gedi, Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Kilwa, and Sofala in the far south. These city-states were Muslim and cosmopolitan and they were all politically independent of one another; nothing like a Swahili empire or hegemony was formed around any of these city-states. In fact they were more like competitive companies or corporations each vying for the lion’s share of African trade.”

However while the Arabs provided much of the impetus for economic and cultural development, the original settlements were definitely rooted among Africans. Joseph E. Harris writes in *Africans and Their History* that “the most important pre-Islamic commercial town on the coast seems to have been Rhapta, about which little is known except that it was the center for the export of ivory that Arab merchants controlled. Rhapta was probably located on the northern coast of Tanganyika [now Tanzania].”

The culture of the region became increasingly diverse, as Persians and Indians would join the Bantu Africans and the Arabs in the city-states. When Idi Amin Dada drove the Indians from what is now Uganda during his rule (1971–79), he was ending an Indian presence in his country that had its roots in the first traders from India hundreds of years before. While ivory, sandalwood, and gold were important exports, tragically the largest part of the economy was the slave trade. Zanzibar and Mombasa became the eastern terminus points for slaves the Arabs took out of Africa for shipment to Arabia and Yemen.

Kilwa emerged by the 12th century as perhaps the most powerful of the city-states, containing a mosque made from coral. The great Arab traveler IBN BATUTA stopped in Kilwa in 1331. It was ruled, as Harris notes, by the Shirazis, who had originally left the Persian city of Shiraz and intermarried with the Bantu population. Kilwa spread its influence south into the region of Zimbabwe and became a decisive factor in the trade in southern Africa as well. Symbolic of the wide-ranging trade was the voyage from Malindi to China in 1414. On that trip, the ruler of the city-state of Malindi sent a live giraffe to the Ming emperor of China, Emperor YONGLE (YUNG-LO). It was the early 15th century that saw the great MING DYNASTY exploring fleets sailing from China, perhaps even as far as the Americas, under Admiral Zheng He. Admiral Zheng would ultimately make seven historic expeditions from 1405 to 1433. The Chinese fleets made several stops on the East African coasts, making the Swahili city states part of a vast panoeceanic trading



Enormous ivory tusks are readied for sale at the local market. Arabs controlled the export of ivory in the African city-state of Rhapta.

economy. Trade was determined by the prevailing winds of the monsoon seasons. From November to March, Arabs, Indians, and Persians would sail south toward the Swahili coast and make their return voyages north between July and September.

The Indian Ocean trade would be monopolized by Arabs until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498. It would mark the beginning of the end of the prosperous East African city-states. Mocambique, spelled also as Mozambique, would not be free from PORTUGAL's imperial rule until 1975.

See also ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE; GOLD AND SALT, KINGDOMS OF; HAUSA CITY-STATES; ZIMBABWE.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Edward I and II

kings of England

The origins of the modern British parliament can be traced to the reign of two medieval English kings: Edward I (1239–1307) and Edward II (1284–1327). Parliament had its roots in the king's Great Council, a primarily judicial and executive body in which prominent barons counseled the king and considered petitions for the redress of grievances. Although Parliament had legislative, judicial, and fiscal responsibilities, it was the fiscal duties, in the form of grants of taxation, that transformed it from a feudal council into a more representative body.

Prior to 1200 English kings drew most of their income from independent sources, such as land rents, judicial fines, and feudal aids. However by the ascension of Edward I in 1272, taxation provided most royal revenue. The wars of Edward I necessitated the frequent summoning of Parliament to approve the granting of taxes. However, taxation required the consent of Parliament, which became less forthcoming as the costs of Edward's military campaigns mounted. The need to secure tax revenue forced Edward to accept a Parliament that included not only barons and bishops, but also country gentlemen and burgesses from the towns. The result was the meeting of the Model Parliament in 1295, a landmark on the road to representative government in England.

Growing resistance to taxation forced Edward I to consent to further concessions. In 1297 Edward agreed to issue a confirmation of the charters of liberties, including the MAGNA CARTA and the Provisions of Oxford (1258), in exchange for taxation. The king promised to collect taxes only with the consent of Parliament. In the reign of Edward II (1307–27) the barons sought to recover the political power they had lost during the reign of Edward I. The barons regarded themselves as the king's rightful councilors and resented the influence of Piers Gaveston, a royal favorite.

Opposition to Gaveston grew until 1310, when the barons compelled the king to consent to the appointment of a committee of 21 to reform government and reassert baronial authority. The committee drafted the Ordinances of 1311, which placed restrictions upon royal power. In 1321 the barons rebelled against another

royal favorite, Hugh Despenser (1262–1326), but were defeated at the Battle of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. In 1322 Edward summoned a parliament at York, which revoked the Ordinances and restored the authority of the king. Edward failed to redress the baron's grievances, and they soon joined with Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer to invade England in 1326. Thereafter the barons summoned a parliament, which charged Edward with rejecting good counsel. A delegation from Parliament demanded his abdication in 1327, and he was murdered the following year. The community of the realm had served notice on future kings that they were to govern by the law, of which Parliament was the guardian.

See also ENGLISH COMMON LAW.

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BRIAN REFFORD

El Cid

(c. 1043–1099) *medieval Spanish warrior*

The title *El Cid* was given to a Spanish early medieval warrior called Rodrigo (or Ruy) Díaz de Vivar, also known as El Campeador (“the Champion”). After his death, he became a folk hero with many Spanish ballads written of his rise from obscurity to lead the Castilians against the Moors. He was born at Vivar, near Burgos, in the kingdom of Castile; his father a minor Castilian nobleman, but his mother was well connected and ensured that from a young age he attended the court of King Ferdinand I as a member of the household of king's eldest son, Sancho. When Sancho succeeded his father as King Sancho II of Castile, he appointed the 22-year-old Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar as his standard bearer as he had already achieved a reputation for valor in battle, taking part in the Battle of Graus in 1063. When Sancho attacked Sargasso in 1067, Rodrigo accompanied him and took part in the negotiations that led the ruler of Sargasso, al-Muqtadir, to acknowledge the overlordship of Sancho.

In 1067 Sancho went to war with his brother Alfonso VI, who had been left the kingdom of León. Some ballads portray El Cid as unwilling to support this invasion, which went against the will of Ferdinand I, but he was likely a willing participant. During the following five years El Cid was a vital military

leader on behalf of Sancho. Sancho was killed when laying siege to Zamora. Alfonso, deposed from León, was the heir, and the new king found himself in a difficult political position. Count García Ordóñez, a bitter enemy of El Cid, became the new standard bearer, but El Cid was able to remain at court, as Alfonso did not want such a tough opponent. It was probably Alfonso who planned the marriage of El Cid to Jimena, daughter of the count of Oviedo. They had a son, Diego Rodriguez, and two daughters. In 1097 Diego was killed in battle in North Africa.

Castilians who had supported Sancho were naturally nervous about Alfonso's becoming king, and these simmering resentments began to be expressed through El Cid, who served as a conduit for them. In 1079 El Cid was sent to Seville on a mission to the Moorish king. Coinciding with this trip, García Ordóñez aided Granada in their attack on Seville, but El Cid defeated the forces from Granada at Cabra, capturing García Ordóñez. His easy victory gained him enemies at court. When El Cid attacked the Moors in Toledo (who were allied to Alfonso), the king exiled him, and although he returned some years later, he was never able to remain for long.

El Cid went to work for the Moorish king of Sargasso, serving him and his successor for several years. This gave him a better understanding of Muslim law, which would help him in his later career. In 1082 he led the forces of Sargasso to victory over the Moorish king of Lérida and the count of Barcelona; two years later, undefeated in battle, he defeated the forces of the king of Aragon, Sancho Ramirez. When the Almoravids from Morocco invaded Spain in 1086 and defeated Alfonso's army, the two were briefly reconciled but soon afterward El Cid returned to Sargasso and did not help prevent the Christians from being overwhelmed.

Instead El Cid focused his attention on becoming the ruler of Valencia. This required political machinations and El Cid had to reduce the influence of other neighboring rulers. The importance of the counts of Barcelona came to an end when Ramon Berenguer II's forces were decisively defeated at Tebar in May 1090 by El Cid's Christian and Moorish forces. El Cid then utilized loopholes in Muslim law when Ibn Jahhaf killed al-Qadir, the ruler of Valencia. He besieged the city, which was controlled by Ibn Jahhaf, and when an Almoravid attempt to lift the siege in December 1093 failed, the city realized it could not hold out for much longer, and in May 1094 it surrendered.

El Cid then proclaimed himself the ruler of Valencia, serving as the chief magistrate and governing for both Christians and Muslims. In law El Cid still owed fealty

to Alfonso VI, but in practice he was totally independent of the king. El Cid's victories encouraged many Christians to move to Valencia and a bishop was appointed. El Cid ruled Valencia until his death on July 10, 1099. Had El Cid's only son survived him, there would have been a dynasty, and possibly a new royal house. However that was not the case, and Valencia was ruled by Muslims again until 1238. As he had never been defeated in battle, the story of El Cid, with increasing literary license, became a great ballad for Christians, who overlooked his years working for Moors and hailed him as the hero for the "Reconquista"—the retaking of Spain from the Moors.

See also ALMORAVID EMPIRE; CHRISTIAN STATES OF SPAIN; MUSLIM SPAIN; RECONQUEST OF SPAIN.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

English common law

Common law developed after the NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. In 1066 England was peopled with Angles, Saxons, Vikings, Danes, Celts, Jutes, and other groups who were suddenly ruled by French-speaking Normans. Most law at the time was customary law that had been handed down orally from generation to generation. In addition there were the legal code of ALFRED THE GREAT, which was biblical in nature, and the DANELAW of the Vikings and Danes. Most of the courts were communal courts (folk-moot), the hundred and shire courts, and baronial, or manorial, courts administering justice in the interest of the local nobility.

Immediately after the Norman Conquest the king would hear cases *coram rege* (before the king) that involved royal interests. However, the king with the royal court tended to be on the move in England or away in France. Consequently the legal work was soon delegated to an appointed tribunal, the Curia Regis. From it came the three royal common law courts that were used to unify the kingdom.

The first of the royal common law courts was the Exchequer. Originally concerned with the collection of taxes and the administration of royal finances, by 1250 it had become a court exercising full judicial powers.

The second royal common law court to develop was the Court of Common Pleas (or Common Bench), which was probably established during the reign of HENRY II (1154–1189). This court heard cases that did not involve the king's rights. It was firmly established at Westminster after King John was forced to sign the MAGNA CARTA in 1215. The third royal common law court to evolve from the Curia Regis was the King's Bench. Eventually this court heard cases involving the king's interests, criminal matters, and cases affecting the high nobility. It also developed the practice of issuing writs of error for review of cases decided in Common Pleas.

One factor promoting the development of the common law courts was their ability to settle land disputes. All of the land in England belonged to the king by right of conquest. He then awarded it to his vassals to hold and utilize in exchange for loyalty and for services. Because economic production was almost exclusively agricultural, title to the use of land was extremely valuable. Disputes over who was entitled to possess land created innumerable cases. As the justices in Eyre traveled their assigned circuits to hold court, they would decide cases using the Bible, canon law, and most especially reasoning applied to the customary law of that place. When the judges returned to London they would go to their places of permanent residence in taverns or cloisters. These residences of the judges, who were often monks or bachelors, eventually became the Inns of Court, where cases were heard and experts were trained in law. In the course of over 200 years the judges "discovered" the law common to all the people of England. The belief was that underlying the thicket of unwritten customary law was a common foundation that could be discovered by reason.

In effect the judges were developing legal principles or laws as they made judicial rulings in particular cases. Among the principles of the common law are stare decisis (let the decision stand). Stare decisis means that a judge in deciding a case should look to similar cases from the past for guidance. The use of similar cases is itself a legal principle, namely, that like cases should be tried alike. However in the absence of a precedent setting rule the judge would in effect "legislate" and create a new rule. This meant that the common law was case law or judge-made law created by legal reasoning about legal problems. It was well established centuries before the rise of Parliament.

The developing common law had the virtue of stability; however, it lacked flexibility. To bring a case into a common law court was often too costly for common people. The common law courts also moved slowly; that could mean that justice delayed was justice denied. To

lodge a complaint in a common law court an appropriate writ had to be obtained. If the wrong kind of writ were used, of which there were eventually over 100 kinds, the case would be dismissed. In addition some of the rules of the common law were injurious to justice. For example before bringing a suit for an injury to a person or to property in a common law court real injury had to be sustained. The common law lacked a mechanism for preventing irreparable harms from happening.

Since the king was believed to be the fountainhead of justice in England—that is, the person who ruled by divine right and through whom the justice of heaven flowed to the people—equity courts were established to restore fairness or equity to the legal system. People would appeal to the king for justice. In response the kings ordered the court chancellor to issue decrees of equity. Chancery courts developed to hear cases of equity and to correct the common law.

See also NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS OF ENGLAND.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Ericson, Leif

(c. 980–1025) *Icelandic explorer*

Leif Ericson was an Icelandic explorer who is believed to have been the first European to discover North America and, more specifically, the region that would become known as Newfoundland and then Canada. It is believed that Ericson was born around 980 to Erik the Red, a Norwegian outlaw and explorer who founded two Norse colonies in GREENLAND. During a stay in Norway in 999, Leif converted to Christianity, as did many other Norse around that time. He also traveled to Norway to serve King OLAF I (Tryggvason). When he returned to Greenland, he purchased the boat of Bjarni Herjólfsson and set out to explore the land that Bjarni had sighted, which later became

known as North America. In 986 Bjarni was driven off course by a fierce storm between Iceland and Greenland and sighted hilly, heavily forested land far to the west but never set foot on it.

One of the sagas, “The Saga of the Greenlanders,” states that Leif embarked around the year 1000 to follow Bjarni’s route in reverse. Leif was motivated by a sense of adventure and a desire to find more land to farm. The expedition made three landfalls. The first land they met was covered with flat rock slabs and was probably present day Baffin Island. Leif called it Helluland, which means “land of the flat stones” in Old Norse. Next he sailed to a land that was flat and wooded, with white sandy beaches, which he called Markland, meaning “woodland” in Old Norse. Markland is commonly assumed to have been Labrador.

Continuing south Leif and his men discovered land again, disembarked, and built some houses. They found the land pleasant. Salmon were plentiful in the rivers, the climate was mild, and the land was lush and green for much of the year. Leif’s 35-member party remained at this site over the winter. The sagas mention that one of Leif’s men, Tyrkir, a German warrior, found grapes. As a result, Leif named the country Vinland, meaning “land where the grapes grow” in Old Norse. Historians disagree on the exact location of Vinland. However, several sites along the eastern coast of the United States and Canada, from Newfoundland to Virginia, have been suggested. Many believe that the Norse settlement at L’Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland was Leif’s colony. Others argue that Vinland must have been more southerly, since grapes do not grow as far north as Newfoundland; however, grapes may have grown there during the Medieval Warm Period. On the return voyage to Greenland, Leif rescued an Icelandic castaway and his crew. This deed earned him the nickname “Leif the Lucky” and made him rich from his share of the rescued cargo.

Another saga, “The Saga of Erik the Red,” asserts that Leif discovered the American mainland purely by accident. According to this saga, Leif was blown off course while returning from Norway to Greenland around 1000 and landed on the shores of North America. However the saga does not mention any attempt to settle there. “The Saga of the Greenlanders” is generally considered to be the more reliable of the two.

Leif’s father, Erik the Red, died shortly after his return home. As a result Leif stayed in Greenland to govern his father’s settlements. He died in 1025. All historical sources agree that Leif never returned to North America and his brother, Thorvald, led the next voyage



"The Discovery of Greenland," an illustration for a 19th-century magazine, depicts Erik the Red's exploration of Greenland. His son, Leif Ericson, is credited with discovering the North American continent almost five centuries ahead of Christopher Columbus.

to the new territory. Subsequent attempts to settle Vinland were unsuccessful because of friction between the Norse settlers and the native North Americans. Nevertheless Leif stands as one of history's greatest explorers, besting Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World by almost five centuries.

See also **VIKINGS: ICELAND**; **VIKINGS: NORTH AMERICA**; **VIKINGS: NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK**.

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SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

Ethiopian Empire

Ethiopia's unique and venerable identity stems from its claims to have deep roots in the ancient and biblical world. On one hand it continued the ancient civilization represented by Axum, the trading intermediary for Rome and India on the Red Sea. And on the other hand, it promoted its mythical link to King Solomon

by keeping a tenacious grip on its Christian (and even Jewish) faith all through the Muslim period, and its strong church-state hegemony gave teeth to its claims. The Christian king of late Axum, El-Asham, distinguished himself in Muslim memory by giving sanctuary to followers of the prophet MUHAMMAD who were driven out of the city of Mecca in 615. Nonetheless conflict broke out when Muslims from North Africa moved southward in the eighth century and cut off Ethiopia from the Christian world. For the next 900 years the history surrounding Ethiopia would be muted in its contact with the West, and outlines of its history hinted at through folklore and archaeology. Hemmed in, the kingdom of Axum spread to the south into the highlands. Here non-Semitic peoples resided, the Agaws of Cushitic ethnicity.

For reasons unknown some had been previously touched by Jewish influences and called themselves Falashas, and others were Christians already or were converted gradually. The latter group merged with the Axum elites and eventually replaced the ruling house with the Zagwe dynasty. The Zagwes moved the capital 160 miles south to Roha. According to tradition they were especially devout, and one of their more venerated emperors, Lalibela (1195–1225), directed the construction of 11 churches hewn out of solid rock. These churches served as a pilgrimage destination for believers when they could not overcome Muslim refusals to visit the Holy Land. The dynasty following the Zagwes in 1270 returned to the age-old tradition that their kings had descended from King Solomon. Their epic tale, *Kebre Negast* (Glory of the Kings), speaks of their ancient ancestor and first king, Menelik I, being born of the queen of Sheba (Saba) and Solomon. The son Menelik returned to his native land with the Ark of the Covenant, having shrewdly taken it from his father. Ethiopians to this day believe that the

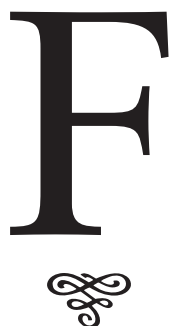
Ark is present in their country. Its presence guarantees a biblical covenant with their nation.

The new Solomonids were proactive, cultivating their biblical image. They merged their role in government with the role of the clergy in the church, putting their sons into a monasterylike community on Mount Geshen so that they would pray and learn while they waited for their call to govern the nation. Their reputation was one of priest-kings. By the mid-14th century they advanced against Muslims and pagans surrounding them. Their king, Amde-Siyon, was reported by one Arab historian, Al-Omari, to have a following of 100 kingdoms. Zar'a Ya'kob (1434–1468) achieved even greater status, aspiring to greatness by being crowned in ancient Axum. During his regime he developed new evangelistic campaigns to convert all subjects to the Christian faith. Church schools were opened up for priests, as well as ruling class students and seminarians. Ethiopian arts flourished, and these writings, artifacts, and murals still exist.

When Zar'a Ya'kob died the Muslims and outsiders rose up in rebellion. Sultan Ahmad Gran conducted a devastating jihad against the monasteries and churches (1527–43). Meanwhile for several centuries Europeans had heard reports of a legendary African emperor named Prester ("priest") John who would help out Christian armies in the CRUSADES against the Muslims of the Near East and Africa. In hopes that Ethiopia was Prester John's domain, 400 Portuguese troops were sent to put a stop to Sultan Ahmad Gran's campaign against Ethiopia.

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MARK F. WHITTERS



fairs of Champagne

As the European economy grew during the 11th and 12th centuries overland trade between Italy and north-west Europe increased and merchants from these regions needed to meet to exchange their goods. During the period from the early 12th through the 13th century, this exchange was centered mostly in the Champagne region of France, at fairs held in the towns of Troyes, Provins, Bar-sur-Aube, and Lagny. A great deal of Flemish cloth made its way to Italy during the 12th century via the fairs of Champagne.

Fairs are usually linked with markets and medieval charters granting permission for fairs and markets to meet often link the two. However unlike a market, which usually met weekly to serve local needs and to exchange cheap or perishable items, a fair assembled only once or twice a year for days or weeks to exchange commodities from distant places between merchants from remote areas. Fairs provided a place for merchants to meet with other merchants to do business in an economy that did not have, and could not sustain, permanent trading centers. The fair gave regularity to a merchant's wanderings and offered a place where he knew he could find other merchants, trade for the commodities and supplies he needed, and sell commodities he was carrying.

The fairs of Champagne are perhaps the most famous of the medieval European fairs. They originated during the first half of the 12th century as a center for the sale of horses. They developed from local markets to regional markets and finally to fairs of Europe-wide importance.

Before fairs merchants traveled on trade routes between north and south that followed the Meuse, Saône, and Rhône Rivers. However, a more direct route between the Rhône Valley and West Flanders later emerged. It ran from the Saône across the upland of Langres to the headwaters of the Paris Rivers, and then north toward Lille and Arras. The four fair towns were on or close to this more direct route. Furthermore the counts of Champagne had unified this area by the early 12th century and could ensure safety and welfare of merchants and travelers who went to their lands. The guarantee of safety and the "liberal and constructive" policies of the counts toward the fairs were attractive to merchants and no doubt contributed greatly to their success.

The cycle included six fairs. Troyes and Provins hosted two fairs each, while Lagny and Bar-sur-Aube each hosted one fair. Lagny, near Paris, opened the New Year with its fair, and Bar-sur-Aube held its fair in spring at mid-Lent. The first Provins fair met in the week of the feast of Ascension and was followed by the first Troyes fair, which opened after the feast of St. John the Baptist. The second Provins fair opened September 14 and the cycle ended with the second Troyes fair, which opened November 2. Generally there was an interval of a week or two at most between fairs. The fairs in Lagny and Bar-sur-Aube appear to have been less important than those in Troyes and Provins.

The fairs followed a rigid schedule. The first week merchants set up their stalls along the streets of the town and prepared for business. The next 10 days merchants sold cloth, the 11 days following that they sold leather

and fur, and the next 19 days they traded a variety of other goods. The last few days of the fair merchants balanced their accounts, and all debt and credit was settled by notary bill, which allowed the merchants to travel without carrying a great deal of money. The fairs' importance did not persist beyond the end of the 13th century. By 1296 businessmen from Florence had taken their business to Lyons, and tax revenues from the fairs fell dramatically. Genoese carracks allowed the Italians to establish a regular sea link via Gibraltar to Bruges, Southampton, and London by 1297. At the same time the most-used overland routes shifted to the east, taking merchants away from Champagne.

The 14th century decline of the fairs reflected a breakdown in law and order, the absorption of Champagne into the domain of the king of France, and the outbreak of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Goods had become increasingly standardized and it was no longer necessary to examine them before every purchase, and the banking houses of Florence and Bruges could handle financial transactions much more efficiently than a fair. Finally by the 14th century the wealthiest merchants, and perhaps many others, maintained agents in the places where they regularly did business. Couriers carried orders and commercial information back and forth, while professional carters moved the commodities in caravans that they arranged.

The "international fairs" declined in importance but did not disappear. Many returned to being regional markets, specializing in livestock, while some handled seasonal goods, wines, or preserved goods. Fairs in other regions grew in importance as those in Champagne declined, but the fairs of Champagne remained regionally important until the Hundred Years' War. The fairs of Champagne played a vital role in the development of the medieval economy.

They provided a center to the increasingly Europe-wide economy by offering long-distance traders a safe and secure place regularly to transact business, and they played a vital role in the development of Paris and France, whose culture, economy, and political system benefited from the international contact the fairs encouraged.

See also FRANKISH TRIBE.

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KEVIN D. HILL

Fatimid dynasty

The Fatimid dynasty (named after the prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima, from whom the Fatimids claimed descent) was a Shi'i dynasty founded by Abd Allah. Although he was an Isma'ili, Abd Allah did not claim descent from the Imam Isma'il but from the Prophet's family. When his beliefs led to his persecution in Syria, where most were Sunni Muslims, Abd Allah fled to North Africa, where he established a stronghold in Tunisia. He declared himself the Mahdi and was known as Abd Allah al-Mahdi; he established his capital in the city of Mahidiya along the Tunisian coast. His followers crushed local rulers and branches of SHI'ISM that had gained support among the BERBERS. The Fatimids were especially opposed to the Kharijites, whose egalitarian principles were the opposite of their rigid religious hierarchy.

After three failed attempts to take Egypt with its rich Nile Valley, the renowned Fatimid general Jawhar al-Rumi, a former Greek slave, conquered Egypt in 969. Under Abd Allah's great grandson al-Mu'izz (r. 953–976), the Fatimids built Cairo on the outskirts of the old Arab capital of Fustat as their new religious and administrative city. Fatimid Cairo was a walled city of palaces, mosques, and army barracks. The Fatimids extended their rule over Palestine and Syria but were unable to overthrow the caliphate in BAGHDAD. At the zenith of their power, the Fatimids controlled the territory from the Orontes in Syria across North Africa. The Assassins, an offshoot of Isma'ili Fatimids, established strongholds in Syria and Persia seeking to undermine and, if possible, destroy Sunni belief and rulers.

Although they were zealous missionaries for their particular brand of ISLAM elsewhere, in Egypt the Fatimids were relatively benign and most of the population remained committed to orthodox Sunni practices. The Copts were retained as administrators over most of the financial affairs of state, as they had been since the Umayyad Dynasty. Caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021) was a notable exception to Fatimid tolerance in Egypt. Under his rule, Christians and Jews were persecuted and many churches and synagogues destroyed. His followers became known as the Druze. After al-Hakim was assassinated in 1021 his followers alleged that he had been hidden by God, not killed, much like the 12th

imam, and fled Egypt for the relative security of remote mountain areas in Lebanon.

The Fatimid navy played a key role in the dynasty's power and wealth as it controlled the central Mediterranean and the Red Sea routes. The Fatimids also increased trans-Saharan trade. The Fatimids traded luxury goods and agricultural products with the west and east as far as India. Fatimid rulers established al-Azhar University, which became famous throughout the Muslim world, as well as numerous public buildings and commercial centers.

Two branches of the Fatimids, the Almoravids and Almohads (Unitarians) led by Ibn Tumert, established separate dynasties in Morocco. To strengthen their armed forces the Fatimids imported slave and free Turkish soldiers but the growing dependency on outside forces gradually weakened dynasty. Thus SALADIN (SALAH AD DIN, YUSUF) had little difficulty in overthrowing the Fatimids and returning the territories to Sunni Muslim rule in 1171.

See also AL-AZHAR; ALMORAVID EMPIRE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

feudalism: Europe

Medieval historians have traditionally understood feudalism to be a sociopolitical system that dominated European societies from the fall of the Roman Empire to the start of the Renaissance. This definition however has been thrown into question by myriad incongruous details, among which is the notable absence of the word *feudalism* from the medieval vocabulary. For although terms such as the Old High German words *fehu* "cattle," "property," or "money"; the Old English *feoh*, *feo*, *fee*; and the Latin *feodum*, all of which are precursors to our word *fief*, appear commonly in medieval sources, *feudalism* does not appear. It was first employed by 16th-century French and English jurists and legal historians to explain anachronistic property laws in their own societies. To them it denoted a framework in which political and military power were decentralized, private, and local. The system as they envisioned it was based in large part on the concept of the feu-

dal contract, in which land, the fief, was granted by the upper echelons of the military aristocracy to free nobles below them, their vassals, in return for fidelity or homage. This vision of medieval European society as a pyramid structure based on the exchange of land for services and fidelity continues in large part to dominate popular imagination.

In the 1970s historians began to highlight the conceptual flaws of the feudalism theory, pointing out that it existed not all over Europe, but only in a handful of locales, and only between the 10th and 13th centuries. It did not, therefore, dominate all of Europe for the better part of 10 centuries. When Roman imperial organization collapsed in the fifth century, political authority fragmented. In this early period as numerous groups such as Vandals, Goths, Vikings, and Muslims threatened to invade former Roman territories, features of what would later be called feudalism emerged. The first of these was a type of contract in which, in return for rewards and war booty, an armed retainer offered military aid to a lord. This was advantageous for the lord, since private armies were extremely expensive to raise and maintain. Without a central government to organize and pay soldiers the onus fell to individuals or family groups to muster as much force as possible.

Such techniques of dealing with a decentralized political situation were probably familiar to people on some level. In many ways, they were an amalgamation of preexisting Roman and Germanic customs. Romans, for example, had engaged in a system of patronage, in which powerful patrons would offer protection and services to clients in exchange for political support, loyalty, or gifts. This clientelism became mixed with a Germanic military custom in which an elected chief, after conquering territory with his army, distributed land and booty among his men in exchange for their continued allegiance.

While the armed retainer of the early Middle Ages was useful in situations of war and conflict, lords were eventually faced with the problem of housing and maintaining the young men in their service. A logical solution was to offer them a plot of land, on which they could live, and off which they could make a living other than war. It was in the eighth century that Charles Martel made the first land grants in exchange for military service. In theory, the feudal system was based on this type of land tenure in which a landowner, or suzerain, granted rights to a piece of land (a fief, or Latin *feudum*) to a vassal in return for specific obligations. In addition to land, rights or honors could also be granted as fiefs.

While the first fiefs were small, by the 12th century they were often estates employing large numbers of

peasants. The vassal receiving the fief had the right of ban, or command, over the peasants. The fief became inheritable property, and the vassals, as a result, became a landed aristocracy, meaning that their wealth was based in land. Upon inheriting a fief however the new tenant might have had to pay a fee, called a relief, before assuming it. The relief could be large, up to a year's income. In other cases the tenant might just seek written confirmation of his property rights to ensure, or to make public, his continued status. If the deceased vassal's heir was a child, the lord could take him as a ward and collect the income from the property until the child matured, or he could bestow such rights on another vassal. If the child was female, the lord could choose her husband. Since many men were eager to marry propertied heiresses, the lord could profit financially by offering her in marriage to the highest bidder. In some cases the heiress herself offered the lord substantial sums of money to avoid marrying a disfavored suitor.

By the high Middle Ages in some places in Europe, a ceremony had evolved by which lords and vassals formalized their ties. In this highly symbolic ceremony the vassal knelt before the lord, bowed his head, and put his hands, palms together, between the hands of his lord. After swearing an oath, the vassal became his lord's man or in French, *homme*. For this reason this ritual became known as homage. The lord then kissed the vassal on his lips and raised him to his feet. In addition the vassal might also be asked to swear fealty (a derivation of the Latin *fidelitas*, meaning faithfulness) to the lord, by which he contractually agreed to offer him *auxilium et consilium*, or military service and legal counsel. The latter he did by appearing in the lord's court, which functioned both as a court of justice and as an administrative council. The vassal also agreed to offer "feudal aids." These were monetary contributions for specific situations such as crusade, ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, or the marriage of his daughter. These contributions could become quite substantial if the lord went on an extended military campaign. Finally the vassal could be expected to hand over a portion of his harvest to his lord, or even to grind his wheat and bake bread in the ovens owned and taxed by the lord.

The lord had reciprocal responsibilities toward his vassals. First among these was maintenance. While the vassal was entitled to the fief's revenues, the lord was obliged to ensure that the land be maintained. Equally important was the responsibility the lord bore for offering the vassal physical protection and security. This he did by marshalling his military force when needed. The

feudal relations between vassal and lord as described probably did exist in medieval Europe, yet only in a handful of locales for limited periods of time. Surely more common were the innumerable variations on the classical model, some of which varied to such a degree that they could hardly be called feudal. Some instances have been found, for example, in which lords demanded feudal aids from nonfiefholding commoners rather than fiefholding nobles. In other instances, feudal aids were asked of newcomers to a region and not of long-standing inhabitants.

In addition, there were high levels of regional variation such that the classical model appears to have applied only to a small region of France during the 12th and 13th centuries. The king of France had little central authority and little or no power over the great land owning lords. In France therefore feudalism implied a fragmentary and localized structure whose reciprocal bonds of loyalty and protection did not extend to the very top of society. By the ninth and 10th centuries Italy from Rome northward exhibited similar characteristics to some French regions, but the growth of the commercial trading cities such as Florence and Venice in the 11th and 12th centuries introduced a money economy and an urbanized merchant class that did not fit the classic feudal model. Still the region north of the Po River, particularly the area around Milan, continued to adhere closely to the French pattern of feudal relations. Without a centralizing monarchy, northern Italian lords remained powerful and independent of royal authority.

Unlike in France and northern Italy the king in England was, from the 11th century on, the pinnacle and nucleus of the political hierarchy. All lords held their fiefs directly from him, and in return they owed him military and court service, and on occasion, financial aid. English feudalism was therefore much more an integrated system than elsewhere. Yet even here there were elements deviating from the classical model, for even though the great lords swore fidelity to the king, they did not perform homage to him. And since even in this circumstance peasants did not partake in the feudal contract, the feudal structure did not, in any explicit sense, permeate the lower rungs of society.

Societies with expansive open borders to defend, such as the German lands east of the Rhine and the frontier between Christian and Muslim Spain, developed different social structures generally marked by weak monarchies and powerful local nobilities. In some Slavic kingdoms, serfdom, in which peasants are tied to the land, became the dominant phenomenon. In other frontier societies such as Scotland, Wales, and Ireland,

enterprising barons could set up semi-independent lordships, though even there they were not entirely free from the king's authority. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Crusader States in the Levant exhibited a kind of purified feudal tenure wherein the lords held supreme power in their local realms. Until its fall in the mid-13th century, the Norman kingdom in southern Italy exhibited a variant of French Norman feudal relations.

Medieval historians have revealed wide disparities over distance and time in the structure of social hierarchies and practices of land tenure. Caveats such as these have made them question whether the term *feudalism* is still useful for understanding medieval history. Since most historians now use the term with caution, *feudalism* is probably best used in a narrow sense to describe the relationship between lords and noblemen when they ritually exchanged protection for military and legal support. Despite more than a decade of debate, medieval historians still vary in their conclusions about the accuracy of the term *feudalism* for describing and understanding medieval European society.

See also FEUDALISM: JAPAN; NORMAN KINGDOMS OF ITALY AND SICILY.

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ALIZAH HOLSTEIN

feudalism: Japan

When most people think of feudalism, medieval Europe from about the ninth to 15th centuries is most likely to come to mind. The term *feudalism* is of fairly recent origin, coined in the 17th century by lawyers and antiquarians who used it to describe rules of land tenure, legal customs, and political institutions that had survived from medieval times. For Marxist historians the key elements of feudalism are the relationships between the feudal landholders and their serfs, whom they compel by force, custom, or law to provide labor, money, or

tribute. Other non-Marxist historians define feudalism as a system of military and political organizations in which armed warriors or knights served leaders, who in turn provided them with land grants in return for personal service. Despite the fact that many of Japan's governmental structures and institutions were based in part on those of China, Japan's feudal culture was in many ways more like that of feudal Europe. By the 19th century, historians generally agreed that the warriors of Japan were the "Oriental" counterparts to the knights of Europe. The roots of Japanese feudalism can be traced back to the seventh century in Japan and extend through the medieval period of Japanese history.

Japan's political and economic order did not meet the definition of "full feudalism" until about the year 1300, which is much later than the onset of European feudalism. Many of the laws and institutions described as feudal protected privileges of the landholding aristocracy and allowed them to use their power over the peasant class. Feudalism from the modern historian's perspective has taken on negative connotations as being outdated, oppressive, or irrational.

The primary virtue in the Japanese feudal system was loyalty, because the entire social-political system depended on personal relationships. Contrary to the lord-vassal relationships of European feudalism that were based on mutual and contractual obligation, the Japanese emphasized morality. Loyalty to one's lord manifested from a belief that he was the superior moral leader. Unlike in China, where familial loyalty was the dominant ideology, in Japan loyalty to one's lord was paramount. This is not to say that family ties were unimportant in medieval Japanese society, as inheritance determined power and prestige as well as property ownership. Japanese feudalism also differed from European feudalism in that there was no cult of chivalry that put women on a romantic pedestal as fragile and inferior beings. Japanese warriors expected their women to be as strong as they were and accept self-sacrifice as part of their obligation to their lord.

The Japanese warriors, who were known as SAMURAI, or "servitors," placed great importance on the military virtues of bravery, honor, self-discipline, and the stoical acceptance of death. *Seppuku*, ritual suicide by disembowelment, became the dominant alternative to dishonor or capture. Warrior class-consciousness—a sense of the warrior class as a separate entity—did not materialize until the 13th century when the KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE (rule by a military generalissimo) took power. The new institution created a new category of shogunal retainers that held special privileges and responsibilities and

narrowed the scope of social classes the samurai class comprised. Its founder, Minamoto Yoritoto, consciously helped foster this new warrior ethos by holding hunts and archery competitions that helped to solidify the warrior identity. As the samurai served as the enforcers of feudal rule, their role in Japanese history was extremely important and the lord-vassal relationship was pivotal to feudal order.

Beginning in the early seventh century the Yamato court introduced several Chinese political and governmental practices in order to increase the power of the ruler. Within one century the Yamato court transformed itself into a Chinese-style monarchy. The main players in this governmental shift came not only from members of the ruling family, but also from powerful group leaders associated with the Yamato court. China provided both political ideals and a set of political institutions that extended further than the unsophisticated attempts at centralization begun in the sixth century.

Integral to the innovations of the seventh and eighth centuries was a new concept of ruler. Reformers borrowed the Chinese notion of an absolute monarch whose authority went beyond kinship ties. The monarch was considered “the master of the people and the master of the whole land,” and people pledged their allegiance to him and him alone. By the end of the seventh century the ruler was called *tenno*, or emperor, and the title brought with it increased authority. The establishment of an imperial capital also helped legitimize the emperor’s ruling status. The first capital was constructed in the southern end of the Yamato Basin but was eventually moved to Nara in 710. In 794 the capital was moved to HEIAN, later known as Kyoto, where it remained until the 19th century. However the monarchical state did not survive much beyond the eighth century.

Part of the demise of the monarchy can be attributed to the emphasis placed on heredity rather than meritocracy. The members of the Yamato clan were unwilling to share power, as it was synonymous with wealth in the form of land grants, household servants, and agricultural laborers. The old clan leadership was thus transformed into a new ruling class that was dependent on imperial supremacy.

Notwithstanding the departure of the monarchical state from the goals originally intended by the reformers of the seventh century, the emperor, the court, and the aristocracy at the capital survived for several more centuries largely because of the rise of private estates called *shoen*. Private estates became the primary source of aristocratic wealth and allowed court aristocrats to exert more power and control. By the end of the 12th

century, some historians estimate, more than half the cultivated land was owned privately.

By the late 10th and early 11th centuries warrior chieftains threatened political order and began to emerge with more regularity. Powerful chieftains like Taira Masakado, who owned vast landed estates in the Kanto region, capitalized on the imperial government’s weakness and challenged its authority. These challenges contributed to the breakup of the court into many aristocratic factions that competed for power and drew certain warrior families into capital politics. Most influential were the Seiwa branch of the Minamoto family and the Ise branch of the Taira family. By the late 11th century the Seiwa influence in the east and the Taira influence in the west had both established important connections in the capital. After a series of power struggles, Taira Kiyomori emerged with increased influence in the court and political power. With a lack of local authority, however, Kiyomori’s ascendancy ended with the outbreak of the GEMPEI WAR (1180–85). Minamoto Yoritomo and his followers succeeded in driving the Taira out of the capital and in 1185 their armies were defeated in the west. The victory meant that Yoritomo became the most powerful chieftain in Japan.

This victory was a defining moment in Japanese history because it resulted in the founding of the Kamakura Bakufu, or “tent government.” Yoritomo sought political independence and wanted to avoid immersion in court politics. Yoritomo’s success can largely be attributed to the lord-vassal bonds he established during the Gempei War. In 1192 Yoritomo took the title of shogun or “generalissimo.” This title brought with it the responsibility of preserving national peace and order. Eventually however the shogun became a warrior monarch whose power came from the imperial government and actually extended beyond it. Yoritomo remained in power until his death in 1199. His death started a crisis of sorts because Yoritomo, perhaps because he distrusted his closest kin, did not make effective arrangements for a successor. Hence power fell into the hands of the HOJO CLAN, where it remained until the end of the Bakufu in 1333. The Kamakura Bakufu marked a big step toward a purely feudal political order. The decline of Bakufu authority was integral to the onset of full political feudalism, and the Kamakura government was overthrown in 1334, driven by the anarchistic ambitions of Go-Daigo, who hoped to reinstate direct imperial rule. This demise combined with civil war brought the estate system to an end. Go-Daigo’s reign was short-lived and in 1336 Ashikaga Takauji, a powerful warrior leader, was named shogun by Go-Daigo’s successor.

Civil war ended in 1392, and, even though some order was restored, Japan was less unified. By the mid-15th century, social and political unrest led to the ONIN WAR IN JAPAN. The period after the Onin War is considered the beginning of the “warring states” period in Japanese history, a time when the ASHIKAGA SHOGUNATE was destroyed and a new group of feudal magistrates emerged from the local warrior class. Domains fell into the hands of feudal lords, known as *daimyo*, who used force and their loyal vassals to maintain their power, enforcing land taxes to keep the peasantry under much stricter control.

By 1500 the country was divided into the hands of roughly 300 *daimyo*. By the 1560s many of the more powerful *daimyo* sought power beyond their realms and some even hoped to control all of Japan. Unification, however, was largely the work of three men, sometimes called “the great unifiers,” Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Nobunaga seized Kyoto in 1568, allegedly in support of the last Ashikaga shogun; crushed the power of the lesser lords in central Japan; and destroyed the Buddhist monasteries. Nobunaga was assassinated in 1590 and power fell into the hands of his most able general, Hideyoshi. By 1590 Hideyoshi established control over the entire realm.

Hideyoshi never took the title of shogun but did assume high positions in imperial government. Hideyoshi monopolized foreign trade, had land surveyed, and confiscated weapons from the peasant class. These actions further divided the samurai and peasant classes while increasing Hideyoshi’s military might. In 1592 he set out to conquer Korea, a first step toward world conquest, which for him essentially meant China. However Chinese armies in northern Korea stopped the Japanese, and they were forced to withdraw after Hideyoshi’s death in 1592. Hideyoshi did not leave an heir, and power shifted to the victor of the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu. Ieyasu took the title of shogun and moved his residence from Kyoto to Edo (modern Tokyo). He closed the country to foreigners and for more than 250 years, Japan remained in seclusion from the rest of the world.

While feudalism in Japan began later than in Europe, its demise was much more recent. In 1600 when Tokugawa Ieyasu took power, Japan entered the period of rule known as “centralized feudalism.” In this system, the Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan but gave relative autonomy to his vassal *daimyo* in exchange for loyalty. Tokugawa rule continued in Japan until 1868, when the Meiji Restoration ended feudal rule, abolished the warrior class, and opened Japan to the rest of the world.

See also FEUDALISM: EUROPE; TAIRA-MINAMOTO WARS.

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ETHAN SAVAGE AND MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR

Ficino, Marsilio

(1433–1499) *Italian Neoplatonist philosopher*

Marsilio Ficino was an important Italian Neoplatonist philosopher during the Renaissance and the mainstay of the so-called Florentine Platonic Academy, a circle of philosophers around him. His father was Cosimo de’ Medici’s personal physician, but few details are known of Ficino’s early life. He was trained in medicine and began study of Greek around 1456; these years in Florence were marked by the appearance of Greek philosophers who fled the Ottoman advances and reintroduced Plato and Greek literature to Italy. Exposure to such intellectuals may have fostered in Ficino a desire to synthesize Christianity and Greek philosophy.

In 1463 Cosimo gave Ficino a villa, where he planned to translate Plato’s dialogues into Latin but also translated the *Corpus Hermeticum* (a mélange of texts attributed to the Egyptian magus Hermes Trismegistus). In 1469 he completed a commentary on Plato’s *Symposium* which he called *De amore*, a text at the basis of most subsequent Renaissance theorizing on the theme of love. Ficino was ordained in 1473. His most important work, the *Theologia Platonica*, pursues the goal of uniting Platonism with Christianity as heavily influenced by Plotinus, who Ficino felt was Plato’s most important interpreter. Ficino published his Plato edition in 1484 after Cosimo’s death; it relies on the version of Leonardo Bruni. In 1487 Ficino was named a canon of Florence cathedral, but his orthodoxy was called into question by the 1489 publication of his *De triplici vita*, a treatise on the maintenance of human health rich in astrological and pseudomagical speculation. Threatened with investigation from the curia, he argued disingenuously but successfully that this work represented ancient views and not his own. His ideas thus probably seem more heterodox from our perspective than they did in his own day, a period of intellectual foment in

Christianity. He published a number of commentaries of Neoplatonism such as Iamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and Synesius. When he was drawn into the controversy around Savonarola, Ficino's early support for the preacher later turned to bitter attacks on him.

Historians attribute Ficino's influence to a number of factors: the exciting quality of his revival of Neoplatonism, an ecumenical quality to his thinking that may have attracted the more eclectic of Christian theologians, his willingness to sustain an elevated correspondence with hundreds of students and scholars at the highest level, and his willingness to use the printing press, which made him an early author of intellectual best sellers. Although early scholarship suggested that Cosimo de' Medici supported Ficino as a means of establishing Neoplatonism as a governing ideal in his contemporary Florence, recent scholarship has rejected Ficino's Neoplatonism as too incoherent to serve as such an ideology. Such scholarship also points out the largely informal character of the Florentine Academy. Interested readers without a background in Greek philosophy may turn to his letters as icons of the elegant Renaissance epistolary style.

See also OTTOMAN EMPIRE: 1299–1453.

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SUSAN R. BOETTCHER

Firdawsi

(c. 935–c. 1020) *author and historian*

Abu Al-Qasem Mansur Firdawsi was a medieval poet, writer, and historian, best known as an author of the Persian grand epic *Shahnamah* (the Epic of Kings). This monumental work made him the most recognized and highly regarded writer among Persian-speaking people from Central Asia to the Middle East.

Despite his fame, little is known about his personal life and some facts are still disputed, as many accounts of his personal life were written long after his death. It is believed that Firdawsi was born in a small town on the outskirts of the city of Tus situated in Khorasan—the region that is now divided among Afghanistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. He was a relatively wealthy *dekhqan* (landlord), who

was devoted to Persian history and poetry. He mastered several languages and had great knowledge of historical and poetic works. In his 20s he began writing prose and later successfully experimented with poetry. By the time he was in his mid-30s he undertook a monumental task—to compose a poem that would cover the history of the Persian world from ancient time to the seventh–eighth centuries C.E. According to some reports, Firdawsi spent his entire adult life, or about 35 years, completing this extraordinary task.

His major source of reference, on which he based his research and writing, was the *Khvatay-Nameh*, a Middle Persian (Pakhlavi) work created under the order of King Khosrow Anushirvan (590–628). His secondary source was a work by the Persian poet Daqiqi (d. c. 976), who attempted to write about early history of the Persian world at the time of the introduction of Zoroastrianism. Some modern literary critics claim that parts of the *Shahnamah* resemble a mere translation of some chapters of the *Khvatay-Nameh*. Others argue that he created a completely new work in verses, and that he only used other works as historical sources. As in earlier epics like *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, the *Shahnamah* deals with the struggle between the forces of good and evil. Its hero Rustam, with his trusty steed Rakhsh, rescues allies, vanquishes foes, and lives for over 500 years.

The first revision of the *Shahnamah* was completed in 994, and parts of it were shared with close associates. It took another 15 years before it was completed in about 1010. It consisted of between 55,000 and 60,000 couplets (*beits*) subdivided into 50 sections devoted to various ruling dynasties. According to the tradition of his era, Firdawsi sought to present his work to Sultan MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (Ghaznavi) (r. 998–1030), the ruler of Khorasan. Mahmud and his entourage doubted the significance of the work, deeply offending Firdawsi. There are many interpretations of this event, ranging from disapproval of the religious content of the book (Firdawsi describes the rise of Zoroaster) to inappropriate praise of the great pre-Islamic rulers of Persia. The conflict between the ruler and the poet forced the latter to leave his homeland and move to Heart, and after that to Mazendaran. There are reports that he spent his final days in BAGHDAD. Some sources indicate that he continued writing poetry but was not as productive as in his early days. Firdawsi died c. 1020, highly respected by his contemporaries, if not by the court of Ghaznavi.

See also SHAHNAMEH.

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RAFIS ABAZOV

Five Dynasties of China

The great TANG (T'ANG) DYNASTY, founded in 618, was wrecked by the Huang Zhao (Huang Ch'ao) Rebellion that lasted between 875 and 884. It was put down only with the help of regional warlords and Turkic allies (the Turks who lived to the north of China were called Shatou), who retained power. In 907 a Shatou chief slaughtered the last Tang emperor and most members of the Tang imperial family and proclaimed himself emperor of the Later Liang dynasty.

Thus began the Five Dynasties Era, 907–960. It was also called the Five Dynasties and Ten States Era, because none of the Five Dynasties controlled lands beyond the Yellow River plains of northern China whereas central and southern China were ruled by 10 regional states, each occupying about one province in that region. Later historians did not give any of the Ten States the status of a legitimate “dynasty” which succeeded one another throughout Chinese history. The Five Dynasties were

1. Later Liang (16 years, 907–923, three rulers)
2. Later Tang (T'ang) (13 years, 923–936, four rulers)
3. Later Jin (Chin) (10 years, 936–946, two rulers)
4. Later Han (three years, 947–950, two rulers)
5. Later Zhou (Chou) (nine years, 951–960, three rulers)

The first and last of the five were ruled by Han Chinese families; the remaining three were headed by men of Turkic tribes, but who were largely Sinicized. For example the Later Tang rulers had served the Tang dynasty as provincial governors and had been bestowed with the Tang imperial surname Li. All five dynasties were founded by military adventurers, and within each dynasty, family members or rivals assassinated many rulers. The wars and rebellions that ended the Tang dynasty had so devastated Chang'an (Ch'ang-an) that it would never be China's capital again. The center of political power

would shift eastward from Shaanxi (Shensi) province, which was the cradle of Chinese civilization, to Henan (Honan) province, where both Luoyang (Loyang) and KAIFENG (K'AI-FENG) (then called Bian or Pien) were located. Both cities were capital of some of the dynasties during this era, Luoyang because of its historic importance. Kaifeng is east of Luoyang, also on the southern side of the Yellow River, and was easily accessible by roads and the GRAND CANAL. It would remain the capital under the SONG (SUNG) DYNASTY, between 960 and 1126. However Kaifeng was without natural bulwarks and was thus vulnerable to attacks. Chang'an became the capital of the impoverished Shaanxi province and its name was changed to Xi'an (Sian).

The wars and invasions that so disrupted northern China in the ninth and 10 centuries also greatly diminished the long-entrenched leadership of the “eminent clans” that had dominated political and social life since the Han dynasty, because so many other members were killed in the conflicts. This would result in a profound social change and in the creation of a more egalitarian society. Another factor contributing to growing egalitarianism is the invention of printing. Block printing to produce books began in the seventh century (paper was invented in China in the first century). It was during the Five Dynasties, between 932 and 953, that the first complete printed edition of the 11 Confucian Classics (plus two supplementary works) totaling 130 volumes was produced, under government sponsorship of four dynasties. Luoyang, Kaifeng, and several cities in the south became centers of a vibrant printing industry. Cheaper printed books, as opposed to the expensive hand copied ones, increased literacy and enabled sons of middle-class families to compete in the state exams. This fact also contributed to the breaking of the lock on power by the “eminent clans.”

In contrast to the turmoil North China suffered from the late Tang through the Five Dynasties, southern China was relatively peaceful and continued to prosper. Many great poets and painters of the era came from southern China. This was a trend that would continue during the next 1,000 years. During the Han and Tang dynasties the frontier that had threatened China's security had been Central Asia, which included ancient lands called Sogdiana, Bactria, Transoxannia, and Ferghana in ancient Western texts (modern Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizstan, and part of Kazakhstan) to the Caspian Sea. The threat had shifted by the ninth century to a region called “Inner Asia” that extended from the Pacific Ocean westward for 3,000 miles to the Pamir Mountains and from the Great Wall of China

northward for 1,000 miles to Siberia in present day Russia; it included modern Mongolia, Chinese Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang (Sinkiang), Tibet, and Russia east of the Pamir Mountains.

In the 10th century two states dominated by pastoral nomads ringed northern China. They were the Khitan state called Liao rooted in the northeast, and the Tangut state called Xixia (Hsi Hsia) rooted in the northwest. The founder of the Later JIN (CHIN) DYNASTY ceded 16 prefectures in northeastern China, including the area around modern Beijing, to the Khitan Liao. This session bequeathed serious consequences to the Song dynasty; seeking to regain this historically Chinese land the second Song emperor would go to war with the Liao, with disastrous results. Another legacy of the Five Dynasties to the Song was the pivotal role of the army in the founding of each dynasty, since the Song too was founded as a result of a coup d'état, and seeking to end the cycle, Song Taizu (T'ai-tsu) would reorganize his army and put it under civilian control. The result was no more coups d'état, but also an incompetent Song army.

See also LIAO DYNASTY; PRINTING, INVENTION IN CHINA.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Five, or Six, Pillars of Islam

When THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD sensed that he was about to leave this earthly life, he summoned his followers to keep a code of five parts called the Five Pillars. Following are the pillars, given in their Arabic names, though each of the words has a long history in the Semitic world. Often another pillar is added as the sixth pillar.

FIRST PILLAR

The first pillar is the *shahada* or creed. The creed stands in contrast to those of conventional Christianity, for it is only one line and two parts: There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet. Thus, entrance

to ISLAM is easy and direct and does not require mastery of a mass of information or details. However easy the words, the *shahada* must not be taken lightly, but with sincere heart. This line is something like the Jewish *shema* prayer (“Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one”), with an affirmation of God’s unity and uniqueness. What is different from the Jewish profession is that there is a second plank—“Muhammad is his prophet”—and this second line separates Islam from all other religions. Muslims believe that the line about Muhammad does not nullify all the prophets who spoke before Muhammad. The angel Jibril (Gabriel) first spoke these lines to Muhammad in the cave of Hira. The *shahada* is repeated 17 times in daily prayer, and ideally it is the first thing a newborn baby and the last thing a dying person hears.

SECOND PILLAR

The second pillar is *salat* or prayer. Ideally this pillar involves group or societal prayer, for Muhammad was interested in bringing people together into community. In accordance with this goal, the call to prayer comes five times a day through the mouth of the muezzin on top of a minaret. Muhammad’s Abyssinian slave, Bilal, is known to have issued the first call to prayer in Medina, and then later it is known to have occurred during the first hajj in 632. The main times for such prayers are dawn, noon, midafternoon, sunset, and nightfall, and the main prayer day is Friday, so that the community’s rhythm is centered on prayer throughout the day and week. If, however, a Muslim finds that prayer at the mosque is not possible, then prayer can be anywhere and solitary. The rituals and schedule surrounding prayer are not unique to Islam but show customs and traditions inherited from other Middle Eastern religions: The body, especially the hands and feet, must be washed; shoes must be taken off; prostrations, that is, a full bow to the ground; kneeling; veils for women; worship must face a particular direction; regular days and times for prayer; unison of activities.

THIRD PILLAR

The third pillar is *zakat* or purification. As time went on, the pillar came to be associated with tithing and almsgiving. The principle of charity is that all riches come from Allah, so that the tithe or alms is only a formal token that everything belongs to Allah, and again this is the same for Christians and Jews. The effect of this token offering is that the whole of the Muslim’s goods are purified, and hence the word *zakat* is appropriate. This concept of tithing is also found in rabbinic Judaism. The minimal amount required of Muslims is 2.5 percent of all

resources annually, but Muhammad intended that generosity would mark all the Muslims' dealings with their society. He once said, "Even meeting your brother with a cheerful face is charity." Muhammad also envisioned *zakat* as a device to help the poor and disadvantaged in his community of Arabs. It would force the rich to take care of the poor, and it would equalize human dignity because both the rich and the poor had to pay the same amount and had equal standing before Allah. In certain Islamic nations the *zakat* payment is automatically levied on all Muslim citizens. Many centuries later such practices, whether compelled or voluntary, could not fail to impress a recent convert like the American civil rights leader Malcolm X.

FOURTH PILLAR

The fourth pillar is *sawm* or fasting, which occurs during the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The Muslim fasts not only from food, but drink and sex, though the fast does not continue past sunset each day. For people unable to maintain the rigor of the fast (the sick, elderly, travelers, and the pregnant), the same obligations do not apply. The fasting is part of a bigger personal program to purify thoughts and behavior. Ramadan is a joyful month in spite of *sawm*. It ends with Eid al-Fitr, a family occasion involving special foods and gift giving. During the month families will often come together after sunset to break the fast with a celebrative meal and then visit the mosque for evening prayer. Often the entire QUR'AN is recited over the course of the month. Muhammad's view was again that fasting would bring the community together in discipline and solidarity. Ramadan is somewhat like Lent, the Christian season before Easter, though the Christian emphasis on remorse for sin and mystical participation in divine suffering and resurrection is not in Islam. Spiritual growth is a priority during fasting seasons for all three Abrahamic religions, as is concern for the poor and needy.

FIFTH PILLAR

The fifth pillar is *hajj* or pilgrimage. The duty of every Muslim is to visit Mecca and Medina if time, strength, and resources allow. Some 2,000,000 people or more gather annually in Saudi Arabia to renew their faith, visit the holy sites, and solidify international acquaintances. Although authorities have poured billions of dollars into accommodations, crowded conditions and tense rivalries often result in violence and loss of life during the month of *hajj*. Usually the rituals of *hajj* begin 60 days after Ramadan. Pilgrims wear special garments

and spend their time in tent cities and in ceremonial walks and events. All of these features are calculated to equalize human distinctions among all the *hajjis*. They walk seven times around the Kaaba, a cube-shaped shrine set up for the Black Stone, an object considered sacred to Muslims.

Another pilgrimage involves walking seven times between two hills in Mecca, where supposedly Hagar, the Egyptian maid of the patriarch Abraham, searched desperately for water. Then the pilgrims stand together on the plain of Arafat, where Muhammad made his final speech, commanding the observance of these five pillars of Muslim faith. This event symbolizes the summoning of all people for the last judgment. The pilgrims spend the night nearby and gather stones. On the next day, they sacrifice a ram to remind them that a ram was substituted for Ishmael. A day later they use stones previously gathered and throw them at three upright rock slabs that symbolize Satan. The *hajj* ends with a final walk around the Ka'aba and the Black Stone.

The implication of *hajj* is that there is physical ground or space that is more sacred to Muslims than other places. The concept of pilgrimage is an ancient one, and Islam simply builds on the concept as it came from the Jewish and Christian faiths. Muhammad, or the angel Jibril, did not discover the sacredness of Mecca—it was already well known as a site of religious tourism with many statues and symbols already in place when Islam took control. The sacred Black Stone was an object of veneration that Muhammad, or Jibril, apparently did not see as idolatrous. What it is cannot be ascertained, but perhaps it is similar to the stones and natural objects such as meteorites or volcanic rock forms that other religions have long venerated.

SIXTH PILLAR

It is sometimes asserted that there is a sixth pillar: *jihad* or struggle. Muhammad did not teach this pillar as such, but somehow he inculcated his followers with a drive to spread their faith. *Jihad* was the byword for the campaign, but the sense of the word may not be military as much as spiritual. The "struggle" was not against other nations as much as against evil: evil in the soul, evil in the spiritual world, evil in society. Early Muslims in fact were remarkably tolerant of Christians and Jews, far more tolerant than medieval Christians were of non-Christians. Muslims found many ways to spread their faith without engaging in armed conflict, though their *jihad* applied pressures on the Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians to convert.

See also ISLAM: ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE GOLDEN AGE; ISLAM: LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN THE GOLDEN AGE; ISLAM: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE GOLDEN AGE; ISLAMIC LAW.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Florence, Council of

The Council of Florence, which ran from 1438 to 1445, was a council of Roman Catholic bishops and other church officials that convened to reform the church and deal with the issues of the east-west schism.

The year 1054 marks the date of the schism that broke Christendom into its western (Latin/Catholic) and eastern (Orthodox) branches. Their differences were first brought to light in the ninth century when eastern missionaries (like CYRIL AND METHODIOS) working among the Slavs and Bulgars encountered western missionaries, as Constantinople and Rome vied for influence in Central Europe and the Balkans. These differences included the Eucharist (unleavened bread for the west, leavened for the east) and *filioque* (the addition of the phrase *and the son* to the Nicene Creed, which first appeared in the west in the sixth century and was adopted by the papacy in the 11th century).

Eastern Christendom, on the other hand, adhered to the official and original creed promulgated by the fourth century Ecumenical Council, and the papacy (which in the west was understood as the head of the church, while in the east it is given primacy of honor, but viewed as only equal in power to the patriarch of Constantinople). Other differences emerged later, such as clerical celibacy (required in the west, while in the east priests could be married prior to ordination, though monks and bishops could not) and the doctrine of purgatory (accepted in the west, but not in the east).

The gulf between east and west was driven home to the Orthodox Church during the CRUSADES, as wave upon wave of western Christians passed through the empire, often pillaging and threatening violence. The Fourth Crusade resulted in the Western Christian conquest of Constantinople and much of the Byzantine Empire in 1204. After the Orthodox reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, the east continued to view western

Christendom with great suspicion. Yet, as the political situation in the east grew more endangered, Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus offered to submit the Orthodox Church to the Western Church at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Michael achieved his political objective when the pope stopped the invasion of Byzantium by the west. Despite the emperor's efforts, the union was not accepted in Byzantium and was repudiated by his successor in 1282.

Byzantium continued to endure political and economic troubles, exacerbated by the rise of the Ottoman Turks in the early 14th century. As the Ottomans expanded their control over Anatolia and the Balkans, Constantinople was caught in an Ottoman vise. In desperate need of help, Emperor John VIII Palaiologus turned to the west. The price, as before, was submission to ecclesiastical union. An Orthodox delegation of 700, including the emperor and patriarch, journeyed (at Pope Eugenius IV's expense) to Italy. The council opened in Ferrara in October 1438 and was moved to Florence in February 1439 for security reasons. The aforementioned issues were discussed and, as at Lyons, the Orthodox Church submitted to the Western Church. The emperor, the patriarch, and all the delegates signed the Union of the Churches—with the notable exception of Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus.

Many recanted, including George Scholarios—later the monk Gennadios—who, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, became the first patriarch under the Ottoman Turks. The emperor had hoped that the union would bring about the security of the empire, but Sultan Murad II defeated a western crusade at the Battle of Varna in 1444, and in 1453 the Ottomans conquered Constantinople. The Orthodox Church repudiated the council shortly afterward, although the Catholic Church continues to view this as an ecumenical council. After the union was signed, the council tried to reconcile the Catholic Church with the oriental orthodox churches, including the Armenians, Syrian “Jacobites,” Nestorians, and Maronites. Although widespread union was not achieved, the interaction of the council members encouraged connections between east and west.

See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MASSACRE OF; OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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MATTHEW HERBST AND BRYAN EYMAN

Florentine Neoplatonism

Florentine Neoplatonism is the ITALIAN RENAISSANCE revival of Neoplatonism, led by MARSILIO FICINO (1433–99) and GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA (1463–94), that flourished in 15th century Florence. This renewed interest in Neoplatonism, or the philosophy formulated by Plotinus (205–270 C.E.) and founded upon the thought of Plato (427–347 B.C.E.), was due both to the waning religious values of the time and to the aristocratic shift of emphasis under members of the Medici family from worldly affairs to a life of contemplation. Plato's portrayal of Socrates in the *Republic* as a sage critical of Greek democracy and devoted to meditation on timeless and immaterial truths lent itself so well to the new social sentiment that it supplanted the Roman statesman as the ideal of human life. Fascinated by the humanist rediscovery of classical ideals Cosimo de' Medici selected his doctor's gifted young son, Marsilio Ficino, to become a Greek scholar and Platonic philosopher.

An intellectual giant whose mind comprehended and synthesized complete philosophical systems, Ficino opened his Platonic Academy, not a school in the formal sense, but a salon where he oversaw the scholarly discussions of friends and visitors, at Careggi in 1466. Two years later he edited the entire corpus of Plato, published by the Aldine Press in Venice, and translated Plato's *Dialogues* into Latin. In 1469 Ficino composed his commentary on Plato's *Symposium* and translated various treatises of Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyry, and Dionysius the Areopagite. From 1469 to 1474, he developed his "pious philosophy" or "learned religion," an elaborate Neoplatonic philosophical edifice, in his masterpiece, the *Theologia Platonica*. Emphasizing that divine poetry and allegory furnish the veil of true religion, which can only be expressed mystically and not in precise syllogisms, Ficino's system proved quite congenial to several Renaissance poets, authors, and artists.

Central to Ficino's system were the twin suppositions that the individual constitutes the center of the universe and that the goal of human life lies in the internal ascent of the soul toward the divine or God. Drawing heavily on Plotinus's *Enneads*, Ficino pictured the cosmos and everything within it as a great hierarchy of being and described the "One," or God, as the absolute universal essence. God is the *coincidentia oppositorum*, or the reconciliation of all opposites, in whom all things find unity. Embracing infinity within himself, God brings the lesser orders into being through emanations from his substance, resulting in a ladder of bodies,

natural attributes, souls, and angelic minds that delineates the way of ascent to the One. At the center of this ladder, humanity is bound to the material realm by the body and to the intelligible, or spiritual, realm by the soul, which facilitates its rise to divine reunion through contemplation. For Ficino such philosophical contemplation comprises a spiritual experience in which the soul retreats from the body and from all external things into its own being, learning that it is a product of divine emanation and that God is therefore immanent.

Derivative from this conception is the immortality of the soul, as Ficino insists that no mortal entity can partake of the beatific vision. At this juncture Ficino imports Christian theology into his system: Where Plotinus had envisaged a mediator, or demiurge, between the untainted One and the subdivided intelligible and material realm, Ficino identified this mediator with the divine Logos, or Christ, "the Word who became flesh and tabernacled among us" (John 1:14). As the intermediary between God and humanity, Christ both serves as an archetype of sanctified humanity and leads fallen humanity to love God. Moreover Christ's atoning sacrifice on the cross proves God's unfailing love for humanity and frees all human souls for the ascent to God.

In order for the individual to reach the divine, however, Ficino contended that the soul must make a leap of spiritual love by loving God for his own sake, thereby attaining participation in the One, who is, by nature, love. This notion of "Platonic love" is the nucleus of Ficino's philosophy, since the universe is formed and ruled by the ideal of love. Accordingly, four spheres of aesthetic values find their center in the good, the moral nature of God, which is immovable and emanates divine majesty throughout the universe.

Ficino maintained that body and soul could only be inseparable, as they will be in the general resurrection, if they are merged into the activity of love. Therefore love originates in God and manifests as spiritual love in the angelic minds and becomes sensual, pleasurable, and erotic love in the corporeal realm. Since humans possess free will, they can choose between the spiritual love of the intelligible realm and the erotic love of the physical domain. Ficino postulated a "light metaphysic" in which light is the laughter of heaven and expresses the joy of the communion of saints. This cosmology harmonized nicely with prevailing astrological theories already exerting a profound influence on many Renaissance thinkers.

Most brilliant of Ficino's pupils was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, the youngest son of Francesco Pico, count of Mirandola and Concordia, a small principality just west of Ferrara. Although matriculating at the

University of Bologna at 14, he longed for international travel and left on a “student wandering” that took him to universities throughout Germany and France. At Paris he became fascinated by the study of Scholastic theology and linguistics, learning Latin and Greek, but also Hebrew, Arabic, and other Near Eastern languages. He then took up study of the Kabbalah, or Jewish mystical tradition, and the Talmud. Cultivating his interest in mysticism, the Kabbalah enabled Pico to view the world and all states of affairs therein as revelations of the immanent presence of God.

In 1486 Pico journeyed to Rome, where he published 900 *Conclusiones*, as a thesis for a public disputation he wished to hold. Pope Alexander VI deemed several of Pico’s theses as heretical and blocked distribution of his small book. In his defense Pico drew up an *Apolo-gy*, which convinced Alexander to exonerate Pico from the anathema and confirm his orthodoxy. As a rhetorical preface to the *Conclusiones*, Pico wrote his famous “Oration on the Dignity of Man,” perhaps the most influential essay of the Renaissance. Exceeding the anthropological assessment of his teacher Ficino, Pico asserted that humanity is the king of creation and the product of unique divine design rather than merely the middle link in the great chain of being. Such greatness is based on the human ability to renounce the material and direct all attention and energy to the spiritual aspect.

Attempting to reconcile Neoplatonic philosophy with the Jewish scriptures, Pico followed a line of Jewish exegetical tradition ranging from Philo of Alexandria (30 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) to Moses MAIMONIDES (1135–1204) by interpreting its narratives as symbolic of a deeper and hidden meaning. In 1491 Pico composed the *Heptaplus*, a mystical commentary on the Genesis creation account, and *Of Being and Unity*, a philosophical treatise on the relationship between God and the world. He was drawn to the preaching of the friar Savonarola. Savonarola’s accent of human sinfulness and demands for reform in the church provoked Pico to reflect on the darker side of human life. Pico wrote lamentful commentaries on selected Psalms, including the seven penitential ones (Pss. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143), and on the Lord’s Prayer, where he underscored human dependence on God and the desperate human need for divine grace.

For the next two years Pico devised a new way of interpreting classical myths and themes by combining pagan motifs with Christian symbols. For Pico the only correct reading of ancient myths and stories was allegorical, as their true meaning was only to be understood by thorough analysis. Such a meaning, when found, would always lie within the domain of Christian

theology, thus illustrating the harmony of God’s natural revelation through the Gentiles and special revelation in the Bible. The myth of Mars and Venus, for example, foreshadowed the Christian moral sentiments that love triumphs over violence and that reason should control passion. This method would greatly influence Florentine humanism and art and is perhaps most clearly seen in the mythological paintings of Sandro Botticelli (1444–1510). In 1494 Pico died of a fever, when King Charles VIII of France went to Florence during his invasion of Italy and Savonarola took over governance of the city.

Based on their uniting of “profane wisdom,” or classical myths, with “sacred wisdom,” or Christian teachings, Ficino, Pico, and their followers devised a Neo-platonic theory of symbolism, according to which each symbol not only displays the meaning and effect of what is represented, but also becomes interchangeable with it. By sharing that which is portrayed, art and literature can move the soul to the transcending appreciation of beauty. The Florentine Neoplatonists substantiated this view through a circular relationship of beauty, love, and happiness, where beauty induces love and love generates *voluptas*, or pleasure. This circle was explained through both Christian theology and Greek mythology.

In Christian thought love is beauty and divine, the longing God has for the salvation of all souls. This love flows out of God and is carried off into the world, transforming the love of God for the world into the love of a person for God; thus beauty is converted into love. The person becomes a vehicle for God’s love, loving other people for the sake of God, at which point love becomes felicity. The circle is complete when this felicity returns to its Creator in affective piety. For these reasons, the Florentine Neoplatonists regarded both humanistic learning and religion as paths to spiritual life, both culminating in the apprehension of God.

See also FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.

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Frankish tribe

The Franks were a group of Germanic peoples who lived northeast of the northernmost part of the Rhine frontier of the Roman Empire. References to the Franks first appeared in the mid-third century in Roman sources listing them among the German tribes raiding across the Roman frontier. Eventually, they settled within the Roman Empire and came to hold respected positions in both the Roman military and Roman society, and emerged as the only Germanic kingdom to outlive Rome.

Perhaps more than any other barbaric people, the Franks had no common history or common ancestry. Initially, the umbrella term *Frank* covered a variety of groups, including Chamavi, Chattuari, Bructeri, Amsivarii, Salii, and possibly the Usipii, Tubanti, Hasi, and Chasuari. These groups maintained separate identities but at times pulled together for a common purpose, usually an offensive or defensive military action. However as a group they were so loosely connected that some historians believe it is incorrect to consider them a confederation, while others who do not wish to rule out the possibility of a confederation prefer to use the term *tribal swarm*. When they drew together they identified themselves as Franks, a term historians believe meant the hardy, the brave, or perhaps the fierce. Later, *Frank* came to mean the free. At first however the Franks, as an unimportant and divided group living in the shadow of Rome, were anything but free.

In the mid-third century the Franks and other German tribes launched a series of destructive raids into Roman territory, prompting an apparent increase in Roman fort building efforts. The Franks also attacked by sea, raiding the Channel coast, striking deep into Gaul via rivers, and attacking occupied Spain. Soon, however, the Franks and the Romans collaborated. The Roman general Postumus enlisted the help of one group of Franks to restore order in Gaul and drive out another group of Franks and other Germans. Internal feuds and jealousy among the Frankish factions led to shifting alliances with Rome, and over the next 200 years the Romans and Franks operated by turn as enemies and then allies. In the late third and early fourth centuries, the emperors Constantius Chlorus and Constantine the Great brutally suppressed a flurry of Frankish rebellions, fed the barbarian leaders to wild animals in the arena, and took vast numbers of the barbarian warriors into the imperial army. Their long relationship with Rome influenced Frankish cultural, military, and political structures. Serving in the imperial army increased the soldier's identity with Rome, as well as his identity as a Frank.

Eventually the Salian Franks settled in the modern Netherlands, cleared the land, and began farming, providing the Romans with both a buffer between the less civilized tribes to the north and a steady source of recruits for the imperial army. Despite the harsh treatment they sometimes received from the Romans, the Franks remained loyal allies of the empire. Over the years many Franks rose to high positions within the Roman army. Loyal service brought further rewards, and in the fifth century the empire allowed the Franks to move from buffer regions into modern Belgium, northern France, and along the lower Rhine.

Throughout the fifth century under the leadership of Chlodio, Merovich, and Childeric, the Salian Franks came to dominate the other tribes of the Frankish confederation. Childeric, in power by 463, was the final Frankish commander to serve as an imperial German. Driven into exile after arguing with his Roman commander, he remained closely involved. Childeric emerged as a leader in his own right, maintaining relations with the Gallo-Roman aristocracy while negotiating to keep peace with other powers, such as the Visigothic kingdom. He often cooperated with Roman commanders and the Gallo-Roman bishops, enhancing his position with his Frankish warriors and the Roman power structure and building a secure power base for his son Clovis.

The reign of Clovis (c. 481–c. 511) was critical for the development of the larger Frankish identity. Through diplomacy, treachery, and military action, he eliminated the political independence of the various Frankish subgroups and led as king of the Franks. Following several successful military campaigns under Clovis, the Franks emerged as the most powerful of the Germanic groups. His acceptance of Roman Christianity subsequently brought all the Franks in line with the Western Church and won him the unqualified support of the Gallo-Roman clergy. Thereafter nearly all surviving historical sources on the Franks come from Gallo-Roman clerics, who owed their positions in the church to Clovis or his descendents, the MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY, and because of this influence they may have stressed the tribal unity of the Franks in their writing.

Following these developments the meaning of *Frank* began to change. Gallo-Romans and other subjects of the Frankish kings adopted many Frankish customs, and the Franks adopted many of their customs and their language, Latin. The line between Frank and Gallo-Roman blurred. In addition the political control of the Frankish kings and their agents led subjects to think of themselves, at least partially, as Franks. Loyalty to the primary tribe persisted, some assert, until as late as the

eighth century east of the Rhine, but in the kingdom of Francia, Frank indicated a political allegiance, regardless of one's tribal origin. By the mid-eighth century most of the Gallo-Roman inhabitants of Francia called themselves Franks, and everyone from outside the kingdom called all its inhabitants Franks.

The events that built the Franks from a "tribal swarm" into one essentially unified kingdom, as well as the relationship they established with the Roman Church, left them in a position to emerge at the end of the transformation of the Roman world as the most powerful group in Europe. The actions taken by their leading families, the Merovingians and later the CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY, helped form the medieval world and strongly influenced the development of European culture.

See also HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (EARLY).

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KEVIN D. HILL

Frederick I

(1122–1190) *Holy Roman Emperor*

Frederick I, called Barbarossa (Italian for "Red Beard"), ruled the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE from 1152 until his death in 1190 while on the Third Crusade. He was elected emperor upon the death of his uncle, Conrad III, in 1152, when the empire was in decline. He led several expeditions to Italy to regain control over the northern part of the country. In Germany he broke up the duchy of Saxony when its duke, Henry the Lion, refused to support the emperor on one of his expeditions to Italy. The duchy was divided between the emperor and the lesser nobles of the area in 1180. Germany then experienced a period of peace and prosperity. In 1189 Frederick set out on the Third Crusade, marching his army through the Balkans and Asia Minor. During 1190 while in Asia Minor, Frederick drowned in the Saleph River.

Frederick I was born in 1122 and became the duke of Swabia when his father died in 1147. He accompa-

nied his uncle, Emperor Conrad III, on the Second Crusade and took part in the aborted siege of Damascus. As Conrad neared his death he designated Frederick as his chosen successor. Thus when Conrad died in 1152 Frederick was elected emperor. The election took place in Frankfurt-am-Main on March 4, 1152. Between 1154 and 1183 he led six expeditions to Italy. On the first, he restored the pope's authority in Italy and was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. During the second, he captured Milan and placed friendly governors in several other cities. He also supported the antipope and was excommunicated by Pope Alexander III. For the third expedition, Frederick planned to conquer Sicily but was stopped by a league of Italian states. His fourth expedition saw him storm Rome and place the antipope on the throne. The plague broke out in his army, forcing him to return to Germany. The fifth expedition ended in failure when Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, refused to accompany the emperor to Italy, where the emperor's army was defeated. After his defeat, Frederick made peace with Pope Alexander III. His last expedition to Italy saw him make a lasting peace with the Italian states and marry his son to the heiress to the Norman lands in Sicily.

During this time Frederick was also working to keep the peace in Germany. Many of the German princes continued to feud with their neighbors and tried to expand their holdings. One of the more successful princes was Henry the Lion. Upon his return to Germany Frederick had Henry tried in absentia and stripped of his lands. Some of his lands went to the emperor, while the rest was divided up among various nobles. Frederick had initially been married to Adelheid of Vohburg, but he had the childless marriage annulled. He married again on June 9, 1156, this time to Beatrice of Burgundy. Because of this marriage, he gained control of the kingdom of Burgundy. They had several children, including Frederick's successor, Henry VI.

Answering the call for a new crusade Frederick assembled his army at Regensburg in May 1189. The army marched through Byzantine lands, arriving at Constantinople in the fall of 1189. Advancing through Asia Minor during the spring of 1190, he defeated the sultan of Iconium. He continued his advance and it was during this advance that he drowned. The exact circumstances of his death are not known.

See also CRUSADES.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Fujiwara clan

The Fujiwara clan rose to power as a result of the coup d'état of 645 that overthrew the Soga, which had dominated the Japanese government until then. The period between c. 857 and 1160 is called the Fujiwara period. Even after losing power it continued to monopolize positions in the imperial court at Kyoto until 1867.

In 645 a nobleman named Nakatomi Katamari helped a prince, who later became Emperor TENCHI (TENJI), to overthrow the politically dominant Soga clan. In gratitude Tenchi granted a new surname to his ally, who became Fujiwara Katamari (Japanese list their surnames before personal names). He was the founder of the Fujiwara clan and assisted Tenchi in launching the TAIKA REFORMS that continued Prince Shotoku's policy to Sinicize Japan's government. They sponsored five embassies to China between 653 and 669 that sent young Japanese to learn about every aspect of the Chinese civilization.

Katamari's descendants continued to accumulate power in the court of Emperor Tenchi's successors through marrying their daughters to each generation of emperors. As a result almost all emperors since that time were sons of Fujiwara women, and the few whose mothers were not Fujiwara made no headway in restoring power to the imperial family. Initially Fujiwara men were content taking important government positions, but after 858 Fujiwara Yoshifusa went a step further—he placed a grandson on the throne and became regent. This pattern of ruling through a nominal emperor continued even when the emperor became adult, because then the regent just took another title, as *kampaku* or civil dictator, and continued ruling. This practice continued until 1867.

The Fujiwara clan proliferated into five branches by the 13th century, each named after the area in Kyoto where their palaces were located. They were the Konoe, Kujo, Nijo, Ichijo, and Takatsukasa. Each branch kept a meticulous genealogy. One descendant of the Konoe

house served as Japan's prime minister at the beginning of World War II.

The Fujiwara used their government positions to accumulate huge estates throughout the country and became the richest family in Japan, richer than even the imperial family. They also used their court positions to become protectors of other nobles, taking a cut of each protégé's income. However the Fujiwara never attempted to usurp the throne. This is because of the deep reverence all Japanese felt for the emperor as descendant of the sun goddess and therefore Shinto high priest.

Fujiwara power began to decline by the mid-1100s, partly because of the growing impotence of the central government. On the other hand the provincial nobility who had to gain protection by organizing armies became more powerful; they then withheld revenues meant for the central government and their Fujiwara patrons. Rivalries between different branches of the Fujiwara clan also weakened all of them. As a result two new groups rose to undermine their dominance. One group was the retired emperors (adult emperors were often induced to retire and take up monastic life in favor of their young sons, who were easily controlled by their Fujiwara maternal grandfathers or uncles), who tried to reassert power by forming a shadow government from their retirement palaces. The other group consisted of provincial nobles who were no longer content with their subservient status.

In the 12th century the provincial military class banded behind the banners of two great noble houses, the Taira and Minamoto, each descended from a cadet branch of the imperial family. In two great wars in the late 1100s the Taira and Minamoto would in succession gain ascendancy and thus control of the court. In victory the Taira attempted to mimic the Fujiwara by moving to Kyoto and marrying their daughters to the emperors. But they soon succumbed to the decadent life at court and were eliminated by the Minamoto in 1185. The victorious Minamoto leader Yoritomo did not move to Kyoto but established his headquarters at a town called Kamakura, where he ruled as Seii-tai-shogun, or "Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo." The Fujiwara were allowed to regain their monopoly of supplying empresses and concubines to the emperors in a court that no longer held power but retained its religious and ceremonial functions.

The Fujiwara era was one of decline of central authority in Japan but also one of flourishing high culture, especially at the imperial court in the capital HEIAN (later Kyoto). Although frequent contact with China continued, the Japanese became increasingly

confident and began to experiment with innovations. Buddhism became popular throughout Japanese society, but with Japanese characteristics, assimilating elements of native Shintoism and identifying with local deities. Rejecting earlier Buddhist schools, which identified with the upper classes, a Japanese monk, Ennin, returned to Japan after a lengthy stay in China in the late ninth century and popularized a school called Pure Land Buddhism.

The Japanese also developed a new writing system based on simplified Chinese characters used for their sound. It was called *kana* and was a phonetic syllabary system used for writing Japanese. Kana was popular with court ladies, who wrote a new genre of literature—novels and witty commentaries that described court life and romances between noble ladies and courtiers who no longer governed and had been reduced to

social butterflies. The most notable works of the genre were *The Tale of Genji* by MURASAKI SHIKIBU and the *Pillow Book* by Sei Shonagon; both authors belonged to the Fujiwara clan. The Fujiwara clan was important in Japanese history for dominating the imperial family for many centuries. It also presided over a period that initially imitated Chinese ways and then developed into a unique Japanese culture.

See also KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE; TAIRA-MINAMOTO WARS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR



Gempei War

Part of the TAIRA-MINAMOTO WARS the Gempei War in Japan lasted from 1180 until 1185. It was fought between the Taira clan, which was losing influence, and the Minamoto clan, which hoped to replace the Taira clan. It resulted in a victory for the Minamoto clan, and the emergence of Minamoto Yoritomo as the shogun (“general who subdues barbarians”) in 1192. The name *Gempei* came from a contraction of the names *Genji* and *Heike*, which were the kanji characters for “Minamoto” and “Taira.”

The Minamoto clan previously tried to topple the Taira, in the Hogen War of 1156 and the Heiji War of 1159–1160. In the first the Minamoto had supported a rival claimant to the throne and lost. In the second, they staged a surprise coup but were decisively defeated by the Taira. In the Gempei War in 1180, as the Minamoto were gaining strength, the Taira attacked first. Taira supporters surprised Prince Mochihito, the claimant to the imperial throne and favored by the Minamotos, at a temple near Kyoto. Deciding that it was impossible to defend the temple, they fled across the Uji River, removing the planks on the bridge across the river. However the Taira forces were able to ford the river and cornered their opponents. Yorimasa, injured by an arrow, committed ritual suicide by seppuku, disemboweling himself—the first known time this had taken place. Soon afterward Prince Mochihito was killed.

The Taira then capitalized on their victory at Uji by attacking NARA, the base of warrior monks opposed

to them. Although the monks were in strong defensive positions, the Taira used their cavalry to great advantage, capturing and then destroying all the temples in Nara except Enryakuji. It is reported that 3,500 people were killed during the sacking of Nara. Following this, Minamoto Yoritomo, assisted by men from the Miura clan, tried to regroup, but the Taira launched a quick attack and routed them at the Battle of Ishibashiyama. Soon afterward Minamoto Yoritomo rallied his troops and turned on the Taira. At the Battle of Fujigawa, it was said that when a flock of birds surprised the Taira, they fled in panic.

In 1181 Minamoto Yukiie attempted to attack Taira Tomomori, whose army was encamped along the Sunomata River. The Minamoto were driven back with heavy losses and retreated across the Yahagigawa River, pursued by the Taira. When Tomomori fell ill, the Taira pulled back. After a lull in fighting, in 1183 Taira Koremori launched an attack on a Minamoto castle at Hiuchiyama. The fortifications were capable of withstanding a siege, but a traitor from within the castle tied a message to an arrow and shot it into the Taira camp, showing how they could breach a dam around the castle. The Taira attacked and the Minamoto forces fled. Although the Taira won the first part of the war, their leadership had grown arrogant and annoyed smaller clans, who were won over by the Minamoto.

Making the most of this victory Taira Koremori pursued the Minamoto to Kurihara (also known as the Battle of Tonamiyama). Minamoto Yoshinaka cunningly split his forces and ambushed the Taira as they

went through a mountain pass. By disguising the strengths of the three wings of the army, Minamoto Yoshinaka surrounded the Taira. It was the turning point in the war, as many of the Taira forces were killed, and they were forced to withdraw their garrison from Kyoto and fled along with their ally Emperor Antoku to Shikoku.

On November 17, 1183, Minamoto Yoshinaka sent his ships against the Taira in the Battle of Mizushima—the first naval battle of the Gempei War. The Taira were victorious, but soon afterward a Minamoto army captured the castle of Fukuryuji, which had been held by a supporter of the Taira. The Minamoto then tried to press their military advantages by engaging the Taira in another battle at Muroyama but were defeated.

A struggle suddenly broke out with Minamoto Yoshinaka trying to wrest power from his cousins Minamoto Yoritomo and Minamoto Yoshitsune. Yoshinaka captured the Hojoji Palace in Kyoto, took Emperor Go-Shirakawa prisoner, and named himself shogun. Soon after the rest of the clan surrounded him, forcing him to choose between inevitable defeat in battle or flight. He chose the latter and his men fled across the Uji River, but Yoshitsune's cavalry forded the river and in the second Battle of Uji, Yoshinaka was defeated. He made a final stand at Awazu and was killed by an arrow.

With Yoshinaka dead the Minamoto concentrated on the final defeat of the Taira. At Ichi-no-Tani, the Minamoto attacked a Taira fortress near modern-day Kobe. The battle became legend in Japanese folklore, with many famous warriors engaging in combat. Eventually the 16-year-old Taira leader, Atsumori, was killed, later dramatized in plays and works of fiction. The Minamoto then followed up their victory by attacking and defeating Taira allies at the Battle of Kojima.

The last two battles of the war were both at sea. At Yashima on March 22, 1185, Minamoto Yoshitsune launched a surprise attack on the Taira. Bluffing that he had far more men, Yoshitsune sent the Taira into premature retreat, abandoning their fortifications at Shikoku. Most of the Taira fleet escaped, but at the Battle of Dannoura, off the southern tip of Honshu island, on April 25, 1185, the Minamoto attacked their outnumbered opponents—it was estimated that the Minamoto used 850 ships against their opponents' 500.

At a crucial time a Taira ally switched sides and told the Minamoto which ship the six-year-old Emperor Antoku was hiding on. The Minamoto attacked it, killing the emperor along with his grandmother, a member of the Taira clan.

With the Taira totally defeated, Minamoto Yoritomo, the older half brother of Yoshitsune, became

the first shogun in Japanese history and established what became the KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE. It was not long before Yoshitsune, Yoshiie, and Yoshinaka were killed by orders of Yoritomo or were forced to commit suicide. The system of rule by the shogun continued, in several different forms, until the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Genghis Khan

(c. 1167–1227) Mongol conqueror and ruler

Genghis or *Chinggis Khan* means “universal ruler.” He was born Temuchin, the son of a minor Mongol chief, and overcame early obstacles to conquer the greatest empire of the world to date, which he bequeathed to his sons. Some believe he was a greater military strategist than Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, and Napoleon Bonaparte. At the time of his birth the varied people of the steppes (Turkic, Mongol, and others) lived in mutually warring tribes, raiding one another for animals and women and looting nearby sedentary populations. The harsh environment of the steppes where they lived provided little opportunity for agriculture, limiting the peoples to a nomadic lifestyle of herding and hunting.

His father, Yesugei, died of poisoning at the hands of foes when Temuchin was eight years old, en route home after betrothing him to a girl from his mother, H'oelun's, tribe. H'oelun and her sons were cast out to fend for themselves after Yesugei died; thanks to Temuchin's cunning and ruthless determination, they survived.

Eventually he married his betrothed, named Borte; received help from his father-in-law in establishing himself with followers and animals; and won allies. Borte was the mother of four sons (Juji Khan, Chagatai Khan, OGOTAI KHAN, and TULUI KHAN) and a daughter. Juji was born around the time his mother was rescued from captivity (she had been captured in a raid by Temuchin's enemy), casting doubt on his paternity. These four sons became Temuchin's principal heirs.

FROM TEMUCHIN TO GENGHIS KHAN

In complicated wars Temuchin and his allies won against tribes named the Naiman, Merkid, Oyirad, Tartar, Kereyid, and others, becoming master of the Mongolian plateau by 1205. A great council or *khuri-ltai* was convened in 1206 to signal the formation of a confederation at Burkan Khaldan, the holy mountain of the Mongols under Temuchin, and to give him the title *Genghis Khan*. From this point on all his followers, regardless of tribal affiliation, were called Mongols. In Mongol ideology the elevation of Temuchin to Genghis Khan was blessed by heaven and therefore it was his right to conquer and to bequeath his conquests to his family.

Genghis Khan's first great achievement was to organize his men into a unified army. He used the decimal system: Each 10-man group had a leader; 10 of these formed into a 100-man unit under a leader, and so on up, each commander being responsible for 10 men under him. In time the Mongolian component of his army grew to between 105,000 and 129,000 men. As his empire expanded, subject peoples incorporated into his infantry and cavalry followed the same organizational rules. The Mongolian army did not possess weapons or technology superior to those of its enemies. Its superiority lay in its discipline, mobility, coordination, and maneuverability.

Records were necessary to administer his people, so in 1206 he ordered the creation a script for the Mongol language, and since the man designated for the task was an Uighur, he used the Uighur alphabet for that purpose. Genghis did not learn to read but ordered his sons to learn the written language. He also promulgated a code of laws and regulations in 1206, called *yasa* or *yasaq*, that provided severe punishment, for example, the death penalty applied to murder, major theft, adultery, malicious witchcraft, and other offenses. The severity of the laws resulted in an obedient society, which visitors observed with awe.

CONQUEST OF XIXIA, JIN, AND KHWARAZM

Genghis Khan's conquests began in 1209 and his first target was the Tangut kingdom to his southwest called XIXIA (HSI HSIA), leading his army personally. After withstanding a siege of their capital city the Xixia accepted peace terms: submission to Genghis Khan and a pledge to support him in future campaigns, and the king's daughter given to Genghis as wife. After this demonstration of force two sedentary Turkic peoples, Uighurs and Qarlucs, came to offer surrender. Both would go far under Mongol rule.

Genghis Khan's next victim was the Jurchen JIN (CHIN) DYNASTY in north China. He set out against it in 1211 with three of his sons and 50,000 cavalymen. Although no longer the ferocious fighters of a century ago, the Jin still had a 150,000 strong cavalry of Jurchen soldiers and an infantry of 300,000 to 400,000 Chinese men. Moreover the Jin Empire had over 40 million people, three million of whom were Jurchen, opposed to the Mongol nation of not much over a million people. In 1211–14 the Mongols devastated much of northern China and looted three of Jin's five capitals, until Jin submitted to a humiliating peace. Among the captives taken during this campaign was YELU CHUCAI (Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai), a learned man of Khitan background who had served in the Jin government. He would later play an important role in the government of Genghis and his son Ogotai that benefited their Chinese subjects. North China suffered enormously between 1214 and the final fall of Jin in 1234, the result of Mongol raids, uprisings against Jin, and war between Jin and Southern Song (Sung).

Meanwhile commanders under Genghis conquered the state called Khara Khitai, situated to the west of Mongolia, in 1218. This cleared the way for Genghis to march against Khwarazm (or Khwarizm), a Muslim state that included Afghanistan and northern Iran, in 1219. It involved taking heavily fortified cities such as Harat and SAMARKAND, for which Mongols used the bloody tactic of using captured prisoners as human shields and moat fillers for their assaulting forces. By 1223 Khwarazm had been subdued and Mongol governors had been installed and garrisons put in place. While his generals proceeded westward across the Caucasus and into western Eurasia, defeating the Russian princes, Genghis returned to Mongolia in 1225. There he planned the destruction of Xixia, which had earlier promised to supply Genghis with men and supplies in his future campaigns but had refused when he began his war against Khwarazm.

Never forgiving anyone who had betrayed him, Genghis personally led the campaign against Xixia in 1226, destroying cities and the countryside and wrecking the irrigation works that rendered the land cultivable, and besieging its capital. Genghis Khan died in August 1227 because of complications from a fall while hunting in 1225. According to his wishes the war against Xixia continued until its destruction. His last orders were "The Tangut people are a powerful, good and courageous people, but they are fickle. Slaughter them and take what you need to give to the army. . . . Take what you want until you can take no more." Genghis Khan's body was returned to Mongolia; en route anyone who

saw his cortege was killed. He was buried on Burkhan Khaldun; the exact burial place was kept secret and has not yet been found. Before his death he had divided his conquests among his four sons, who were his principal heirs, and other relatives, and appointed his third son, Ogotai, his successor as Grand Khan, subject to confirmation by the Khuraltai.

THE BRUTAL MILITARY LEADER

Genghis Khan was unequaled as a military leader and conquered the largest empire yet seen and with unprecedented cruelty. He was a shrewd strategist who used many means to achieve his goals. He was a good psychologist who used terror and precedence to induce his enemies to surrender because any city that resisted would be razed and its people killed. He was a good organizer who militarized his whole people and saw to the logistical side of campaigns. He was adept at using spies and probing actions to take the measures of his enemies. He also used diplomacy to prevent his enemies from uniting or forming alliances. Finally he learned new military technologies and adapted to new needs, for example employing Middle Eastern siege engineers to help him take walled cities.

To Christian Europeans he was the anti-Christ and Scourge of God. China had never experienced such brutal conquerors, who threatened to turn the agricultural country into pastureland for their horses. He was especially cruel to cities and city dwellers. In his sweep across north China in 1212–1213 over 90 cities were left in ruins. The Jin capital in modern Beijing burned for three months. Those persons his forces let live because they had skills became Mongol slaves or were allowed to return to their ruined homes to serve their new lords.

See also CHAGATAI KHANATE; SONG (SUNG) DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Genoa

The city of Genoa (Genova), in Liguria in northern Italy, was an important Roman port that was founded in

the fourth century B.C.E. It is believed to have gained its name from the Latin word *ianua*, meaning door, as it served as an entry point for many goods being shipped to nearby places. During the medieval period Genoa emerged as an important maritime republic controlling trade in much of the Mediterranean.

The Roman connections with Genoa were largely severed in 641 C.E. when the Lombards invaded the region and captured the city. Over the next few centuries it weathered attacks by Barbary pirates from modern-day Algeria, who attacked much of the coastline and operated from bases in the nearby islands of Corsica and Sardinia. The citizens of Genoa put together a large naval force, captured the pirate bases on Corsica, and then attacked Sardinia and captured the island with the help of Pisa after 1284.

It was during this period that Genoa emerged as a major power, establishing colonies in North Africa, Syria, at Morea in modern-day Greece, and even as far away as the Crimea. This resulted in a strong trading position aided by the CRUSADES. They were also eager to increase trade with northern Europe. In 1379 a Genoese merchant was murdered in London when members of the “London mob” heard that he wanted to develop Southampton as a Genoese port.

Consuls controlled political power in Genoa until 1191; however, the system ended and power shifted to the *podesta* (mayors) and then the Capitani del Popolo (Captains of the People), who ruled from 1258 until 1340, except for short periods when foreign leaders ruled them. During the 12th century work began on the construction of the Cattedrale di San Lorenzo, in the center of Genoa. With a black and white striped Gothic marble facade (in part Romanesque and early Renaissance), now heavily identified with Genoese architecture, it included a Chapel to St. John the Baptist, designed by Semenico and Elia Gagini and built from 1451 until 1465. It was said to have housed relics from St. John the Baptist, and a polished quartz platter on which Salome is said to have received the head of John the Baptist. It also held the Sacro Catino, a sacred cup that was supposedly given by the queen of Sheba to King Solomon, and later used by Jesus at the Last Supper. Salome’s plate and the sacred cup are currently in the cathedral’s museum.

During this period the Venetians became jealous of the Genoese trade monopoly, and in 1298 the Genoese managed to defeat the Venetian fleet at the Battle of Curzola. During the battle the Genoese captured a Venetian nobleman called MARCO POLO (1254–1324) and imprisoned him in Genoa for a year before sending



Genoa in the medieval period: The city emerged as an important maritime republic, controlling trade in much of the Mediterranean. This provoked jealousy from the Venetians, which led to the battles between the two cities.

him back to Venice. It was during his imprisonment that he wrote his *Divisament du Monde* (The Travels), about his visit to China.

In 1340 the Genoese decided to follow the Venetian custom of electing a doge, and the first was Simone Boccanegra. Under him and his successors Genoa flourished, and Genoese mercenaries became prominent in wars in Italy and in France. The money these mercenary bands earned massively enriched the city coffers. In 1358 when the poet and humanist PETRARCH visited the city he described it as “superb.” Two of the great seafarers of the 1490s were also born in Genoa. Christopher Columbus was born there in 1451, the son of a wool comber. He went to sea at the age of 14 and fought the Barbary pirates. When he was 19 he was shipwrecked and ended up working in PORTUGAL, later offering his services to the king of Spain. Giovanni Caboto, “John Cabot,” was also born in Genoa in 1425. He moved to England in 1490, settling at Bristol. After the voyages of Columbus, he led English voyages across the Atlantic.

As with other city-states, the great families of Genoa fought each other for political power. The struggles among the Grimaldi, Dora, Spinola, and Fieschi fami-

lies weakened the state and foreign powers vied for control of the city. Giovanni Visconti took control of the city government by force in 1353, holding it until 1356. In 1393 there were five doges, and in 1396 France overran the city. Genoa managed to free itself from French rule in 1409 and was then controlled by Teodoro di Monteferrato. Twelve years later Filippo Maria Visconti took control of it. The French returned in 1458, but six years later the Sforza family was given control by France. The Sforzas were finally forced to flee in 1478 when the city rose up against them, but nine years later it was taken by Milan. Finally Andrea Doria (1466–1560), one of the great Genoese naval leaders, put together a constitution for Genoa that freed it of foreign domination but resulted in a dictatorial government that came to power after the Fieschi and the Cibo tried to seize power in 1547–48.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Ghana, Mali, and Songhai

Ghana, Mali, and Songhai were three of the greatest western African trading states. Beginning with Ghana as early as 300 C.E. and ending with the conquest of the Songhai by Morocco in the 16th century C.E., they dominated the trade of gold, salt, and merchandise between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Arab scholars and merchants as far away as Baghdad marveled at the wealth of these African states. The geographer al-Ya'qubi claimed that "gold is found in the whole of this country." But the trade of gold and salt was not the only basis for West African civilization. Remarkable cultural, intellectual, and cultural achievements made Timbuktu and other cities famed centers for the production of books in theology, history, and science, books whose weight was often valued more highly than gold.

Ghana, Mali, and Songhai were successful and well-organized states that overcame tribal divisions and fused traditional beliefs with the universal ambitions of ISLAM. The internal strength of these West African empires was what made the gold trade so successful. An intricate system of silent trade, transport, safe passage for merchants, and control over a vast array of tribes and different geographical zones from the Sahara desert of modern Mauritania to the thick jungles south of the Niger River kept the lifeblood of trade flowing. When these empires declined, so too did the trade in gold.

The historical sources for the empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai are written Arabic sources with a bias against non-Islamic beliefs, oral histories passed down by African *griots* or storytellers, and archaeology. Archaeological digs continue to reveal surprising secrets about the richness and strength of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, sometimes confirming stories that were once dismissed as fantasy. Both written sources and oral traditions speak of the wealth and fame of the ancient kingdom of Wagadu. Arabic sources call the kingdom *Ghana*, a name that means "king" in the Soninke language. The vast kingdom included the modern-day countries of Mauritania, Senegal, and Mali. The climate of West Africa was dramatically different 1,000 years ago. Archaeological evidence suggests that the parched climate of the Sahara drastically expanded south after 800–1050 C.E., when the empire of Ghana was at its

height. The capital of Ghana, Kumbi-Saleh, once the wealthiest city in West Africa, is now a remote archaeological site in the middle of the Sahara. Climate change had a dramatic impact on West Africa as the center of power moved from near Ghana in the north, to Mali in the center, to the Songhai farther in the south.

The kingdom was matrilineal, meaning that the king inherited the throne through the mother's line; his sister's son succeeded the king. Matrilineal inheritance and the powerful position of women were constant features of traditional Saharan society. According to Al-Bakri, the king of Ghana followed traditional African beliefs but respected Muslims who came to trade in his kingdom, often putting them under his personal protection. The Almoravids, Berber, Muslim nomads from the desert attacked Kumbi-Saleh in 1076 C.E. and weakened much of the empire of Ghana. Nevertheless, Ghana remained strong until it was annexed by Mali, an even wealthier and larger trading empire that formed south of Ghana.

The empire of Mali was founded by Sundiata, a king who not only overcame external enemies but his own physical disabilities to construct an empire second only to the vast Mongol horde of Asia. According to legend, Sundiata's brothers were massacred by Sumanguru, king of the Sosso people, rivals of the Mandinke, and the people of Mali. Sundjata, considered a harmless invalid who could not even walk, was spared. Accounts tell how he was treated as an animal and taunted by other children. He learned to walk on iron braces and became one of the strongest warriors and hunters.

In 1230 C.E., some 18 years after the massacre of his brothers, the young Sundjata organized an army and overthrew Sumanguru of the Sosso at the village of Kirina in 1235 C.E. The dramatic Battle of Kirina is still recounted by *griots* as a struggle between two great magicians.

Sundjata, the hero, seemed to have both the power of Allah and the traditional African nature gods on his side. After his victory Sundjata united the Mandinke chieftains and gained control over all the southern ends of the trans-Saharan trading routes. The successors of Sundjata, including a former palace slave named Sakura, expanded and consolidated the empire, conquering the cities of Timbuktu and Gao.

A pilgrimage to Mecca was one of the FIVE, OR SIX, PILLARS OF ISLAM and necessary for all believers who could afford the journey. Mansa Musa, who reigned from 1312 to 1337 C.E., made the most famed royal pilgrimage to Mecca. Egyptian scholars give accounts of an enormous and extravagant royal caravan that visited Cairo on the way to Mecca. The chronicler

Al-Maqrizi said that he paid so much gold in his purchases of fabrics, slaves, and provisions that he caused the value of gold currency in Cairo to drop dramatically. Mansa Musa not only returned to Mali from Mecca with greater devotion to Islam, but he brought several scholars and architects home with him, including the Andalusian architect al-Sahili, who helped transform the traditional architecture of Mali.

Although he did not force the conversion of his people, he encouraged the growth of Islamic schools and developed a more methodical form of government using written Arabic. It could be argued that this tolerant fusion of West African and Muslim civilization made Mali one of the most advanced civilizations in the world. Using Eastern models, Mansa also established administrative and bureaucratic districts, keeping a close hold on his vast territories. The death of Mansa Musa (c. 1337 C.E.) led to a succession of kings unable to manage Mali's enormous size. BERBERS in the north threatened Timbuktu, while the Songhai people in the south began their rise as the last and most powerful of the West African empires: the kingdom of Songhai.

The backbone of Songhai power was the mighty Niger River. As the empires of Ghana and Mali rose and fell, the Songhai fishermen slowly expanded from a region south of the great bend of the river Niger. The Songhai founded the bustling trading city of Gao just south of this bend in the 1300s C.E. Most of the Songhai became clients of the Mali empire until 1435 C.E. when two Songhai princes, sensing the decline of Mali's fortunes, demanded independence. They established a new dynasty called the Sunni.

Muslim chroniclers remember the Muslim Askia Muhammad Touré as the most famous king of the Songhai. Using the message of Islam to rally his followers, he expanded the borders of Songhai into the east of Africa, connecting his empire with the Indian Ocean trade that went as far as China. Mahmud al-Kati, who wrote a major history of the Songhai, claimed that Askia lived for some 125 years.

Although that may be an exaggeration, Askia and the river people of the Niger created a strong and magnificent empire that was not seriously threatened until the invention of firearms. Firearms gave the Moroccan army a significant advantage when the Moroccan sultan Ahmed al-Mansur invaded the Songhai during the 1580s C.E. Half of the Moroccan army died of thirst and starvation as they crossed the Sahara. Still, the Songhai warriors were no match against the firepower of the Moroccans. Soon, Songhai, the last of the great trading empires, was in ruins.

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ALLEN FROMHER

Ghaznavids

The Ghaznavid dynasty ruled eastern Afghanistan and parts of Iran and Pakistan from 977 to 1186. Sebuk-Tigin (r. 977–997), a former slave, founded the empire, ruling from the city of Ghazna, from which the dynasty obtained its name. Sebuk-Tigin had been a slave of the Turks and the military force that he led to supplant the previously ruling Samanid dynasty was also Turkish in origin. The Samanids were Iranian Muslims and the Ghaznavid Empire was also Muslim dominated, especially under subsequent rulers who were keen to Islamize the pagan-leaning Turks. The founder expanded his territory to the borders of India, with his son MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (r. 998–1030). Eventually the Ghaznavids in the west and the Qara-Khanids to the east replaced the Samanids, with the Oxus River marking the border between them.

It was during Mahmud's reign that the Ghaznavid Empire reached its greatest extent, spanning from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean. However the death of Mahmud and the succession of Masud (r. 1031–41), ousting the short-term ruler Mehmed, proved the turning point of Ghaznavid fortunes as increasing pressure by the Seljuk Turks resulted in the Battle of Dandanqan in 1040, a disastrous defeat for Masud. Despite the much larger numbers of Ghaznavid troops, the more mobile cavalry of the SELJUK DYNASTY denied them access to water and other supplies and destroyed their morale. The battle caused the loss of the gained Iranian and Central Asia territory. The Ghaznavid Empire persisted until 1186, but its influence was greatly reduced and it is remembered largely by its artistic and cultural achievements rather than its temporal power.

One of the most famous of Persian or Iranian poets was FIRDAWSI, whose masterpiece the *SHAHNAMA* (The epic of kings) was completed under the patronage of Mahmud. The epic tells the history and traditions of Persia and the stories of its rulers. It is considered a central

part of Iranian culture and one of the world's great works of literature. Mahmud's patronage enabled him to recreate the Ghaznavid Empire as an Islamic state, which strengthened faith across the region the Ghaznavids controlled. The resulting artistic influence can be seen in the cultural production created within the Seljuk world. This included architectural forms and figurative painting styles. Ghurids captured Ghazna in 1149 and the last remaining outpost of Lahore in 1187. The city of Lahore was greatly increased by this and subsequently become a significant urban and cultural center.

See also ISLAM; ISLAM: LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN THE GOLDEN AGE.

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JOHN WALSH

Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Muhammad, al- (1058–1111) *Muslim theologian*

Al-Ghazzali (al-Ghazel in Latin) is one of the foremost Muslim theologians, comparable to Saint Augustine or THOMAS AQUINAS in Christianity. He was born in northeastern Iran and studied science and theology. As a young man, he was appointed by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk to teach at the Nizamiyya *madrasa* (government sponsored school) in Baghdad. A popular professor, al-Ghazzali gave lectures that were widely attended and he became known in his lifetime as an expert on law and theology. He was familiar with classical Greek philosophy as well as Christian thought.

Al-Ghazzali's written works in Arabic number into the hundreds and include songs and poetry. His *Incoherence of the Philosophers*, a critique of the classical Greek philosophers and of Muslim philosophers such as IBN SINA, who accepted classical thought, was read throughout the Islamic world and was translated into Latin. In *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, al-Ghazzali attacked the thought of the Greek philosopher Socrates. The latter work has been compared to the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas. However, Ibn Rushd (AVERROËS), the great Islamic philosopher based in Córdoba, Spain, vehemently disagreed with al-Ghazzali's refutation of Greek philosophy

and wrote a blistering critique, *The Incoherence of the Incoherence*, in which he demolished al-Ghazzali's assertions, one by one.

In arguments that have resonance in the contemporary debate between secularists and supporters of religious thought, al-Ghazzali posited that the world was a creation of the divine being and disputed assertions that the world had no beginning or end. A crisis of faith around 1095 c.e. caused al-Ghazzali to quit teaching, and, after traveling to Jerusalem and Mecca, he returned to Iran, where he immersed himself in SUFISM (Islamic mysticism). He wrote an autobiographical account of his spiritual journey in *That Which Delivers from Error*. Al-Ghazzali ultimately returned to teaching and became a foremost proponent of orthodox Sunni Islamic belief that, he argued, could be compatible with Sufi religious practices. Although they disagreed on specific points, both al-Ghazzali and Averroës sought to understand the interrelationship of philosophy and religion.

See also ISLAM; ISLAMIC LAW; ISLAM: LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN THE GOLDEN AGE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Ghiberti, Lorenzo (1378–1455) *Italian sculptor*

Lorenzo Ghiberti was born in Florence and trained as a goldsmith by his father, Bartoluccio Ghiberti, and as a painter prior to taking up sculpture. Ghiberti rose to prominence in 1401, with the announcement by the Opera of the Baptistery of a competition to construct a second set of bronze doors for the Baptistery in Florence. The competition, to be supervised by the powerful woolen cloth guild, the Arte di Calimala, required the set of doors to illustrate scenes from the Old Testament. In addition, the doors had to complement the first set of doors completed by Andrea Pisano in the 1330s by continuing the quatrefoil design of the scenes. The doors designed by Pisano illustrated the life of John the Baptist, a patron saint of Florence. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac was chosen as the competition subject. The allure

of such an important commission drew a number of entries from noted artists including Jacopo della Quercia and FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI.

The young Ghiberti impressed the judges with his design and the fact that, save for the figure of Isaac, Ghiberti's entry was cast in one piece. A work that required fewer castings required less bronze and was cheaper to produce. Ghiberti's ability as a caster was cited by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors & Architects* as his reason for placing Ghiberti in front of DONATELLO and Brunelleschi as a sculptor. Art historians have struggled to date the beginning of the Renaissance, and many set it at 1401 and the competition for the Baptistery in Florence because of Ghiberti's attention to illustrating depth, the use of classical references such as the nude Isaac, and the importance of patronage.

While the competition was to illustrate the Old Testament, the subject was changed to the New Testament once Ghiberti was awarded the contract. Ghiberti's winning Abraham panel was included in the third set of doors completed in 1452. The door contains 28 quatrefoils in seven rows of four scenes. The lowest two rows illustrate the four Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Church, while the New Testament scenes begin with the Annunciation. Now known as the North Doors, the commission for the New Testament scenes was completed in 1425.

In addition to the Baptistery, Ghiberti received importance commissions for the niches at Orsanmichele. The Orsanmichele in Florence is an unusual building that served both as a granary for the city and as a shrine. The outside of the building contained niches that were assigned to various guilds to decorate with statues of their patron saint. The Calimala guild commissioned a bronze sculpture of their patron, John the Baptist, for their niche. Standing nearly eight feet tall the completed *John the Baptist* exhibits naturalism in its stance and the drape of the clothing that is one of the hallmarks of the Renaissance art. In 1419 the Arte del Cambio, the banker's guild, commissioned for their niche a bronze *St. Matthew* noted for its classical style and exquisite gilding.

In 1425 Ghiberti returned to the Baptistery to work on the North Doors commonly referred to as the Gates of Paradise. Focusing on the Old Testament, Ghiberti abandoned the preferred quatrefoil plan of partially gilded 28 scenes in favor of 10 fully gilded square scenes. In addition, in his own *Commentaries* (c. 1450–55) Ghiberti wrote regarding the doors: "I strove to imitate nature as clearly as I could, and with



Ghiberti rose to prominence in 1401, winning a competition with his bronze door designs for the Baptistery in Florence.

all the perspective I could produce, to have excellent compositions with many figures." With the completion of the Old Testament series, Ghiberti retired in 1452.

See also ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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ABBE ALLEN DEBOLT

Giotto di Bondone

(c. 1276–1336) *Italian artist*

The early life, artistic training, and attributed works of Giotto di Bondone (commonly referred to as Giotto) are all shrouded in mystery and legend. In his *Lives*, Vasari provided the first biography and chronicle of the works of Giotto. Giotto was born in 1276 in the village of Vespignano outside of Florence to a farmer named Bondone. While still a boy Giotto developed the ability, without formal training, to draw from nature using whatever material was available, such as the ground,

stones, or sand. Giotto would make these drawings to pass the time while tending to his flock of sheep.

Vasari tells us that his natural talent was so great that when Cimabue spotted his works while passing through his village he immediately sought the permission of Giotto's father to take the 10-year-old Giotto to Florence to study with Cimabue as a member of his workshop.

Giotto has received credit from art historians as being among the first to abandon the medieval artistic tradition in favor of the early development of naturalism—a style that would be fully realized during the ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. Giotto received praise by such luminaries as DANTE ALIGHIERI in *Divine Comedy*, GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO in *Decameron*, and Vasari for breaking from what Vasari refers to as the “crude manner of the Greeks.” In his *Lives*, Vasari recounts two stories that illustrate the talent of Giotto. According to Vasari, Pope Benedict IX sent an emissary to Tuscany to see Giotto and to judge his fitness for a papal commission. The courtier asked Giotto for a small drawing to take to the pope. Giotto, without using a compass or moving his arms, drew a perfect circle and instructed the shocked courtier to take that simple drawing back to the pope. Pope Benedict immediately recognized Giotto's greatness and sent him papal commissions. This story is also credited with giving birth to the Italian proverb “Thou art rounder than Giotto's circle.”

The second story recounted by Vasari supports the claim that Giotto had a great gift for naturalism. As a boy in Cimabue's workshop, Giotto painted a fly on the nose of a figure painted by Cimabue. Upon his return to the workshop Cimabue tried to shoo the fly away before realizing that it was just a painting.

One of the earliest works successfully attributed to Giotto is the crucifix (c. 1295) of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Giotto's crucifix followed the design seen in Cimabue's earlier crucifix with Christ flanked by images of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. Giotto deviated from Cimabue with form clearly moving toward three-dimensional in its effect. The figures are also imbued with a humanity and emotion missing from earlier works. Italian Renaissance art historian Bernard Berenson credits him with the birth of modern painting particularly with regard to the portrayal of the human form.

Throughout his career Giotto received commissions from patrons in Rome, Naples, Ravenna, and Padua. In 1305 he executed frescoes commissioned by Enrico Scrovegni for his chapel commonly known as the Arena Chapel. While the entrance wall is covered by a fresco



Giotto di Bondone's "Stigmatization of St. Francis" painted in 1300 using tempera and gold

of the Last Judgment, a popular theme in medieval Italy, the remainder of the walls are devoted to a series of frescoes illustrating scenes of the life of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ. In these frescoes Giotto employed simple but dramatic architectural and landscape elements to focus our attention on the massive forms and the story being told. This simple, but dramatic, style would influence future fresco painters such as Michelangelo.

Art historians have long debated whether or not Giotto is responsible for the frescoes chronicling the life of St. Francis at his basilica in Assisi. As early as 1313 a chronicle written by Riccobaldo attributes the St. Francis cycle to Giotto. The attribution to Giotto was further supported in later centuries by the writings of LORENZO GHIRIBERTI in the 15th century and Vasari in the 16th century. In addition to painting, Giotto was also an architect and sculptor. As an architect, he is credited with the initial design and construction of the campanile of Saint Maria del Fiore (also known as the Duomo) in Florence. Giotto's involvement with the construction ended upon his death, and construction continued under his former student Taddeo Gaddi. Giotto died in 1336 and was buried with honors within Saint Maria del Fiore.

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ABBE ALLEN DEBOLT

Godfrey of Bouillon

(c. 1060–1100) *king of Jerusalem*

One of the first European nobles to depart on the First Crusade in 1095 was Godfrey of Bouillon. Godfrey led his troops from France to Constantinople and fought alongside other armies through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. After the crusaders took the city, they elected Godfrey as their ruler. Godfrey of Bouillon was the second son of Count Eustace of Boulogne and Ida, the daughter

of the duke of Lower Lorraine. Godfrey's mother designated him her heir, but when her father died Emperor HENRY IV confiscated the duchy, leaving Godfrey the county of Antwerp and the lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes. Godfrey nevertheless served the emperor loyally in his campaigns in Italy and Germany, and as his reward in 1082 Henry invested him as duke of Lower Lorraine, but as an office rather than a hereditary fief.

Cluniac monastic influences permeated Lorraine, and their pro-papal teachings may have influenced Godfrey to take up the cross. Godfrey's administrative skills were not sharp and perhaps he realized his future as a duke was limited and saw the CRUSADES as a way to achieve more. Although he never gave up his imperial office, he sold and mortgaged some of his lands, an indication that he had no intention of returning from the Holy Land. Each of these reasons, and a genuine enthusiasm for the cause, probably influenced his response to the pope's call. After blackmailing Jewish communities and selling parts of his holdings, Godfrey amassed funds to equip a large force. The number of men following him gave him a great deal of prestige among other crusade leaders and drew more men to him. He was personable and with his tall, athletic frame and blond hair he appeared the ideal northern European knight and a perfect leader.

By the time the crusaders took Jerusalem, there were only two viable candidates to lead the city, Raymond of Toulouse and Godfrey. Age, experience, and his relationship with the church probably made Raymond of Toulouse the better candidate, but he was unpopular. He too openly considered himself the secular leader of the crusaders, and his comrades viewed him as arrogant and too friendly with the emperor in Constantinople. The electors initially offered the leadership to Raymond. He refused, and said he would not wear a crown in the city where Christ wore his crown of thorns, hoping the comment would discourage others from taking the throne.

The electors offered the role to Godfrey, who hesitated, and then said he would accept the position on the grounds that he would not have to take the title of king, but could be known instead as *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*, a phrase that has been translated as "Advocate of the Holy Sepulcher" or "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." Godfrey appeared sincere in his belief that the church should be the ultimate ruler in the Holy Land. After he accepted his role as ruler, Godfrey tricked Raymond into giving over control of the Tower of David, the military key to Jerusalem. Raymond, powerless and furious, left on a pilgrimage. Initially Godfrey's forces included approximately 300 knights and 2,000 infantrymen. He had to defend Jerusalem, the port of Jaffa,

and other towns, including Lydda, Ramleh, Bethlehem, and Hebron, from hostile native forces that occupied the countryside between towns. After falling out with Raymond, Godfrey's relations with his nobles cooled, but most answered his call to defend the kingdom. Gradually Godfrey extended his power over the rural areas of Judea and Samaria. His reputation increased rapidly.

As his powers in the Levant increased, Godfrey's powers in his own lands waned and he found himself increasingly at the mercy of other nobles in the Holy Land. His vassals used his cordial nature to their advantage, while churchmen knew he could not deny the church and used his trust to undermine his authority. He needed replacements and ships, his nobles wanted political favors, and Godfrey was in no position to resist their demands. In June 1100 after a period of intense negotiations and travel, Godfrey collapsed at a hostel in Jaffa.

Rumors of poisoning passed through the court, but he likely had typhoid. He hung on for nearly a month while politicians hovered around his sickbed, ready to take what they could on his death. He died July 18, 1100. Godfrey of Bouillon, at times a weak and unwise ruler, was nevertheless successful in his attempts to establish and expand his kingdom and earned respect for his courage, modesty, and faith. He was buried as the first Christian ruler of Jerusalem on the hill of Golgotha, in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the site of the Crucifixion.

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KEVIN D. HILL

gold and salt, kingdoms of

For those who knew how to survive it, the Sahara was not an impenetrable desert as much as it was a vast, navigable ocean. Like ships on the ocean, large camel caravans have crossed vast distances on waves of sand for centuries, stopping at island oases along the way. The *sahel*, the Arabic word for shore, describes the semiarid region just below the Sahara. It was upon this

inland shore that Arab and Berber traders deposited their most valuable goods: solid blocks of salt. Salt from the sea would not work as it quickly dissolved in the humid and vast region of West Africa. Only solid salt bars from the desert could be carried without spoiling. Salt was needed to replace fluids in the body and for preserving food in a tropical climate where meat spoiled quickly. Salt was so valuable to the people of western Sudan that some were willing to pay the price of gold for salt. Gold was plentiful south of the Sahara. Ibn al Hamdhani, an Arab geographer, described gold growing there like carrots in the ground.

Similarly salt was plentiful in the Sahara. The buildings in the town of Taghaza in the middle of the Sahara were built from blocks of salt. While the West Africans needed the salt for their diet, the North Africans needed gold for currency. Kingdoms, wealthy merchants, great empires, and kings would rise and fall on both sides of the Saharan shore, their fortunes largely dependent on the trade of salt and gold. With plentiful salt in the north but a lack of gold, and plentiful gold in the south with a lack of salt, the conditions for trade were perfect. Ironically the gold and salt miners almost never saw each other face to face. Merchants from the west and north traded, while the great empires of the south, GHANA, MALI, AND SONGHAI, managed the trade. The gold miners, the Wangaran people, did not want to give up the secret locations of their mines deep in the dense rainforests of West Africa and would swear not to reveal information about the gold mines if captured.

The gold and salt trade had an important impact on both the culture of the northern traders and sub-Saharan. Gold introduced the Mediterranean world to the enticing natural riches of Africa and fueled an economic boom. The sub-Saharan rulers similarly gained from the salt and from the new ideas and religious practices introduced by the northern traders, allowing them to create unified states around ISLAM.

See also BERBERS.

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ALLEN FROMHERZ

Golden Bull of 1356

Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–78) established a kind of constitution for the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in 1356, calling the document in which the new rules were laid out the “Golden Bull” (*Bulla Aurea*). It was called by that distinctive name for two reasons: first, because of the medieval practice of affixing to official documents and important such declarations seals (Latin, *bullā*), the Latin word was transliterated into the English word *bull* and came to signify such official documents themselves; second, because the particular seal on this important document was cast in gold it is the “Golden Bull.” However its significance does not lie primarily in its name, but in its fundamental importance to the Holy Roman Empire’s future.

The Holy Roman Empire was at different times a loose confederation of central European principalities. The various princes of the region cooperated to some degree as sovereigns and practiced election of an emperor. The year 1346 marked Charles IV’s election as emperor. By 1356 Charles IV, also king of BOHEMIA, realized that unlike in France and England, where monarchy had more firmly established itself and created more unified states, the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire was relatively weak to unify the mostly German principalities. Lacking the ability to forge unity, and seeing the Holy Roman Empire as a confederation of states and the emperor as first among princes of equal stature and power, Charles IV formulated the Golden Bull in 1356.

The document sought to bring an imperial peace and more stable form to this confederation of mostly German principalities, which was characterized by diverse cultures, customs, ways of life, and languages. As a reform and restatement of the ancient constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, it would form a basis of government for the empire as the foundational constitutional document, until the empire was dissolved by Napoleon Bonaparte in the year 1806. Though some see the Golden Bull as creating anarchy in the name of constitutionalism, and others call it the MAGNA CARTA of the German states, it was primarily concerned not with individual rights, but with the duties and rights of the princes who elected the emperor and helped him rule the empire.

Articulated in 1356 at imperial diets at Nuremberg and Mainz, it formed the basis of imperial elections and set the number of electors at seven. It gave the seven electoral princes extensive rights including the privilege of both nomination and selection of the emperor. Stipulating that the king of Bohemia, who was then Charles

IV, was to be one of the electors, it also elevated him over the other elector princes. In addition to the king of Bohemia, other electors were to be the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne; the margraves of Miessen and Brandenburg; and the counts Palatine of the Rhine. Charles IV’s hope was that this arrangement would not only create unity among the elector princes and a balance of power, but also ensure hereditary succession through the regulated process of election.

Producing the “king of the Romans,” as the Golden Bull called the elected emperor, it limited participation to the seven elector princes, even disallowing any direct participation by the pope. Voting was regularized specifically, and a majority of four votes was sufficient for election, which would culminate in coronation by the pope in Rome. It also strengthened the individual positions of the seven electors within the empire. These “pillars” became a “college,” above the various legal estates of clergy, townspeople, and nobility. To alleviate the temptation to divide up electoral votes, the territories of the seven elector princes were made indivisible by inheritance. The princes also gained powers that accrued to them personally, such as the right to capital justice, and control of local mining, tolls, and coinage.

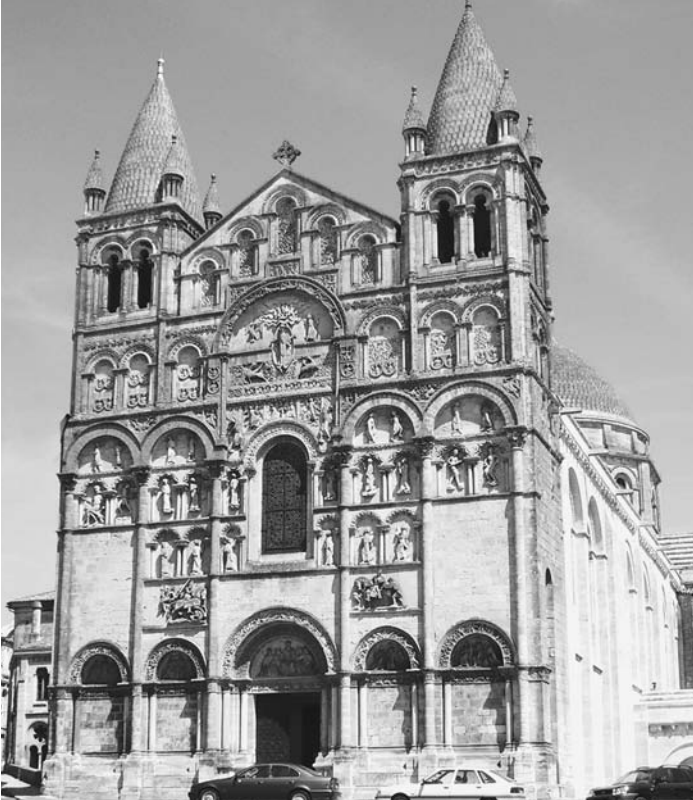
Seven copies of the Golden Bull of 1356 still exist, having been preserved by several of the electoral princes and the cities of Nuremberg and Frankfurt. An interesting document, it limited government in the Holy Roman Empire, if only by ending the legal possibility of a hereditary empire in favor of an elective, if still very exclusive position as “king of the Romans.”

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JOHN FARRELL

Gothic and Romanesque styles

The term *Romanesque* is applied to architecture in medieval Europe during the 11th and 12th centuries which attempted to connect the early Middle Ages with the architecture of the Roman Empire, both in the materials used and in the form achieved. Building on



Cathédrale Saint-Pierre d'Angoulême in Charente, France, is one of the best remaining examples of Romanesque architecture.

the Norman style, Romanesque became popular and was the first style to be used throughout Europe since Roman times, with examples being found across medieval Europe. Many of these buildings were religious structures, especially cathedrals and churches.

The aspects of the Romanesque style, especially the round arch, make it similar to later Roman design with the use of thick walls, narrow openings, and stone vaulting as a method of support. Columns were replaced by piers, and there was intense use of geometry and rigidity in design. Romanesque cathedral design uses barrel and supporting vaults, and a cruciform layout. This system of construction seems to have first appeared in the Iberian Peninsula with the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and the cathedral of Jaca being two of the more notable examples.

In France, the abbey of Cluny, which no longer remains, was perhaps the epitome of Romanesque architecture. Elsewhere in Europe, there are many examples of Romanesque architecture in Italy, including the towers at San Gimignano; the cathedrals of Monreale, Palermo, Pisa, and Cefalu in Sicily; and parts of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. In France, the monastery church of

Notre-Dame-du-Port in Clermont-Ferrand, the church at Périgueux in the Dordogne, and the Abbey of Senaques are among many examples.

The Gothic style, from about 1150 until 1250, using the pointed arch, followed from the Romanesque style, with the term *Gothic* originally being used as a pejorative term in the 1530s to describe buildings, mainly cathedrals, that were seen as "barbaric." The style actually has nothing to do with the Goths, but rather included characteristic features such as the pointed arch, ribbed vaults, and flying buttresses on the outside of buildings. The earliest significant building in the Gothic style appears to be the abbey church of Saint-Denis, near Paris, built around 1144. It was partially designed by Abbot Suger (1081–1151), who wanted to create a physical representation of his interpretation of Jerusalem and was criticized by contemporaries for his infatuation with the use of light that was to become influential in differentiating the Gothic style from that of the Romanesque. Much of this use of light was achieved by the use of stained glass, and the style started to become popular in northern France and then in England. It gradually spread throughout the rest of France, the Low Countries, Germany, Spain, and some parts of northern Italy.

The major Gothic cathedrals in France are Notre-Dame de Paris, Amiens cathedral, Beauvais cathedral, Chartres cathedral, Reims cathedral, Rouen cathedral, and the cathedral of Laon. In England, the cathedrals at Canterbury, Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, Peterborough, Salisbury, and Wells; Westminster Abbey; and York Minster are all in the Gothic style. In Germany and Austria, the main Gothic cathedrals are at Cologne, Freiburg, Regensburg, Ulm, and Vienna; the main ones in Spain are Burgos, León, Seville, and Toledo. In Italy, the cathedrals in Florence, Milan, Orvieto, and Siena are all Gothic in style. In Belgium, Antwerp cathedral is in the Gothic style, with the Town Hall at Ghent, and parts of the Cloth Hall at Ypres being secular representations of Gothic architecture. In Italy the Palazzo Vecchio and the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, and the Doges' Palace in Venice; and in France part of Carcassonne, part of Mont Saint-Michel, and numerous chateaux are secular buildings in the Gothic style. There was a Gothic revival movement in the mid-18th century, influencing the building of cathedrals and churches, many university buildings, and major secular and civic buildings.

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A classic example of Gothic art and architecture is Notre-Dame de Reims cathedral in northern France.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Grand Canal

Next to the Great Wall of China the Grand Canal was the most important engineering feat in ancient China and was undertaken during the SUI DYNASTY (581–618). Earlier, during the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty and Han dynasty major canals had been built for land reclamation and irrigation and short canals for transportation. Sui Wendi (Sui Wen-ti), unifier of China after three centuries of division, began the Grand Canal. He re-

built and extended the old canals to link up the Yellow River with his capital Chang'an (Ch'ang-an) on the Wei River, then southward to the Yangzi (Yangtze) River at Yangzhou (Yangchow) in central China.

His son Yangdi (Yang-ti) expanded the system to Hangzhou (Hangchow) on the coast south of the Yangzi, and northward to near modern Beijing, totaling 1,250 miles. The Grand Canal, completed in 605, symbolized the reunification of the empire, economic growth, and integration. Over the centuries the growing wealth of the south became crucial to the defense of the nation's vulnerable northern frontier. China was politically divided during the SONG (SUNG) DYNASTY. With the loss of all northern China at the end of the Northern Song in 1127, the Grand Canal fell to disuse. In 1264 KUBILAI KHAN, grandson of GENGHIS KHAN, proclaimed himself grand khan and ruler of a new YUAN DYNASTY in China, with the capital city at modern Beijing, which he named Dadu (T'a-tu, meaning Great Capital).

Kubilai needed grain from the Yangzi valley for his capital and had two choices for routes, by sea, where ships were subject to loss in storms, or via a safer inland waterway, the Grand Canal. He chose the canal route, which entailed repairing the old canal including a 135-mile-long section near Dadu. Three million laborers were drafted for the task, which was completed in 1289. Maintenance was expensive and the canal again fell to disuse as the Yuan dynasty declined. The silted up sections were repaired in the early 15th century under the MING DYNASTY. The Grand Canal fulfilled several functions. It brought grains, cloth, tea, wine, and other products of the increasingly developed southeast to the politically dominant north. In integrating the country economically, it also played a vital role in the political unification of China. The Grand Canal was built and maintained at a huge cost. Sui Yangdi conscripted over a million people for this project during his reign and labor became so short that women were also conscripted. However the million plus number was the grand total of all laborers, not the number at work at any time, because each laborer had to work for the government for only 20 days per year.

Nevertheless the huge labor demands for Yangdi's many projects caused widespread discontent that brought down his empire. Silting, currents, and the need to pull canal boats in areas of steep elevation posed difficult problems for supplying Chang'an's 2 million people during the height of the TANG (T'ANG) DYNASTY. The fact that boats were fully laden on the journey north but returned south mostly empty posed economic problems that were never solved. The difficulty of supplying Chang'an was a major factor in abandoning it as the capital of China

after the 10th century in favor of Luoyang (Loyang), KAIFENG (K'AI-FENG), and Beijing.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Gratian

(d. 1160) Byzantine monk and scholar

Little is known about Gratian. He was probably born at the end of the 11th century in Chiusi in Tuscany and died in Bologna around 1160. Around 1140 he completed his *Decretum Gratiani*, which made him one of the most renowned canonists of all time. The *Decretum Gratiani* not only replaced the preceding decrees but also provided a systematic and logical ordering of documents taken from existing collections supplemented by prescriptions of the popes Paschal II (1099–1118) and Innocent II (1130–1143) and of the Second Lateran Council (1139). Until the Code of Canon Law was published in 1917, it remained a standard work for canon law.

Gratian was the first who taught canon law as an autonomous science, although the Byzantine Code of Justinian I had already served as a model in combining civil and religious laws into one code. *Canon* comes from the Greek word *kanon* and means a stem or a reed and a long and straight piece of wood, a wooden rule used by masons and carpenters, or a rule with which straight lines are drawn. Figuratively it is the rule of an art or of a trade, a model, a type, or a definitive list or catalog.

With the rise of Christianity, *kanon* received a new meaning: commandments of God, or in Latin *regulae fidei* (norms of faith) and *regulae morum* (behavioral rules). It is in this sense of *regulae morum* that canon was taken up into law. These behavioral rules began with the Bible and the *Didachē* (Teaching of the Apostles). As new questions about the faith were posed, heretical and otherwise, church councils and synods were called to answer these questions. This was especially true of the first seven ecumenical councils, which tackled questions on the divinity of Christ, the divinity of the Holy Spirit, the two natures of the one person of Christ, and Mary as the Mother of God, as well as the Council of Trent (1545–63), which answered the many

questions of the Reformation. The answers in the form of decrees would be added on to the list of canons governing behavior of clerics and lay people alike. Over the course of time, as the church grew and branched out, and it became necessary for a rule of conduct to be collected for uniform interpretation and implementation of divine law spelled out in the sources cited. This was the basis of canon law.

Gratian worked with a set method in which three parts may be clearly distinguished. The first part deals with the sources of the law. It also treats subjects concerned primarily with the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the clergy. The second part deals with procedure, secular property, religious orders, marriage, and confession. The last part deals with the rules on the sacraments, except for matrimony, and sacramentals.

Prior to the middle of the 12th century only systematic collections of church prescriptions had existed. With his *Decretum*, Gratian published the first synthesis of the universally applicable canon law. At the same time he provided the later popes with a foundation upon which their decrees could rest. In spite of its renown and the great authority of the *Decretum Gratiani*, it remained a private collection with no universal force of law. The ecclesiastical authorities never officially recognized or approved the collection.

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THOMAS URBAN

Greenland

It is said that on a good day one can glimpse distant Greenland from Iceland. This may be an exaggeration, but the existence of links of land across the North Atlantic played a key role in Norse exploration, along with the development of new types of ships and new navigational technology and knowledge. The Faeroe Islands, not far from Britain and probably already known to the Romans, were settled first, early in the Viking age. From there the Vikings settled in Iceland, perhaps known to the ancients and certainly to the Irish, starting in the ninth century after evicting a few stray Irish monks. From Iceland the Norse continued west to Greenland in the second half of the ninth century, and then to the islands and coasts of North America by around 1000 C.E.

The Greenland of the Norse age of exploration was warmer and had more open land, allowing a limited agriculture. It was also uninhabited. The Eskimos and similar groups had yet truly to settle the area when the Norse came, although they did begin to penetrate south after their arrival and may have been a factor in the final extinguishing of the colony in the 15th century. It was thus not misnamed, but in the ninth and 10th centuries was truly a green land and eminently suited for the Norse way of life with its fjords, turf, and sea-carried wood from what is now Canada.

Greenland was also known for its fisheries and marine mammals, including the narwhal, a source of valuable ivory that later became the principal export of the Norse colony and was highly prized in medieval Europe.

According to Icelandic tradition, mainly from his saga, it was Eiríkur Raudi, or Erik the Red, who was the motive force behind Norse settlement of Greenland, trying to outrun his own legal problems (he carried outlaw status in both Norway and Iceland). Over time two distinct settlements emerged there: Vestribyggd or Western Settlement, and Eystribyggd or Eastern Settlement. The former was the first settled, in 986, and was located near modern Nuuk. The latter was around what is now Narsarsuaq and began a decade later. Scattered settlements arose in other places where conditions were favorable for fishing or hunting.

Both settlements prospered into the 12th century when a downturn in average temperature began, briefly arrested by an improvement during the 14th century. By then it was too late, and the viability of the Norse of Greenland had declined to the point that survival was difficult, if not impossible. The Western Settlement was abandoned in the mid-14th century and the Eastern Settlement died out in the late 15th century. Ultimately isolation and a progressively more difficult environment with the beginning of the Little Ice Age (which put more icebergs into the seas, making travel more difficult) doomed the Eastern Settlement. Both settlements left behind substantial archaeological remnants, including fragments of the material culture of the era, preserved by the cold. This included clothing, in some cases in the latest European fashion. From these fragments it is clear that the Norse of Greenland tried to maintain at least the semblance of their European culture and its values.

Also associated with Norse Greenland is evidence of wider contact with the islands and mainland of North America. The most famous example of this is the brief Norse settlement in Canada, Vinland (L'Anse

aux Meadows, Newfoundland). In addition archaeology and an examination of written sources have suggested Norse presence not only all and up down the Greenland coast, but on Baffin Island and at points north and south and even farther into the interior. At some of these locations, Norse from Greenland came into contact with Native Americans, including the Eskimos, who were to replace the Norse in Greenland, perhaps by force. It is conspicuous that the only North American culture to make bronze was one in close contact with the Greenland Norse, who knew how to work with bronze.

See also ERICSON, LEIF; VIKINGS: ICELAND, ICELANDIC SAGAS; VIKINGS: NORTH AMERICA; VIKINGS: NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

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PAUL D. BUELL

Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) *theologian and bishop*

Gregory Palamas was born in the city of Constantinople in 1296. His father was a prominent official under Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus. His father died while Gregory was an infant, and the emperor actively took a part in Gregory's formation and education. Intelligent and hard working, Gregory was destined by his imperial patron for government service. But at the age of 20, Gregory left government service to take up monastic life at MOUNT ATHOS.

Advancing in monastic life under his spiritual mentor (St.) Nicodemus of Vatopedi, he eventually became a priest and hermit at the small monastery of Glosia on Mount Athos. During this time he absorbed the teachings of such church fathers as Evagrius of Pontus, Macarius of Egypt, and Simeon the New Theologian. Moving to Thessalonika, he became a noted priest, preacher, and teacher while maintaining a strict monastic regimen. He gathered a small community of solitary monks around his church and began actively to teach the "Hesychast" (from the Greek *hesychia* meaning "calm, silence") method of prayer and theology.

During the 1330s Gregory was called to Constantinople to defend the Hesychasts against the "Scholastic"

teaching of the Italo-Greek monk Barlaam of Calabria. Barlaam taught that one could not “know God” through mental prayer. Influenced by THOMAS AQUINAS he insisted that knowledge of the existence of God could only be appropriated through intellectual activity. He ridiculed the teachings and prayer methods of the Hesychasts and attempted to disprove the Hesychasts’ claim to experience God through “the light of Tabor.” (Tabor was the place where Jesus [Christ] of Nazareth experienced his “transfiguration” into divine brilliance and energy.) Palamas’s most extensive written response to Barlaam was *Apology for the Holy Hesychasts*, commonly called the *Triads*.

Palamas’s defense established the theological basis for the whole human person’s (body, spirit, and soul) being involved in the mystical experience. The whole person can be deified or united with the divine energies of Christ’s Tabor experience. This deification or “theosis” ultimately includes body, soul, and spirit, so a person enters into a real, but mystical union with God. In this incarnational way Palamas and the Hesychasts attempted to experience the presence of God through “divine energies.” Palamas helped to define the difference between the “divine essence” (which cannot be known) and “divine energies” (which can be known through how humans experience God’s presence).

Palamas’s teachings were accepted as orthodox at the Council of Constantinople in 1341, and Barlaam was condemned as a heretic and fled to Calabria. This did not end Palamas’ troubles, as Barlaam’s followers among monks and high clergy continued to dispute Palamas. He was imprisoned from 1344 to 1347. But after his release by Patriarch Isidore, he was elected archbishop of Thessalonika. During one of his trips to Constantinople, he was captured by Muslim pirates. He was beaten and tortured for preaching the Gospel to his fellow captives and Muslim captors. After a year he was ransomed and returned to Thessalonika.

Palamas performed many miracles during his reign as archbishop, including healing many illnesses. He died on November 14, 1359, and was canonized by a church council in 1368. He is commemorated in the Byzantine Church on November 14 and the second Sunday of the most solemn season of the church, the Great Fast or Lent.

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Gutenberg, Johann

(1397–1468) *inventor*

The dissemination of knowledge occurred more quickly after Johann Gutenberg invented the printing press in 1440. Gutenberg, the son of a businessman named Friele Gensfleisch zur Laden, was born in Mainz, Germany, and was a goldsmith by profession. Movable type made of wooden blocks had been developed by the Chinese but was a time-consuming process. In Holland and Prague, experiments on a sophisticated printing process were already taking place. Gutenberg’s goal was to reproduce medieval liturgical manuscripts by using movable pieces of metal blocks for each letter. Many copies of a book were printed without loss of color and design. An assembled page was placed into a frame, and afterward a heavy screw forced the printing block against the paper. He combined paper technology along with oil-based ink. With the financial backing of a rich German lawyer, Johann Fust, Gutenberg established the first printing press, ushering in an era



Page of the Bible printed by Gutenberg in 1456. The illuminated border is typical of a manuscript.

of enlightenment. A large portion of society received an opportunity to read, and literacy was not confined to church, monastery, and nobility. The labor-intensive hand copying of books was no longer necessary, while the printing of books became fast and inexpensive.

Gutenberg published the 42 Line Bible, or the Gutenberg Bible, in Mainz in 1445 after two years of hard labor. Each column had 42 lines, and the whole Latin Bible had 1,282 pages. He printed 180 copies, out of which 47 are still extant. The words from the original Bible were not changed. He sold copies of the *Biblia Sacra* at the Frankfurt Book Fair of 1455. Adolf of Nassau, the elector of Mainz, gave him a benefice in 1465. Gutenberg printed indulgences, slips of paper used by the church. He also produced parts of Aelius Donatus's Latin grammar, *Ars Minor*, which had 24 editions. Persons trained by him established their own printing presses. Within a span of 50 years about 100,000 publications emerged. In libraries, books were to be distinguished from archival materials. Very soon, literacy expanded with the printing of maps, posters, pamphlets, and newspapers. Novel ideas of Renaissance Europe were fostered and preserved. National languages replaced Latin, a change important for the creation of nation-states.

The invention of the printing press was received with opposition from the Catholic Church. The printers of Mainz fled after an attack from soldiers of the archbishop of Nassau in 1462. But European cities benefited from the printers' skill. Some of the elite did not want to keep printed books along with hand-copied manuscripts in libraries. This dissipated gradually, and the printing press spread all over Europe. In 1476 William

Caxton established the first printing press in England at Westminster. He published Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d' Arthur*. In the 1480s, a printing press opened in Andalusia, Spain. By the end of the 15th century, the printing industry existed in 250 cities of Europe. The 1,000 printing presses published 35,000 titles and 20 million copies. Afterward, Roman type styles replaced Gothic types and metal screws were used in place of wooden ones. The printing press in the 15th century was modest compared to a modern press. A standard press having five workers could publish only five books a year, but an important discovery had been made in the history of human civilization.

Statues of Gutenberg adorn many places in Germany and notable institutions are named after him. Gutenberg is credited with transforming medieval Europe into a modern society, bringing about a scientific revolution.

See also PRINTING, INVENTION IN CHINA.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA



Habsburg dynasty (early)

Although the Habsburg dynasty became especially prominent after the election of Rudolf of Habsburg as king of the Romans in 1273, its history goes back to the 10th century. Emperor Otto I (936–973) had a subject named Guntram the Rich (c. 930–990), who was grandfather of Radbot of Klettgau (c. 985–1035). The latter built the castle of Habichtsburg, or the Hawk's Castle, in the Swiss canton Aargau. One son, Werner I (c. 1030–1096), was styled count of Habsburg, while his other son, Otto I, became count of Sundgau. Werner's son Otto II (c. 1040–1111) was the first to use the title *Habsburg*. The wealthy Habsburg dynasty acquired vast territories in German-speaking parts of modern Switzerland, southeast Germany, Alsace, and Austria. This expansion became visible especially during the days of Albrecht III the Rich (d. 1199). After his death, the House of Habsburg was inherited by Albrecht IV (c. 1239), father of Rudolf, the future King Rudolf I.

RUDOLF I

Rudolf was born on May 1, 1218, from the union of Albrecht IV of Habsburg and Hedwig of Kyburg. His godfather was Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1212–1250). When Albrecht died in 1239, Rudolf inherited his holdings in Alsace and six years later (1245) he married Gertrude, daughter of the count of Hohenberg. Gertrude brought a large dowry, which expanded the dominions of the Habsburgs. Rudolf was on excellent terms with Emperor Frederick II and his son Conrad

IV (1250–1254), which allowed him to receive a series of imperial grants to augment his estates. This expansion continued during the Interregnum (1254–73), especially after the death of Rudolf's maternal uncle Hartmann VI of Kyburg (1264). His prominence, wealth, and influence made him a worthy candidate for the royal crown and on September 29, 1273, the assembly of German princes, the *Kurfürsten*, elected him king of the Romans. Although he was never crowned emperor by the pope in Rome, Pope Gregory X recognized his election, provided that Rudolf renounced all his territorial claims in Rome, Sicily, and the PAPAL STATES in Italy. Alfonso X of Castile followed Gregory, elected king of the Romans in 1257.

While Rudolf's coronation did not seem to provoke negative emotions outside his kingdom, the first challenger to his rule came from inside. It was Otokar II, king of BOHEMIA, who failed to win the majority of the *Kurfürsten* electors to be crowned the king of the Romans. He refused to acknowledge Rudolf's election and to surrender his estates in Austria, Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia that were seized from the imperial crown during the Interregnum. The provinces were won back after Otokar's defeat in 1276. Otokar resumed his hostilities against Rudolf, having allied himself with Polish chieftains. His attempts to challenge Rudolf were crushed in 1278, when he was killed in the Battle of Dürnkrut and Jedenspeigen. Rudolf spent much time restoring domestic peace. He invested two of his sons, Rudolf II (1271–90) and Albrecht I (1255–1308), as counts of Austria and Styria. With the death of Rudolf II in 1290, Albrecht became the sole male heir to the throne.

ADOLF OF NASSAU, ALBRECHT, AND FREDERICK I

During his brief reign (1291–98) Adolf did not achieve anything significant and in the later years of his rule some German magnates rebelled against him and chose Albrecht as their new king. Albrecht marched with his army against Adolf, who did not recognize the election, and defeated him in the Battle of Göllnheim (July 2, 1298). The throne was restored to the Habsburgs—but only for a short time. The marriage of Albrecht to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the count of Gorizia and Tyrol, augmented the demesnes of the Habsburgs. During his reign (1298–1308), Albrecht attempted to seize territories in the Low Countries, as well as on the Burgundian frontier. These attempts to expand his control westward provoked a quarrel with PHILIP IV of France.

After Albrecht's murder (May 1, 1308), Henry VII of Luxembourg was elected as the new king of the Romans (1308–13), while Albrecht's heirs were deprived of the crown. His eldest surviving son, Frederick I (1286–1330), tried to regain the royal title at the cost of war against emperors Henry VII (1308–13) and Louis IV (1314–28). In 1322 Louis crushed Frederick's army in the Battle of Mühldorf, with the latter taken captive. He was released in 1325 and made coruler with Louis. The year after, he withdrew from the joint rule of the empire and came back to rule Austria proper, until his death in 1330. During his struggle with the emperors, Frederick was strongly supported by his younger brother, Leopold (1296–1326), ruler of Farther Austria. The latter insisted on having Frederick crowned as king of the Romans and fought by his side in Mühldorf.

AUSTRIA'S CONSOLIDATION AND VIENNA

Frederick I's two sons, Albrecht II the Wise (1298–1358) and Otto the Merry, succeeded him in 1330. Although not a monarch, Albrecht gained considerable influence on the international scale. He was asked by Pope Benedict XII and Philip VI of France to mediate in their conflict with the emperor. He never switched allegiances and remained with Louis until the latter's death in 1346. In domestic matters, Albrecht paid much attention to the law, codifying the rules of inheritance of the Habsburg lands in Austria and issuing constitutions for Styria and Carniola.

Frederick's son Rudolf IV the Founder (1339–65) was married to Catherine of Bohemia, daughter of Emperor Charles IV (1346–78). Rudolf paid a good deal of attention to the development of his hometown, Vienna, where the bishopric and cathedral of St. Stephen were established. In 1365 the University of Vienna

was founded, in a response to the establishment of the Charles University of Prague (1348). In 1363 he inherited Tyrol from the childless Countess Margaret of Tyrol and annexed the county to the Habsburg domain. He is also credited with the establishment of a stable currency, the Vienna penny, and the invention of the title *archduke of Austria*.

Rudolf's son, Albrecht III (1349–95) continued the expansion of the University of Vienna. In 1379, rule over the Habsburg territories was divided between Albrecht and his only surviving brother, Leopold III (1351–86). The former retained Austria, while the latter received Farther Austria, Tyrol, Carinthia, and Styria. He also acquired Freiburg (1386), Feldkirch (1375), and Trieste (1382). After the death of his son, William the Ambitious (1370–1406), the possessions of the Leopoldian line of the Habsburgs were divided between William's younger brother Ernest the Iron (1377–1424), who inherited Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and William's son Frederick IV (1382–1439), who succeeded in Tyrol and Further Austria.

Albrecht V (1397–1439), the future King Albrecht II (1438–39), succeeded the Habsburg dukedom after the death of Albrecht III's son Albrecht IV (1377–1404). He spent his youth in the company of Emperor Sigismund, who was also king of Hungary and Bohemia and fought by his side against the Hussites of Bohemia. In 1422 he married Sigismund's daughter Elizabeth, who descended from noble Hungarian and Slavic lines. After Sigismund's death in 1437, he inherited the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, although he was not able to gain control over the latter. In March 1438 he was elected king of the Romans, returning the German crown to the Habsburgs. Having been crowned king, Albrecht spent the last two years of his life fighting Bohemians and Poles, as well as defending Hungary from the Ottoman Turks.

VIENNA CONCORDAT

Frederick V of Austria, son of Ernest the Iron, succeeded Albrecht as Frederick III (1440–93). He was unsuccessful in battle, but an outstanding diplomat. He signed the Vienna Concordat in 1446, which established and defined relations between the empire and papacy. In 1452 he was crowned emperor by the pope in Rome. In the same year he married Eleanor of Portugal, inheriting a considerable dowry. In 1475 he arranged the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles Bold of Burgundy, to his son Maximilian. Despite all these achievements, his rivals challenged Frederick's power more than once. Between 1458 and 1463 Frederick was involved in a bit-

ter struggle with his brother, Albrecht VI, over Austria. He also fought with his nephew, Ladislaus Posthumus, over Bohemia and Hungary. But the main threat came after Ladislaus's death, with the ascension of Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) to the Hungarian throne. This powerful king seized various Habsburg possessions in Austria, Moravia, and Silesia. In 1485 Corvinus captured Vienna and resided there until his death in 1490. It was only his death that saved Frederick's rule and perhaps the imperial rule of the Habsburgs.

Frederick's son Maximilian (r. 1493–1519) succeeded his father, controlling vast territories. He inherited the Free County of Burgundy from his father-in-law, Charles the Bald, together with some parts of the Low Countries. In 1490 he acquired Tyrol and parts of Austria from his half-uncle, Sigismund, son of Frederick IV of Austria. Maximilian's rule over the Free County of Burgundy provoked tensions with the French Crown, which led to the Italian Wars (1494–1559). In 1499 Maximilian's army was badly beaten by the Swiss Confederation, resulting in the imperial recognition of the Swiss independence. His grandson, Charles V of Spain, succeeded Maximilian. During his reign (1519–56), the Habsburg house rose to the premier authority and influence in Europe, holding dominions in the central Europe, Germany, the Low Countries, parts of Burgundy, and Spain with its vast American colonies. After his death, the Habsburg holdings were divided among his heirs. The Habsburg dynasty ruled Spain until the death of Charles II in 1700, while the Austrian lineage did not cease until 1918, when the last emperor Karl, or Charles, resigned and Austria was proclaimed a republic.

See also HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

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PHILIP SLAVIN

Hafiz

(1320–1389) *Persian poet*

Hafiz, a pen name for Khajeh Shamseddin Mohammad Shirazi, was born in Shiraz in present-day Iran. Following the death of his father, a merchant, Hafiz lived in poverty until his poetry earned him the patronage of several Persian rulers. He is perhaps the most admired poet among Persians, who, up to the present day, memorize and quote extensively from his lyric poems. He is best known for his over 500 *Ghazals* (sonnets) collected in his *Diwan*. His lyricism is captured in the following portions of the sonnet “My Bird”:

My soul is a scared bird, the highest heaven his next
Fretting within its body-bars, it finds on earth its nest

Hafiz often wrote about his favored hometown of Shiraz. Other poems are highly erotic, while others are clearly influenced by Islamic mysticism or SUFISM. His many references to wine and drinking from the cup are believed by many to be symbolic of Sufi belief in mystical intoxication. Others argue that the language is not symbolic. Hafiz had an enormous influence on Arabic and Turkish literature and his poems have also been translated into many Western languages. Authors as diverse as the American essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson and the German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe admired the poetry of Hafiz.

See also ISLAM: LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN THE GOLDEN AGE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Hangzhou (Hangchou)

Hangzhou is situated near the West Lake and the coast in southern China. In 605 Emperor Yangdi (Yang-ti) of the SUI DYNASTY had the GRAND CANAL extended from Yangzhou (Yangchou) on the Yangzi (Yangtze) River to Hangzhou. As a result an already fast-developing area of the lower Yangzi and the southeastern coast grew by leaps and bounds. Hangzhou became the capital of a prefecture of the same name.



The Liantang Pagoda in Hangzhou was built in 970 but was destroyed by war. The current structure dates to 1152.

In 1126 KAIFENG (K'AI-FENG), the capital of the SONG (SUNG) DYNASTY, fell to the Jurchen nomads who had been ruling northeastern China through the JIN (CHIN) DYNASTY. The Jurchen captured the Song emperor and more than 3,000 members of his court, deporting them to the wastes of northern Manchuria. A Song prince escaped capture and rallied resistance from several temporary capitals, then settled on Hangzhou because of its location south of the Yangzi, and in the midst of numerous lakes, where the nomadic cavalry could not be effectively deployed. Peace was made around 1136 with northern China under the Jin and land south of the Huai and the Yangzi valley under the Song, now called the Southern Song (1126–1379).

Hangzhou was capital city for a century and half; it also became a great commercial center and the most populous metropolis in the world. The existing city wall was expanded, new palaces and public buildings were built, and with the population increase (to over a million by 1275 from under 200,000 before 1126), large suburbs extended beyond the city limits. As a contemporary writer noted: "The city of Hangzhou is large, extensive and overpopulated. The houses are high and

built close to each other. Their beams touch and their porches are continuous. There is not an inch of unoccupied ground anywhere." MARCO POLO wrote about Hangzhou (which he called Quinsai) after the fall of the Southern Song, when the city was past its prime, thus: "This city is greater than any in the world. . . . [It] has twelve principal gates; and at each of these gates at about eight miles are cities larger than Venice or Padua might be, so that one will go about one of those suburbs for six or eight days and yet will seem to have traveled but a little way." Other descriptions paint a gay life with lamps lighting up places of entertainment such as restaurants, shops, taverns, and teahouses until late in the night. Pleasure boats, some 180 feet long, plied the West Lake.

Numerous canals intersected the city and environs, making transportation of people, merchandise, and provisions easy. Fleets of barges also carried away the waste of the city. Major roads also linked the city and beyond to many scenic spots, where rich men rode on horseback and ladies were carried in sedan chairs. Hangzhou was also noted as a center of the silk industry, of fine ceramic kilns whose output supplied the court, and of the best teas grown and processed in its environs. The growing economy of the region also began to support the best academies. Many of the activities of this multiple-function city survived the demise of the Southern Song; however Hangzhou never became a national capital again.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic League, or Hanse, was an association of German merchants, and later of towns, that dominated trade in northern Europe from the 13th through the 15th century. During this time the Hanse comprised around 75 member towns plus around 100 associate towns. The word *hanse* means an association, but the entity called the Hanse was far more. Its members were middlemen, both geographically and economically. They controlled trade between the Baltic and North Seas, in part because their ships, called *cogs* (depicted on the seals of many Hanseatic towns), were much superior to earlier ships. Using this technological advantage German merchants

were able to exact economic privileges from rulers along the Baltic and North Seas who came to depend on their trade. But as their economic power grew, they also took a more active military and diplomatic role in shaping the politics of northern Europe. Eventually the structural weakness of this loosely organized transnational community became apparent, as witnessed by the growing divergence in the interests of the member towns. The Dutch, English, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants, who traded not only throughout Europe, but also throughout the world, had already long eclipsed the Hanse when it finally dissolved in the mid-17th century.

Frisians, Flemings, Scandinavians (Vikings were traders as well as raiders), and the Slavic and Baltic peoples living along the south and east Baltic littoral dominated long-distance trade on the Baltic and North Seas before the arrival of German merchants. The main centers of trade were Haddeby in Schleswig-Holstein, Birka in Sweden, Truso on the Vistula River, and Stettin and Jumne on the Oder River. These trading centers provided the groundwork for the later Hanse.

By the 12th century Visby, on the island of Gotland, had emerged as the main emporium in the Baltic Sea. Its merchants established a trading outpost in the important Rus town of Novgorod, and they were granted extensive privileges by Emperor Lothair II (1125–37) to trade throughout his realm. This emperor's grandson, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony (1142–80), was also interested both in developing trade and in pushing the bounds of his lordship farther east. Along with Albert the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg (1134–70), Henry played an important role in what has come to be known as the *Drang nach Osten*, or “push to the east.” This involved not only the military conquest and conversion of the Slavic pagans to the east of the Elbe River, but also the colonization of the conquered lands with peasants and burghers from overpopulated western lands. They were aided in this project by other nobles, including Count Adolf II of Holstein, who in 1143 founded a town, Lübeck, at the confluence of the Trave and Wakenitz Rivers, at almost the narrowest point of the isthmus dividing the Baltic and North Seas.

The native Slavs had long recognized the strategic and economic importance of this site, whose town a few miles downstream (from which Adolf took the name for his own town) had been destroyed in 1138. Henry the Lion complained that the town's success was causing his own economic projects to fail, as the chronicler Helmold relates. In 1157 Henry forced Adolf to give him the town, and Henry endowed it with expansive privileges and encouraged foreign merchants to trade there.

In 1180 Emperor FREDERICK I Barbarossa (1152–90) stripped Henry of his possessions for failing to submit to his judgment. Frederick I confirmed the town's privileges in 1188, and in 1226 Emperor Frederick II made Lübeck an imperial city, free from the jurisdiction of local lords. This status as the only imperial city east of the Elbe, along with Lübeck's geographical position, heralded the future greatness of the city that would become the capital of the Hanse, displacing Visby as the center of Baltic trade.

Because of the privileges granted to the Gotlanders, German merchants, especially those from Lübeck, were permitted to trade in Visby. These merchants formed an association and were recognized by authorities as “the merchants of the Roman Empire frequenting Gotland.” They elected leaders to speak on their behalf and in time established trading posts, or Kontore, in Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and London, four of the most important markets in northern Europe. During the 13th century dozens of towns were founded beyond the Elbe River according to “German law.” Many of these towns were new settlements, but there were also a large number of preexisting towns, like Gdansk and Kraków in Poland, that were reorganized according to the new social (“*Stadtluft macht frei*,” or “town air makes you free”) and spatial (a checkerboard pattern of streets around a market square) ideals of their mother cities.

As more merchants from these new towns became involved in trade, they became wary of the other merchants' leadership of the Kontore, and they wanted towns to take over the leadership of the Hanse. During the late 13th century a transformation took place—this association of merchants became an urban league. The Hanse was not the first urban league. Others emerged in the empire during the 13th century, as imperial power declined and towns looked to each other for protection from predatory lords, pirates, and other threats. But these other leagues proved ephemeral, dissolving after the immediate threat had passed. With Lübeck at its head, the Hanse continued to display its economic and military might throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. It forced the surrounding rulers, including the kings of Norway, Denmark, England, and France, to grant the Hanse ever more extensive privileges, allowing them to monopolize trade between the Baltic and North Seas.

In 1356 the first Hansetag, or general assembly of all the Hanseatic towns, was held in Lübeck. The Danish king Valdemar IV had been jeopardizing their trade routes by conquering lands throughout the Baltic, including Visby. The Hanse resolved to put an end to this. In 1362 they financed a fleet to oppose the king through the imposition of a toll on merchandise,

called the Pfundzoll. This venture, however, ended in defeat for the Hanse, and its leader was executed in the Lübeck town square for his failure. In 1367 a new Hansetag convened, this time in Cologne, because the Hanse needed the help of the Dutch in defeating the Danes. This “Cologne Confederation” of the Hanse, the Dutch, and Sweden sacked Copenhagen and forced Denmark to accept the Peace of Stralsund in 1370. The confederation won the right to occupy all Danish fortresses guarding access between the Baltic and North Seas for 15 years as well as the right to choose the next king. In 1388 the Hanse authorized an embargo of England, Flanders, and Rus and won privileges in all three lands, taking control of the Kontore in these lands. These however would prove to be pyrrhic victories.

The late 14th century marked the apogee of the Hanse’s power. It monopolized trade between the Baltic and North Seas and had imposed its will on lands in which it traded through a combination of military and economic measures. Yet even at the height of its power, it was the beginning of the decline of the Hanse. Many inland towns and some coastal towns did not take part in the “Cologne Confederation.” It was expensive to send representatives there, and the goals of individual towns were not always in line with those of the general assembly. The interests of the eastern towns and the western towns as well as those of the coastal towns and the inland towns continued to diverge.

Next because the Hansetag met so infrequently, the Lübeck town council functioned as the de facto head of the Hanse. When a revolt broke out in 1408 against its rule by the Lübeck burghers, it demonstrated not only the institutional weaknesses of the Hanse, but also the fact that frictions existed between the town councils and the burghers they were representing. In an organization as amorphous as the Hanse, there existed the problem of “freeriding,” that is, merchants from towns who did not belong to the Hanse trying to claim its privileges.

In addition to this internal fragmentation, the Hanse also faced external challenges. The rulers of Hanse lands sought to develop their sovereignty by limiting the Hanse’s privileges or forcing towns to withdraw from the league. In 1442 the margrave of Brandenburg forced Berlin-Cölln’s withdrawal. Also English, Dutch, and south German merchants began to take a larger share of the northern European trade. The Hanse continued to decline throughout the 16th century, and in the first half of the 17th century the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) decimated central Europe to an extent not seen since the BLACK DEATH. Two decades after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), argued by many political

theorists to be the origin of the modern state system, the association convened its last Hansetag.

The extent of the Hanse’s economic and political power has led some historians and political theorists to draw comparisons to the European Community, forerunner of the European Union. These scholars suggest that because a transnational polity like the Hanse presented serious challenges to the emerging territorially sovereign states of the late Middle Ages, useful examples might be found for the future of the sovereign state in a world in which transnational organizations are once again challenging its supremacy. For nearly four centuries the Hanse was a major economic, political, and social factor in the formation of Europe—it facilitated the exchange not just of commodities, but also of people and ideas. Dozens of preserved medieval marketplaces in towns around the Baltic littoral, from Tallinn, Estonia, to Gdansk, Poland, to Lübeck, Germany, bear witness to the greatness of the Hanse during its heyday.

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PAUL MILLIMAN

Harsha Vardhana

(590–647) *Indian king*

Harsha Vardhana was a king of northern India who reunited some of the small city-states that had become independent after the fall of the Gupta dynasty and who used his position to reinvigorate the practice of Buddhism throughout his territory.

Harsha Vardhana was a son of Prabhakaravardhana, the king of Thanesar in the eastern Punjab, and

worker had a stake in the system rather than a desire to overthrow it. It did not help that capitalism became more adept at producing cheap and abundant-if-inferior goods and brought about a higher standard of living. Most workers in the second half of the 19th century were living better than their parents. Revolutions did break out in 1848, but they were not socialist. The International Working Men's Association (the First International) came into being only in 1864. Strongly Marxist, it was dominant in European socialism.

Marx's International Workingmen's Association had its first meeting at Geneva in 1866. This was the first major international socialist meeting. It reflected the general socialist tendency to disagree on strategy. Marx and Engels and British and exiled continental labor leaders created the International Workingmen's Association in 1864. It was a committee, and about as effective as committees normally are—it included British reformists, continentals of more radical persuasion, and anarchists of several types. Marx relocated headquarters to New York to strip away the anarchists. The IWA dissolved in 1876. By century's end, Marxist socialism was the leading ideology of working-class parties in all but the Britain and the United States.

Socialism rose from a small intellectual movement to a large mass working-class political movement coincident with the industrialization of Europe, particularly between 1870 and 1890, which created the great proletariat. The centenary of the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1889 was the occasion for socialists and social democrats to meet in Paris and form the Second International. The Second International was a confederation of centralized national parties. The approach was popularized by Engels, August Bebel of the German Social Democratic Party, and Karl Kautsky.

Socialism had a shining moment from March 18 to May 28, 1871, when the PARIS COMMUNE arose in the aftermath of France's loss to Prussia and the collapse of the Second Empire. The city's citizens elected a radical government composed of old Jacobins from 1789 and Proudhonites. Communes arose in Toulouse, Marseille, Saint-Etienne, and Lyon but were suppressed quickly. The Versailles government sent the army against Paris and repressed the Commune. The Commune accomplished little but became a symbol remarked on by Marx; it was evidence to many socialists that the working class was ready for the revolution.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM

The U.S. Socialist Labor Party of America came into being in 1877. Already small, it fragmented in the

1890s. In 1901 the Socialist Labor Party's moderate faction and the Social Democratic Party and Eugene V. Debs put together the Socialist Party of America.

American socialism differed from European and British socialisms because Americans' experiences were not those of the old countries. The American labor movement struggled in the 19th century, even later when industrialism was rampant and highly exploitive, because American workers were slow to acknowledge that they were no longer free agents, self-employed craftsmen and entrepreneurs in the making. Socialism's emphasis on cooperation rather than rugged individualism seemed un-American. Socialism's American beginnings were imported, primarily from Germany. It remained strongly influenced by immigrants—Milwaukee's gas and water socialist Victor Berger, the leadership of the anarchist Industrial Workers of the World, and many of the national party leaders. Where socialism had native roots, it tended to arise from populist farmers whose socialism tracked more closely with their Christianity than with any imported European ideas. When Oklahoma voted for socialists before World War I, it did so because of agricultural conditions in Oklahoma, not out of commitment to the Second International.

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM

Eduard Bernstein and the social democrats Vladimir dominated the Second International in 1889 in Paris. Vladimir Lenin and Germany's Rosa Luxemburg led the radicals. Karl Kautsky led a smaller faction. The anarchists were left out and split from the socialist movement. In 1884 British middle-class intellectuals formed the Fabian Society, which laid the basis for the Labour Party in 1906. Jean Jaurès founded the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière in 1905. Under Jaurès and later Léon Blum the SFIO kept Marxist theory while in practice becoming reformist.

In Germany, Ferdinand Lassalle advocated voluntary worker cooperatives rather than Marx's revolution. Marx was scornful, but Lassalle's cooperatives were the beginnings of today's credit unions, mutual insurance companies, food cooperatives, and similar institutions. They have never altered capitalism but have found a niche within it.

The German Social Democratic Party, founded on the ideas of Marx and Lassalle, was for decades the world's leading socialist organization. By 1891 it had a million and a half members and was beginning to enjoy reasonable electoral success. Although Karl Kautsky kept the German Social Democratic Workers' Party Marxist in doctrine, in practice the party became

reformist rather than revolutionary. Success meant that, despite rhetoric of revolution, the party found itself absorbed into the conventional political process.

In Great Britain, the Marxist critique failed to take hold. Rather the approach was “Gas and Water Socialism,” under the Fabian Society. It began on January 4, 1884, when members of the Fellowship of the New Life took a political approach to the Fellowship’s goal of the transformation of society by setting an example of simple, clean living.

The Fellowship faded, and the Fabians drew members such as Sidney and Beatrice Potter Webb, H. G. Wells, and George Bernard Shaw. These were elite reformers who felt that socialism could transform society by slow penetration of its principles into the fabric of capitalist society. They had no interest—and perhaps no true awareness—of class politics, including labor unions and labor parties. The driving force was the Webbs, who wrote the bulk of the studies of Britain’s industrial system and alternative policies for capital and land.

The Fabian Society was named for Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, “Cunctator” or “Delayer,” who fought through harassment and attrition rather than head on confrontations. Fabians were against free trade but supported nationalist foreign policy in SOUTH AFRICA. They were significant in the establishment of the Labour Party in 1900. They advocated government ownership of utilities and land and other resources, but they insisted that all changes come through law rather than revolution.

SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM

In the late 19th century the various socialist groups became increasingly nationalistic. Universal male suffrage became common in the western world during the first decades of the 20th century. Socialism became increasingly tied to labor unions and labor parties, which increasingly mobilized the working class vote.

As socialists got access to power, they became more pragmatic, recognizing that they still needed the middle and wealthy classes to achieve their aims. Those classes still owned the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. And the welfare state made the workers’ lives better, delaying the revolution.

The involvement of socialists with government split the parties into moderates and radicals in the 20th century. Eduard Bernstein represented the moderates who thought that the reforms could come through the democratic political process. This was the basic social democracy. Communists in countries without a

parliamentary democracy argued for revolution; Vladimir Lenin argued this path. In 1903 the Russian social democrats split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

By the early 20th century, Germany’s Social Democratic Party had abandoned the revolutionary goal completely and backed Kaiser Wilhelm, in the process destroying its credibility with foreign socialist movements. The other socialist parties backed their governments one by one, destroying the international working-class movement in a wave of nationalism. The American Socialist Party was the exception in refusing to back the war, but it was a weak organization nationally and internationally, never able to win more than 6 percent of the vote.

Marx and other socialists ignored or discounted working-class differences of nationality, religion, ethnicity, and gender. These were factors that the capitalists exploited to divide and weaken the workers. For socialists, the real division was between a unified, homogeneous working class and a unified capitalist class. As reality intruded during the 19th-century era of socialism, intrusion of nationalism and other differences forced the socialists to adjust their doctrine to keep it relevant to workers who were also male and female members of ethnic, national, and religious communities.

Socialism won out over anarchism and other ideas within the working-class movement because it was better organized and had a more realistic political strategy. It fit nicely with the alienated workers of the large factories and plants of 19th-century capitalism, workers more prone to alienation and more susceptible to pitches about solidarity than were the workers of the small crafts industries of early industrialism. Socialism also deemphasized millenarianism, stressing instead a better tomorrow in the here and now with tangible bread and butter results. Until the Russian Revolution, no one had any way of measuring the validity or effectiveness of the socialist promises of economic equality and fairness for all.

Social democrats had better success than socialists did. They were more gradualist, advocating high taxes to promote relative equality, government regulation, nationalization as necessary, and social welfare. Scandinavia was most successful with this approach, but other European countries adapted some elements. Late in the 20th century and early in the 21st, governments began dismantling at least parts of these social democracies.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

South Africa, Boers and Bantu in

The first encounters between Europeans and the Bantu- (Xhosa, Zulu, among others) and Khoisan-speaking peoples of southern Africa occurred during the European race to discover sea trade routes to Asia in the 15th century. The first Dutch settlers, called Boers (Dutch for “farmer”), developed a colonial society that expanded into African-occupied territories that themselves were experiencing great social and political change. With the introduction of British rule during the FRENCH REVOLUTION, intra-European hostility worsened in both Africa and the world. The political and cultural landscape became a powderkeg as the British colonial government, various groups of settlers, missionaries, and Africans on the Cape interacted. The discovery of gold and diamonds in the middle of the 19th century intensified the conflict between the British and the Boers (also called *Afrikaners*, the Dutch word for “African”) into war and resulted in greater European control and influence over the lives of African peoples.

In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias of Portugal was the first European to reach South Africa, in a journey around the southern tip of Africa in search of a sea trade route to Asia. While Dias only traveled as far as Algoa Bay (location of present-day Port Elizabeth), another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape to India in 1497. The Cape itself did not become a site of permanent settlement until 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck established a station at the Cape of Good Hope for the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The Cape became a colony of European settlement in 1657 when the VOC settled employees on company-plotted farms. The population grew as company servants retired to the colony. In 1688 a large group of French Huguenots arrived in the colony, fleeing Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1658 the first ships of

African slaves arrived at Table Bay; other slaves would soon be delivered from Dutch colonies in Asia.

The Dutch East India Company and, after 1795, the British, struggled to maintain stability as colonial farmers pushed the boundaries of settlement into the interior. While officially off-limits to the slave trade, Africans in and near the Cape Colony experienced an increasingly troublesome relationship with European settlers. During the late 17th century the desire for arable land sparked violent conflict between white farmers and pastoral Khoikhoi peoples, as well as amongst the Khoikhoi themselves. By the late 18th century Cape Khoikhoi had been all but destroyed by dispossession and disease. Between the 1770s and the 1830s African societies were experiencing a period of rapid change and conflict called the Mfecane (the Zulu word used to describe turmoil). While the Mfecane is an incredibly controversial topic among scholars—it refers to a period of warfare and migration caused by the expansion and consolidation of the Zulu kingdom under SHAKA ZULU. Refugees often fled southward into Xhosaland as pressure was mounting from European settlers in the south, who began moving into Xhosa territory during the 18th century. The hunger for land by Africans and a growing population of European settlers only intensified, as did the conflict between and amongst them.

In 1795 the Revolutionary French government invaded the Dutch Republic and established a new regime on a French model and under French control. This new government seized the Cape Colony from the Dutch East India Company. The British, at war with France, perceived French control of the strategic colony at the Cape of Good Hope as a threat and forcibly took it in September 1795. As a result of the Treaty of Amiens, the colony was returned to the Dutch, only to be seized again when hostilities between the French and British resumed. After the defeat of NAPOLEON I, the Cape remained a British colony.

The Cape itself was ecologically inhospitable and lacked, as far as the British knew, many natural resources. The British cared mostly for its place on the sea route to India. Despite few immediate changes to the colony in the wake of British rule, the pace of Anglicization quickened during the 1820s, as did the spread of English-style schools and the introduction of more strictly English models of political, economic, and judicial organization. Starting in 1820 many settlers were imported from Britain. While Dutch-speaking Trekboers had been emigrating from the colony since the 1770s, thousands of Afrikaner Voortrekkers (“pioneers”) left the British colony during the 1830s and 1840s during

a migration known as the Great Trek. It later became a key mythological moment of Afrikaner nationalism.

British occupation also introduced extensive missionary activity to the Cape, starting with the arrival of the Nonconformist London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795. The role of missionary societies in educating and protecting Africans and in advocating for the abolishment of slavery further intensified already existing hostilities between the British colonial government and the Afrikaners, most of whom resented British presence. In 1833 the British Parliament abolished slavery, enraging many slave-owning settlers while not radically improving conditions for former slaves in the colony. As early as 1809 the British colonial government employed legal ordinances to control the movement and employment of Africans who worked for white settlers in colony. On the frontier, land hunger and conflict between European settlers and Africans generally worsened.

By the 1770s white settlers had moved beyond the colonial boundary into an area west of the Great Fish River called the Zuurveld. The British sought to create a colonial boundary that would separate blacks and whites. In 1811 under the governorship of Sir John Craddock, Colonel John Graham (for whom Grahamstown was named) led a British, Afrikaner, and Khoikhoi force to expel Ndlambe's Xhosa from the Zuurveld. The Xhosa responded by raiding settler farms and stealing cattle. The colonial governor Lord Charles Somerset created a "spoor" system, by which farmers could seek reprisals for their stolen property. The Xhosa chief Ngqika allied with the British against his uncle Ndlambe. In 1819 a prophet named Makhanda Nxele led a massive Xhosa force toward colonial troops at Grahamstown, only to be eventually driven back over the Fish River. With the Xhosa defeat, Somerset abandoned even his Xhosa ally and created a buffer zone between white and Bantu settlements on Ngqika's former land. In 1840 the British forced Ngqika's son Maqoma off of his lands along the Kat River.

The frontier wars continued. During the Sixth Frontier War, the British commander Sir Harry Smith and the colonial governor Benjamin D'Urban invited the Xhosa chief Hintsa to peace talks, only to have him shot dead and his ears cut off. During the Seventh Frontier War (also known as the War of the Axe), the plunder of colonial troops starved the Xhosa into surrender. D'Urban annexed the land between the Fish and Kei Rivers as the Queen Adelaide Province but was forced to rescind his claim by the metropolitan government. In 1850 Sir Harry Smith, now the colonial gover-

nor, provoked the Eighth Frontier War and established a separate British colony named British Kaffraria.

In 1855 the outbreak of lung sickness decimated the Xhosa's livestock. A messianic movement started when a girl named Nongqawuse believed that her ancestors had appeared to her. They told her that the whites would be swept into the sea if the Xhosa destroyed their cattle and crops. The Great Cattle Killing that followed resulted in mass starvation, conflict, suicide, and migration. The colonial governor Sir George Grey used this massive disruption to further expand "civilization" to the area west of the Kei River, where a group of German legionnaires and other immigrants were settled by the colonial government.

Many Voortrekkers had traveled northward into Natal, Transorangia, and the Transvaal with the intention of establishing new states independent from the British. The victory of Andries Pretorius at the Battle of Blood River (Ncome) over the Zulus became a national holiday for Afrikaner nationalists. A possibly fake treaty with the Zulu king Dingaan resulted in the creation of the Afrikaner republic of Natal, its capital at Pietermaritzburg and Pretorius as its president. British colonial administrators worried about destabilization and access to Port Natal (Durban). In 1843 Britain annexed Natal, and most of the Afrikaners abandoned it. In the 1850s two new Afrikaner republics were established: the South African Republic, or Transvaal, and the Orange Free State (results of the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions respectively). The British recognized Afrikaner independence north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. However, the discovery of South Africa's mineral wealth—huge deposits of diamonds and gold—forever changed the political, social, and economic landscape and would renew hostilities between the British and the Afrikaners.

By 1872 the British granted its South African colonies self-government. In a short period of time, the Cape transformed from a relatively poor outpost of empire to a wealthy nexus of gold and diamond mines. Infrastructure rapidly expanded as immigrants with dreams of wealth poured into places like Kimberley. The government at home aimed to consolidate British power on the Cape by creating a federated state with Dominion status. In the Transvaal, efforts to resist British annexation were led by Paul Kruger. Afrikaner forces defeated British colonial forces led by Sir George Colley at Mujuba Hill in February 1881, and the British government led by WILLIAM GLADSTONE made peace with the Afrikaners in 1881, ending the First Anglo-Boer War (the British name) or the First War of Freedom (the Afrikaner name).

In 1886 huge gold reserves were discovered at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. Kruger recognized the stabilizing importance that such wealth gave his republic, but an increasing population of foreigners, or Uitlanders, seemed to threaten Boer sovereignty. The Uitlanders, conversely, complained about the way they were treated in the Transvaal. In 1895 the colonial governor and mineral baron CECIL RHODES schemed, with the approval of the British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain, to overthrow the Transvaal government. The resulting Jameson Raid failed to incite a widespread Uitlander uprising and came to symbolize the British lust for power in South Africa.

Kruger was overwhelmingly reelected as president in 1898. In response, Chamberlain sent Sir Alfred Milner to the Cape as High Commissioner. Milner sought to use Uitlander disenfranchisement to create support for British intervention. Ultimately, the British desired not only gold but also control of a consolidated South Africa. After some negotiations, Kruger, assuming war was inevitable, declared war on the British. The brutally fought Anglo-Boer War, or South African War, was a turning point not only in Anglo-Boer relations but also in the way Europeans treated Africans in South Africa.

See also AFRICA, PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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CHARLES V. REED

Spain in Africa

Although the coast of Spain is only some 8.7 miles from that of North Africa, and it is possible to go by ferry in less than an hour, Spain has had few colonies on the African continent. Part of this is because until 1492, the Spanish government was more concerned with the Reconquista, the reconquest of Muslim Spain, than with colonial expansion, and as a result Portugal took the lead in voyages around the western coast of Africa. Indeed,

by the time of the capture of Granada in 1492, when the last part of Moorish Spain was taken, and the subsequent departure of Christopher Columbus, the Portuguese had already seized control of the Moroccan port of Ceuta, the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands and also the island of São Tomé, and claimed the Canary Islands.

This Portuguese expansion into Africa, and the successful voyage of Christopher Columbus, meant that the Spanish and Portuguese kings came to an agreement over the division of the world. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI issued his *Inter Caetera*, which drew a line of demarcation from the North Pole to the South Pole set at 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Lands to the west were awarded to Spain and those to the east to Portugal. However, King João II of Portugal felt that this did not give his ships enough room around the west coast of Africa, and Portuguese and Spanish ambassadors met at Tordesillas in northern Spain and on June 7, 1494, signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, which moved the line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This was given papal sanction on January 24, 1506, and not only totally excluded Spain from Africa, but also had the result of giving Brazil to Portugal.

However, the Spanish had held two ports on the north coast of Africa. One, Ceuta, had been captured in 1309 by King James (Jaime) II of Aragon, making it the first European colonial possession in Africa (or for that matter anywhere else in the world). Its geographical position and disposition made it an important port in antiquity, with both Hercules and Odysseus from Greek mythology said to have visited it. It had been a Roman and then Byzantine city, but in 931 was captured by the Muslim rulers of Spain, and in 1083 by the Almoravid Arab rulers of Morocco. After the Spanish had taken it in 1309, they were unable to hold it, and the Arabs took it back. In 1415 the Portuguese took the city, and thus at the time of the Treaty of Tordesillas it was Portuguese.

The port of Melilla, on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, had been an important port of the Phoenicians and then the Romans and, after centuries of obscurity, was captured by Abd ar-Rahman III of Córdoba. In 1496 a Spanish raiding party had landed and stormed the fortress that dominated the town. Led by the duke of Medina Sidonia, they then built their own fortress on a peninsula on the east of the town, which was transferred to the Spanish Crown in 1556. The township (population 70,000, of whom 10,000 are soldiers) has been Spanish ever since. In 1921 the Riff rebels came close to taking Melilla. Fifteen years later General Francisco Franco

launched the Spanish civil war. Morocco has regularly made diplomatic overtures to regain the town, but Spain has maintained its hold, and administratively, Melilla is a part of the Spanish mainland province of Málaga.

In addition, the Spanish also held the Canary Islands, geographically also a part of Africa. The Portuguese had claimed possession as early as 1345 in a letter from King Afonso IV of Portugal to Pope Clement VI. However, by the Treaty of Alcáçovas, Portugal recognized Spanish sovereignty over the Canaries, which the Spanish completely conquered and occupied by 1496. These islands proved to be important in all four voyages of Christopher Columbus, and many subsequent missions across the Atlantic, including that of Hernán Cortés. Francis Drake attacked the Canary Islands in 1585; so, too, did Admiral Blake in 1657—his ships were the first to attack the forts in Las Palmas. In 1797 the local forces at Santa Cruz de Tenerife defeated the British admiral Horatio Nelson, the only defeat in his career—and one which cost him his right arm. The Canary Islands were a single Spanish province until 1927; they are now two provinces of Spain, Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and are a popular holiday destination for Britons and many northern Europeans.

Thus, with the exception of Melilla (and the Canary Islands), from the time of the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain did not involve itself in African affairs. However, in 1579 the situation changed, allowing Spain to establish a foothold in Africa. On August 4, 1579, a Portuguese expeditionary force led by their king, Sebastião of Aviz, was destroyed at the Battle of the Three Kings at Alcácer-Quivir in northern Morocco. Sebastião had been trying to put his candidate on the throne of Morocco, and the battle saw Sebastian and his Moroccan ally face the Sharif of Morocco (hence three “kings”). As Sebastião II was only 24 and had no children, his uncle, King Philip II of Spain, succeeded to the Portuguese throne (as Philip [Filipe] I of Portugal). Philip promised to maintain the separate Portuguese governmental institutions and bureaucracy and did so. However, he did regain Spanish control over Ceuta; Portugal recognized the Canary Islands as Spanish territory. Melilla, Ceuta, and the Canary Islands remain part of Spain to this day, as do the islands of Penon de Vélez de la Gomera and Alhucemas, which were taken by the Spanish during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Ceuta returned to Spanish rule in 1580, and the Spanish government set about fortifying it and establishing a permanent garrison. As a peninsula jutting into the Mediterranean, the port is partly enclosed by a peninsula, with the Fortress of Hacho located on the furthest

part of that peninsula, making it very hard to attack by land. Indeed, to do so an army would have to fight its way through the town, which occupies the thinnest part in the middle of the peninsula. The port has long been associated with the Spanish Foreign Legion, which was established in 1920 to ensure the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco remained in Spanish hands. As with Melilla, the town's economy is helped by tax advantages offered by the Spanish government, which also has a large number of soldiers based there; the modern Kingdom of Morocco has made several diplomatic overtures for the return of Ceuta, but to no avail.

Most of Spain's interests in Africa have centered on Morocco, but apart from Ceuta, Melilla, and two small islands, there was no plan to take over the country until the 1890s. Finally in 1904 France and Spain concluded a secret agreement for partitioning Morocco into two zones, and the British and Italians agreed to this in return for France dropping its claims to Egypt and Libya. In the Treaty of Fez in 1912, the Spanish were given the mountainous regions around Melilla and Ceuta (which became French Morocco), as well as some territory along the Atlantic coast (loosely known as Spanish West Africa). While the French reached an accommodation with the sultan of Morocco, the Spanish faced many problems, partly caused by the nature of the territory they held.

Spanish Morocco had no major cities except Tetuan, which became the administrative center. Most trade from there went through either Tangier, which was an international city, or through Ceuta or Melilla, both Spanish possessions. It did help Spain maintain her hold on her two ports, but the region was underdeveloped and communications were very bad.

Spanish West Africa was essentially divided into a large administrative unit known as the Spanish Sahara. Sometimes known as Río de Oro, it was almost entirely desert with very little agriculture and was administered, from the Canary Islands. There was also a southern enclave called Cape Juby, where a British engineer had established a commercial factory that he later sold to the sultan of Morocco.

The only other Spanish possession in Africa was what is now Equatorial Guinea. This consisted of an island, Fernando Póo, and the adjoining mainland, known to the Spanish as Río Muni. The island of Fernando Póo had been discovered by a Portuguese sailor Fernão do Poo in 1472 and then acquired by Spain under a treaty in 1778. From 1827 until 1843 it was leased to the United Kingdom, which used it as a naval base to try to stop the slave trade, whereupon it was returned to Spain. The

mainland, Río Muni, was officially known as Spanish Guinea, and this was proclaimed as a Spanish protectorate on January 9, 1885. On July 30, 1959, Spanish Guinea was divided back into Fernando Póo and Río Muni (which included Elobey and Corisco), and these became two overseas provinces of Spain. On October 12, 1968, the two were again merged to form the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, and five years later Fernando Póo was renamed Macias Nguema Biyoga after the president of the country. It is now known as Bioko.

See also AFRICA, PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Spanish-American War

In 1898, in a war marking the emergence of the United States as a major imperial power, the United States wrested from Spain its remaining colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The short-term trigger of the war was the events in Cuba, with the Cuban revolutionaries on the verge of defeating the Spaniards and achieving outright independence. The sensationalist "yellow journalism" of the Hearst newspapers, which popularized the perception that the Spaniards were inhuman brutes committing atrocities against the childlike Cubans, had played a key role in laying the groundwork for U.S. intervention in Cuba.

The explosion aboard the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, which killed more than 260 people, provided the *casus belli* that the United States had sought. On April 25 the U.S. Congress, at President William McKinley's request, declared war on Spain. Historians generally agree that the longer-term causes of the war were rooted in the previous eight decades of U.S. interest in acquiring Cuba; the late 19th-century process of European empire-building in Asia and Africa, which heightened U.S. policy-

makers' desire to compete with European powers for markets and territory; and the desire of political leaders to distract the nation's attention from pressing domestic issues, including a severe economic depression and an upsurge in labor and popular unrest. More recent scholarship also emphasizes the desire of a new generation of political leaders, epitomized by McKinley's assistant secretary of the navy Theodore Roosevelt, to prove their "manliness" by going to war, as their predecessors had done in the U.S. CIVIL WAR.

Called the "splendid little war" by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, the war with Spain began in April and was concluded in August. Altogether, some 5,660 U.S. military personnel died in the war—460 in battle or of wounds suffered in battle, and 5,200 from disease. Casualties among Spaniards, Cubans (in their war of independence), and Filipinos were much higher. At the same time as U.S. forces were invading Cuba, another contingent occupied Puerto Rico; the U.S. military ruled Puerto Rico until the Foraker Act of 1900, which ended military rule and set up a colonial administration. Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory in 1917 with the Jones Act, a law that also made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens.

THE PHILIPPINES

In the Pacific, the U.S. quickly defeated Spanish forces in the Philippines, though "pacifying" the colony proved far more difficult. On May 1, 1898, the fleet of U.S. Commodore George Dewey entered Manila Bay and destroyed the Spanish fleet anchored there; U.S. forces occupied the capital city of Manila in July. Soon afterward, a nationalist resistance movement against the U.S. occupation erupted under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo. The war against Aguinaldo's forces lasted nearly four years, involved some 200,000 U.S. troops, and resulted in the deaths of more than 50,000 Filipinos. In March 1901 U.S. forces captured Aguinaldo, severely weakening the resistance movement, and by 1906, U.S. forces had triumphed.

The Spanish-American War formally ended in December 1898 with the Treaty of Paris, which granted the United States formal control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, in exchange for \$20 million. In the United States, debates swirled about the terms of the treaty and the fate of the conquered territories. Some favored annexation, others independence, and still others various forms of formal and informal colonization. After much debate, the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris on February 6, 1899. The precise nature of U.S. rule that emerged in later



An illustration for McClure's magazine of troops on the march in 1898: The Spanish-American War marked the emergence of the United States as a major power, able to compete with European nations.

years changed over time and varied from territory to territory, as evidenced by the formal independence of Cuba in 1902 (with the United States retaining control of Guantánamo and limiting the Cuban government's right to conduct an independent foreign policy, by the terms of the 1901 Platt Amendment), the formal independence of the Philippines in 1946, and the contemporary commonwealth status of Puerto Rico and Guam.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Spanish Bourbons

The Spanish Bourbons are the ruling dynasty, or family of rulers, of Spain. The dynasty was established by Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France, in 1700 following the death of the childless Charles II of Spain. The Spanish Bourbon (Borbón) dynasty has been overthrown and restored several times, ruling from 1700 to 1808, 1813 to 1868, 1875 to 1931, and from 1975 to the present.

Philip, duc d'Anjou, was the second son of the dauphin, son of Louis XIV of France and heir to the French throne. Charles II, king of Spain and a member of the Habsburg dynasty, had no children. He adopted Philip, great-grandson of Philip IV of Spain, as his heir. When Charles II died in 1700, the right of Philip to the Spanish throne was disputed by the major European powers out of fear that Bourbon rulers on the thrones of both France and Spain would upset the existing balance of

power. Known as the War of the Spanish Succession, Philip's right was upheld following the war's conclusion with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. As part of a compromise, the Spanish Bourbons could not inherit the throne of France.

After having two sons with his first wife, Philip V married Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, an Italian duchy, in 1714. Philip V and Elizabeth had two sons that became instrumental in the Spanish Bourbons' attempts to expand their dynastic control into the Italian Peninsula. Philip V occupied Sardinia in 1717, thereby incurring the wrath of a European coalition of Britain, France, Austria, and the Netherlands. In 1720 Philip V abandoned his claim to Sardinia and Sicily but secured the right of Charles, his eldest son with Elizabeth, to the throne of Parma following the current duke's death.

In 1731 Charles became duke of Parma. Philip V abdicated in 1724 in favor of Louis I, his eldest son from his first marriage. The early death of Louis I that year prompted Philip V to re-assume the throne. During the War of the Polish Succession, Philip V formed the Family Compact, an agreement with his uncle and king of France, Louis XV. Philip V's son Charles, now duke of Parma, invaded Naples. During peace negotiations in 1738, Charles ceded Parma to Austria in exchange for Naples and Sicily. During the War of the Austrian Succession, Austria ceded Parma to the second son of Philip V and Elizabeth.

Ferdinand VI, second son of Philip V and his first wife, succeeded his father as king of Spain in 1746. He worked to keep Spain out of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Following his death, his half brother Charles, king of Naples and Sicily, inherited the Spanish throne as Charles III. He abdicated the thrones of Naples and Sicily to his third son, Ferdinand, who furthered an Italian branch of the Bourbon dynasty that ruled until the unification of Italy in 1861. Charles III revived the Family Compact with his French relations in 1761 and joined in the Seven Years' War against Britain the following year. He also opposed Britain during the AMERICAN REVOLUTION in 1779.

Charles IV succeeded his father as king in 1788. Royal Spain declared war on the French Revolutionary government in 1793, but made peace in 1795. In 1808 NAPOLEON I, emperor of the French, invaded Spain, leading to an uprising that forced Charles IV's abdication in favor of his son Ferdinand VII. Shortly thereafter, Napoleon grew frustrated with Ferdinand VII's treachery and forced him to return the Spanish throne to his father Charles IV. Napoleon I then forced Charles IV from the throne and replaced him with his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte. The move prompted massive resistance,

known as the Peninsular War, one of the major conflicts of the Napoleonic Wars.

Following Napoleon I's exile in 1814, Ferdinand VII returned to the Spanish throne. Following an uprising in 1820, he was forced to grant a constitution. France, now under control of the restored Bourbon dynasty, invaded Spain in 1823 and revoked the constitution. Although Ferdinand VII married many times, he had difficulty conceiving an heir. In 1833 he, influenced by his wife, abolished the Salic law, which stipulated that the throne could only be inherited through the male line, in order for his daughter Isabella to inherit the throne rather than his brother Don Carlos.

Isabella II became queen in 1833 following her father's death. Only three years old at the time, her mother, Maria Cristina, served as regent. Isabella II's right to the throne was challenged by Don Carlos, whose conservative supporters became known as Carlists. To rally the liberals to Isabella II's favor, Maria Cristina granted a constitution in 1834. A failed attempt to seize the throne by force resulted in the departure of Don Carlos from Spain in 1839. Don Carlos and his descendants perpetuated their claims to the Spanish throne until 1936.

In 1846 Isabella II married her cousin, Francisco de Asís de Borbón. In 1868 a revolution forced Isabel II's abdication in favor of her son, Alfonso XII, in 1870. However, the government elected Amadeo I of the House of Savoy as king of Spain. Shortly thereafter, a republic governed Spain before a Bourbon restoration under Alfonso XII in 1875. He granted a more liberal constitution in 1876 and suppressed a Carlist uprising. When Alfonso XII died in 1885, his heir was still unborn. Alfonso XIII was born in 1886, technically already king for several months. His mother ruled as regent until 1902.

Alfonso XIII married Eugenia of Battenberg, granddaughter of QUEEN VICTORIA of Great Britain, in 1906. He kept Spain neutral during World War I but supported Miguel Primo de Rivera's military coup in 1923. Republican turmoil prompted Alfonso XIII's departure from Spain in 1931. He never formally abdicated, but he lived in exile until his death in 1941. The Second Spanish Republic was overthrown in the Spanish civil war, which resulted in the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. In 1969 Franco named Juan Carlos de Borbón, Alfonso XIII's grandson, as his successor. When Franco died in 1975, the Bourbon dynasty was restored under Juan Carlos I, who oversaw Spain's return to democracy and the constitution of 1978 recognizing the monarchy.

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ERIC MARTONE

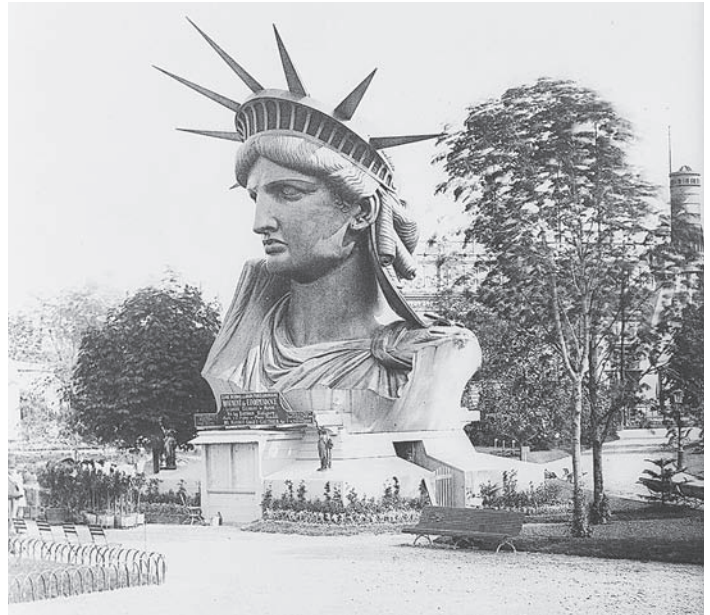
Statue of Liberty

Since its 1886 installation in New York Harbor, where it was then the tallest structure, this 305-foot, 225-ton copper-clad statue of a stern-faced woman whose torch “Enlightens the World,” has become one of the world’s best-known symbols, as well as one of its more contentious.

The idea of recognizing French-American friendship as the U.S. centennial neared was conceived in 1865 by French jurist Edouard-René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, a longtime admirer of American freedom and foe of NAPOLEON III’s Second Empire. Dining with Laboulaye, Alsatian sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, already known for his monumental works, suggested a statue of heroic size to be situated in New York City.

The United States would be 110 years old before Bartholdi’s immense figure, supported by an iron skeleton designed by French engineer Gustav Eiffel, arose on Bedloe’s Island in New York’s harbor. Although French people, rich and poor, enthusiastically raised money for the statue’s fabrication and transport, President Grover Cleveland vetoed federal funding for an appropriate pedestal, and voluntary American matching contributions lagged. Not until Hungarian-born newspaper magnate Joseph Pulitzer used his *New York World* to admonish New York and the nation were sufficient funds procured for the project to go forward.

Poet Emma Lazarus was also raising funds when she wrote “The New Colossus” in 1883. By the time a plaque engraved with her sonnet was affixed to Liberty’s pedestal in 1903, Lazarus’s interpretation of Bartholdi’s huge figure as “Mother of Exiles” who lifts her “lamp beside the golden door” to welcome “huddled masses yearning to breathe free” had redefined the statue as a maternal symbol of America’s enduring promise to the world’s “wretched refuse.”



The monumental Statue of Liberty, created by sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, under construction

Of course, it was not so simple. The gala unveiling on October 28, 1886, occurred just five months after Haymarket, a Chicago labor protest that turned violent and led to the execution of seven immigrants presumed to be violent anarchists.

As President Cleveland spoke, WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE advocates protested the nearly all-male ceremony for the world’s largest female figure. That year, anarchist and birth control proponent Emma Goldman admired the Statue of Liberty as a symbol of freedom as she arrived in New York from Lithuania. In 1919 she would view the “Mother of Exiles” a final time as she was deported to the Soviet Union during a Red Scare.

In recent years the Statue of Liberty has continued to be a major tourist destination, despite security and structural issues that have limited trips to what is now Liberty Island and exploration of the monument itself. For Liberty’s 1986 centennial, a huge fund-raising drive, headed by major corporations, collected some \$230 million to refurbish the statue and nearby Ellis Island, where, after 1892, newly arriving immigrants were processed in Liberty’s shadow.

Meanwhile, the statue’s rich symbolism continues to inspire humor and protest: advocacy of open immigration and celebration of the republican ideals of liberty that infused both the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the FRENCH REVOLUTION. In 1989 a 30-foot-high styrofoam figure modeled on the Statue of Liberty was

created by Tiananmen Square pro-democracy protesters. It stood for five days before it was crushed by a Chinese government tank.

See also LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

St. Petersburg, Treaty of (1881)

The rapidly expanding Russian Empire in Central Asia had reached the northwestern borders of the QING (Ch'ing) Empire of China by the mid-19th century. Xinjiang (Sinkiang), as northwestern China is called, was mainly inhabited by Turkic speaking Muslims, who chafed under Manchu banner troops stationed in the region. A Muslim revolt broke out in Xinjiang in 1864, led by an adventurer from Khokand named Yakub Beg, who proclaimed himself ruler of Kashgaria and part of northern Xinjiang.

This revolt gave Russia the opportunity to intervene. Fearful of Russian ambitions and anxious to protect its interests in India, Great Britain also became involved. This struggle for mastery of Central Asia and northwestern China was called the "Great Game." Both powers saw Yakub Beg as a useful tool. First the governor-general of Russian Turkestan, General K. P. von Kaufman, sent troops that occupied the Ili Valley, Ili city, and the main Chinese fort in Xinjiang and signed a treaty with Yakub Beg that granted Russia many privileges in the region. Not to be outdone, Britain also recognized Yakub Beg's power in Xinjiang and gave him assistance.

The Chinese government could do nothing in Xinjiang until it had suppressed the other rebellions in the country. In 1875 it appointed ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-t'ang), the great general-statesman who had played a major role in putting down the other revolts, commander of a force against the Xinjiang rebels. By 1877 Yakub Beg had been soundly defeated and driven to suicide; the rebellion soon collapsed.

Ili, however, remained under Russian occupation. The Qing court appointed a Manchu nobleman Chonghou (Chung-hou) special ambassador to Russia

to negotiate its restoration to China. Inexperienced and unprepared, Chonghou signed the Treaty of Livadia without authorization that ceded 70 percent of the Ili region, including strategic mountain passes, to Russia, agreed to pay Russia a huge indemnity, and other concessions. The Qing government refused to accept this disastrous treaty and sentenced Chonghou to death (due to strong protests by Western government the sentence was left pending the outcome of the renewed negotiations). China then appointed Zeng Jize (Tseng Chi-tse, known as Marquis Zeng in the West), son of the great statesman ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan) and then minister to Britain and France, special ambassador to Russia to renegotiate the treaty.

An able and well-prepared diplomat, Zeng secured the secret assistance of Great Britain before embarking on the difficult negotiations with the Russians, which culminated in the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881. By its terms, almost all the Ili Valley, including the strategic passes, were returned to China, and the number of Russian consulates in the region was reduced, but China did pay an indemnity to Russia.

The Treaty of St. Petersburg reversed the disastrous Treaty of Livadia. The reconquest of Xinjiang and the treaty of St. Petersburg were rare instances of Chinese victory during the late Qing dynasty and were principally due to two men, Zho Zongtang and Zeng Jize. Xinjiang was made into a province in 1884.

See also ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY; QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Sucre, Antonio José de

(1795-1830) *South American freedom fighter*

Antonio José de Sucre fought against Spain and alongside SIMÓN BOLÍVAR for the independence of South America. More of a soldier than an administrator, he also served as the first president of Bolivia.

Sucre was born on February 3, 1795, to Don Vicente de Sucre Urbaneja, a colonel in the colonial army, and

Doña Maria Manuela de Alcalá in Cumaná (present-day Sucre), on the northeast coast of Venezuela, then part of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada. He was the seventh child of prosperous Creole parents and the eighth generation of his family to be born in the New World. Among his ancestors were Spanish nobles, Christianized Jews from Flanders, a few Indians, and some African slaves. Sucre received a basic education and then studied mathematics and engineering with a tutor.

As a family of high office and long residence, the Sucre family were natural leaders within the province of New Andalusia. When the revolutionary movement took shape in Caracas and Cumaná in April 1810, the slight but tall Sucre enlisted as a cadet in the company of hussars that his father commanded. The republican government gave him the rank of second sublieutenant for the militia. Sucre served with the hussars until mid-1811, when he was assigned to a corps of engineers that was constructing defenses at the Fort of Margarita. Promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1812, he was instructed to join the expeditionary force that his father was organizing for the purpose of suppressing the royalist reactionaries in Barcelona. However, the revolution failed, and the new royalist government sought to punish those who were involved with the revolutionary government. Sucre managed to flee to Trinidad, but his father wound up in a dungeon.

When Bolívar launched a second attempt at a revolution in 1813, Sucre joined him. Sucre, now promoted to major, took Cumaná on August 2, 1813. In the attack on Barcelona, Sucre headed the Zapadores battalion, which he founded to provide engineering services. Sucre next served as adjutant to General Santiago Mariño when he routed the army of José Tomás Boves on March 31, 1814, at Boca Chica. Unfortunately for Sucre, the republicans lost the next few battles. At the end of 1815 Sucre fled Venezuela for exile in Haiti. Too short of funds to stay on the island, he moved to Trinidad to get financial aid from relatives.

In 1816 Sucre returned to the South American fight. After participating in the capture of Yaguarapao and the siege of Cumaná with the Colombian battalion, he became the governor of the province of Cumaná. In 1817 Sucre was named to head the Baja Orinoco battalion and subsequently became major general of the Lower Orinoco. Modest, loyal to Bolívar, and absolutely dedicated to independence, Sucre gained a stellar reputation as a soldier and administrator. In 1820 Bolívar named Sucre to be chief of the general staff and assistant minister of war. He helped Venezuela gain independence later that same year.

Bolívar and Sucre then turned their attentions to Colombia. In August 1821 Sucre marched 1,200 men to Babahoyo. With the Spanish loyalist forces unaware of his presence, Sucre surprised and decisively defeated them at Yaguachi.

In the 1822 Battle of Pinchincha, Sucre concluded the Quito (present-day Ecuador) campaign and obtained liberation for Colombia. Sucre became the political and military governor of the southern department of Gran Colombia. He began working with Bolívar to prepare for the attack on Peru, the center of Spanish control in the Americas. Accompanying Bolívar to Peru, Sucre distinguished himself at the August 1824 Battle of Junín. Bolívar was absent, and Sucre was the chief commander when the Battle of Ayacucho was fought in December 1824. The generous terms that he granted to the loyalist forces were typical of Sucre's magnanimous style. With considerable reluctance, Sucre accepted the presidency of the newly created state of Bolivia. He was never happy in the post. Despite the conciliatory spirit of his rule, an attempt was made on his life. In 1828 he resigned and returned to Quito. A few months later, he led the forces that repelled a Peruvian invasion. He was elected president of the constitutional convention that met in 1830 in an effort to prevent Bolívar's large republic of Colombia from disintegrating. Sucre's efforts to prevent Venezuela from seceding and becoming a separate state failed.

On June 4, 1830, when he was riding back from the congress to his home in Quito, Sucre was ambushed by Apolimar Morillo, José Erazo, Juan Gregorio Sarría, and three accomplices in La Jacoba, a wild mountainous region.

The attack may have been arranged by a rival, José María Obando, who commanded the troops at Cauca. Sucre was shot through the heart. His body remained face down in the mud for 24 hours before he was buried at the side of the road. Upon learning of Sucre's assassination, Bolívar famously stated that Abel had been killed.

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Sudan, condominium in

After the British defeated the Mahdist forces at the BATTLE OF OMDURMAN in 1898 they debated how to govern the Sudan. Prior to 1895 the British government had maintained that the Sudan was *res nullius*, or ungoverned territory. With control over Egypt and the vital SUEZ CANAL, British politicians believed that it was also necessary to control all of the Nile River upon which Egypt was dependent for its very survival. The weak Ottoman Empire that ostensibly ruled the Sudan as well as Egypt was powerless to prevent British expansion into the Sudan. Other European powers, including France, Britain's major imperial rival, were pressured into accepting British domination over the Nile Valley.

After some debate the British decided that annexation of the Sudan was impracticable, and Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt as consul general, devised a hybrid form of dual government. The so-called Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of 1899 provided that Ottoman rights were recognized but not implemented and, through the right of conquest, Egypt would govern and pay for the administration of the Sudan by the British. Herbert Kitchener was appointed the first governor-general, and the territory was divided into six provinces administered by British officers. These officers governed territory far larger than Britain itself. The khedive in Egypt had no power over the Sudan, but the Egyptian treasury was held accountable for many of the expenses for governing the Sudan.

The governor general in the Sudan reported through Cromer in Egypt; a fiscal conservative, Cromer attempted to keep the expenditures in the Sudan as low as possible, a practice that caused considerable dismay among British officers in the Sudan. After Kitchener was recalled to lead troops in the Boer War, Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar, or commander in chief of the Egyptian forces in the Sudan, was appointed the new governor-general; Wingate remained in the position until the middle of World War I, when he became high commissioner in Egypt.

The largest country in Africa, the Sudan was a complex conglomerate of peoples, religions, and languages. The north, with the capital city of Khartoum, was mainly Muslim and Arabic-speaking and was tied culturally and historically to the Arab world.

As the center of government, the north tended to receive more monies for development and education than the more remote and harder to reach southern provinces. The peoples in the southern provinces were ethnically and linguistically tied to other groups in central Africa and practiced traditional African religions or were converted to Christianity.

The deep social and religious differences between the north and the south often broke out into civil wars that continued to plague Sudan into the contemporary era. The political and economic linkage between Egypt and the Sudan that the British had devised also became a major stumbling block in diplomatic negotiations between Britain and Egypt. Given the major financial contributions to the Sudan by Egypt, Egyptian nationalists, not surprisingly, contended that Egyptian and Sudanese independence were intertwined and that Egypt should have a role in deciding how the Sudan was to be governed. On the other hand, Britain steadfastly refused to link the two issues. Under the British administration, a separate Sudanese nationalist movement evolved, but Britain did not grant the Sudanese independence until 1956.

See also AFRICA, IMPERIALISM AND THE PARTITION OF; ISMAIL, KHEDIVE; SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Suez Canal

Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman with support from NAPOLEON III and Empress Eugénie, was the major force behind the construction of the Suez Canal; he also subsequently pushed for the construction of the Panama Canal. The Suez Canal created a direct link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea and was a much shorter and direct trade route from Europe to Asia than the long and often dangerous route around Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. In 1855 de Lesseps persuaded his friend Said, the khedive of Egypt, to grant him a broad concession to build the canal. At the time the British opposed construction of the canal because many thought it would not be financially profitable, and others wanted to limit French imperial ambitions.

Undeterred, de Lesseps launched a major campaign to raise money to finance the canal through the sale of stock. Preference shares went to Said for granting the concession; founder shares were held by the organizers or given to influential personages, and public shares were sold in Europe and the United States, where, largely owing to the CIVIL WAR, they went mostly unsold.



One of the largest engineering feats of the age, the Suez Canal created a direct link between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas.

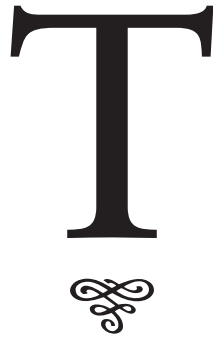
Said took most of the unsubscribed shares, and digging for the canal began in 1859. Said also agreed to provide forced labor through the *corvée* of Egyptian peasants, or *fellaheen*, to build the canal. The forced labor was supplemented by paid foreign labor and machinery that cost twice as much as manual labor. At the time the Egyptian economy was booming, as, with the lack

of cotton from the United States, the price of cotton, Egypt's main export, was high. The 100-mile canal was finished in 1869 and opened with great pomp and circumstance. During its first years, the canal operated at a loss, but revenues gradually increased. In 1874 KHEDIVE ISMAIL, facing bankruptcy, sold his ordinary shares of the canal to the British for the bargain price of 4 million pounds. However, Ismail ultimately was forced to turn over control of the Egyptian economy to the international Caisse de la Dette run by Europeans. The canal became the major trade route for the transport of goods and personnel between England and the British Empire in Asia. The desire to protect British interests in the canal was a major motivating factor behind the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Although the Suez Canal was on Egyptian territory and had been built largely with Egyptian labor, it remained under foreign control until the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdul Nasser nationalized it in 1956.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Taiping Rebellion

Among the many rebellions that enveloped China in the mid-19th century, the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) caused most devastation and posed the greatest danger to the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY. The rebellions had many causes, the most serious being the population explosion, the result of prolonged peace and the introduction of new and better yielding crops. By the early 19th century, the available land could no longer sustain the burgeoning population, and there were no industries to absorb the surplus labor force. Natural disasters in the 1840s along the Yellow and Yangzi (Yangtse) River valleys further devastated the economy. Politically, the Qing dynasty was in decline, evident in the pervasive corruption among the bureaucracy. Defeat by Great Britain in the First ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR further discredited the dynasty and brought to the fore latent anti-Manchu sentiments among the majority Han Chinese.

The Taiping Rebellion was led by HONG XIUQUAN (Hung Hsisu-chuan), whose ambition to pass the state examinations and thus join the elite bureaucracy had been quashed by repeated failures. While in Canton waiting for the exams, he had met Protestant Christian missionaries who gave him religious tracts. He later equated their messages with visions he experienced while in a delirium during an illness after failing the exams for the fourth time. He claimed to be the second son of God and younger brother of Jesus and further stated that God had entrusted him with a mission to rid

the world of demons and establish a heavenly kingdom on Earth. Hong studied briefly with an American missionary, gaining some knowledge of the Old Testament, but was not baptized. In 1844 he founded the Society of God Worshippers and began preaching his version of Christianity among poor people in Guangxi (Kwangsi) province in southern China.

An unsuccessful attempt by the Qing government to suppress the movement in 1850 ignited the rebellion. Hong then proclaimed himself the Heavenly King and his movement the Taiping Tianguo (Taiping t'ien-kuo), or Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. His foremost lieutenant Yang Xiuqing (Yang Hsiu-ch'ing), who claimed to be the third son of God and the Holy Spirit, became the Eastern King, while other supporters were given ranks as lesser kings and nobles. The Taiping army enjoyed tremendous success as it marched northward, culminating in the capture of Nanjing (Nanking) in 1853; it was renamed Tianjin, or the Heavenly capital, but the movement failed to gain headway north of the Yangzi Valley.

Early Taiping success is attributable to the appeal of its messianic message, the prevalence of anti-Manchu sentiments in southern China, strict military discipline among its troops, and promise of social and economic reforms. The reforms, on paper, included nationalization of land and its distribution to men and women, a new calendar, equality between the sexes, revamping of the examination system to allow more candidates to succeed, and various modernization measures. However, most of the promised reforms

were unrealized because the Taiping leaders showed a lack of ability to govern and evidenced a great interest in giving themselves perks and privileges. Moreover, the leaders began quarreling among themselves. Both Hong and Yang claimed to receive messages from God, and their rivalry degenerated into a bloody conflict in which Yang was defeated and killed. Hong thereafter trusted no one except his mediocre relatives and retired to a life of hedonism among his women. Western nations that were initially interested in the Taiping government because of its Christian trappings were quickly disillusioned by its bogus Christianity and its theocratic and universal claims. Finding the Qing government easier to deal with, they then proclaimed their neutrality in the conflict.

The Qing government also found in ZENG GUOFAN (TSENG KUO-FAN) a committed Confucian scholar-official of great ability and integrity. Zeng organized a militia among men of his home province (Hunan). They first cleared Hong's men from Hunan and then expanded the anti-Taiping forces with the aid of Zeng's able colleagues and lieutenants, including Westerners and their modern arms. They reformed the administration in areas that they reconquered and ultimately gave the people a better alternative to the failed Taiping model. Nanjing was captured in July 1864; Hong died; and the rebellion ended.

Some historians claim the Taiping movement as revolutionary but others dispute this claim on the basis that the Taiping leaders showed no real revolutionary spirit or wish to introduce fundamental changes to society. While the Taiping ideology showed some revolutionary elements, in practice the regime did not change social relations or better the lot of peasants. Rather, the Taiping leaders regarded their success as a way to attain elite status.

The rebellion ultimately failed due to inconsistencies in the policies of the movement, strategic mistakes, internal dissension, and refusal to cooperate with other rebel movements for not following their brand of Christianity. Conversely, the anti-Taiping forces led by Zeng Guofan demonstrated integrity and ability, and their commitment to Confucian ideology was more in tune with the temper of the time. The rebellion devastated a huge area in southern China and caused upward of 20 million in lost lives. It also resulted in a shifting in the internal balance of power in China from the central government in Beijing (Peking), whose banner army had not been able to handle the rebellion, to Han Chinese loyalists who defeated the rebellion by raising local forces. The defeat of the Taiping and

other mid-19th century rebellions and the domestic reforms and modernizing measures called the TONGZHI (T'ung-chih) RESTORATION gave the Qing dynasty a new lease of life.

See also GORDON, CHARLES.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de

(1754–1838) *French diplomat*

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord was one of the best-known diplomats in European history, having served the throne of France from the time of Louis XVI (the nation's last absolute monarch) to Louis-Philippe (the last king), a time that encompassed the French Revolution and Napoleon. An aristocrat denied his inheritance because he was physically unfit for the military service traditionally taken by his family, he first sought a career in the church. Though he was ordained a priest and was later named bishop of Autun, he was not a pious man, and, in fact, was likely an atheist. His interest in the church was in its institutions and social merits, not any supernatural matters.

During the FRENCH REVOLUTION, he helped to secularize the church and its properties in France and was excommunicated by Pope Pius VI. He personally proposed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which dissolved monastic orders in France, made the offices of bishop and priest elected ones, and denied any authority of the pope over French clergymen. The constitution stood from 1791 to 1795.

Talleyrand helped France avoid war with Britain during the Revolution, while cultivating friendships with NAPOLEON I and Lucien Bonaparte. Talleyrand participated in the coup that brought Napoleon to power and was made his foreign minister—though the two rarely agreed about foreign policy. He rose to power quickly, becoming grand chamberlain of the



Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand served two French monarchs, skillfully negotiating during times of revolution and imperial rivalries.

empire and prince of Benevento. Once so positioned, he felt freer to distance himself from Napoleon's policies when he disagreed with them, and he resigned his ministry in 1807 over a disagreement with Bonaparte. In 1812 Napoleon made Talleyrand his representative in meetings with the Russian czar ALEXANDER I—and Talleyrand responded by becoming a Russian secret agent, selling Napoleon's secrets and reporting to Alexander in the future. Talleyrand was instrumental in restoring the Bourbons to power to succeed Napoleon and was an important negotiator in the Treaty of Paris, which helped to repair French-European relations after Napoleon's abdication.

For most of his remaining life, Talleyrand stayed out of the limelight, offering comment more than action, and probably brokering and breaking deals behind the scenes. He remained a womanizer and gourmand throughout his life and was a good friend of Alexander Hamilton despite the latter's reputation for decadence. His home in Paris is now the American embassy.

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BILL KTE'PI

Tanzimat, Ottoman Empire and

The Tanzimat, meaning “reorganization,” was a series of reforms within the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Sultan Mahmud II initiated a number of sweeping reforms in order to strengthen the empire by centralizing administrative control and breaking the power of local provincial governors and the janissaries. He also supported reforms to Westernize the education system and established military and engineering schools. Although Mahmud II wanted mandatory elementary education, the Ottoman government lacked the financial wherewithal and personnel to make it a reality.

Like MUHAMMAD ALI in Egypt during the same era, Mahmud II sent students to Europe; he also hired French and Prussian army officers to train his new military. Mustafa Reshid, who served in many official positions, including grand vizier, helped to implement these reforms. Key reformers during the Tanzimat era included Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha and Kecehizade Mehmed Fuad Pasha, both of whom were mentored by Mustafa Reshid. Ali Pasha was the son of a shopkeeper and worked his way up in government service to the position of grand vizier. Fuad Pasha came from a wealthy family; fluent in French, he negotiated with a number of foreign powers. He often served as foreign minister when Ali Pasha was vizier, and when Fuad Pasha was vizier, Ali Pasha often served as foreign minister.

The reforms were supported and enlarged upon by Sultans Abd al-Majid and Abd al-Aziz. As part of the price for their support of the empire in its struggles against Russia, the European powers pushed the Sultan to institute sweeping reforms that often favored minorities within the empire, particularly Christians, as well as European financial interests.

The Hatti-Sherif Gulhane, the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber, in 1839 declared the security of life and honor of Ottoman citizens, provided for tax reforms and the end of tax farming and abuses. It also mandated orderly army recruitment, fair trials with the creation of a council of justice, and equality of religious practices. The rescript ended the extra tax levied on religious minorities and their exemption from military

service. The Hatti Humayun, or Imperial Rescript, of 1856, was forced upon the Ottoman government following the CRIMEAN WAR. It expanded on the earlier reforms and stressed that all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion were to be treated equally. Some elected local assemblies, with advisory functions, were created. Proposed new laws were debated by the Tanzimat Council and approved by the Council of Ministers.

The Ottoman Land Law of 1858 aimed to increase agricultural production but had some unforeseen social and economic results. The law forced the registration of land, but many fellaheen (peasants) were traditionally reluctant to register anything from land to births for fear of government taxation and conscription of their sons into the Ottoman military. The educated, urban class, who had the disposable income to bribe their way out of heavy taxation and to pay for their sons to avoid the military, took advantage of the weakness of the peasantry to gain title to vast tracts of land, thereby creating a new landed gentry of often absentee land owners. Many peasants lost their traditional land holdings and were forced to become tenant farmers. This resulted in the further impoverishment of the peasantry in many parts of the empire, particularly in greater Syria.

A civil law code (Mecelle) was put in place in 1869 and expanded in 1876. The new code, modeled on European legal systems, was largely formulated by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. Under the new legal system, religious law was separated from civil law. A Judicial Council that included both Muslims and Christians dealt with appeals to new civil laws. The old *millet* courts continued to deal with matters involving religious law. The creation of a new secular legal system to the detriment of the old shari'a (Islamic law) was opposed by many conservative and religious elements, such as the WAHHABI MOVEMENT in the Arabian Peninsula, who refused to adopt civil laws and maintained the shari'a.

International investment, largely from Europe, increased in many parts of the Ottoman Empire. The 1838 British-Ottoman commercial convention granted the British highly favorable trading terms, and British commerce with the empire flourished. However, the influx of European goods hurt many local manufacturers, especially in the textile industry. As Ottoman expenditures on the army, which grew in numbers, and new government offices created under the Tanzimat increased, so too did the Ottoman indebtedness to European banks and investors. Foreign ownership and investments in new communication lines and railways also mounted. The capitulations, favorable legal and commercial status, including exemption from taxes,

granted by the Ottomans to foreign residents in the empire, gave foreign merchants competitive advantages against local entrepreneurs. Foreign consuls frequently exercised extensive authority in local areas, even getting legal cases against their citizens dropped. Some Ottoman citizens were able, by legal and illegal means, to secure foreign citizenship and thereby enjoy the extra privileges granted foreign nationals.

Although ports and cities, such as Izmir, Alexandria, and Beirut, grew in size, the majority of the population remained rural and continued to maintain their traditional lifestyles. In urban areas, especially in coastal cities where there were growing European populations, Ottoman elites adopted Western fashions in dress and emulated Western life styles in everything from the architecture of their homes and household furnishings to food, literature, and music.

The number of schools following Western educational models increased. Educational and social opportunities for women in urban areas improved. By the 1850s a teachers' training school for women had been established, and many secular schools replaced traditional religious ones. Missionary schools such as Roberts College (present-day Bogazici University) in Istanbul, Syrian Protestant College (present-day American University of Beirut) and the French Jesuit Université de St-Joseph in Beirut educated a new generation of liberal, Western-looking elites. Many of their graduates became leaders of the cultural reforms and nationalist movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A new elite emerged, including the young Ottomans, who supported political reforms and the creation of a constitutional monarchy and a parliament along Western lines.

However, no matter how committed Ottoman sultans and officials were to implementing these sweeping reforms, the Ottoman government simply could not provide enough qualified administrators or judges to implement the reforms. The effects of the reforms were most evident in urban and coastal areas. The vast rural hinterland remained largely untouched by the process of Westernization and secularization. As the economic and social gaps between the urban, Westernized elites and local middle class and the traditional, highly religious peasantry grew, societal tensions and conflict escalated.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS; YOUNG OTTOMANS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Texas War of Independence and the Alamo

Texans have long taken pride in their state's unique history as the only state in the Union to have fought for and achieved independence as a republic. For nearly 10 years, from April 1836 to December 1845, the Republic of Texas (or Lone Star Republic) existed as a sovereign nation-state—not recognized by Mexico for its illegal secession from the Estados Unidos Mexicanos (United Mexican States), and not annexed by the United States, despite the desire for annexation among many of its Anglo-American citizens. During this decade, the sectional divisions between North and South prevented Senate agreement on admission to the Union of another slave state.

The long-term roots of the Texas War of Independence lay in the rapid expansion westward of the southern cotton and slave plantation system, especially after the widespread adoption of Eli Whitney's cotton gin after 1793 and the LOUISIANA PURCHASE of 1803. Cotton monoculture was extremely destructive of soils, prompting slaveholding cotton growers to seek new lands to the west. In the 1810s and 1820s many were drawn to Alabama, Mississippi, and further west to the fertile valleys of East Texas. In late 1820 Moses Austin, a leading lead mining and manufacturing entrepreneur, received permission from the Spanish government to settle 300 Anglo-American families in present-day San Antonio. He died soon after.

Within the year, his son, Stephen F. Austin, secured permission for the settlement from the newly independent Mexican government. The colony's population grew rapidly. In 1830 the roughly 10,000 Anglo-American settlers in East Texas outnumbered Mexicans by around two to one.

On September 15, 1829, the Mexican government abolished slavery throughout the republic, including the territory of Texas, but the Anglo-American colonists ignored the law. They also ignored Mexican laws mandating adherence to Roman Catholicism,



Battle of the Alamo: The Mexican army overwhelmed and killed all the defenders of the Texan fort.

and an 1830 law banning further Anglo colonization of the territory.

Tensions mounted through the early 1830s. Following a series of armed clashes in 1832, the Texas settlers held conventions in 1832 and 1833 demanding reforms from the Mexican government. The pivotal moment came with the passage of the Siete Leyes (Seven Laws) in December 1835, amending the 1824 Mexican constitution, effectively curtailing the political autonomy of states and territories, including Texas. The Anglo-Texans rebelled, and on March 2, 1836, Texas declared independence from Mexico, naming David Burnet provisional president and Sam Houston supreme military commander. Mexican president JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA took to the field with some 6,000 troops. Crossing the Río Grande, he determined to take the San Antonio de Valero Mission in San Antonio de Béxar, also known as the Alamo, garrisoned by some 180 men under William B. Travis. After a two week siege, on March 6 the Mexican army overwhelmed and killed all the defenders, most famously Travis, Jim Bowie, and Davy Crockett. “Remember the Alamo!” became the rallying cry for the Texas army.

An even more consequential military episode took place several weeks later at the small town of Goliad, where several hundred troops under Texas colonel James W. Fannin surrendered to Mexican general José Urrea. To these were added prisoners from other engagements. All were ordered shot by Santa Anna. The infamous “Goliad Massacre” of March 27, 1836, in which an estimated 342 Texan prisoners were executed by firing squads, inflamed the passions of the

Texans. A few weeks later, in the decisive engagement of the war, on the afternoon of April 21, 1836, General Houston, at the command of some 900 men, launched a surprise attack on the Mexican army encamped on the banks of the San Jacinto River. The battle was over in less than 20 minutes. Houston later reported 630 Mexicans killed and 730 taken prisoner, with fewer than 40 Texan casualties. The next day, Santa Ana was found hiding in the brush, taken prisoner, compelled to sign two treaties effectively granting Texan independence, and sent back to Mexico City.

The Mexican government later refused to recognize Texan independence. Texas twice applied for annexation to the United States (in 1836 and 1844) but was prevented by a coalition of northern senators fearing the addition of another slave state to the Union. Texas joined the Union as the 28th state on December 29, 1845, its foundational mythologies becoming an integral part of the expanding nation's stock of shared stories—especially events at the Alamo—mythologies that glorified Anglo Texans' heroism, decried the treachery of the Mexicans, and elided the contradictions of a struggle for freedom waged by men holding slaves in perpetual bondage. The state's strong sense of nationalism endures to this day.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Tilak, B. G.

(1856–1920) *Indian nationalist leader*

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a prominent militant nationalist leader of the Indian freedom movement against British rule. He was born in Ratnagiri to a family of Brahmans in 1856. His father was an officer in the educational department. Tilak passed the bachelor of arts examination from Deccan College in 1879 and received a bachelor of law from Elphinston College, Bombay (now Mumbai).

He was one of the founders of the New English School, Pune, and taught there in 1880. The success of the school encouraged him and his colleagues to set up the Deccan Educational Society in October 1884, and the following year the society opened Fergusson College.

Tilak also led influential newspapers—*Kesari* and *Mahratta*, in Marathi and English respectively—in 1881.

Tilak was a radical in politics, but he was not a socialist. He opposed the Age of Consent Act of 1891, saying that the British were interfering in the social life of Hindus.

Tilak was strongly resistant to British rule, advocating an agenda of social conservatism and a return to a golden Hindu past. He became the extremist leader of Indian politics against moderates like G. K. GOKHALE. In the 1890s he championed the cause of peasants and criticized the plague prevention policies of the British government. Tilak was sentenced to prison for 18 months on charges of sedition.

Tilak was interested in the Indian National Congress (INC) right from its inception in 1885, and he was elected its joint secretary in 1895. He was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in the same year. When Viceroy Lord Curzon partitioned the province of Bengal in 1905, Tilak joined those who opposed it and plunged into a *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement to advocate a boycott on British goods. The agitation galvanized the masses in a boycott of foreign goods. Tilak and his supporters dominated the INC session of 1906, which endorsed the idea of *swaraj*, or self-government. The result was a split between moderates and the extreme nationalists at the Surat session of the INC in 1907, with Gokhale emerging as a leader of the moderates. In June 1908 Tilak was arrested in a bombing case and charged with sedition. Tilak defended himself brilliantly but was sentenced to six years of imprisonment.

After his release Tilak formed the Indian Home Rule League in 1916, which collaborated closely with the Home Rule League of Annie Besant. Both leagues demanded Home Rule or self-government for India after the end of World War I. Because the moderates and extremists of the Congress had realized that a split among them was not serving Indian freedom, Tilak and his supporters returned to Congress again in 1916.

Tilak was among those who signed the famous Lucknow Pact, which endorsed a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. He then went to England in 1918 to open a branch of the Home Rule League, garnering the support of many Labour party leaders. He caught pneumonia and died on August 1, 1920, in Bombay. His courage, patriotism, and devotion guided latter-day freedom fighters. Mohandas Gandhi honored him as the “maker of modern India.”

See also ALIGARH COLLEGE AND MOVEMENT; BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Tocqueville, Alexis de

(1805–1859) *French politician and philosopher*

Youngest son of an aristocratic Norman family, Alexis de Tocqueville became famous on two continents as an important supporter, interpreter, and critic of democracy. His books on the United States remain enduring analyses of the young republic. Born at the dawn of the Napoleonic era, Tocqueville would serve France during a period of great political upheaval as deputy and minister of foreign affairs. Ousted in the 1852 coup that launched the Second Empire, Tocqueville wrote an essential study of the origins, promise, and failures of the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Tocqueville was just 25 when he and lifelong colleague Gustave de Beaumont engineered an official trip to the United States in 1831. Their stated purpose was to investigate America's new systems of prison reform, which they did, visiting New York's Auburn and Sing Sing penitentiaries, among others. The two young lawyers planned also to ask a much larger question: Could American democracy be a political and social prototype for a still struggling France?

Beaumont was a distant relative of the Marquis de Lafayette, French hero of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, and Tocqueville had read the frontier stories of James Fenimore Cooper. Neither was yet fully fluent in English. During eight months in the United States, however, they connected with important Americans, including former President JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; saw slavery and racial discrimination firsthand; lamented the decline of the Native Americans; and toured formerly French Québec, lost to Britain in the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

In *Democracy in America*, appearing in two parts in 1835 and 1840, Tocqueville saw America as both a stunning success and a cautionary example of the dan-

gers inherent in a society where all assert equality. He described a restless nation, consumed by commercial values, and warned against tyranny of the majority. Yet he was impressed by American women's relative freedom, the boldness of newspapers, and Americans' propensity for forming voluntary associations.

In the Chamber of Deputies from 1839 to 1852, Tocqueville would work to end international slavery but also supported France's colonization of ALGERIA, even as he denounced misgovernance there, calling French policies "monstrous." In the tumultuous wake of Europe's REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, Tocqueville hoped to become minister of education but instead held the foreign affairs position for a hectic five months.

Essentially an exile in his own country after the ascension of NAPOLEON III, Tocqueville, by then ailing from tuberculosis, took up a topic that had long fascinated him: the Revolution during which his maternal grandfather was executed and his father arrested. The result, in 1856, was the publication of *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, a penetrating sociopolitical portrait of pre-1789 France. Like *Democracy in America*, the book was a financial and critical success.

Alexis de Tocqueville—dutiful aristocrat, public servant, supporter and skeptic of liberal democracy—died at age 54 and was buried in his ancestral village. Renowned at his death, Tocqueville gained new currency in the 1930s, as his writings helped people understand systems as diverse as Nazism and modern American society.

In recent years, admirers have retraced his American trip. In France, a Tocqueville Commission oversees his intellectual legacy, and the U.S. boasts a host of Tocqueville societies, many affiliated with private charitable initiatives.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS, AND ROLES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Tokugawa Shogunate, late

The late Tokugawa Shogunate (1853–67) witnessed the end of the Edo period in Japan, when the country emerged from a period of self-imposed isolation and

modernized from a feudal military society as a result of the MEIJI RESTORATION. The expedition of Commodore MATTHEW PERRY and other dealings with Western governments helped to expose the rift in Tokugawa society and the *bakuban* system between the *fudai daimyo* (feudal lords originally Tokugawa allies), who for nearly two centuries had been favored by the shoguns, and the *tozama* (later Tokugawa supporters), who had been largely excluded from the shogun's favor. It was the Choshu and Satsuma clans of the *tozama daimyo* that began a reaction in favor of the emperor and against the shogun Iesada. Two clans began to assert themselves against the shogunate: the Satsuma clan in southern Kyushu, and the Choshu in western Honshu. Their slogan "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians," became the battle cry of the movement to overthrow the Tokugawa *bakufu* (military government).

Politically, the Choshu and Satsuma samurai became known as the Imperial Loyalists. In 1857 the emperor Komei got a secret message to the Satsuma and Choshu clans asking for their support against the shogun. In a possible response to that message, in 1859, a Japanese scholar named Yoshida Shoin became involved in a plot to assassinate a representative of the shogun Iemochi. Because of this, he and an accomplice, Kusakabe, were taken by shogun authorities to Edo (now Tokyo), where they were beheaded for treason against the shogun in 1859.

Although the Choshu and Satsuma samurai competed for leadership of the Loyalist Cause, eventually they realized that by making common cause they stood a greater chance for success. In April 1863 Emperor Komei issued his "Order to expel barbarians," and the Choshu samurai forced the shogun to agree to expel all foreigners by July 1863, something which the Choshu leaders knew the Tokugawa were now powerless to do. Thus, they achieved their goal of making the Tokugawa appear even more politically irrelevant than before. At the same time, the Choshu and Satsuma clans, because of their wealth, were able to buy modern firearms from British traders, whose gun-running became a powerful force in what was to come.

Sakamoto Ryoma, a samurai from Tosa, was instrumental in brokering an alliance between the two competing clans in 1866. By this time, the Tokugawa Shogunate had been shown powerless a second—and fatal—time. In 1864 foreign ships had been able to blast a passage through the Shimonoseki Strait to open it to commerce, showing again that the shogun was a paper tiger. Even when Shogun Iemochi created his Shinsengumi, a special samurai corps, in 1863 to keep

his rule even by terror, little was accomplished. By 1866 the Choshu and Satsuma samurai were ripe for rebellion. A shogunal army was sent to restore order among the Choshu in the summer of 1866, but no other clans offered any assistance, and the Tokugawa army was forced to retreat.

In 1867 the two clans came out in open rebellion for the new Emperor Meiji, whose given name was Mutsuhito. In December 1867 the 15th, and last, Tokugawa shogun, Yoshinobu, was forced to surrender to the emperor. The Meiji Restoration of imperial power had taken place. In January 1868 Yoshinobu decided to attempt a final stand at Fushimi, where his forces were crushed. He surrendered to the imperial forces and formally opened Edo to the imperial troops. Emperor Meiji entered the city, and, thus, in January 1868 the Meiji Restoration of imperial power had taken place.

See also SATSUMA REBELLION; SINO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

Tongzhi (T'ung-chih) Restoration/Self-Strengthening Movement

The Treaty of Beijing (Peking; see AIGUN) of 1860 that ended the Second ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR and the suppression of the TAIPING and other rebellions in the 1860s gave the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY a reprieve. The adjustments and reforms in the post-1860 decades would give the dynasty a new lease on life. The dynastic revival began during the reign of Emperor Tongzhi (1862–74), hence the name Tongzhi Restoration. However, the era extended into the early part of his successor GUANGXU's reign; the expanded period of restoration is called the Self-Strengthening Movement.

Two groups of leaders emerged during this era beginning with the succession of the child Tongzhi. The first group was led by the child-emperor's uncle, PRINCE GONG (Kung), and the Manchu officials who assisted him in conducting foreign affairs. They saw to the implementation of the Treaties of Beijing with Britain, France, and Russia and established new institutions to deal with the Western world. They were the Zongli Yamen (Tsunqli Yamen, forerunner of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); the Superintendencies of Trade for the Northern and Southern Ports that supervised trade with the Western nations; the Tongwenguan (T'ung-wen kuan), a school to train students in Western languages and also to teach new subjects; and the Maritime Customs Service to collect customs as mandated by the treaties. Young men were also sent to study in the United States in the 1870s. Prince Gong also had works on international law translated into Chinese and sent retiring U.S. minister to China ANSON BURLINGAME and Chinese diplomats as roving ambassadors to Western nations to renegotiate treaties for China.

The second group of leaders was Han Chinese who worked with Prince Gong. They were governors of provinces and leaders of local armies that defeated various rebels and began a process of modernization in areas they governed. The foremost among them was ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan), who formed a militia to defend his native Hunan Province from the Taiping rebels. His able lieutenants, most notably LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) and ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-t'ang), also formed militias in Anhui and Zhejiang (Chekiang) Provinces.

Together these men defeated the Taiping Rebellion in 1864, the NIAN REBELLION in 1868, followed by the MUSLIM REBELLIONS. Zeng, Li, Zho and their colleagues were scholars-administrators-generals whose military victories were accompanied by genuine reforms based on traditional Confucian principles that led to economic recovery.

They, as well as Prince Gong, were also keenly aware of Western military and technological superiority and were quick to employ Western military experts such as CHARLES GORDON of Britain to train Chinese soldiers in Western techniques of fighting and the use of modern Western firearms. They additionally established new arsenals, shipyards, and factories to manufacture arms. As provincial governors, these men also strove to modernize China's economy by opening mines and building industries.

However, as China's defeat by France in 1885, and the much more catastrophic defeat by Japan in

1895 showed, the Self-Strengthening Movement failed effectively to modernize China and ensure its survival from imperialist encroachments. Many factors explain this failure. Foremost was the lack of leadership in the central government. Prince Gong was increasingly sidelined and finally dismissed by the ambitious and power-hungry mother of Tongzhi, the dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), whose extravagance and ignorance of the world plunged China into repeated disasters. For example, she siphoned funds intended for building a modern navy to build and furnish a summer palace for herself, with the result that the inadequately equipped fleet was destroyed by Japan in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR. Her corrupt minions pocketed the already inadequate funds needed for reforms and modernization. She also crushed the reform movement initiated by her nephew Emperor Guangxu in 1898, and finally her xenophobia led to the catastrophe of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

That she was able to abort all reform and self-strengthening initiatives and eliminate their leaders also showed the strength of conservatism among Chinese officials who clung to their visions of the past and rejected the modern world and reactionary Manchus who feared the loss of power. These men gave her support. Many other factors contributed to the long term failure of the attempt at dynastic revival. One was the huge size and diversity of China and the strength of its culture and traditions. Because China had in past eras been defeated by neighboring peoples, but had eventually absorbed and overpowered them, many failed to realize that the Western incursion was fundamentally different in nature and could not be dealt in the same way. Also, those "Restoration" movements in the past that had succeeded had invariably been led by a powerful national leader aided by dedicated lieutenants. Both Tongzhi and Guangxu came to the throne as very young boys (the latter was chosen and adopted by Cixi precisely because he was only three years old), necessitating long regencies. Thus, Cixi ruled China from 1862 until she died in 1908. By the time of her death, the Self-Strengthening Movement collapsed, and the European great powers and Japan were on the verge of carving up China.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Toussaint Louverture

(1744–1803) *Haitian rebel leader*

Symbol of slaves' struggles for freedom and dignity in the age of revolution, the onetime house slave Toussaint Louverture assumed leadership of the HAITIAN REVOLUTION soon after its outbreak in August 1791. For more than a decade Toussaint led the island's ex-slave insurgent forces—first as an independent rebel chieftain; then, after the French abolition of slavery on the island in 1793, on the side of the French against the British and Spanish; then, as a renegade French officer after the decision of NAPOLEON I to retake the island and reestablish slavery. In June 1802 at the height of the French invasion, Toussaint was betrayed by his own men, turned over to Napoleon's army, transported in chains to Brest, and then to Fort-de-Joux prison in the Jura Mountains in France. Within the year he died of privation and ill-treatment, though by this time his name had become legendary in his native Saint-Domingue (Haiti) and throughout much of the Atlantic world.

Toussaint's father was the son of a minor African chieftain, captured in war, sold into slavery, and transported to the French colony of Saint-Domingue, the most productive sugar-producing region in the world. At the time, more than 90 percent of the approximately 30,000 African slaves imported annually into Saint-Domingue toiled in the sugarcane fields and died within their first seven years. Thanks to luck and the benevolence of a kind master, Toussaint's father was among a tiny stratum of slaves who enjoyed certain freedoms and privileges. He converted to Catholicism, married, and was charged with cultivating a plot of land to provision the plantation near the northern port city of Cap-François. His eldest child, Toussaint Bréda as he was known, learned to read and write French and Latin, thanks to the tutelage of his godfather and neighbor, the house slave Pierre Baptiste. Reading Caesar's *Commentaries*, the writings of the Abbé Raynal, and

other works gave Toussaint a grounding in the nature of history and the politics of empire. He also became an herbalist and healer. Of unusual aptitude and intelligence, he assumed key responsibilities on his master's estate, including coachman and stock steward, and earned a reputation in the community as a man of rectitude and learning.

In September 1791, a month after the outbreak of the slave uprising that would engulf the island for more than a decade, "Old Toussaint" as he was known, age 45, abandoned his master's estate and joined the rebel ranks. Soon he became one of their top leaders. On April 29, 1793, the French abolished slavery throughout Saint-Domingue, hoping to quell the slave uprising and more effectively prosecute the war against the British and Spanish. Toussaint, who had changed his surname to Louverture ("the opening"), brought his 4,000-strong army to the French side. In 1796 he was named brigadier-general, in command of all French forces on Saint-Domingue. Under Toussaint's leadership, in April 1798, the British were finally driven from the island, after a five-year campaign and at the cost of some 25,000 British lives. Before departing, the British had encouraged Toussaint to rebel against the French and declare independence; he refused. In February 1799 a mulatto army led by André Rigaud rebelled against Toussaint; by August 1800 Toussaint had crushed Rigaud's rebellion.

Meanwhile Toussaint sought to restore some semblance of order to the island's economy. He revived its sugar plantations, compelled former slaves back to work as wage-earners, and promulgated a series of laws regarding labor, land ownership, and taxes. He also established diplomatic relations with the United States. Anticipating Napoleon's invasion, he purchased some 30,000 guns from the United States and distributed them among his forces. On January 26, 1801, he marched into Spanish Santo Domingo, unifying the island's eastern and western regions. He also promulgated a new constitution, permanently abolishing slavery and making Saint-Domingue effectively independent. On June 7, 1802, he was betrayed and turned over to the invading French. In the decades following his death in France, Toussaint's remarkable life became the subject of songs, stories, poems, novels, plays, and oral traditions that paid homage to the honor, courage, and martyrdom of the liberator of Haiti.

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A former slave, Toussaint Louverture led Haiti's insurgent ex-slaves against the British and Spanish.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

transcendentalism

In its 1836–46 heyday, the New England–based religious, intellectual, and social movement known as transcendentalism fostered a truly American literature and inspired important social reforms, including ABOLITION OF SLAVERY and new roles for women. Although it was never a mass movement, its adherents' attempts to harmonize human freedom with religious belief, social responsibility, and the natural order continue to resonate in today's American culture. Transcendentalism was deeply influenced by the romantic movement that swept Europe in the wake of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the FRENCH

REVOLUTION. Young Americans—children of the early 19th century—found themselves drawn to new ideas about how to interact with nature and find personal authenticity and wholeness. In so doing, they challenged old-line religious beliefs, questioned the growing INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, and energized emerging notions of American democracy. Well educated (many were Harvard graduates) and more urban than most Americans of their time, most who called themselves transcendentalists were clergy, writers, and teachers living in and near Boston.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

In the beginning what became known as transcendentalism was mainly a revolt against many of the teachings and assumptions of the New England religious establishment. As Massachusetts, established as a Puritan “City on a Hill” in the early 17th century, evolved toward Unitarianism in the early 19th century, some church leaders and members came to see their modern creed as excessively rationalistic and inadequate to modern challenges. Bostonian Ralph Waldo Emerson was destined to follow in his Unitarian minister father's respectable footsteps. When his 20-year-old wife died of tuberculosis in 1831, the young Harvard graduate was plunged into doubt, finding his own preaching of religious certitude of little comfort. Resigning his ministry at Boston's Second Unitarian Church, Emerson went to Europe, learning French, German, and Italian and meeting such key romantic advocates as essayist Thomas Carlyle and poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth.

By the 1830s the former minister was traveling the American lyceum circuit, preaching lay sermons to men and women seeking moral and intellectual improvement. In his famous 1841 lecture, “Self-Reliance,” Emerson urged people to think, and rethink, for themselves, saying “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines . . . To be great is to be misunderstood.” Revered and attacked, admired, imitated, and sometimes mocked as a disembodied “transparent eyeball,” Emerson was the intellectual and personal center of the coterie of like-minded thinkers and doers who were the transcendentalists. He is generally considered to be America's first public intellectual and first philosopher of the evolving republic.

OTHER IMPORTANT TRANSCENDENTALISTS

Emerson's circle was marked by deep intellectual and personal friendships that could at times become

competitive or even petty. Transcendentalism tried to unleash human potential rather than codify it, and transcendentalists tended toward independence rather than orthodoxy. In the process, adherents made important contributions to the slavery and labor questions of their day and rethought education and women's rights.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

The person most closely associated with Emerson, Thoreau is best known for his two-year experiment in natural living at Walden Pond and his formulation of "civil disobedience," the idea that free people of conscience can, and indeed must, refuse to go along with unjust government actions. A Harvard graduate like his mentor, Thoreau worked to develop practical skills and showed a real talent for making do with available resources. In important ways, he embodied the self-reliant man of Emerson's orations. Thoreau wrote his essay, "Resistance to Civil Government," after he was arrested at Walden in 1846 by Concord's sheriff for refusing (for a sixth time) to pay a poll tax because he felt it aided Massachusetts's participation in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, a war that many believed was being fought to preserve and expand slavery. "Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them . . . ?" Thoreau asked. "The authority of government . . . can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it." He served a night in jail; the essay became an inspiration for later activists.

MARGARET FULLER

Cofounder with Emerson of the influential but short-lived quarterly *The Dial*, Fuller was later an assistant editor and foreign correspondent for the *New-York Tribune* and one of America's earliest exponents of women's rights. In her essays and an influential 1845 book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, Fuller argued that the kinds of self-realization and personal fulfillment advocated by transcendental thinking must also be available to women. "As men become aware that all men have not had their fair chance," she wrote in the July 1843 *Dial*, "they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance." Fuller died in a shipwreck near New York as she returned from Italy with her husband and young son, who both also drowned.

THEODORE PARKER

Parker, a controversial minister, was forced out of the Unitarian Church. Although he had doubts about the intellectual equality of black people, he became an enthusiastic transcendentalist and a leader of the

antislavery movement. A foe of the Mexican War like Thoreau, Parker led opposition in the Boston area to federal efforts to enforce the new Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, going so far as to hide an escaped slave in his home. Even more controversially, he helped finance arms purchases that helped antislavery zealot John Brown and others fight slaveholding settlers in the disputed Kansas-Nebraska Territory and enabled Brown to launch his failed raid on a U.S. armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON

Born in Vermont, Brownson was a lifelong religious seeker who ultimately became a Roman Catholic. During his years as an important transcendentalist, Brownson focused on inequitable treatment of workers, both free and enslaved. A socialist and editor of his own Boston-based journal, Brownson saw the gap between the wealthy and laboring classes growing disastrously in violation of God's law and the supposed equality promised by American democracy. "What in one word is this American system?" he asked in 1840. "Is it not the abolition of all artificial distinctions, all social advantages founded on birth or any other accident, and leaving every man to stand on his own feet . . . ?"

BRONSON ALCOTT

Best known today as the often-absent father of *Little Women* author Louisa May Alcott, the self-educated Alcott pioneered new educational methods, some of which have continued to influence American schooling. Children, he believed, should not be forced to learn a rigid curriculum but taught ways to open their minds to a world of knowledge. The child, he wrote, "is the Book. The operations of his mind are the true system." Although his ideas were controversial, partly because he disdained corporal punishment, Alcott was eventually appointed superintendent of Concord's public schools. Less successful was Fruitlands, the agricultural community Alcott and a British friend founded in a rural Massachusetts town in 1843. It lasted just six months, done in by rules that included cold-water showers, strict vegetarianism, sexual abstinence, and opposition to animal exploitation so strict that colonists could not use horses or oxen to clear land for farming.

GEORGE RIPLEY AND THE BROOK FARM EXPERIMENT

Brook Farm, an experiment in communal living on a transcendental plane, proved more durable than

Alcott's Fruitlands but collapsed in 1847 after six years of financial struggle, infighting, a disastrous fire, and a smallpox outbreak. Located on a 200-acre West Roxbury, Massachusetts, dairy farm, the "colony" was the brainchild of Unitarian minister George Ripley, his wife, Sophia, and other committed transcendentalists.

In the wake of 1837's socially destructive U.S. financial panic, ideas of economic self-sufficiency, the ennoblement of manual labor, and the in-gathering of likeminded intellectuals seemed especially appealing. Brook Farm's founders were also influenced by the social thought of Frenchman Charles Fourier, whose American adherents would eventually gain control of this experiment in group living.

Although Emerson was unenthusiastic about Ripley's proposed "city of God," planning proceeded apace in 1840–41. During a very cold and wet spring, the Ripleys and a dozen supporters—most lacking any agricultural experience whatsoever—took up residence at the farm. In 1842 a school of college-preparatory caliber was established at Brook Farm, attracting some of the cream of New England society as students and teachers. The settlement quickly became a magnet for tourists, transcendentalists, and Fourierists, but its poor soil and inadequate financing, as well as a series of disasters, led to its demise. As the community failed, George Ripley auctioned off his personal library in a vain effort to save the foundering utopian enterprise.

LITERARY RENAISSANCE

Emerson immersed himself in the ideas, poetry, and literature of early 19th-century Europe, but he and other transcendentalists were also convinced that their countrymen and -women must and could create a uniquely American voice in all the arts, especially fiction and poetry. Eventually, writers who were not always best sellers in their own time would be canonized by 20th-century critics and are still considered among the most important the United States ever produced.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

An early settler and major investor in Brook Farm, Hawthorne was the descendant of Puritan elders, among them participants in the Salem witch trials. In 1852, 10 years after he spent more than six months milking cows and spreading manure, he satirized Brook Farm in his novel *The Blithedale Romance*. More important were novels such as *The Scarlet Letter* and short stories, including "Young Goodman Brown," in

which Hawthorne examined darker aspects of theology and human behavior.

HERMAN MELVILLE

A strong admirer and interpreter of Hawthorne's work, Melville, a New Yorker, first gained notice as the writer of popular seafaring stories based on his own experiences. His later stories and novels, including "Bartleby the Scrivener," *Benito Cereno*, and *Moby-Dick* (dedicated to Hawthorne) were much bleaker, exploring issues of slavery, race, and madness before and after the CIVIL WAR. His sales languished during his lifetime but were revived by positive critical attention in the 1920s and later.

WALT WHITMAN

Born on a failing Long Island farm, Whitman was an itinerant teacher, printer, and editor whose poetry collection, *Leaves of Grass*, later much expanded, burst on the scene in 1855. "I greet you at the beginning of a great career," Emerson wrote to the previously unknown poet days after its publication. Emerson viewed Whitman as the ideal poet he had proposed in an 1844 essay. An active opponent of slavery, Whitman used his poetry to mourn the violence of war as he nursed injured Union soldiers.

His poem "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" lamented ABRAHAM LINCOLN's assassination. Whitman's poetry celebrated ordinary men and women. That, and his radical use of free verse—characterized by some as "barbaric yawp"—became key aspects of his truly "American" poetics.

ENDURING SIGNIFICANCE

Always controversial in its own time, transcendentalism gained new respect and importance in the 20th century, as educators, literary critics, and social activists found in its teachings and experiments new energy and new lessons for the United States and other societies. In Thoreau, such social critics as Mohandas K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and American anti-Vietnam war protestors found inspiration and justification for their opposition to colonialism, racism, and arrogant political power. Educational programs that seem to borrow from the child-centered focus of Alcott and others have met both praise and scorn in America and Europe. Emersonian concepts of self-reliance and personal fulfillment, sometimes credited with improving American public life, have also been blamed for encouraging a "culture of narcissism." Transcendentalism continues to transcend its own historical place and time.

See also FINANCIAL PANICS IN NORTH AMERICA; WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS, AND ROLES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Triple Alliance and Triple Entente (1882)

Between 1882 and 1914 western Europe divided between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. The division allowed the preservation of an uneasy peace despite periodic disruptions, particularly in the Balkans.

The map of Europe experienced major alterations in 1871 with the creation of the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy. Under OTTO VON BISMARCK Germany's main foreign policy goal was to keep France from becoming strong enough to take revenge for the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870–71) defeat and to fulfill its desire to retake Alsace and Lorraine. Germany allied with Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Three Emperors' League. Russia and Austria-Hungary, however, were at odds with one another over the Balkans and the Russian-backed Pan-Slavic movement, which threatened to break up the multinational Austria-Hungary by unifying Slavs. Pan-Slavism became a greater menace after the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) created a Bulgarian state. The CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878 broke the Three Emperors' League. In 1879 Bismarck and Austria-Hungary formed the secret Dual Alliance.

Germany and Austria-Hungary shared extensive common borders. Many regions of Austria were German-speaking, and both wanted to expand; Austria particularly had territorial ambitions in the Balkans. However, Austria was a fading empire, while Germany was young and ambitious. Germany soon dominated the alliance.

Italy joined the Dual Alliance to form the Triple Alliance in 1882. Italy was an off-and-on enemy of Austria because it coveted the same lands, but France occupied Tunisia in 1881 and blocked Italy's ambitions for an African empire. The Triple Alliance eased differences between Italy and Austria and gave Italy promises of aid against French aggression. Italy's

promise of aid against French attack helped Germany, whose agreement with Austria had no mutual assistance provision.

The treaty was secret and temporary. The signatories renewed it in 1887 and 1903. In 1903 Italy canceled its promise to assist Germany against a French attack. In 1902 France secretly gave Italy free rein in Tripoli (present-day Libya in North Africa), thereby ending Italy's anger at France. Italy was free to resume its rivalry with Austria in the Adriatic.

In 1882 Serbia joined a treaty with Austria-Hungary. Romania joined in 1883. The result was a powerful bloc in central Europe. Such a powerful combination called for a counterweight, and the powers on the periphery—France, Russia, and Britain—responded accordingly.

The Triple Alliance collapsed in 1914 at the onset of World War I when Italy argued that Serbia committed no aggression and declined to join her partners in war. The remaining alliance powers held together against the Triple Entente.

When Germany refused to renew its treaty with Russia, Russia turned to France, which wanted an ally against a united and hostile central Europe. The two signed an understanding in 1891, a military agreement in 1893, and the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance of 1894, made public in 1895.

Germany under Wilhelm II was aggressively seeking colonies and building a powerful navy. In response, the traditionally standoffish Britain sought allies. France was a traditional enemy and current rival in Africa. Anti-German Théophile Delcasse became French foreign minister in 1898. In 1901 Francophile Edward VII became king of Great Britain. In 1904 France and Britain signed the Entente Cordiale, an agreement of friendship but not military aid. After Russia lost the Russo-Japanese War, English rivalries with Russia in Asia cooled. Russia joined the Triple Entente in 1907. Europe, therefore, was divided and ready for an event that would spark a major confrontation.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Tunisia under French rule

In 1881 a French expeditionary force attacked Tunisia from Algeria and along the coast. The French forced the local ruling bey, Muhammad al-Sadiq, to sign the Treaty of Bardo that agreed to a French occupation of Tunisia. France was interested in controlling Tunisia in order to guard the eastern border with Algeria (already under French control) and to stop Italian expansion into North Africa.

During the CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878, the British and Germans had agreed to French control over Tunisia. Meanwhile, the British expanded their imperial control over Egypt, in 1881–82.

The resident-minister Paul Cambon legalized the French position with the Convention of Marsa in 1883, whereby Tunisia became a French protectorate. Although the position of the bey was retained, the French appointed a resident-general who became the real ruler of Tunisia. The French legal system was introduced, and the monetary system was based on the French franc. A customs union with France was established, and the French exercised a monopoly over tobacco plantations.

Tunisia was divided into military and political zones with civil controllers. The government allowed immigrants from France and Italy settle in Tunisia, but unlike the situation in Algeria, where French *colons* often received free land, in Tunisia European settlers had to buy the land. Italian immigrants outnumbered French settlers until the 1930s. Under the French, areas of cultivation, particularly vineyards for the production of wine, a substance forbidden to the majority Muslim Tunisian population, were expanded. The French

also supported the growth of industry and the mining of phosphates while modernizing and expanding the ports and railway systems. Education was based on the French model, with French as the primary language and Arabic as the second language. Vocational schools were established on the elementary level, but state schools took only a small percentage of children. The vast differences in education and social opportunities afforded European settlers and the indigenous Tunisian population contributed to urban elite Tunisians trying to reestablish their identity. Some advocated assimilating Western technology and political approaches and cooperating with the French regime. Others favored reviving Islamic traditions and customs.

Shaikh Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'alibi founded a newspaper in 1895 in which these ideas were discussed. Al-Tha'alibi became one of the foremost leaders of the first generation of Tunisian nationalists. Tunisian nationalism flourished as Tunisians resisted French rule. A young Tunisian educated elite also emerged from Sadiqiyya College, which had been established during KHAYR AL-DIN's administration in the mid-19th century; many Sadiqiyya graduates became the leaders of the Tunisia nationalist movement in the 20th century.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY



ultramontanism

Ultramontanism literally means “over the mountains,” and it implies that there are two views of how the Catholic Church should be governed. One view sees leadership as a centralized and unified papacy (in Rome, over the Alps from the rest of Europe) and the other looks for local control and a national church (the church of France or Germany or any other country). Ultramontanism is the former view; Gallicanism is the latter.

For centuries, theologians had speculated on the position and authority of the Roman papacy, and often the pope was seen as the center and coordinator of the whole church. The urgency of these thoughts became apparent as the Protestant reformation began and challenged church unity.

The first phase of ultramontanism is often called Romanism. It was promulgated by the forces of the Counter-Reformation and later championed by Robert Bellarmine. The bishops of the Council of Trent swallowed their objections to the claims of the papacy if only to stem the tide of Protestant defections among their flocks. Ironically, Trent reformed the Catholic Church by depositing even greater powers in the pope.

Momentum returned to the Catholic Church as a result of Romanist ultramontanism. All countries adopted it at least externally, even the actively independent regions of France and Germany. The Jesuit order served Romanism well, with its worldwide efforts to propagate the Catholic faith now held together by a focus on the

pope. Some of its characteristics include a strong hierarchy; a restriction of access to foundational texts like the Bible, the liturgy, and even theological texts; a folk piety that celebrated feasts, the “Sacred Heart,” and Marian devotions; and an expansionistic faith opposed to toleration of sects and supportive of conversions.

As time went on, the Romanists lost ground to the Gallicanism, as promoted by the likes of Louis XIV of France. At this time the word *ultramontanism* came into parlance, as national church identities revived and the enthusiasm of the Protestants waned. All this changed with the FRENCH REVOLUTION, when the monarchy and its Gallican agents were deposed.

Again, the need for a strong papacy was felt, giving birth to the next phase called neo-ultramontanism. Many Catholics believed that the French Revolution’s anticlericalism and godless ideology were a direct result of the Protestant reformation as intensified later by the ENLIGHTENMENT. This phase witnessed at times flirtation with liberal ideals of democracy among the laity, but with the REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, ultramontanism became soundly autocratic in its support of the papacy.

Pope PIUS IX led the Catholic Church into the first VATICAN I COUNCIL and rejected not only Gallicanism but all forms of liberal Catholicism. Among the ultramontanist positions it adopted were an emphasis on the juridical role of the pope over his supernatural role, more emotional devotions toward such things as the Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin Mary, a focus on Marian apparitions and pilgrimages, and attention on the centralized and authoritative church under the pope.

Between Vatican I and Vatican II, ultramontanism was effectively synonymous with orthodox Catholicism. Today the victory is so complete that the term has largely fallen out of usage.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

Urabi revolt in Egypt

The Urabi revolt was a nationalist-led movement that led to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. When ISMAIL was forced to step down as khedive, Tewfik, a weak pro-British ruler, replaced him in 1879. Under the Caisse de la Dette, government revenues went to repay the enormous debts Ismail's overly ambitious building schemes had incurred. This resulted in economic hardships, particularly in the agricultural sector where most Egyptians worked as peasant, or fellaheen, farmers. Cutbacks in military expenditures led to public discontent in the army that fueled nationalist sentiments. Secret nationalist societies were also formed.

In 1880 army officers led by Ahmed Urabi drew up a petition listing their grievances, particularly failures to pay their salaries in a timely fashion. The officers also forestalled their possible arrest on the orders of Tewfik by storming the war ministry. In 1881 Urabi accompanied with a large group of demonstrators gathered outside Abdin Palace in Cairo, where Urabi presented the demands to Tewfik. Flanked by the English financial controller, Tewfik met with Urabi and agreed to the demands that included the writing of a new constitution. A negotiated settlement was reached through the intermediary efforts of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, an English aristocrat and traveler. A new constitution and parliament were duly formed. To Tewfik's displeasure, the parliament demanded control over Egypt's finances, and Urabi was made defense minister.

In London, British officials felt it was time to formalize British control in Egypt. Riots in Alexandria caused widespread panic among the Europeans living in the city and resulted in a number of deaths in 1882. The British used the riots as an excuse to move ships into Alexandria's harbor. They then demanded that

Urabi, who was in actual control of the government, to halt all military preparations. When Urabi predictably refused, the British bombarded the city and landed troops. The British defeated the Egyptian army in a surprise attack at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir and within a day had occupied Cairo. Urabi surrendered and was subsequently tried for treason. Blunt, who opposed the British occupation, arranged for Urabi's defense by English counsel, but the verdict was a foregone conclusion.

Fearing that Urabi might become a martyr to the nationalist cause if he were executed, the British arranged for his exile to Ceylon. Urabi was permitted to return in 1901 to Egypt, where he lived in virtual anonymity until his death in 1911. After some debate, the British government decided to retain its control over the Egypt, and the British were to remain a major political and military power in Egypt until a military-led revolution in 1952.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Uruguay, creation of

Uruguay is a buffer state sandwiched between the two giants of South America—Argentina and Brazil. During the colonial period, Spain and Portugal fought over control of the area, and their former respective colonies, Argentina and Brazil, later took over the quarrel.

The first Spaniard in what is now Uruguay was Juan Díaz de Solís, when he explored the Río de la Plata. His death at the hands of Indians set the stage for a two-century-long struggle after the western shore of Buenos Aires across the estuary was settled in 1580; Uruguay did not receive permanent settlements. For a time some Jesuits attempted religious missions and faced opposition from the Charruas, the fierce tribe who occupied the area that became Uruguay. The native population was not subdued and was instead essentially eliminated



Plaza de Constitución in the capital of Montevideo, Uruguay, at the turn of the century. Located between Argentina and Brazil, Uruguay has been a buffer state between its more powerful neighbors.

by 1800. There were no permanent settlements by the Spaniards in the 17th century.

Into this vacuum came the Portuguese. Having been under Spanish rule between 1580 and 1640, and not formally independent until 1667, the Portuguese wanted to make up for lost time, especially in their largest colony of Brazil. In 1688 the Portuguese began a colony called appropriately Colonia in what is now northern Uruguay. They based their claim on the Treaty of Tordesillas and the papal bull of 1494, which gave Portugal claim to Brazil. The Portuguese argued that the territory was an extension of Brazil, specifically its province Rio Grande do Sol (the area around São Paulo) that resembled what is present-day Uruguay in terms of climate and topography.

The Spanish countered when they established Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, on the eastern

shore of Uruguay. Colonia was taken and retaken several times in the ensuing century as Spain and Portugal struggled over the territory between the Río de la Plata and the Uruguay River, which came to be called the Banda Oriental del Uruguay, on the eastern shore of Uruguay.

When the War of Independence began in 1810, a native of Uruguay, Artigas, took control of the independence movement of the Spanish provinces of the Plata region, such as Buenos Aires and Cordova (the heart of modern-day Argentina). With his power, he was able to propose a federal system of all of the Plata provinces, which included the autonomy of the Banda Oriental.

In 1816 the Portuguese, still in possession of Brazil, invaded the country on the pretext of trying to restore order. The people of the Banda, or Uruguay as the province came to be called, had become independent

and resisted the Portuguese for four years until they were finally overcome.

By 1825 the Portuguese had withdrawn from Brazil, and Uruguay again assumed its independence and, with Argentine aid, obtained it after a war with Brazil formally ended by the Treaty of Montevideo in 1828. This became reality in 1830 when a republic was established. Uruguay was aided by the turmoil existing in Brazil during the minority of Don Pedro before 1841. In addition, Brazil was struggling to overcome the secession attempt of Rio Grande do Sol.

After 1830 Argentina, under JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, dictator of Buenos Aires, was the threat to Uruguay as it sought to unite all the Plata provinces under its leadership. The country kept its integrity through the military and naval successes of Garibaldi at San Antonio and Cerro were successful in safeguarding the independence of Uruguay, ironically with some Brazilian aid in the 1840s. From 1843 to 1851 allies of Rosas blockaded Montevideo, but by 1851 the siege had ended. By that date, Argentina and Brazil accepted the independent existence of Uruguay as long as the other party did not control it. Uruguay was the result of the balance of power between the two giants.

See also BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE TO REPUBLIC IN; LATIN AMERICA, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

Usman Dan Fodio

(1754–1817) *West African reformer*

Usman Dan Fodio, also known by the Hausa honorific *shehu* (sheikh), was a West African scholar and religious reformer of the Fulani ethnic group who led a successful early 19th-century Islamic jihad in Hausaland, modern-day northern Nigeria. The jihad led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the most significant 19th-century independent African state, with regard to both size and impact on the local region's history.

Usman Dan Fodio was born in 1754 at Maratta within the Hausa state of Gobir but spent his formative years in the town of Degel. His father was a learned member of the Qadiriyya Sufi order and provided Usman and his brother Abdullahi with the highest Islamic education available to them. In the traditional Islamic manner, he traveled throughout Hausaland and as far away as the Saharan city of Agadez, studying under various teachers. At around age 20, he became an itinerant preacher and teacher while still completing his studies. In Degel, he quickly gained a following of devoted disciples, which encouraged him to travel to other Hausa states, where he met with further success in attracting students. Emboldened, he and his followers began calling on the nominal Muslim rulers in Hausaland to accept and practice orthodox Islam and remove non-Islamic customs and rituals from their courts. Dan Fodio went further and called into question the local rulers' taxation and enslavement of his Fulani brethren, as well as the arbitrary confiscation of peasant property. The *shehu's* growing following and the social and political arguments he raised put him at odds with much of the ruling class in Hausaland. Thus, he was forced to flee Degel when the sultan of Gobir sent forces against him.

In 1804 the *shehu* and his followers regrouped. He was named *amir al-mumineen*, or commander of the faithful, and announced a call for a jihad campaign against Gobir. Years prior to this call, the *shehu* had had a series of visions in which he believed that the prophet Muhammad and Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, founder of the Qadiriyya order, instructed him to pick up the "Sword of Truth" in order for his followers to defend themselves from increasingly hostile rulers. Filled with conviction and fervor, an army of inferiorly armed Fulani scholars, clansmen, and Hausa peasants set forth to destroy the larger, better-equipped army of the sultan of Gobir. The *shehu* never led an army nor fought in a battle; his role was purely spiritual and consultative. He left the military campaigning to his generals, including his brother Abdullahi and son Muhammadu Bello.

The *shehu's* forces won a series of decisive battles and within four years had gained control of almost all of Hausaland and much of neighboring Bornu. From this amalgamation of lands was created the Sokoto Caliphate. In 1812 the *shehu* split rule of the Sokoto Caliphate between Abdullahi and Muhammadu Bello, and he withdrew into a scholarly and spiritual life. He continued teaching and writing but remained distant from the political dealings within the caliphate.

A key element throughout Dan Fodio's reform movement was his writings. He authored more than 100 works in both his native Fulfulde and Arabic; some of his works were later translated into Hausa but were not originally written in that language. Most works were prose, but a substantial portion were in verse. One of his early works clarified that anyone who subscribed to the religion and carried out their religious duties was a Muslim and deserved all rights and freedoms to be afforded to the brethren, including slaves who were Muslim. This was not the traditional practice in Hausaland at the time, which allowed for lower-class Muslims to be enslaved.

Some of his most important works were written during the jihad, which established the ground rules for warfare and defined those who were to be considered Muslim (nontargets of jihad) and those who were non-Muslims (targets of jihad). This was important, since all of the leaders the jihad was directed against were at least nominally Muslim. However, Dan Fodio made clear that if rulers allowed non-Muslim practices in their lands or deviated from strict orthodoxy, they were legitimate targets of his campaign. In this regard, he drew from a controversial discussion some three centuries earlier between Askia Muhammad Touré, ruler of the Songhai Empire, and the scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, when the former was expanding the holdings his empire into some areas having nominal Muslim rul-

ers, including Hausaland. After the jihad was completed and the Sokoto Caliphate established, the *shehu's* works showed moderation and more tolerance of non-Islamic practices occurring within state boundaries.

Usman Dan Fodio died in the capital city of Sokoto in April 1817, leaving a legacy of 37 children and hundreds of grandchildren who continued to be important players in the political, social, and religious landscape of Sokoto for generations. This included his daughter Asma'u, a prolific writer and important chronicler of the jihad and the development of Sokoto. Usman Dan Fodio's ideas for Islamic reformation in West Africa remained influential well into the late 19th century, manifesting themselves in the continued spread of Islam and sporadic calls to jihad.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON



Vatican I Council (1869–1870)

Pope Pius IX began laying the groundwork for the first Vatican Council in late 1864. He intended to consult various bishops throughout the world concerning whether the church should convene an ecumenical council and what its agenda should be. The responses were favorable enough that Pius IX announced on June 26, 1867, his intention to summon the Council. On June 29, 1868, a proclamation, or bull, was written announcing December 8, 1869, as the day the Council would solemnly begin.

Throughout Europe and America, critics asserted that the pope's hidden agenda was to promote papal infallibility.

On the eve of the Council, however, official papers showed the following agenda: errors resulting from Rationalism; the Church of Christ; Christian marriage; church discipline concerning bishops, dioceses, seminaries, catechism, rituals, Christian morals, customs of the church year, and current developments in society such as dueling, spiritualism and secret societies; decrees on religious orders; and concerns involving the Eastern Churches.

In addition, many Catholic bishops throughout the world demanded that a dogma concerning the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary be addressed, that St. Joseph be proclaimed Patron of the Universal Church, and that the infallibility of the pope be clearly defined. A document concerning infallibility was not found in any of the drafts of preparation.

The preliminary gathering for Vatican I began as close to 500 bishops met in the Sistine Chapel on December 2, 1869. Approximately 74 percent of the eligible 1,050 worldwide prelates played some role in the nine-month proceedings. All told, the Council Fathers sat at 89 general congregations and four public sessions.

The first debate of the council was on the errors resulting from rationalism. This philosophy places human reason as the supreme criterion of truth. It flows from the teachings of Gottfried Leibniz and Christian Wolff and can be characterized by spiritualism, dogmatism, and determinism. The church wished to address the weaknesses of these philosophies and offer a Catholic response to them.

The next topics to be discussed concerned bishops, dioceses without a bishop, morality among clerics, and a catechism. These items were sidelined throughout the proceedings by the growing desire among many of the bishops for a statement on papal infallibility. Meanwhile, pressures were being felt by the bishops that impeded the progress of the council, so the pope made some procedural changes that expedited decision making. One important result was the “constitution,” *De Fide Catholica*, promulgated on April 24, 1870.

Finally, on May 9, participants received a draft of *De Romano Pontifice*, a document that spelled out the dogma of papal infallibility. Debate about this issue continued through June and into July. On July 4 the debate ended, and a vote was called for July 13. By this time many bishops had left Rome on hearing the news



A photo of the Vatican taken during the Vatican I Council. The Council was created by Pope Pius IX as a way to discuss issues within the Catholic Church. While initially controversial, the meetings were eventually accepted by most of the world's Catholic population.

about an imminent war between France and Germany. The remaining fathers voted 75 percent affirmative, another 10 percent affirmative with conditions, and 15 percent negative. On July 18 the pope personally presided over the Council and a last vote was taken. The results of the vote were 433 to 2 in favor of the document, and it was immediately promulgated.

On September 8 troops from Piedmont entered the Papal States, and by September 20 they had reached Rome. Pius IX would from that day forward be a self-imposed prisoner in the Vatican.

Unfortunately, the council did not address a large number of drafts and proposals due to the political situation that brought Vatican I to a premature end. However, two constitutions were promulgated, and these are of great importance to the Catholic Church.

De Fide Catholica fortified Rome's defense against the errors of atheism, materialism, and rationalism. It affirmed that God exists as a personal and all-knowing God, creating everything from nothing and leading everything to its end. This God can be known by reason, is revealed in Scripture and in tradition, and can be made known to the world by miraculous occurrences. Faith and knowledge support each other and are entrusted to the church to defend and interpret.

De Romano Pontifice teaches that the primacy of the pope brings unity and strength to the entire church.

This primacy is one of true pastoral jurisdiction to which all clergy and faithful are bound in obedience. This primacy strengthens and defends local bishops in their ministry. No secular power can interfere with these duties.

Nonetheless, critics of the council emerged in the form of minor reactions and schisms. In Germany, the "Old Catholics" sect arose, and in Switzerland the "Christian Catholics" formed. After the war between France and Germany, the German government used the infallibility doctrine as a reason to encourage *Kulturkampf* ("Culture Struggle," or Secularization). Austria annulled its concordat with the Holy See. Other than these few occurrences, the decisions of Vatican I did not result in objections throughout the world.

On December 8, 1870, Pius IX finally declared St. Joseph as Patron of the Universal Church. Subsequent popes would challenge many of the moral and religious problems that were not addressed by Vatican I, including masonry, human freedom, Christian marriage, forbidden books, and the codification of canon law.

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WILLIAM J. TURNER

Victor Emmanuel II

(1830–1878) *king of Italy*

Victor Emmanuel II was born on March 14, 1830, in Turin, the eldest son of Charles Albert, king of Piedmont-Sardinia, and Maria Theresa of Habsburg-Lorraine. During the first Italian War of Independence (1848–49), Victor Emmanuel fought alongside his father, seeing action at Pastrengo, Santa Lucia, Goto, and Custoza where, on July 24–25, 1848, the Sardinian forces were driven from Lombardy.

On March 23, 1849, Charles Albert was forced to abdicate the throne after being defeated at the Battle of Novara on March 23—he went into exile in Portugal and died four months later—and Victor Emmanuel became king. He managed to negotiate a peace agreement with the Austrians on August 9, 1849, but the Piedmont Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify it. Victor Emmanuel responded by sacking the prime minister, Claudio Gabriele de Launay, and replacing him with Massimo D’Azeglio. New elections were held, and the new chamber ratified the treaty.

In 1852 Victor Emmanuel appointed Count CAMILLO DI CAVOUR as prime minister, and together they were to be involved in the Italian Risorgimento—the reunification of Italy—along with MAZZINI and GARIBALDI. To achieve this, Cavour persuaded the king that there should be an alliance with the British and the French, and the opportunity arose with the outbreak of the CRIMEAN WAR. Piedmont sent over a small contingent.

Then Victor Emmanuel reached an agreement with the French emperor NAPOLEON III at Plombières in 1858, where Piedmont and France would take part in an attack on Austria and the former would get the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia and the French would be given Nice and Savoy. However, the fighting began badly for the French, with France getting Nice and Savoy, but Piedmont only gaining Lombardy. Cavour resigned, but Victor Emmanuel was able to get Naples and Sicily, in plebiscites, to vote to join Sardinia-Piedmont, and on February 18, 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was established.

In 1866 Venice was added to Italy, and in 1871 the Papal States were annexed, with Rome as the capital.

The taking of Rome was only possible with the French being involved in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. It also led to Victor Emmanuel being excommunicated. This was reversed in 1878, just before Victor Emmanuel’s death on January 9, 1878. He was succeeded by his son, Umberto, who reigned until 1900.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Victoria

(1819–1901) *queen of Great Britain, empress of India*

Queen Victoria was born May 24, 1819, acceded to the throne on June 20, 1837 (succeeding William IV), and died January 22, 1901 (succeeded by Edward VII). The woman who wore the crown of the United Kingdom through six decades of great political, economic, and social change in Britain and elsewhere might never have been born at all were it not for a dynastic crisis in 1817. That year, Princess Charlotte, the daughter of the Prince of Wales and second in line to inherit the throne, died due to complications from giving birth, during which her baby also died. Despite the fact that George III and his queen had 15 children, 12 of whom were still alive in 1817, Charlotte had been their only surviving legitimate grandchild.

There were many illegitimate children, such as Prince William’s 10 Fitz Clarences, but these were excluded from the succession. Charlotte’s death thus created a major problem for the Hanoverian line. The king was an incapacitated old man, and his children were mostly unmarried and all in their 40s and 50s, not the prime time to start a family. Nevertheless, the solution was for the unmarried sons of George III to leave their mistresses behind, marry women of appropriate status, and serve their country by producing as many living heirs as possible. As an incentive, Parliament agreed to alleviate some of the debts of the princes if they would settle into family life.

Prince Edward Augustus, the duke of Kent and Strathearn, the father of Queen Victoria, had both financial problems and a mistress. His long, stable, and loving relationship with the French gentlewoman Julie de St. Laurent was practically a common-law marriage, but this counted for nothing in the royal succession. Legislation such as the Settlement Act of 1701 and the

Royal Marriages Act of 1772 placed major restrictions on the choice of marriage partners for members of the royal family, and as a French Catholic without suitable pedigree, Julie was an inappropriate choice on many counts. So Edward, like virtually all of his brothers, went looking for a German Protestant princess to take as his wife. He found Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, a widow and the sister of Prince Leopold, the widower of Princess Charlotte. The couple was married in 1818, and Victoria was born in May 1819. Within a matter of months, other hastily arranged royal matches also produced children, but since none from the more senior dynastic lines survived infancy, Victoria was soon considered to be the most likely grandchild of George III to inherit the throne.

The old king died early in 1820, followed within a week by the duke of Kent. Victoria was thus fatherless from infancy. Her mother, the duchess of Kent, sought to keep her isolated from the courts of both George IV and William IV, partly because she wished to shield her daughter from the corruption of courtly life and partly due to chilly personal relations between the duchess and most of the royal family. Later in life, Victoria would remember George, William, and the other sons of George III as her “wicked uncles.”

The young princess also faced problems closer to home. Her mother was loving but domineering, and she was guided by Sir John Conroy, a former equerry of the duke who became comptroller of the household. There were rumors that Conroy was the duchess’s lover, but in any case, he certainly carried a great deal of influence over her. The two sought increasingly higher pensions from the government (which they would manage on the young princess’s behalf) and also tried to ensure that they would have complete control of the regency if Victoria came to the throne before she turned 18.

The two people to whom Victoria looked for guidance and compassion were her German governess, Baroness Lehzen, and her maternal uncle, Prince LEOPOLD. In 1830 Leopold was chosen to become king of the newly independent Belgium, and he continued to provide his niece with advice and support throughout his life.

ERA OF GREAT CHANGES

In the summer of 1837 William IV died, secure in the knowledge that Victoria had passed her 18th birthday, and would no longer be subject to the domination of her mother and Conroy. Victoria came to the throne in an era of great changes. A number of European countries had experienced political revolutions in 1830; the

British political landscape had been altered by the 1832 Reform Bill and other initiatives of the Whig government, paving the way for popular demands for even further change, in the form of the Chartist movement. The INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION was changing the British economy and the condition of its cities and people. Practical, steam-driven railways were barely a decade old, but the network of rails rapidly spread across the country. Some people worried that a young “girl” (in the parlance of the time) could not effectively rule a modern, industrial, and imperial state.

As it was, in the early years of her reign Victoria relied heavily on the guidance of her first prime minister, the Whig Lord Melbourne. This posed great risks to the supposed impartiality of the sovereign in the operation of the British constitution. Many conservatives saw the Bedchamber Crisis of 1839, when the queen refused to accept the changes to her household personnel proposed by the Tory leader Robert Peel, as proof of her Whig sympathies. At the time, the queen disliked Peel intensely, but she would grow to respect his abilities later. For the moment, however, her lack of cooperation led Peel to refuse to form a government and kept Melbourne and the Whigs in power for two more years.

ROMANTIC MATCH

In 1840 Victoria married her first cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Some had suggested that her husband should be chosen for diplomatic reasons, but the queen opted for a romantic match. Although the personalities of the queen and her new husband differed in many respects, their partnership was very effective in both political and domestic affairs.

Albert was somewhat shy and intellectual and never tired of paperwork; Victoria was more outgoing and temperamental and did not mind ceremonies and state functions as Albert did. Together they oversaw the management of the royal family and household, as well as making the monarchy more active and visible in society at large. The Victoria Cross was created during the CRIMEAN WAR to recognize the courage and sacrifice of British soldiers fighting in her name. The Great Exhibition of 1851, which showcased machinery and products from around the world, but above all the ascendancy of Britain’s industrial might, was heavily influenced by Albert’s energy and enthusiasm.

The couple had nine children: Victoria, born in 1840; Albert Edward, the future Edward VII, 1841; Alice, 1842; Alfred, 1844; Helena, 1846; Louise, 1848; Arthur, 1850; Leopold, 1853; and Beatrice, 1857. Although Albert invested so much energy and time in

trying to raise Albert Edward (known as Bertie) to be a good king someday, the prince was a constant source of disappointment to both of his parents.

Even so, the Prince of Wales and his siblings were often sent to distant parts of the empire as emissaries of their mother, which helped to reinforce the sentimental attachment of settler colonies in Canada, Australia, and South Africa to the home country.

Albert's death in 1861 had an enormous influence on Victoria for the rest of her life. Out of devotion to him, she insisted that the routines that were followed while he was alive continue, including making up his rooms and putting out hot water for shaving and washing. She largely retreated from public appearances for decades, except for the unveiling of monuments to Albert around the country. Her continued use of public funds without performing a public role led to popular criticism of the queen and the monarchy as an institution, especially in the 1870s.

Many scholars argue that lacking Albert's counsel, her behavior in politics also changed; whereas during their marriage the royal couple had generally sought to remain above party and to work dutifully with the government of the day, in widowhood Victoria began to show a marked preference for the Conservative Party (especially BENJAMIN DISRAELI) and more antipathy to the Liberals (especially WILLIAM GLADSTONE). She could not singlehandedly decide who would form the government, as some of her predecessors had, but she could make day-to-day administration more or less difficult depending on her prejudices.

Victoria also grew close to two of her male servants: first the Scottish highlander John Brown, with whom many contemporaries and some historians assumed she had an affair, and later the Indian Abdul Karim. Regardless of the precise nature of her relationships with these men, there is no doubt that she was very attached to each of them in turn and found a measure of comfort for her loneliness in their company. At the same time, some people believed that she was being manipulated by such confidants, and her image as Mrs. Brown added fuel to the criticism of the monarchy in the 1870s.

Her popularity was salvaged to a large extent through her increasing association with imperialism and British prestige abroad. Disraeli arranged for her to assume the title of empress of India in 1876, and she became the centerpiece of the great pageants that marked her two jubilees. The Golden Jubilee of 1887 emphasized the respect and goodwill for Britain and the queen from countless foreign dignitaries, although it was also immediately preceded by the Colonial and



Queen Victoria, one of Great Britain's most influential monarchs, and Prince Albert with their many children

Indian Exhibition in 1886. The 1897 Diamond Jubilee placed more emphasis on the empire, with multicultural soldiers and statesmen from India, the settler Dominions and other colonies surrounding the queen in a colorful and triumphant display. By this time she had also become the "Grandmother of Europe," through her children and grandchildren marrying into the royal families of Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, Spain, and Romania. By her death at the beginning of the 20th century, Britain was a preeminent global power in political, economic, and military terms, as nearly all of her obituaries declared.

These accomplishments were not the queen's own doing, nor did they only begin to develop after she took the throne. But the great length of her life and reign provided a reassuring veneer of stability and timelessness to an age that saw great and unpredictable changes in every field of human activity, from technology to women's rights. The queen herself was not always an advocate of such transformations, but in

the popular imagination her name and image became inextricably linked with the period and all that happened within it.

The life and times of Queen Victoria continue to fascinate historians and nonhistorians alike. The queen herself is still one of the most talked- and written-about women in history. According to her biographer Walter Arnstein, “only the Virgin Mary, Joan of Arc, and Jane Austen ranked ahead of the queen” in the holdings of the Library of Congress. She was a complex personality, and the firsthand documentary record is vast, encompassing her own diaries, letters, and published works, as well as official papers and the memoirs of many of the people who lived and worked with her over eight decades. With the passage of time and new sources being uncovered, the discussion of Victoria has continually been fed with new opinions and reevaluations. Her biographers are both numerous and diverse: They include a jaded intellectual (Lytton Strachey), a Catholic aristocrat (Elizabeth Longford), and a feminist and communist historian (Dorothy Thompson). Regardless of perspective, most biographers have found both commendable and faulty elements in the queen’s character, and it appears likely that the interest in Queen Victoria will continue for a long time to come.

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CHRISTOPHER TAIT

Vienna, Congress of

The Congress of Vienna was held in the Austrian capital, where ambassadors from the major powers in Europe discussed what should happen to the continent at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The conference was chaired by the Austrian statesman PRINCE CLEMENS VON METTERNICH and took place from October 1, 1814, to June 9, 1815. Strictly speaking, however, it was not a conference in the modern sense of the word, as the ambassadors never met in one place for these discussions, preferring to deal with other countries bilaterally, and then eventually come to a consensus. The peace terms with France had already been decided in

the Treaty of Paris signed on May 30, 1814. The discussions began with the initial defeat of Napoleon in 1814, and his subsequent exile to the island of Elba. However, he returned to France in March 1815 but was defeated at Waterloo on June 18—the congress having broken up nine days earlier.

Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, presided, and much of the success of the congress was because of his diplomatic skills and his grasp of the situation. The United Kingdom was represented by Viscount Castlereagh, the foreign minister, and then by the duke of Wellington, although Wellington had to leave to take charge of the British forces in the southern Netherlands (modern-day Belgium), leading them at Waterloo. Prince Karl August von Hardenberg, chancellor of Prussia, represented the Prussians, with Count Nesselrode, the Russian foreign minister officially representing his country, although Czar ALEXANDER I intervened regularly in proceedings. The French were represented by CHARLES-MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND, the foreign minister of King Louis XVIII. The Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Swedes were also represented, as were the German states of Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg.

The victors in the Napoleonic Wars gained considerable territory, with the Russians being given the Duchy of Warsaw (Poland) and allowed to hold Finland, which they had annexed from Sweden in 1809. The German states were massively simplified, with smaller states merged and 39 states created under the presidency of the Austrian emperor. Prussia was given land from the Duchy of Warsaw and also Saxony, Rhineland/Westphalia, and the port of Danzig. Austria regained the Tirol and Salzburg, the Illyrian coast (modern-day Croatia and Slovenia), and also Lombardy-Venetia. The British gains were around the world, with the United Kingdom retaining Cape Colony, South Africa, and also Tobago and Ceylon. However, it had to give up the Netherlands East Indies and Martinique. The House of Orange in the Netherlands was given control of modern-day Belgium and also the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Many other changes were made in Italy and Germany.

There was opposition to the Congress of Vienna from the Poles, who saw their brief independence under the French being extinguished. Poland was not to appear as an independent country again until the end of World War I in 1918. The Congress also ignored the concept of nationalism, and the emerging national identity. However, it was the first concerted effort to sort out major European problems through discussion, with subsequent congresses being held to work out

solutions to new or emerging problems. The result was what became known as the congress system, by which the major powers controlled many events in Europe up until 1830, and in many cases up to 1848.

Metternich emerged as the greatest statesmen in Europe at the time; in recent times, Henry Kissinger studied the congress system prior to his entry into U.S. politics, with him drawing parallels and differences between what was possible in the discussions such as the Congress of Vienna and what could be envisaged during the 1960s and 1970s. In many ways, the congress system envisaged international discussions that would occur in the 20th century under the aegis of the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)

(1694–1778) *French philosopher*

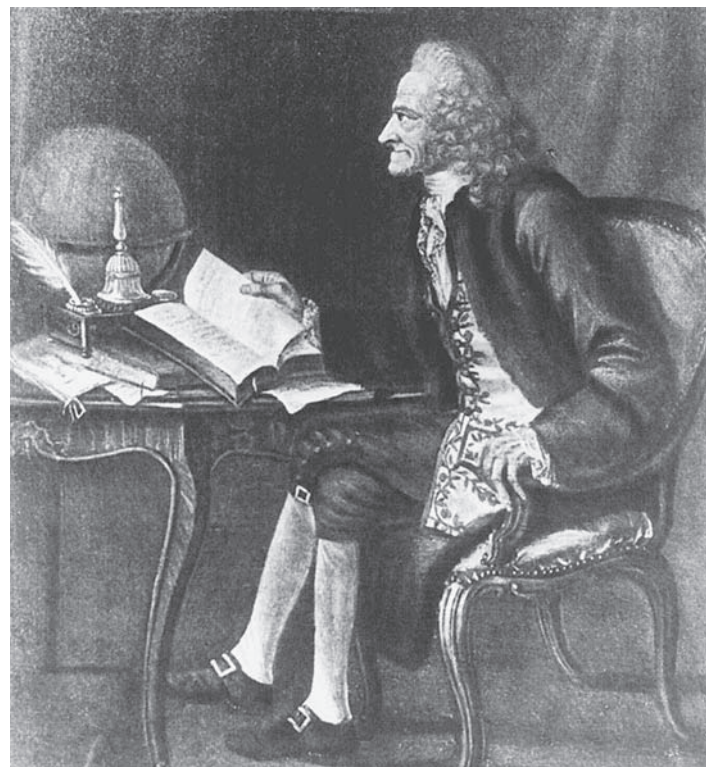
François-Marie Arouet, better known to the world as Voltaire, was born in Paris on November 21, 1694. With his penetrating observations of society and his incisive wit, Voltaire would become one of the stars of the French ENLIGHTENMENT, generally considered to be the beginning of the age of modern thought. Along with others like Denis Diderot, Voltaire changed the face of intellectual life forever.

Although he spent his life poking fun at what he considered the absurdities of organized religion, Voltaire received his education at the Collège Louis Le Grand, an educational institution founded by the Jesuits, the Society of Jesus. While named after Louis Le Grand, Louis XIV, in honor of his visiting there and offering royal patronage, the college was established by the Jesuits in 1563. Even though it was named a college during Voltaire's time, it is actually a *lycée*, roughly equivalent to an American high school. Victor Hugo, another of France's great men of letters, was educated at Louis Le Grand.

Born into the French middle class, or bourgeoisie, Voltaire's knack for satire gained him aristocratic enemies early in his life. In 1717 he was imprisoned in the infamous Bastille in Paris for writing about the regency government of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans,

who served as regent for the young Louis XV after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. Life in the Bastille, which was by then no longer the forbidding prison of the Middle Ages, did not dampen Voltaire's creativity. While incarcerated there, he wrote the play *Oedipe*, and adopted the pen name Voltaire. *Oedipe* would become his first success, and set him on his career as a writer.

Ten years later, in 1726, Voltaire ran afoul of another French aristocrat, known to history as the chevalier de Rohan. By now, his fame had gained him a certain immunity from imprisonment. Those sent to the Bastille were often never tried, merely sentenced by the king or regent with a secret document. This time, Voltaire was given the choice of either the Bastille or exile. Wisely, he chose England, then the most intellectually free of European countries. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had ended the despotic rule of King James II, writers like John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government* laid out a plan for representative government that would affect the rest of Voltaire's career. His *Letters on the English* were published in Rouen, France, in 1731. Nowhere else is there a better statement of his political philosophy



Best known for his works in political satire and theory, Voltaire was one of the first major historians of the modern era.

than in his Letter VIII: On the Parliament, where he writes, “The English are the only people upon earth who have been able to prescribe limits to the power of kings by resisting them; and who, by a series of struggles, have at last established that wise Government where the Prince is all-powerful to do good, and, at the same time, is restrained from committing evil; where the nobles are great without insolence, though there are no vassals; and where the people share in the Government without confusion.”

Such views hardly endeared him to the court of King Louis XV, who was intent on carrying on the tradition of absolute monarchy that had been perfected by King Louis XIV, the Sun King. The closest approximation to the British parliament was the French Estates General, an assembly of the bourgeoisie, clergy, and nobility. Its last meeting had been in 1614, after the assassination of King Henry IV in 1610. It did not meet again until 1789, and its convocation then by an unwilling Louis XVI would begin the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By 1734 Louis XV had heard enough of Voltaire's views on government. At about that time, Voltaire began his liaison with Madame de Châtelet, whose husband was well aware of the affair. Voltaire apparently felt it prudent to take up residence at the Châtelet's chateau at Cirey. However, from then on, Voltaire's life became both more confusing and more intriguing.

Voltaire remained an astute critic of French government and society, especially the official Roman Catholic Church. While he is often portrayed as being an atheist, in one passage he declared his personal belief in Jesus Christ as his God. His satire on St. Joan of Arc, *La Pucelle*, showed as much humor as scandal to the organized church.

The political satire of Voltaire remains a treasure to readers and writers alike. Voltaire's best-known satire, *Candide*, was published in 1759, at the height of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR and most likely was influenced by the carnage of the worst conflict that Europe would witness between the Thirty Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars. Although he lampoons the search for “the best of all possible worlds,” he nevertheless still reveals his faith in the indomitable spirit of mankind, a creed that never left him.

While Voltaire is best known for his works in political satire and political theory, he also has claim to be one of the first serious historians of the modern era. His biographies of Louis XIV of France and the warrior-king Charles XII of Sweden still stand as models of the historian's art today. Both combine an

appreciation for the times that the two monarchs lived in and an understanding of the personal impact that individuals could have on their eras.

In 1755 Voltaire settled in Switzerland and purchased his own chateau at Ferney. The great and the humble came to visit him. However, his ideals of tolerance and just government gained him another bout with the authorities.

Although he had moved from France, Voltaire remained French in his heart until his death. Fittingly, he died in Paris on May 30, 1778, only a little more than a decade before the old French monarchy, whose absolutist policies he so despised, collapsed of its own weight in the French Revolution of 1789.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

voodoo (Vodun), Haitian

The origins of Haitian voodoo can be attributed to West African roots. Anthropologists have studied African voodoo rituals and applied this study to Haitian voodoo. The Ewe tribe in western Africa practices this religion to invoke spirits for protection. One ceremony is meant to show that voodoo rituals offer protection against hot knives burning the body and broken glass cutting into flesh. The participants in these ceremonies believe their medicine and participation in these rites will appease the gods and offer them protection.

Voodoo, like many other religions in the world, has a hierarchical system of gods and spirits (*loas*). One of the more powerful gods in this religion is *bon dieu*, the maker of the planet and heavens. The *loas* have their own characteristics and personalities and are able to perform both good and malicious deeds. The development of various *loas* did not just occur in Africa, as some *loas* were created in Haiti as well. Voodoo is not restricted to simply religious ceremonies; it also includes various social elements such as dancing. During voodoo rituals, people summon spirits to embody them, merging the identities of the person with the spirit, which allows that individual to possess the powers of the spirit.



A hypnotic trance is induced during a voodoo dance. Voodoo was introduced to Haiti as a result of the trade that brought in thousands of slaves. Secret voodoo ceremonies were conducted in a temple with the presence of a priest (houngan) or priestess (mambo).

Voodoo was introduced to Haiti as a result of the slave trade that brought in thousands of enslaved Africans. Haitian voodoo is difficult to research because many of the slaves were unable to keep written records of their culture and history. In fact, there was a great need for secrecy because plans for resistance were made and sworn upon at these religious festivals. These secret voodoo ceremonies were usually conducted during the later hours of the evening in a temple (*hounfor*) with the presence of priest (*houngan*) or priestess (*mambo*). The reason these ceremonies were conducted in secrecy is because slaves practicing voodoo in colonial Haitian society were assaulted, jailed, and/or executed. Haitian voodoo is a blending of African and Christian cultures; the majority of Catholics in Haiti embrace voodoo, while the majority of voodoo followers profess to be Catholics.

Voodoo has a history of suppression and was a means of survival for the slaves. The use of African religion was a means to cope with the horrid condi-

tions of the Middle Passage, the journey from Africa to the Americas. The demographic composition of Haiti prior to the HAITIAN REVOLUTION was that of a society comprised mostly of African slave labor, with white colonists numbering in the minority.

Voodoo societies were major contributors in creating the infrastructure needed for the slaves to form an uprising against the French colonial administration and to succeed in becoming an independent state. Voodoo has been suppressed by many leaders of the Haitian Revolution after 1791, as both TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, independent Haiti's first ruler, prohibited voodoo gatherings and dancing. Henry Christophe sought to get the new country of Haiti recognized by various nations by supporting Christianity and stifling the practice of voodoo.

The attempts by these three Haitian leaders to suppress voodoo were unsuccessful, as the practice of this religion played a significant role in the development of Haitian society. In fact, president and later dictator

of Haiti Papa Doc (François) Duvalier, used voodoo in his 20th-century government, assigning a number of government posts to voodoo priests. Voodoo priests invoked a certain degree of fear within the Haitian populace since some believe that voodoo priests use sorcery to transform people into zombies. The belief in the zombie was instrumental to maintaining social order in Haiti, as there is a belief that if a person who committed evil deeds dies, his or her spirit is trapped in limbo. This belief becomes an incentive for the population to observe the rules of society. Voodoo has not only played a major role in the religious lives of the Haitian people and the maintenance of the social order, but has also penetrated into the realm of art, which is recognized, for example, in the artwork of the voodoo priest Hector Hyppolite. In an executive order by then-president Jean-Bertrand Aristide in April 2003, voodoo was sanctioned as an officially recognized religion in Haiti.

This blending of voodoo beliefs with art has gained some degree of recognition from people who enjoy the beauty of the pictures and the messages these artworks convey.

Voodoo has acquired a negative image, partly due to the belief that it represents uncivilized African superstition, and partly due to American depiction of voodoo in popular culture as a religion of superstitions and spiritual possessions. This depiction is intensified by the fact that voodoo involves the use of an assortment of props such as chicken feathers, skulls, and snakes. It is this perception of voodoo that emerges in American popular culture as various movies emphasize the exotic nature of voodoo. Voodoo still possesses a sizable following, as approximately 40 million people practice this religion.

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BRIAN DE RUITER



Wahhabi movement

Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792), a cleric from the Arabian Peninsula (present-day Saudi Arabia), founded the Wahhabi movement after concluding that innovation and interpretation had corrupted Sunni Islam. He used the works of the early Muslim thinker Ibn Taymiyya to justify his interpretation and advocated an Islamic reformation. Wahhabis claimed the way of *Salaf as-Salih*, or the rightly guided Muslims who sought to restore Islam to its true state. While some consider Abd al-Wahhab a great Islamic reformer, others refer to him as the father of modern Islamic terrorism.

After being expelled from his home village in the Najd, Abd al-Wahhab moved to Dir'iya and formed an alliance with the chieftain Muhammad Ibn Saud in 1795. The alliance of Wahhabism and the Saud dynasty proved a potent religious and military force that would survive several major military defeats over two centuries. Ibn Saud used Wahhabism to justify his conquests of Arabia, arguing that many Muslims had become unbelievers and that orthodox, or right-guided, Muslims had the right or even the duty to conduct violent jihad (holy war) against the unbelievers. By 1795 the Wahhabis, in alliance with the Saud family, controlled most of the northern and eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. By 1804 they had taken the Hijaz and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Ottoman Empire, accused of corrupt Islamic practices by the Wahhabis, opposed the movement and enlist-

ed the support of MUHAMMAD ALI in Egypt to crush both the Saud family and the Wahhabis and to reassert Ottoman hegemony over Arabia. From 1811–20 Muhammad Ali's able son Ibrahim was able to defeat the Wahhabis and drive them back into the remote northern part of the Arabian Desert.

Wahhabism recognized the Qu'ran and the Hadith (teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) as the basic texts. Unlike other Muslims, Wahhabis did not adhere solely to one specific Islamic school of jurisprudence, but rather based their beliefs on direct interpretations of the words of the Prophet. Wahhabis believed that other Muslims, such as the Sufis and the Shi'i, followed non-Islamic practices. They sought to restore Islam to its true state. Wahhabi interpretations of the Hadith were austere and puritanical. The most severe Wahhabi practices were manifested in the Arabian Peninsula,

In 1924 the Wahhabi Saud dynasty reconquered the two Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina, giving them control of the hajj, the annual pilgrimage. Control over the hajj gave Wahhabis ample opportunity to preach to Muslim pilgrims, while subsequent revenues from vast petroleum reserves gave the Saudi dynasty the resources to fund Wahhabi-based religious schools, newspapers, and outreach organizations.

Most Muslims outside Arabia rejected Wahhabi Islam, and traditional Sunnis, while accepting the Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya, rejected Abd al-Wahhab's interpretation of his work.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS.

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JULIE EADEH

Waitangi Treaty

New Zealand became an official colony of Britain on February 6, 1840, with the signing of the Waitangi Treaty. The treaty gave the British government, headed by Queen VICTORIA, political sovereignty in New Zealand. In the treaty, the Maori gave sovereignty to the government of Britain but were allowed to continue their own cultural practices and traditions. Though many provisions were made for the protection of the Maori, especially in regard to land boundaries and ownership, throughout the 19th century the Maori seceded many of their rights and homelands to the colonial New Zealand government, mostly during the MAORI WARS.

In 1939 the British Colonial Office gave Captain William Hobson the authority to officially annex the islands now known as New Zealand as a part of the British Empire. Britain wanted to annex New Zealand through the signing of the Waitangi Treaty for a few reasons. Europeans had been in New Zealand since that late 18th century, but emigration and trade from British subjects in the islands increased substantially during the 1830s. In the 1830s British politics and culture were under a heavy moral influence to protect native cultures affected by British imperialism, such as the Maori. This moral sentiment in Parliament and in the popular newspapers helped to prompt the Colonial Office to try to annex the colony in order to help protect the Maori from British exploitation.

The missionary Henry Williams copied the Waitangi Treaty, which was eventually signed by 529 chiefs on eight different copies in Maori and in English. There were differences, however, between the English and the Maori text that later created problems between the settlers and the Maori after the signing of the treaty. Many of the terms that the English incorporated into the treaty, such as *sovereignty*, were foreign concepts to the Maori. The Maori and the English copies also differed, most importantly in the concept of *chieftainship*, the native Maori conception of political organization, with the British concept of sovereignty. Though numerous Maori chiefs did not sign the Wait-

angi Treaty, it became official New Zealand law on February 6, 1840.

The treaty was broken down into a preamble and three parts. The controversy focused predominantly on the preamble and the second article. The English preamble suggested that the main focus of the Waitangi Treaty was to establish a British government to create a British colony. This differed from the Maori version that stated that the Queen Victoria wanted the treaty to protect and allow the Maori to retain land indefinitely. In the second article, the Maori "individuals" as well as "the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand" were allowed possession of land. But the Maori version stated that the "unqualified exercise of . . . chieftainship" governed land claims. This later helped the colonial government in New Zealand force individual land ownership upon the Maori, which allowed the British settlers to purchase land that was formerly held in common.

Many Anglo-New Zealanders consider the Waitangi Treaty as the origin of the modern nation-state of New Zealand. There has been continued debate about the original intention as well as the effects of the treaty upon the Maori. In the 20th century, there has been a conscious attempt to redress the wrongs of the 19th century. The Waitangi Act, signed on October 10, 1975, established the Waitangi Tribunal, which eventually paid reparations to the Maori.

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BRETT BENNETT

War of 1812

The War of 1812 began in June with a U.S. declaration of war against Great Britain. At the time, U.S. grievances seemed clear to a majority of the American public and to members of Congress from the South and West who voted in favor of the declaration. They were convinced that Great Britain was supporting American Indian attacks against U.S. settlers in the Old Northwest, such as Shawnee chief Tecumseh's clashes with settlers in the Ohio River valley, in violation of agreements dating back to the treaty that ended the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Although this has since been demonstrated to be false, it was widely believed at the time. In addition, British naval outrages against U.S. ships on the high seas in the context of the Napoleonic Wars had inflamed the American public. While New England and the Northeast were largely opposed to the war, mainly because of their important economic connections to the British Empire, President JAMES MADISON derived significant support from the other regions for his idea to capture Canada, making it a diplomatic bargaining chip against real and perceived British aggression.

The first half of the war was disastrous for the United States because the young nation was not at all militarily, administratively, or fiscally prepared for any war, least of all for a war against the world's greatest power at that time. The U.S. Navy's active ships numbered a few dozen at best. The army numbered a few thousand, and, in the early going, most of these soldiers were inadequately trained militia led by politically appointed officers or aging Revolutionary War veterans. The nation had an insufficient weaponry manufacturing base, no real means to resist a British naval blockade, nor the fiscal and administrative machinery to raise, train, or pay for military forces. The United States experienced defeat at Detroit and was repeatedly repulsed in its attempts to take Canada. The only good news for the United States in the first half of the war was victories by navy warships, but this did not prevent the British from blockading the U.S. Navy into its ports by 1813.

Bright spots for the United States in 1813 included Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry's victory at the Battle of Put-In Bay against a British naval squadron. Coupled with Master Commandant Thomas Macdonough's victory at the Battle of Lake Champlain in 1814, the United States was able to retake control of the Great Lakes region. In addition, by 1814 the Americans saw to it that a new army was formed, trained, equipped, and officered. Removing ineffective appointees from the higher ranks, the army commissioned newer, younger, and more aggressive officers such as ANDREW JACKSON, Winfield Scott, and Edmund Gaines. By 1814 these officers had trained an army made up of soldiers who were in uniform for the duration instead of short-term enlistees. These men were well enough trained in line-of-battle tactics to overcome crack British troops, fresh from helping defeat Napoleon, at the bloody Battle of Lundy's Lane in Niagara Falls, Ontario.

In addition, Major General Jackson was able to win some of the most strategic U.S. victories. Driven by his hatred of American Indians, Jackson molded regular and militia forces into units that broke the back of Ameri-

can Indian military power in the Old Southwest at battles such as Horseshoe Bend. These wartime defeats, especially of the Creek Nation, would pave the way for postwar U.S. conquest and occupation of the region and eventual Indian removal in the postwar period.

After enduring humiliating British raids on Baltimore and Washington, D.C., in which the British burned public buildings and forced President Madison to flee what is now the White House, the United States belatedly achieved one final victory at the Battle of New Orleans. This clash occurred in January 1815, three weeks after a peace treaty, principally negotiated for the United States by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, had been signed at Ghent, Belgium. Ultimately, the war ended as it had begun: with a miscommunication. In 1812 the British had agreed to U.S. diplomatic demands but the treaty did not get to Washington, D.C., before Congress declared war.

The war's odd beginning and end have puzzled diplomatic historians for decades. The United States had been unprepared for war, representatives of the New England states were, by 1814, meeting in Hartford, Connecticut, to consider secession, and the United States was losing so badly at the beginning of the war that many people feared the country might lose some of its original territory to the British Empire. Almost from the day war was declared, in fact, the Madison administration had negotiators in Europe trying to bring an end to a conflict that the United States had started. But as the United States came out of the war with its territory intact, America's public, press, and politicians somehow turned a stalemate into a spectacular U.S. victory. The United States even derived its national anthem, Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner," penned during the British attack on Baltimore, from a war it nearly lost.

See also NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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HAL M. FRIEDMAN

War of the Pacific (1877–1883)

Sparked by conflicts over control of the rich nitrate fields in the Atacama Desert along South America's Pacific coast, the War of the Pacific proved a national

humiliation for the allies Peru and Bolivia and a national triumph for Chile. With its decisive victory, Chile wrested from Bolivia Antofagasta, its only access to the sea, thus rendering the country landlocked and shearing off Peru's southernmost province of Tarapacá. The strip of land conquered by Chile was loaded not with one but two vital natural resources, nitrates and copper, that later proved crucial in the development of the Chilean national economy. The war caused lasting resentment against Chile by its two defeated neighbors that endures to this day. It also sparked a popular uprising in the Peruvian highlands that exposed the weak sense of national belonging among Peru's highland Indian, black, and Chinese populations, and that for a time threatened to fragment Peru into warring regions. Some scholars maintain that the ideology espoused by the highland rebels was itself explicitly nationalist, spearhead of a nationalist project directly at odds with the elitist nationalist discourse emanating from the capital, Lima. This was just as the Peruvian national state and the Lima-based commercial elite were experiencing a deep fiscal crisis in consequence of the depletion of Peru's guano reserves following the age of guano.

The war's short-term trigger was Bolivia's 1878 imposition of higher taxes on Chilean nitrate operations in the Bolivian province of Antofagasta, contrary to an earlier agreement between the two countries. Chile balked, tensions escalated, and soon Peru was drawn into the conflict in consequence of its secret mutual defense treaty with Bolivia. Hostilities commenced in April 1879 with a series of sea battles that raged along the Pacific coast. In the 1870s both nations had recently built formidable modern navies, though Chile's proved far superior, destroying Peru's in six months. The decisive encounter was the Battle of Angamos of October 8, 1879, in which the Chileans captured the Peruvian battleship *Huascar* and killed its able commander, Miguel Grau. With its control of the sea secure, and with Bolivia knocked out of the picture, Chile launched a land invasion of Peru. Following its January 1881 victories in the Battles of San Juan and Miraflores, the Chilean army occupied Lima and ousted the dictatorship backed by the Peruvian CAUDILLO Nicolás de Piérola, installing a government headed by Francisco García Calderón.

For nearly three years following Chile's capture of Lima, the Peruvian General Andrés Cáceres led an armed resistance to Chilean occupation in the central and southern Peruvian highlands, backed by an insurgent army of Indian, black, and Chinese workers and peasants, the *montoneras*.

Soon the army nominally headed by Cáceres fractured, as the *montoneras* and other groups pressed their own agendas that had less to do with ousting the Chilean occupiers than with overturning longstanding relations of power and privilege in the highlands, especially with regard to the region's highly unequal patterns of landownership and labor relations. Drawing on social memories of highland resistance during the Great Civil War a century earlier, the rebels kept up their resistance even after the war's formal end in the Treaty of Ancón of October 1883. Scholarly debates continue regarding the nature of this resistance movement, particularly its social composition, geographic extent, and the motivations of its participants in various regions, as expressed in both their written texts and collective actions. The *montonera* movement highlights a broader pattern in Latin American history, in which fights among dominant groups lead to sustained challenges to existing social relations by those from below.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Washington, George

(1732–1799) *general and first U.S. president*

George Washington, a fourth-generation Virginia planter, played a central role in every phase of America's separation from Britain and creation of the United States. Acclaimed during his own lifetime as Father of his Country, Washington was indeed the AMERICAN REVOLUTION's "indispensable man."

One of seven children of Virginia landholder Augustine Washington, George's formal education ended when he began training as a surveyor at age 16. Over six feet tall and heir to Mount Vernon, George, a stockholder in Virginia's Ohio Company, was picked by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1754 to help command troops sent west to assert the private land company's claims to territory controlled by the French and their Indian allies.

In what would prove to be opening maneuvers in the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, Washington and his troops killed a French commander and a Seneca chieftain, erecting Fort Necessity to consolidate British/Virginian regional claims. The French soon coun-



George Washington at his home in Mt. Vernon, Virginia, with his wife, Martha (left), and two children. Although his presidency was avowedly nonpartisan, his opinion of the French Revolution revealed him as a Federalist and sparked abuse from the Republican press.

tered, killing one-third of his men, but Washington and his remaining troops were allowed to evacuate.

Working closely with British generals as war broke out in earnest, Washington would learn important lessons about British ways of warfare. The massacre of General Edward Braddock and two-thirds of his troops at Fort Duquesne in 1755 showed Washington the futility of fighting a European-style war amid harsh frontier terrain. Like many others, he seethed at British arrogance and condescension toward colonial troops.

Elected in 1758 to the House of Burgesses, Washington consolidated his position as a leading Virginian by marrying Martha Dandridge Custis, the colony's wealthiest widow, becoming stepfather to her son and daughter. He would spend the years prior to 1775 as both country squire and active farmer, expanding and diversifying his plantations, acquiring more than 300 slaves. A tough taskmaster who pursued runaways, Washington nevertheless tried to keep slave families intact, endorsed the

gradual elimination of slavery, and arranged for his own slaves's emancipation in his will.

Chosen in 1775 to organize and lead a Continental army, Washington made serious errors and struggled to fill and train his ranks. Yet his skill at avoiding or escaping disastrous encounters, combined with bravery, self-discipline, and quiet confidence, enabled Washington to eventually cooperate with state militias and keep his often sick and hungry army together.

As it became clear that the American-French victory at Yorktown in 1781 would be the war's last major encounter, Washington made what may have been his greatest contribution to the republican ideals of the American Revolution: He retired to Mount Vernon. Washington was hailed as a new Cincinnatus, the victorious fifth-century B.C.E. Roman general who returned to his farm rather than accept money or power from a grateful populace.

Washington's retirement would not last long. His military service had convinced him of the need for a

government strong enough to field an effective army. As a member of the landed gentry, he also saw in the 1786 Shays's Rebellion by poor western Massachusetts farmers and veterans the seeds of collapse of the new nation. Persuaded to chair the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, he brought order and legitimacy to the closed-door proceedings while playing only a minor role in its debates.

Once enough states had ratified the U.S. CONSTITUTION, Washington was unanimously chosen as the United States's first president, taking office in New York City on April 30, 1789. Focusing on fiscal stability and political credibility, Washington selected trusted colleagues, including ALEXANDER HAMILTON, his former military aide, and fellow Virginian THOMAS JEFFERSON, former ambassador to France, for what became known as the cabinet. As Americans debated what to call their new leader, Washington discouraged "regal" titles in favor of "Mr. President." By 1790 Americans were celebrating their president's February 22 birthday.

Governing did not always prove so rewarding for the aging leader. As Hamilton and Jefferson clashed over a series of vital issues, factions, soon to become political parties, vied for Washington's backing. His second term was especially difficult. Although Washington's presidency was avowedly nonpartisan, his opinion of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, as it declined into anarchy, revealed him as a Federalist and sparked abuse from the Republican press. The 1794 Whiskey Rebellion saw Commander in Chief Washington marching into Pennsylvania at the head of 13,000 federal troops sent to pacify opponents of Hamilton's hated whiskey tax. A controversial treaty, negotiated by and named for Washington's close colleague, John Jay, provoked outrage when it seemed to put the fledgling United States in Britain's pocket.

Washington had a final precedent to set. With Hamilton's help he crafted a farewell address to announce that he would not seek a third term. In it, Washington urged Americans to come together as a nation and warned against foreign alliances based on other than sound national interests. Washington's second voluntary withdrawal from power set an example that only one U.S. president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has ever breached. In his final retirement, Washington closely monitored construction of the new federal district that would bear his name, renovated Mount Vernon, and added to his vast land holdings. He died of a throat infection at age 67 after insisting on riding out to do chores in a freezing December rain. An outpouring of tributes ensued,

none better remembered than Congressman Henry Lee's "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Watch Tower Society

Charles Taze Russell founded the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in 1884. This society brought together many Bible study groups that he had established throughout Pennsylvania over more than a decade. Russell rejected many traditional and mainstream Christian doctrines. However, his most radical teaching had to do with eschatology (doctrines about the Second Coming of Christ, the Battle of Armageddon, and the establishment of the Kingdom of God).

Russell claimed that the Bible contained a secret code revealing the dates (1874 and 1914) for what he famously phrased "the end of the world as we know it." Given the obvious lack of visible evidence, Russell came to believe that Christ had returned in only a spiritual sense in 1874 and that the final conflict between the forces of God and those of Satan was merely set in motion in 1914. At the conclusion of these protracted events, sometime in the very near future, insisted Russell and his society, God would unleash a mass genocide on all unbelievers and reward the faithful with eternal life.

After Russell's death and several schisms, the primary group, now calling themselves Jehovah's Witnesses, under the leadership of Joseph Rutherford, became focused on missionary activity, organizing what was rapidly becoming a world community. Successive leaders developed a publishing empire primarily to produce translations of the Bible and literature supportive of their controversial theology. Jehovah's Witnesses are often recognized today for their unconventional beliefs and anticultural behaviors, some of which have led to important legal cases and resulted in Supreme Court decisions that have substantially enhanced America's religious freedoms.

Jehovah's Witnesses forbid their members to engage in the celebration of Christian and civic holi-

days (except for the Memorial of Christ's Death), which they believe originated in pagan rituals. They accept baptism and the Lord's Supper as sacraments, but the latter is reserved for the "Anointed Class" (144,000 elite believers), while the "Great Crowd," or current general membership, may observe this once-a-year Passover-style meal. But it is their unwillingness to join the armed forces, to salute the flag, recite the Pledge of Allegiance, run for public office, vote in public elections, or accept blood transfusions, vaccinations, and organ transplants that have led to their legal problems and occasional persecutions, the most vicious of which were conducted by the Nazis in the 1940s, when thousands of Witnesses died in concentration camps.

Holding a strict monotheism, they deny the existence of the Trinity, believing Jehovah to be the Supreme Being. Christ is viewed as God's first created spiritual being and is legitimately called God's Son even though he is not divine. Christ was incarnated in Jesus as a sinless man and invisibly resurrected and enthroned by God as a king over heaven and Earth. The Holy Ghost is simply a biblical term describing God's method of work in the world and not a separate entity. Jehovah's Witnesses also deny the immortality of the soul and the existence of hell as a place of punishment. For them the death of unbelievers is merely the annihilation of human consciousness.

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RICK M. ROGERS

Wesley, John (1703–1791) and Charles (1707–1788)

religious reformers

The story of the Methodists cannot be told without John and Charles Wesley. Sermon and hymn, poetry and prose have permanently marked the story of Methodism. Methodism was indelibly formed, not only by the preached and published sermons of John, but also by the poetry and hymnody of Charles. John Wesley was the 15th child and second surviving son of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. John was born at the Epworth Rec-

tory on June 17, 1703; he died on March 2, 1791, and was buried at the City Road Chapel in London.

When John was six years old, he and Charles were rescued from the burning rectory. This made a stronger impression on John than it did on Charles, as he came to see himself as a child of Providence, a "brand plucked from the burning."

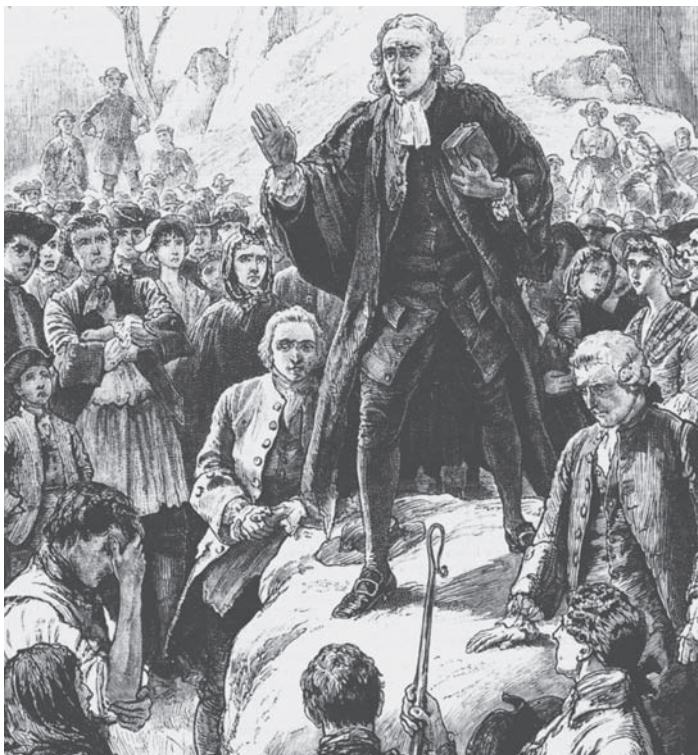
Charles Wesley was the youngest of three surviving sons and the 18th child born of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Charles was born in the Epworth Rectory, about 23 miles northwest of Lincoln, England, on December 18, 1707. He died in London, on March 29, 1788, three years prior to John's death.

In 1713 John entered Charterhouse School in London, and in 1720 he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, where he earned his M.A. in 1727. As early as 1725, John was ordained deacon and later in 1728 he was ordained a priest. After graduation, John returned home to help his father as a curate for two years before returning to Oxford to carry out his assignments as an elected fellow of Lincoln College.

In 1716 Charles was sent to Westminster School, where his older brother Samuel, an usher at the school, provided a home and board for him. In 1721 he was elected King's Scholar and began to receive free board and tuition. In June 1726 Charles entered Christ Church, Oxford, where he completed his degree in 1729 and became a college tutor.

Earlier in life, Charles Wesley had objected to becoming "a saint all at once," but later at Oxford he became restless over the absence of assurance in salvation and, thus, started the Holy Club in 1729. Initially, the Holy Club began with the intent of following the prescribed method of study set by the university, but soon became more uniquely defined. The original four men who made up the Holy Club (William Morgan, John Clayton, John and Charles Wesley) were jeered with names like Bible Moths, Bible Bigots, Supererogation Men, Sacramentarians, and Methodists. Finally, the name Methodist stuck because of their methodical study of Scripture, fervent daily prayers, ministering to those in need, and weekly attendance in the Eucharist.

Upon John's return to Oxford in 1729 he would join the Holy Club started by Charles. During those early formative years, the young and impressionable John struggled with two questions: "How do I become a Christian? How do I remain a Christian?" Later in life, Wesley would reflect in his journal that he was struggling over the nature of justification and sanctification and that the struggle was in effect placing the cart before the horse. In other words, he was



Charles and John Wesley (above) started the Methodist Church through study and questioning of their faith.

struggling to understand salvation and was confusing the two.

A few years later, in 1735, after much anguish over the decision to enter Holy Orders, Charles yielded and was ordained a deacon by Reverend Dr. John Potter, Bishop of Oxford. On the following Sunday, he was ordained a priest by Reverend Dr. Edmund Gibson, bishop of London. Still searching for that assurance of faith, Charles decided to accompany his brother John to the new colony of Georgia to serve as secretary to General Oglethorpe. This Georgia interlude has been referred to as the second rise of Methodism. After a short six-month stay in Frederica, Georgia, Charles would return to England in 1736 still seeking rest for his soul. In 1737 Charles found considerable help in his spiritual formation; through the influence of the Moravians, and most notably, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Peter Bohler and Mr. Bray, he was finally able to stop trusting in his own self-righteousness.

On John's return to England in 1738—often referred to as the third rise of Methodism—John was painfully aware of his failure as a missionary in Georgia and was sorely depressed over the state of his own soul. As providence would have it, John would find similar help and

counsel from Peter Bohler as his brother Charles. Three days after Charles's assurance of faith, John would have his own assurance of faith. John went reluctantly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where he heard Martin Luther's preface to Romans. Wesley would later say, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

After years of ministry with his brother John, as an itinerant and field preacher, Charles was married to Sarah Gwynne on April 8, 1749, with his brother officiating at the wedding. Sarah was 23 and Charles was 40 when they married. Unlike John's marriage to Mary Vazeille that would end up in separation and without children, Charles's marriage was happy. Eight children were born to the couple; only three of the youngest survived infancy: Charles, Sarah, and Samuel. While every member of this family was musical, the two sons were considered musical prodigies.

Charles Wesley, the poet of Methodism, was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets the church has ever known. The *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* fills 13 volumes of approximately 9,000 poems that would eventually be set to music for the hymns that not only shaped Methodism but continue to be sung today. Some of the more well-known songs include "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Oh for a Thousand Tongues to Sing," "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," "And Can It Be That I Should Gain," "Lo, He Comes with Clouds Descending," "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling," and "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today."

Increasingly, John Wesley found that he was no longer welcome in his own Church of England; he established the Methodist Society in England. As the Methodists in close-knit groups of fellowship and mutual accountability would "watch over one another in love," in prayer, singing of hymns, Scripture reading, exhortation, encouragement, and confession, they were able to zealously "give out" God's love in "works of mercy" and "works of piety." Both brothers have left a rich legacy of "faith filled with the energy of love," not only in their poetry and hymns, preaching and leadership, but by their own lives of faith.

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K. STEVE MCCORMICK

White Lotus Rebellion

The White Lotus Society was one of several secret societies that emerged from time to time during the history of imperial China. They required members, mostly from lower social classes, to adhere to rituals associated with Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism), food taboos, and penance. Such groups attracted the attention of the government, which often took steps to suppress them. The White Lotus Society had roots in the Song (Sung) dynasty and survived the Song government's efforts to suppress it. It emerged as one of the rebel movements during the late Mongol Yuan dynasty and helped to topple it.

The QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY was ruled by a frontier people, the Manchu, a fact that upset many of the majority Han Chinese. Because early Manchu rulers had been successful and China had been prosperous through the second half of the 18th century, potential opponents of the dynasty had lain low and not been able to garner significant support. Like its predecessors, the Qing government was ambivalent toward popular religious organizations such as the White Lotus, condemning religious festivals and rituals as wasteful, disruptive, and potentially harmful to morality.

The White Lotus Rebellion (1796–1804) began in the southeastern border area of Sichuan (Szechuan) Province in 1796. Sichuan had undergone dramatic population growth during the 18th century, due to large-scale immigration from neighboring provinces, to about 20 million by 1800; government efforts to slow the pace of immigration into Sichuan had been ineffective. The large influx of people strained government resources and caused tension between the immigrants and the existing local population.

In 1781 the government arrested a White Lotus leader named Liu Song (Liu Sung) and banished him to the frontier. His harassed followers then revolted and the unrest spread quickly from Sichuan to neighboring provinces in central and northern China. This rebellion indicated the turning point of Qing dynastic fortunes; the army sent to suppress it proved too rotten to perform its task. The rebels were able to garner popular support due in part to their millenarian religious appeal and also to their racial-nationalistic stand against Manchu rule.

Finally, local gentry and officials in the affected regions organized militias to undertake the task of putting down the rebellion, which cost the government 100 million silver taels. Although put down in 1804, the White Lotus Rebellion was the forerunner of more dev-

astating revolts of the 19th century that contributed to the downfall of the dynasty.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

women's suffrage, rights, and roles

Against the background of the ENLIGHTENMENT and AMERICAN, FRENCH, and INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS, Western women's lives changed dramatically, although not until the 20th century would most gain the right to vote. By 1900 Western societies had become accustomed to women's participation in public affairs, even if governments, and many individual men and women, still questioned its appropriateness. The profound changes reshaping European and North American women's lives were not examples of unfettered progress toward equality but, rather, a series of challenges to, and compromises with, ancient traditions of female inferiority and dependency.

Although there had long been women of distinction and even importance—queens, priestesses, scholars, and saints—the first influential proponent for all women was Englishwoman Mary Wollstonecraft. A former governess who supported the French Revolution and collaborated with THOMAS PAINE, she published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792. Women, said Wollstonecraft, were equal to men in their ability to reason. Therefore, women must be treated as reasonable and equal members of the human race.

FEMALE EDUCATION

At a time when the “female” brain was perceived as feeble and less focused, Wollstonecraft proposed free public school systems to equally educate boys and girls together in intellectual, physical, and vocational pursuits. The reality of the times was otherwise. In the 18th century and later, many women educated themselves by sneaking books from male family members or secretly listening in on brothers' lessons. Some were lucky to be encouraged by fathers or brothers, or had access to rigorous schools led by female teachers, like Emma Willard of New York, who had themselves achieved a decent education. TRANSCENDENTALIST Margaret Fuller of Massachusetts was

educated in Greek and Latin by her lawyer father and later learned German and Italian. In 1839, she organized a series of meetings, mainly for women, to discuss intellectual and political issues. Hers was an Americanized version of the European salon that flourished, especially in France, in the late 18th century. Unlike those salons, organized by well-educated women but dominated by men, Fuller's gatherings were a form of female adult education.

Proponents of female education were not necessarily feminists. Catharine Beecher championed improved teacher training for women and helped develop home economics as a science, not because she approved of female equality, but because she believed that women needed to do their traditional work more efficiently. In Britain Isabella Beeton likewise advised women on cooking and home management.

Ohio's new Oberlin College opened its doors to a few women in 1833. But women only colleges seemed to offer a more acceptable solution. Founded in Massachusetts in 1837 by Mary Lyon, a chemist, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was the first. In Britain, Frances Mary Buss founded a college preparatory school for girls in 1850, and in 1871 Britain's Shirreff sisters, Maria and Emily, themselves self-taught, created the National Union for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Some all-male institutions added adjunct female colleges as did Harvard University in 1879, establishing Radcliffe College.

Coeducation for children older than 10 was extremely controversial, for both pedagogic and moral reasons, but grew as public education expanded. This did not mean that female students were warmly welcomed by their male classmates and professors, or afforded equal accommodations. Despite some concessions to female students, neither Oxford nor Cambridge Universities offered women full academic privileges until well into the 20th century. Likewise, Paris's Sorbonne let women audit courses long before granting them degrees.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND WORK OPTIONS

In the preindustrial economy, distinctions between men's and women's work were far less clear than they became in the 19th century. Women's work (except in the upper classes) had always included cleaning, food preparation, and child care, but men and women, boys and girls, often labored side-by-side on their farms, or made products like brooms and shoes at home for sale to local distributors. As the growing MARKET REVOLUTION displaced local commerce, and manufacturing migrated from home work to factories, female labor was redefined. Woman's sphere

would be the home exclusively; women would no longer produce for their family but consume goods made by the new economy. Too delicate and refined for the public fray, the true woman, as "angel of the house," would make home a refuge for her husband and children.

This vision, often called the cult of domesticity, excluded millions of poor and enslaved women in Europe and North America. Unmarried women, deserted women, women whose husbands struggled to support their family all found most kinds of paying work closed to them. There were some new opportunities: In New England, growing textile factories, desperate for labor, encouraged farm parents to send their young daughters to work. Carefully supervised and poorly paid, "mill girls" were expected to leave their jobs for marriage. Most did; many also enjoyed new self-sufficiency. Paid work for respectable lower-class women was primarily domestic service. "Angels of the house" exploited large staffs of female servants.

Middle-class women or poor but educated women could become governesses or schoolteachers, but almost had to quit when they married. Some women chose spinsterhood over married dependency. Many pushed the boundaries of female opportunity by taking up work related to women's lives and needs. Born in England, Elizabeth Blackwell taught school in Cincinnati before overcoming fierce opposition to become a physician. Blackwell argued that women and children were better served by female doctors who could alleviate their pains without compromising their modesty. Her contemporary, Briton FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, professionalized nursing during and after the CRIMEAN WAR, giving new respectability to women's traditional caregiver role. Dorothea Dix, who made her name in prison and mental-health reform, and nurse Clara Barton played similar roles in America's CIVIL WAR.

More controversially, others entered, or tried to enter, male domains. An estimated 400 women disguised themselves as men to fight in the Civil War. In 1872 the U.S. Supreme Court denied Myra Bradwell a license to practice law in Illinois, saying "The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life." Victoria Woodhull, an activist U.S. journalist and stockbroker, attempted a run for president on a third-party ticket in 1872. Later, married to an Englishman, she backed Britain's woman suffrage movement.

A traditionally male undertaking in which women excelled was writing for pay. New England writer Nathaniel Hawthorne famously blamed the popularity of novels by "scribbling women" for his relative difficulty



A Currier & Ives print titled *The age of brass: Or the triumphs of woman's rights*, published in 1869 and featuring women lining up at a ballot box, with a man holding a baby at the end of the line

in reaching a mass audience. For activists including Clara Zetkin and Louise Otto Peters of Germany, writing was a way to earn money while gaining political support. Both France's George Sand and England's George Eliot were authors who adopted male names to protest the female condition and achieve stronger sales of their works.

MARRIAGE AND CHILD-REARING

Unmarried women were objects of pity and scorn who often lived with their parents, but married women were more dependent on men for their very lives. The ancient tradition of *couverture* defined married women as legally incompetent minors. It was not abolished in Britain until 1870. A husband was the undisputed head of the household, controlling absolutely his property, his children, his servants, his wife, and whatever resources she might have brought into the marriage. Extreme cruelty was considered bad form, but moderate beatings were sanctioned by law and religion.

Nevertheless, after 1750 there were indications of new and more equal kinds of relationships between men and women. In Europe and America, so-called companionate marriages that allowed for romantic love began to replace or augment unions arranged by parents. In the United States, the "republican" mother responsible for future generations of free citizens was accorded some respect. Experiments in "free love" and multiple marriage scandalized but provided alternatives for adventurous women and men. The lives of women's rights advocates would have been even more difficult without such husbands as Henry Blackwell, whose wife, Lucy Stone, kept her own name, and English philosopher John Stuart Mill, who actively promoted female equality alongside his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill.

Even with the best of husbands, married life was difficult. Wives endured many pregnancies; infant and maternal deaths were common. Despite servants, the care and feeding of large households severely limited

middle-class women's ability to gain education or take on a job or career. Birth control methods were rudimentary and generally considered sinful.

Lacking property rights, married women were at the mercy of an economic system over which they had no control. To satisfy creditors, a husband could sell his wife's belongings, down to her clothes and cookware. A husband was not required to consider his wife's wishes when disciplining, educating, or apprenticing their children. If a wife ran off, or obtained a rare divorce, she might never again see her children. In 1848 New York's Married Woman's Property Act gave wives some control of their own resources. This initiative, however, as often protected the property interests of a father or brother as those of the wife.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

The political ferment that brought about the American Revolution and continued in America and Europe until about 1850 inspired new hopes of freedom among women and other oppressed groups. Enthusiasm aroused by such stirring calls for freedom as America's 1776 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE would harden into an often angry struggle for women's political recognition later in the 19th century.

Abigail Adams, wife of president JOHN ADAMS, was not the only woman to ask her nation to "remember the ladies." Between 1776 and 1807 a few women actually voted in New Jersey, where the state's new constitution had failed to specify that only males were entitled to the franchise. From 1809 to 1849 when the word *male* was inserted, Québec's female property owners voted in municipal and provincial elections. But in France, both Revolutionary-era rulers and NAPOLEON I's regime curbed women's search for freedom with stricter laws.

The cause that galvanized America's organized woman suffrage movement was the battle to end slavery. Many middle-class women, horrified by the plight of slave mothers and children, found common cause in abolition and began comparing their own restricted freedoms to slavery's chains. Sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, who grew up attended by slaves on a South Carolina plantation, came north to aid the abolitionist cause. By 1836 they were writing and speaking against slavery, first only to women but soon to mixed audiences, outraging many Protestant clergymen.

In 1840 Quaker antislavery leader Lucretia Coffin Mott and other American abolitionists, including the newly married Elizabeth Cady Stanton, sailed to London for a World Anti-Slavery Convention. Mott, an official delegate, was forbidden to speak on account of her sex. In July 1848 Mott and Stanton reconnected to organize a two-day woman's rights meeting at Seneca Falls. Some 300 attended, including about 40 men, one of whom was FREDERICK DOUGLASS, abolitionist leader and former slave.

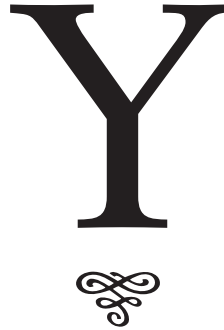
Meanwhile, in many European nations, a reform tide that peaked in 1848 was propelling women's rights advocates in a similar direction. Pauline Roland and other French women associated with the socialist-leaning Saint Simonian and Fourierist movements called for marital reform and universal suffrage laws that included women. Then came a backlash: in 1851 a new Prussian law not only forbade women to join political parties but prohibited them from attending meetings where politics were discussed. A series of British voting reform acts excluded women. Led by Emmeline Pankhurst, Britain's suffrage movement intensified after 1880. Despite press mockery, the U.S. women's rights movement grew briskly, especially after Susan B. Anthony, a teacher and temperance crusader, joined forces with Stanton.

After the Civil War, however, the two suffrage leaders precipitated a bitter split in the movement when they protested a constitutional amendment that allowed male former slaves, but no women of any race, to vote. Not until 1890 did the two suffrage organizations reunite. By 1900, four western states (beginning with Wyoming in 1869) allowed women to vote in all or most elections, and piecemeal suffrage was being doled out in Sweden, Britain, and parts of the British Empire.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; AMERICAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN



Young Ottomans and constitutionalism

The Young Ottomans, also known as the New Ottomans, were 19th-century reformers. The members, some of whom were in the royal family, sought to continue the TANZIMAT reforms. They wanted to liberalize the Ottoman Empire in order to ensure its survival. They applied the concept of Osmanlilik, Ottoman nationality, to a sweeping program of constitutional change. Osmanlilik meant the attachment to freedom and fatherland with the equality of all citizens. The Young Ottomans supported civil secular rule with a separation of religious participation in government; they also stressed the importance of human rights for all the diverse religious and ethnic peoples of the empire.

The Young Ottoman program was outlined in Mustafa Fazil Pasha's letter to Sultan Abdul Aziz in which a statement of loyalty to the empire was coupled with demands for reforms. Other Young Ottomans included Ali Suavi, a teacher from a merchant family, who was in charge of the first Young Ottoman publication, and Sadik Rifat Pasha, who urged reforms of the authoritarian Ottoman regime. Using journalism to disseminate Young Ottoman ideals, Sadik wrote on the need for constitutionalism and urged the Ottomans to work hard to regenerate their society. Sadik Rifat Pasha had been educated in the Palace School and worked in the Ottoman civil service. He traveled through much of Europe and while in Austria wrote public letters urging reforms.

Another Young Ottoman, Ibrahim Sinasi, studied in France and was a friend of Samuel de Sacy, the son of the noted Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy. He also knew the poet Alphonse de Lamartine. Sinasi served on the education committee in Istanbul and published poems, pamphlets, and journal articles. Ziya Pasha, an experienced administrator, focused on the necessity of bureaucratic reforms. Namik Kemal, whose father was the court astronomer, was the most famous Young Ottoman. Kemal's poems, especially "On Liberty," and other publications are still studied in present-day Turkey. The Young Ottomans were influenced by western European approaches to government and society. They attempted to use language acceptable to a Muslim society in order to fuse Muslim traditional government with essentially Western approaches to parliamentary systems. They translated European works into Ottoman Turkish; in intellectual salons in Istanbul and elsewhere, they engaged in lively debates about French philosophy and political theory.

A leading Young Ottoman supporter, MIDHAT PASHA, framed a constitution whereby the sultan would become a constitutional monarch. This constitution awaited the signature of ABDUL HAMID II when he became sultan in 1876. Although Abdul Hamid was not committed to parliamentary government he was forced to implement the constitution as a provision of becoming sultan. The constitution provided for a bicameral legislature, along the European model, with a statement regarding the rights of man. The first Ottoman parliament opened in 1877; it consisted of 25 officially nominated senators and 120 deputies elected

with official pressure and general indifference among most of the population. The first parliament was composed of a wide mixture of representatives. It met for two sessions over the course of five months. Sultan Abdul Hamid II used the excuse of war with Russia to dissolve the parliament in 1878. The short-lived constitution remained suspended for the next 30 years. Abdul Hamid's suspension of the constitution marked the end of the Young Ottomans. Future reformers were censored and repressed under Abdul Hamid's rule.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan)

(1811–1872) *Chinese statesman, general, and scholar*

Zeng Guofan was a leading statesman of the TONGZHI (T'ung-chih) RESTORATION. His leadership and policies resulted in defeating the TAIPING REBELLION, the most destructive in 19th-century China.

Son of a farming family from Hunan Province, Zeng Guofan was raised under a stern Confucian tradition of hard work and study, filial piety, and frugality. He joined the government after attaining the highest, *jinshi* (*chin-shih*) degree in 1838 and gained widespread experience in civil administration. In 1852 he obtained leave to bury his mother and mourn her death, which was subsequently canceled. Instead he was ordered to raise a militia to defend his home province from invasion by the Taiping rebels. This was necessary because the regular QING (Ch'ing) army had proven completely inadequate. Because the Taiping Rebellion preached a pseudo-Christian theology and initially fought with crusading zeal, Zeng countered it with instilling his militia with a mission—to defend China's Confucian heritage and traditional cultural values. To ensure the men's esprit de corps he chose his officers carefully from Confucian scholars and his soldiers from sturdy farmers in his home area; their initial goal was defending their home districts. These units were called the Hunan, or Xiang, (Hsiang, another name for Hunan) Army because they all came from Hunan Province. They were known for their discipline and loyalty, despite initial setbacks, growing to 120,000 strong. Later a navy or "water force" of armed

junks was formed to operate on the rivers and lakes of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River region.

As the Hunan army proved itself in clearing the homeland of rebels, the court begged Zeng to proceed to neighboring Hubei (Hupei) Province. In time, Zeng's forces spread operations to Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Zhejiang (Chekiang), and Anhui Provinces also. In 1864 Nanjing (Nanking), the Taiping capital, fell, ending the rebellion.

The main credit for defeating the formidable Taiping Rebellion belonged to Zeng. He combined many admirable qualities—able administrator, careful general, and good judge of men, picking first-rate assistants. His personal integrity, humility, and lifelong commitment to study made him the exemplary Confucian. He commanded few resources for the monumental task because he had no authority to collect land taxes in the provinces where he operated, but managed to complete his mission spending only 21.3 million taels of silver (each tael equals 1 1/3 ounces). Zeng dissolved most of the Hunan Army after 1864, spent some time unsuccessfully dealing with the NIAN REBELLION, then served as governor-general of Zhili (Chihli) Province.

Some 20th-century Chinese faulted Zeng with propping up the Qing dynasty, which they argued was not worth saving. But from the perspective of the time, his ideals represented the true will of the nation. The Taiping movement dominated regions in southern China but never had support in the north. Had it survived, China would at best have been partitioned. Thus in preserving the Qing dynasty Zeng helped maintain a unified China. Zeng was also important for advocating

and implementing reforms and adopting Western learning and technologies.

See also GONG (K'UNG), PRINCE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Zho Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t'ang)

(1812–1885) *Chinese military leader and statesman*

Zho Zongtang was from a scholarly family of moderate means in Hunan Province. He obtained the *ju ren* (*chu-jen*) degree, the second highest in the examination system, then studied geography, agriculture and military strategy and experimented in farming, specializing in sericulture. Between 1852 until his death he devoted himself to military affairs, winning high distinction in serving China.

In 1860 Zho joined the staff of ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan), China's leader in fighting the TAIPING REBELLION, raising and training 5,000 volunteers of his native Hunan braves to serve in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) and Anhui Provinces, engaging in more than 20 battles. He was appointed governor-general of Zhejiang (Chekiang) and Fujian (Fukien) Provinces, expelling the Taiping rebels from both and implementing programs that restored prosperity. They included opening schools, printing offices, and promoting sericulture and cotton culture. After the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, Zho was appointed governor-general of Shaanxi (Shensi) and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces in northwestern China. He collaborated with his colleagues Zeng Kuofan and LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) in first putting down the NIAN REBELLION, then undertaking the suppression of the MUSLIM REBELLIONS, first pacifying Shaanxi in 1869, followed by bringing peace to Gansu in 1874. He then made important reforms in those provinces that included the prohibition of opium poppy culture, promoting cotton growing and manufacture of cotton and woolen cloths, utilizing the spare time of his soldiers in agriculture and reforestation.

Zho next obtained court support for raising loans for the reconquest of Xinjiang (Sinkiang) or Chinese

Turkestan, much of which had been under the control of Yakub Beg, a Muslim who curried favor with Russia, Great Britain, and the OTTOMAN EMPIRE by promising them influence should he succeed in establishing an independent state. A careful campaigner who had sure knowledge of geography and logistics, Zho defeated the Xinjiang Muslims in 1877. Yakub committed suicide. The combination of the collapse of the Xinjiang Muslim rebellion thanks to Zho's generalship and the negotiation skills of Chinese diplomat Zeng Jize (Chitse) (son of Zeng Guofan), Russia agreed to withdraw its troops from the Ili Valley in Xinjiang in the TREATY OF ST. PETERSBURG in 1881. Xinjiang became a province of China in 1884. Zho was appointed governor-general of Jiangnan (Kiangnan) and Jiangxi (Kiangsi) in 1882, was put in charge of military affairs when war loomed with France in 1884, but he was suffering from ill health and died shortly after.

Zho was a great military leader of the TONGZHI (T'UNG-CHIH) RESTORATION AND SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT who struggled successfully to defeat China's domestic rebellions and protect its territorial integrity against Western imperialism. Both he and his wife, Zhou Yituan (Chou I-tuan), were accomplished in literature, she leaving published collections of verses, and he of official and literary works.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Zionism and Theodor Herzl

(1860–1904) *father of Jewish nationalism*

Theodor Herzl is considered the father of modern Zionism, or Jewish nationalism. Born in Budapest, Hungary, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Herzl attended university in Vienna. As a young journalist, he covered the DREYFUS AFFAIR in Paris. This noted case of anti-Semitism in liberal France, coupled with the periodic violent pogroms against Jews in eastern Europe and Russia, convinced Herzl that anti-Semitism was an inherent evil in Western civilization. He concluded that the only solution to the so-called Jewish

question was the establishment of a Jewish state that would be as much Jewish as France was French or Italy was Italian. He expanded on the need for a Jewish state in his books *Der Judenstaat* (Jewish State, 1896) and *Altneuland* (Old New Land, 1902).

The first Zionist Congress met in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, and Herzl was elected president of World Zionist Organization (WZO). Within the WZO there was considerable debate over the question of where the Jewish state should be. Herzl was initially in favor of accepting offers by the British for territory in Argentina and present-day Uganda for a Jewish state. Other Zionists were convinced that for religious, historic, and cultural reasons only the territory of ancient Israel was a realistic location upon which to establish a modern Jewish state, and the establishment of a modern state of Israel in Palestine became the official Zionist policy.

Zionists dreamt of the renaissance of Jewish life through their physical labor on the land. With financial support from the Rothschild family, the WZO bought land in Palestine, often from absentee landowners. Some early Zionists were socialists who established communes, or *kibbutzim*, or cooperatives, *moshavim*. Ber Borochov sought to fuse Marxism and Zionism and was one of the founders of the Zionist left.

Zionists encouraged Jews throughout the world to make *aliyah*, or to move to Palestine. The Zionist state was to grant automatic citizenship to all Jews who sought to live there. The first Zionist settlement in Palestine, Patah Tikva, was established north of Jaffa in 1878; although it was soon abandoned because of malarial marshes. Once the marshes were drained, settlers returned in 1878. Other Zionist settlements were created during the 1880s. From 1881 to 1903 the first wave of Jewish settlers to Palestine was mostly from Russia. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914 there were about 59 Jewish colonies with some 12,000 people in Palestine.

Zionists also debated what language should be adopted by the Jewish state. Some favored Yiddish, which was spoken by many Jews in eastern Europe where Zionism was most prevalent. Others successfully argued that Hebrew, the language of ancient Israel, should be the language of the state. Like Latin, Hebrew had been used for religious rites or for reading

of sacred texts, but it had not been in common use for hundreds of years. It therefore needed to be modernized for contemporary usage; for his work in revitalizing Hebrew, Eliezer Ben Yehuda (Eierzer Perlmann) was considered the father of modern Hebrew. Like Ben Yehuda, many Zionists adopted Hebrew names rather than those commonly used in Europe.

Initially the Zionist movement had little support from Jews in Western nations such as France or the United States, where anti-Semitism, while by no means nonexistent, was not as virulent as in eastern Europe. Similarly, Orthodox Jews, who formed the small percentage of the Jewish population in Palestine at the time, opposed the creation of a modern Jewish state for religious reasons; they argued that they should not interfere in the divine plan by entering the political field. Zionists also met with mounting opposition from the indigenous Palestinian Arab population. The struggle of two separate nationalisms—Zionism and Palestinian Arabism—for control over the same territory laid the foundation for the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

To fulfill the dream of a Jewish state, Herzl and others recognized the need for outside support. He approached Germany, Italy, the pope, and Great Britain to secure their approval, but met with little success. Herzl even traveled to meet with the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul. Although it is not clear that Herzl ever met face to face with the sultan, it is known that the sultan responded to Zionist requests, saying that “he was not in the business of selling his right arm,” but that Jews were welcome to live in Palestine like other minorities within the Ottoman Empire. Herzl died in 1904, and Chaim Weizmann was selected as the new president of the WZO. Following in Herzl’s footsteps, Weizmann worked tirelessly to secure outside support for the Zionist cause.

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JANICE J. TERRY



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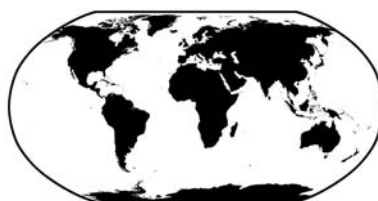
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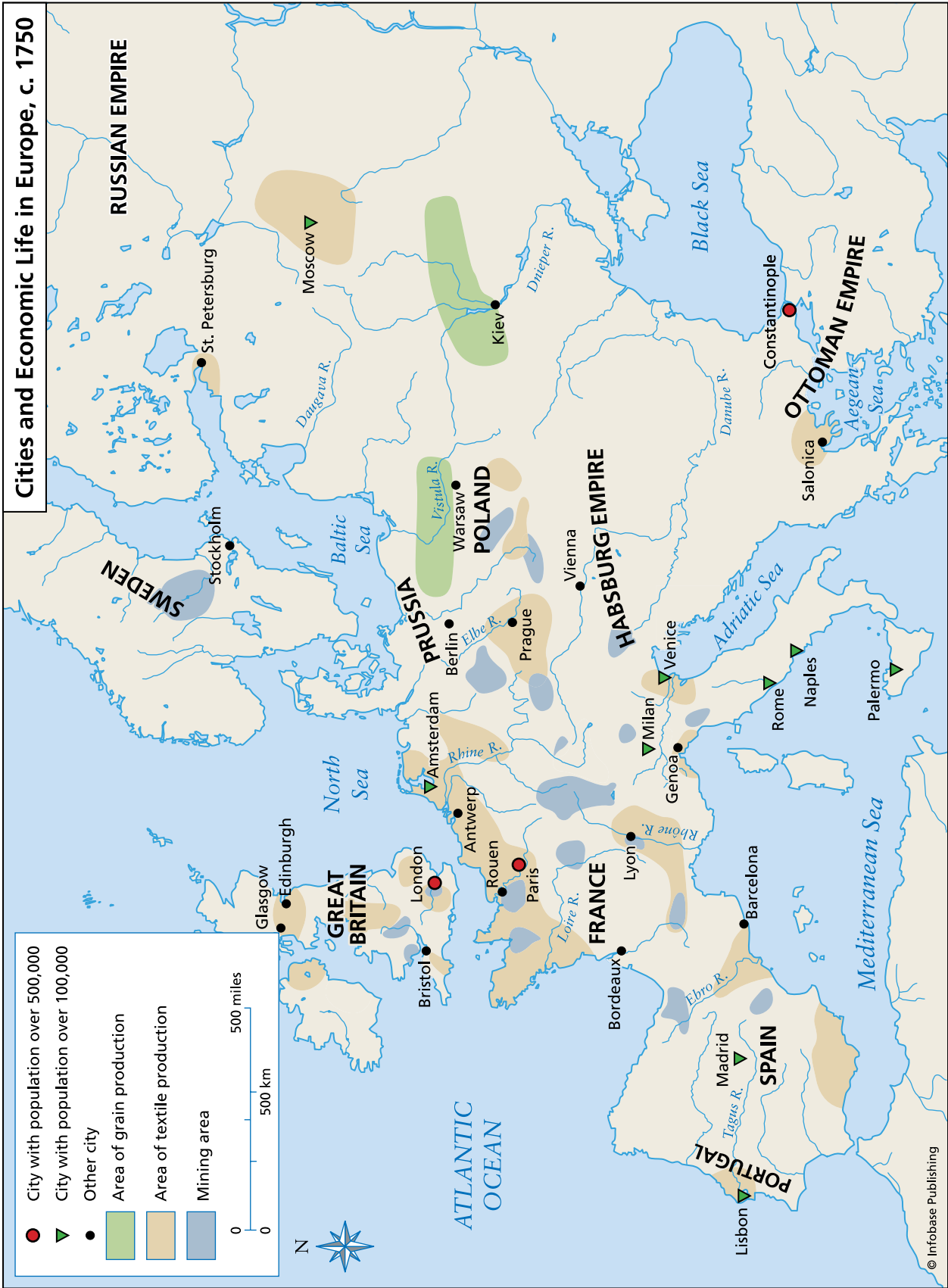
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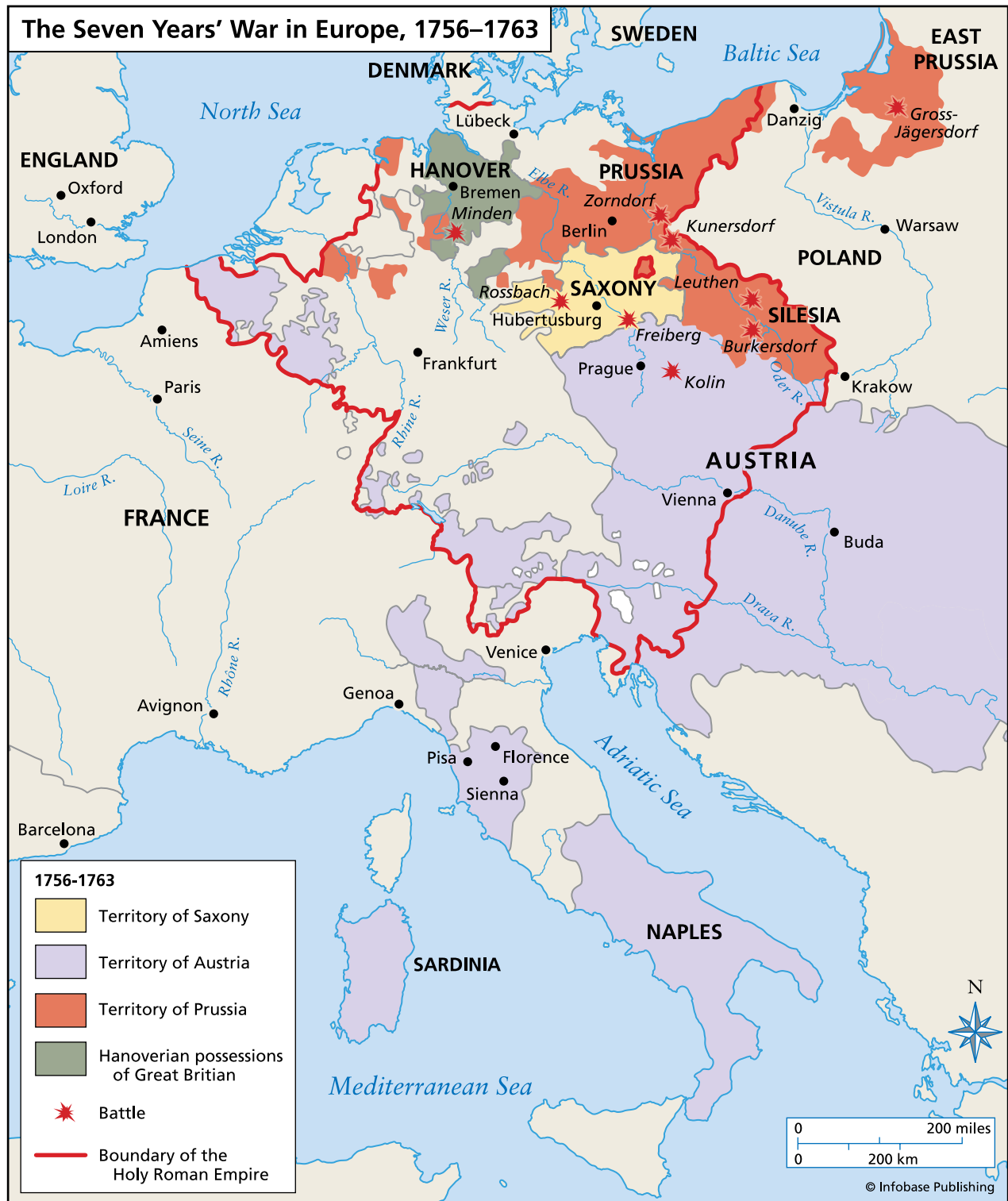
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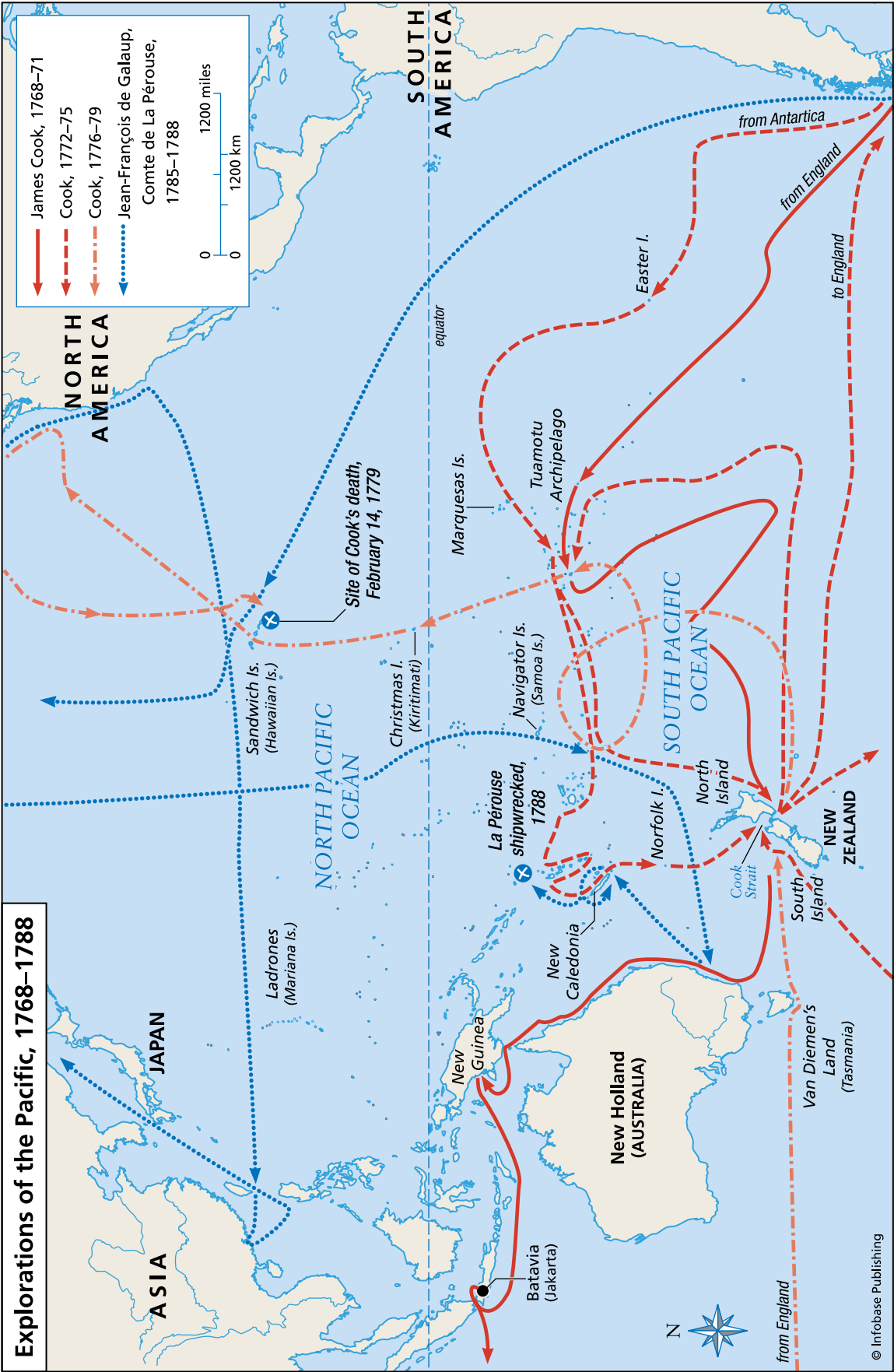




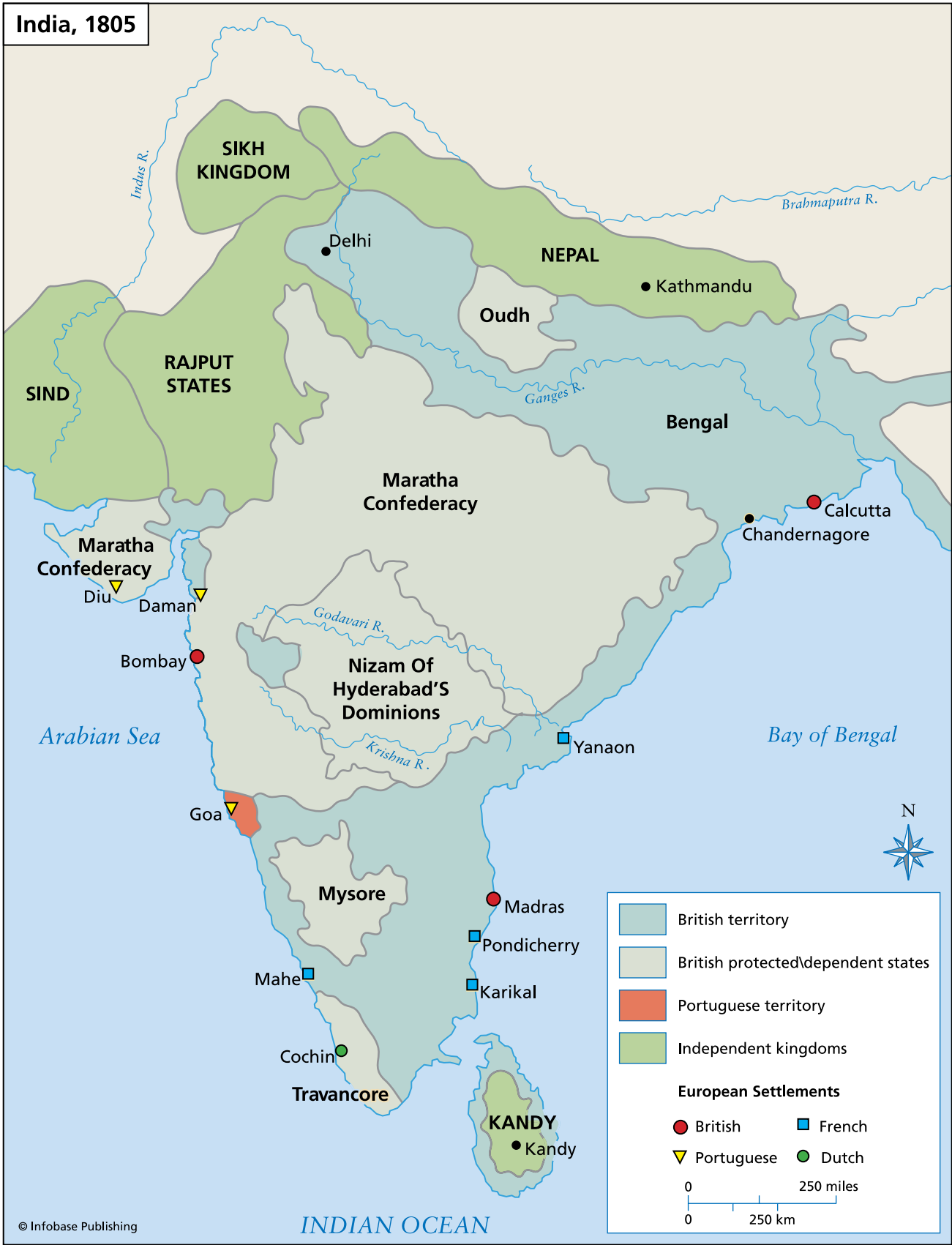


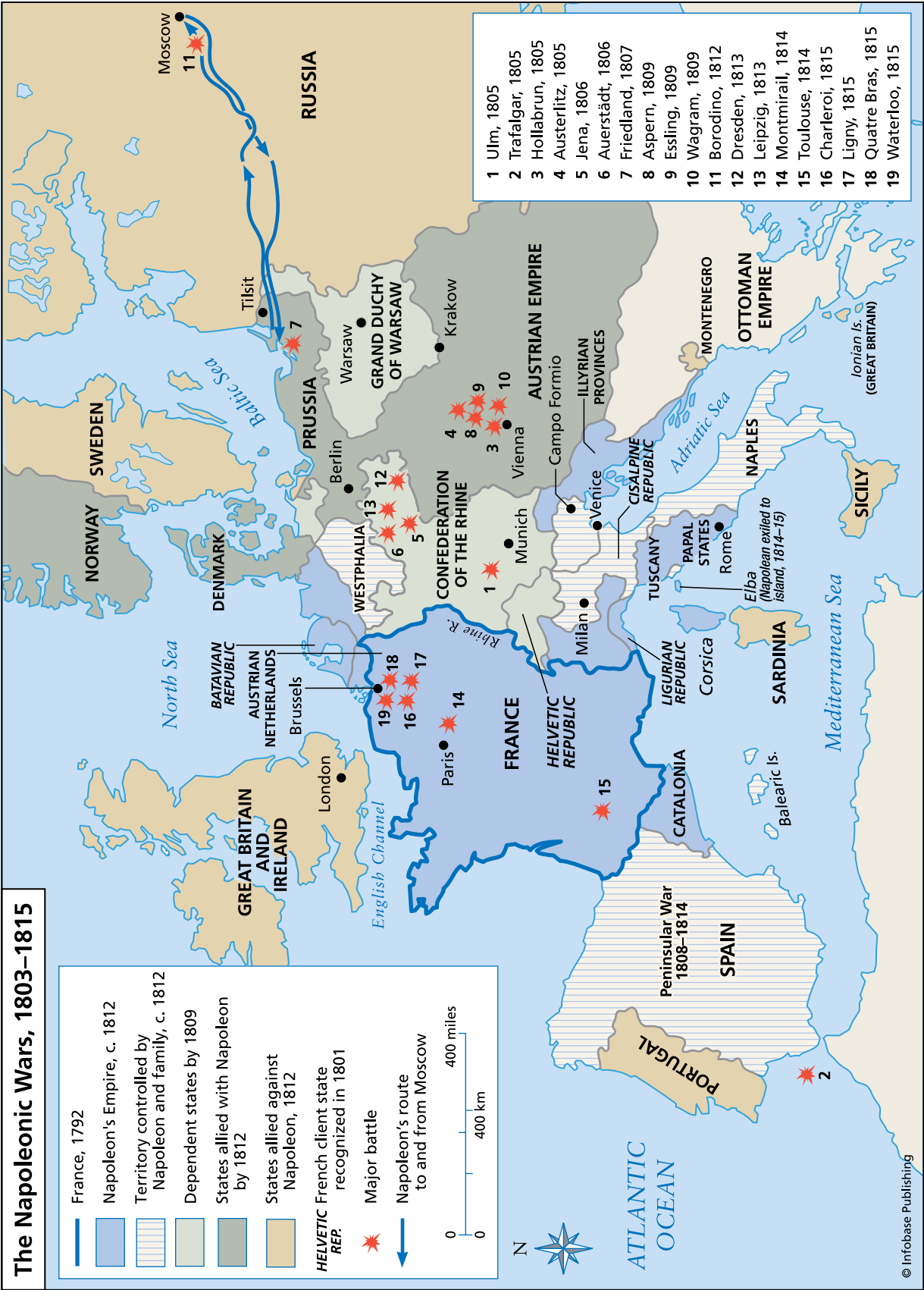


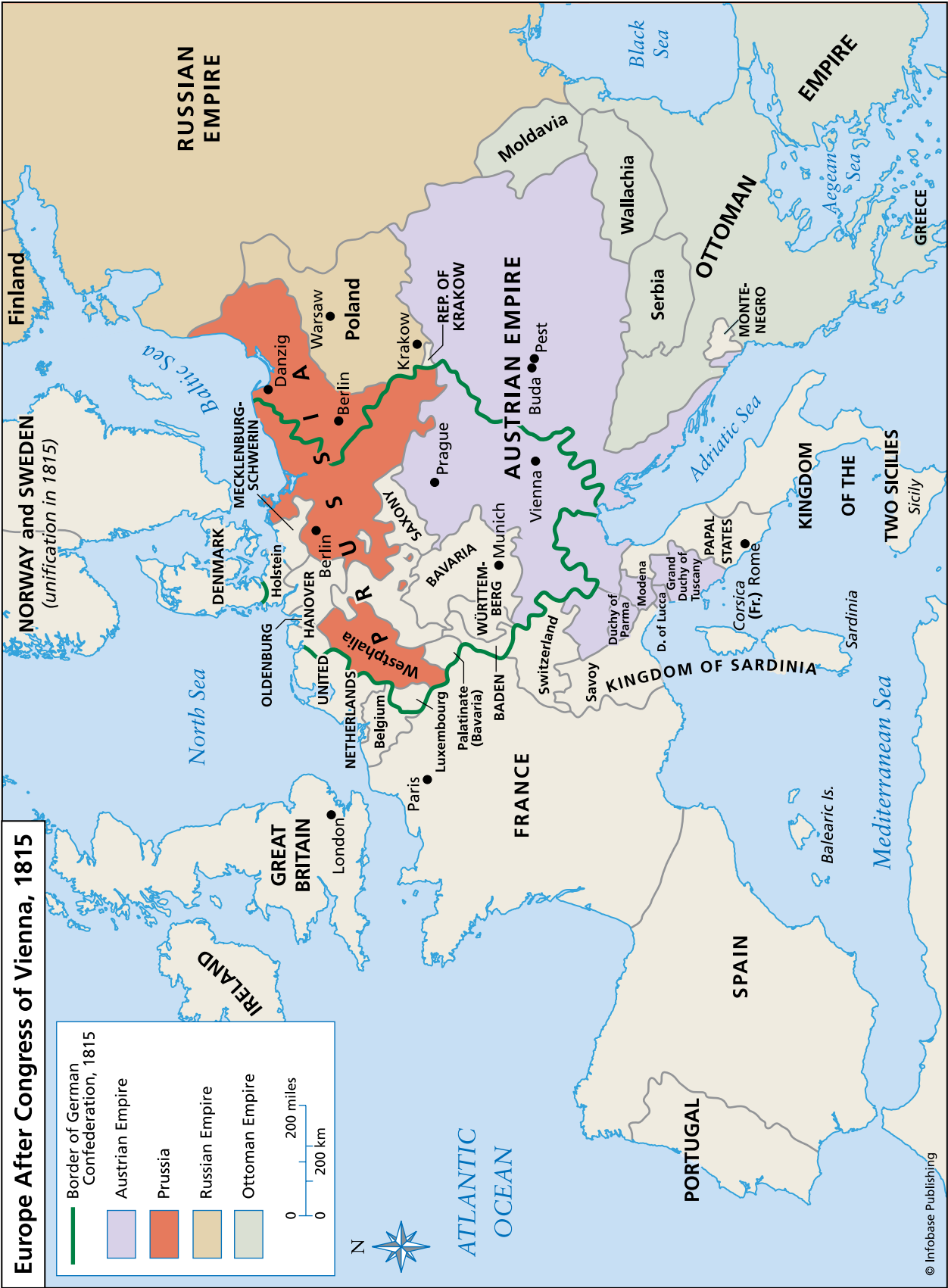


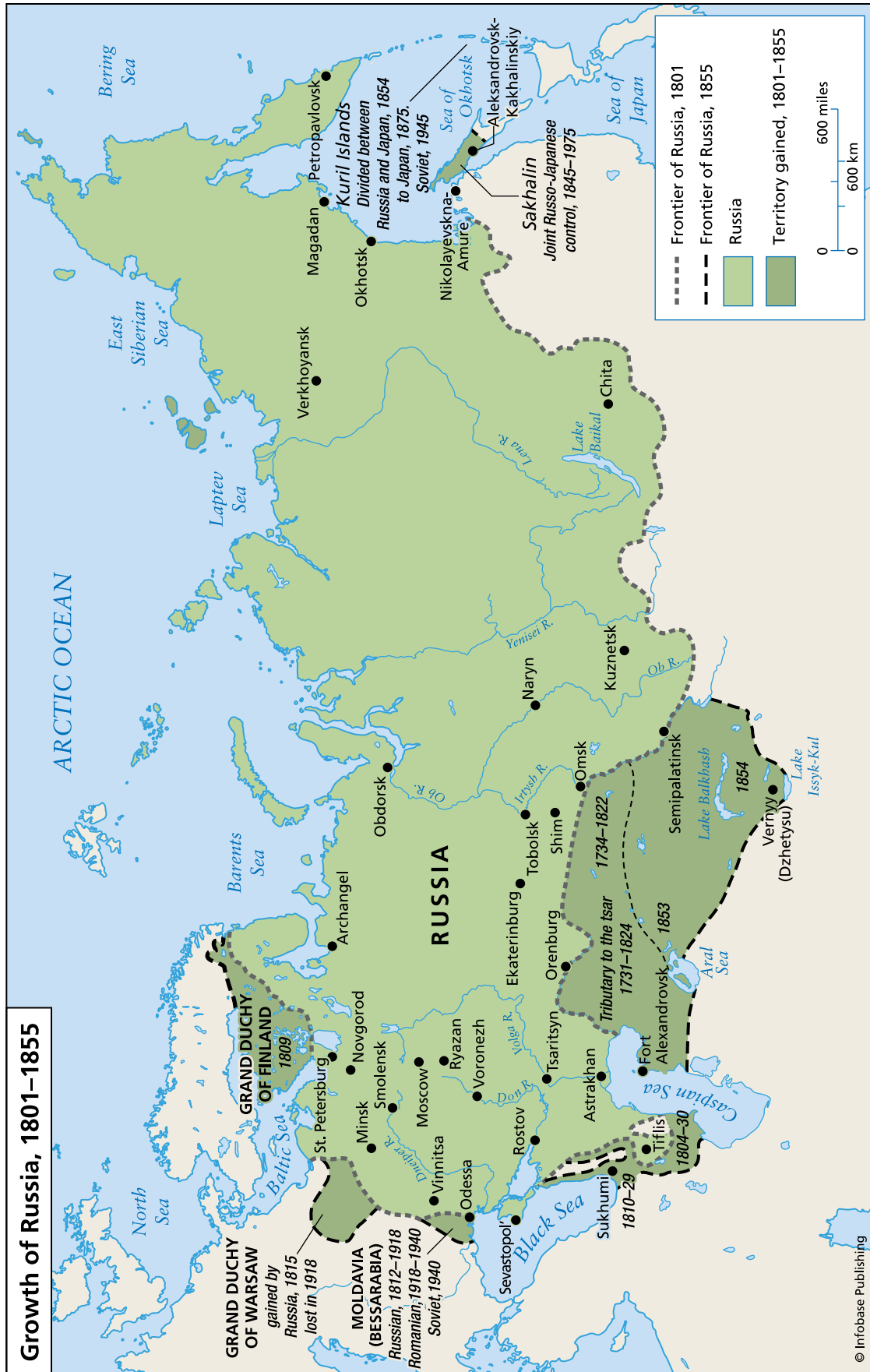




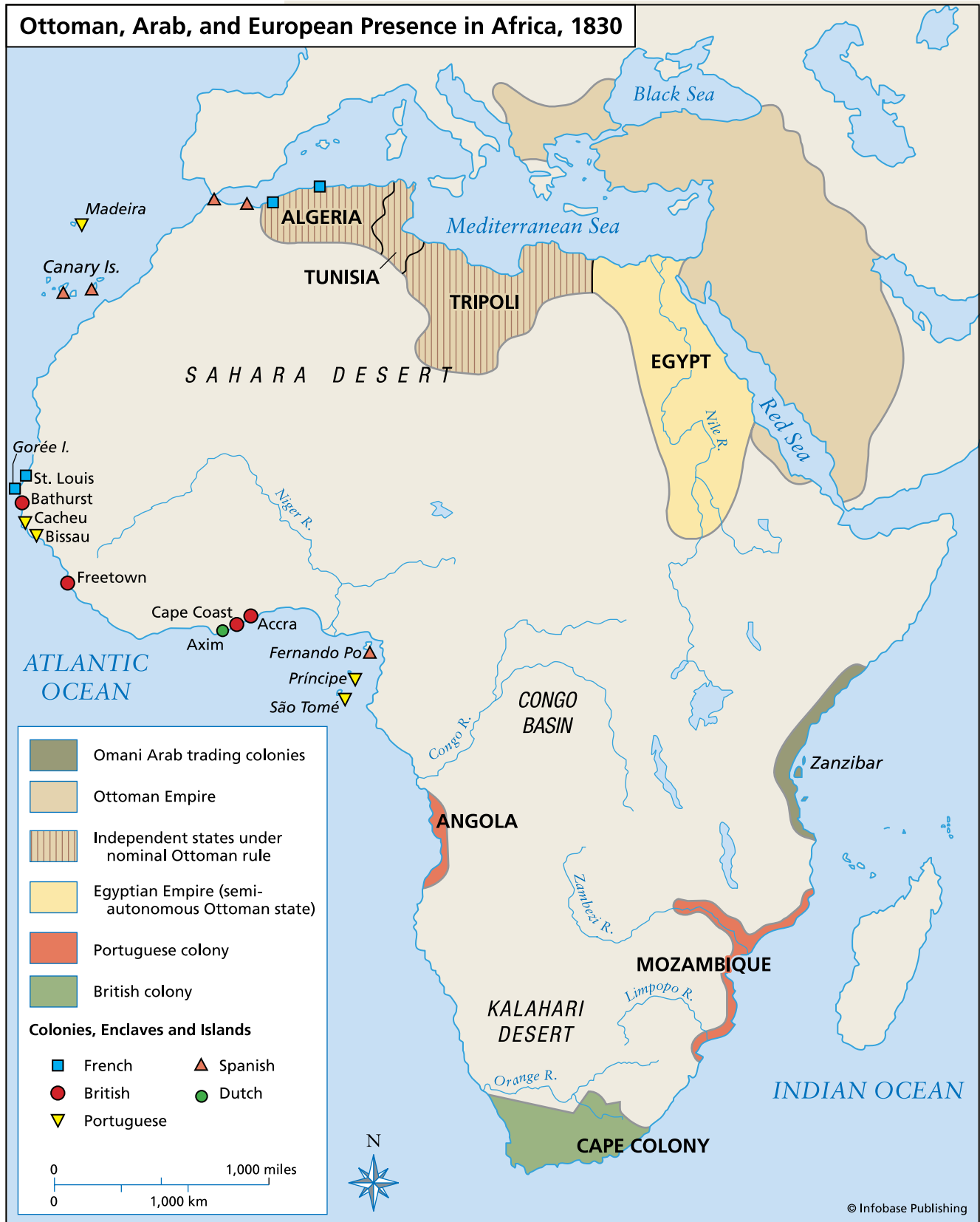


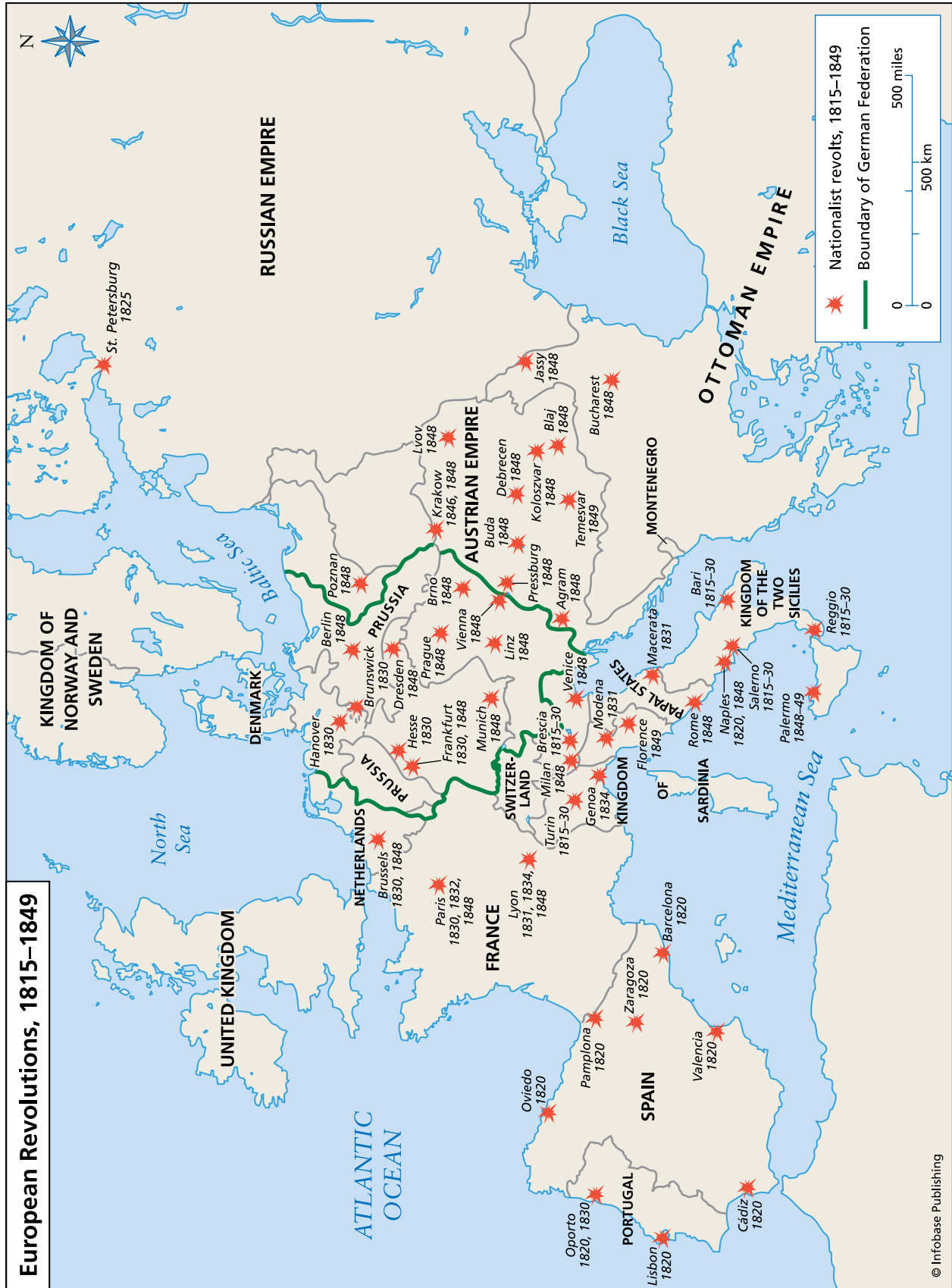








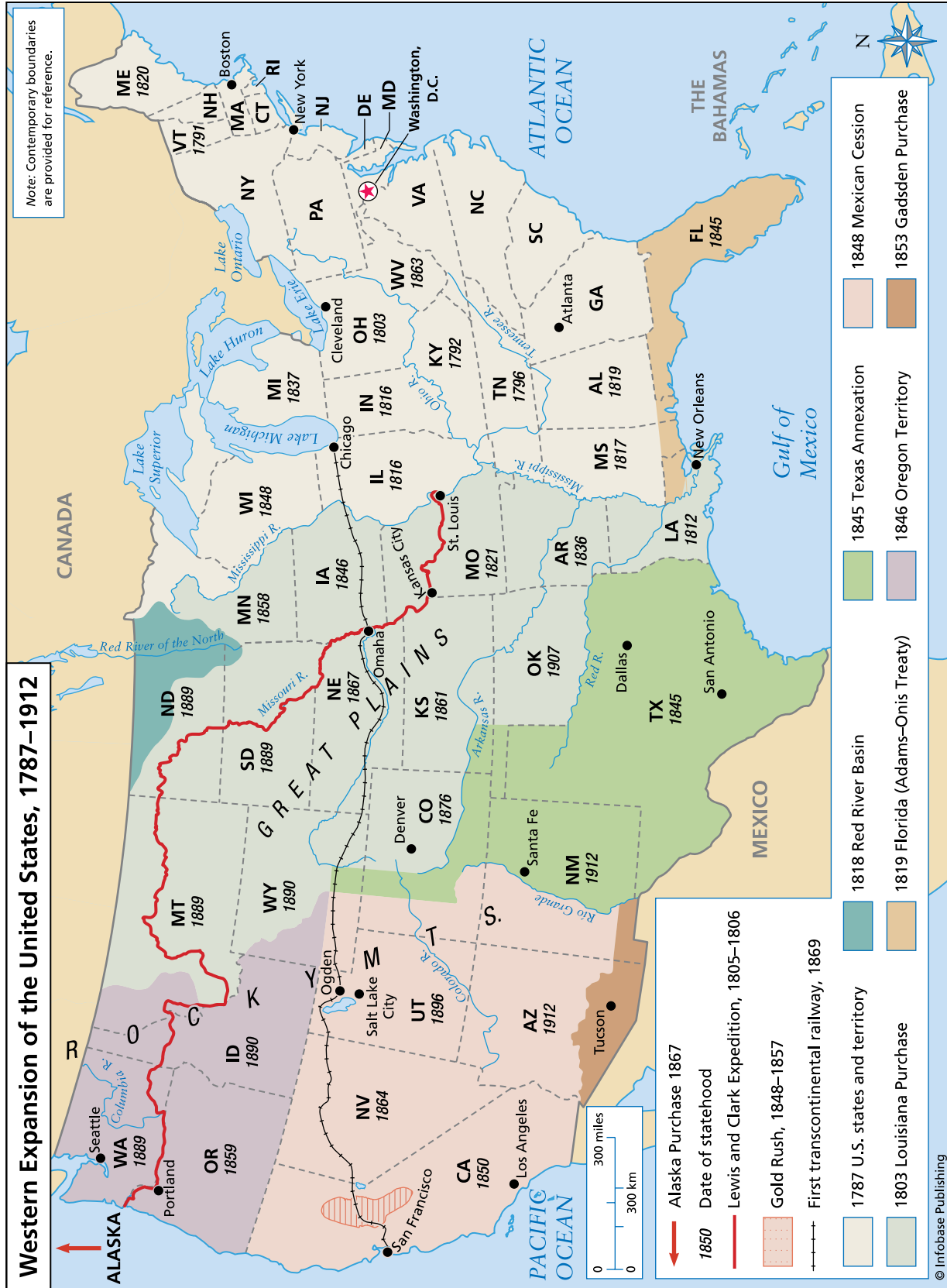




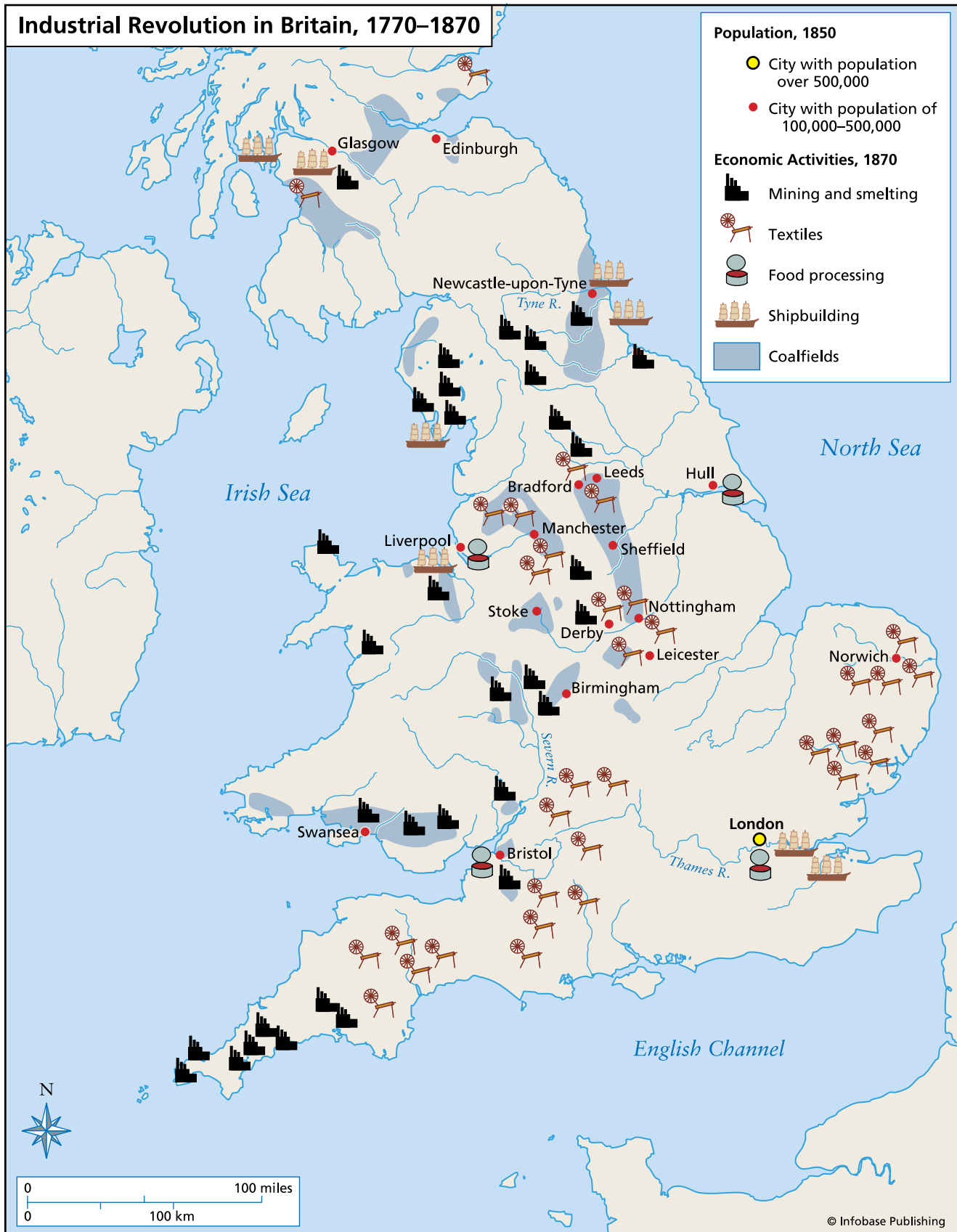


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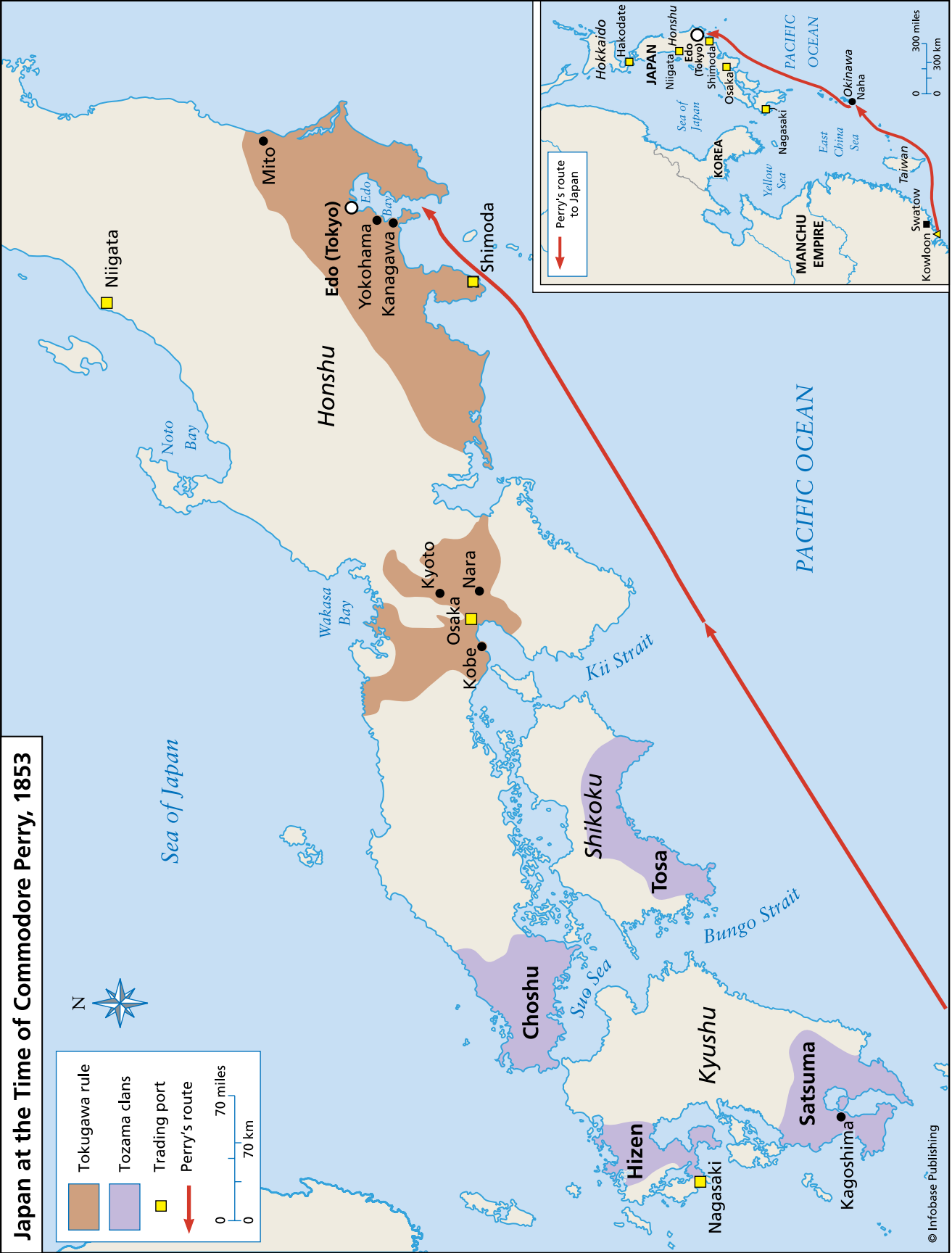


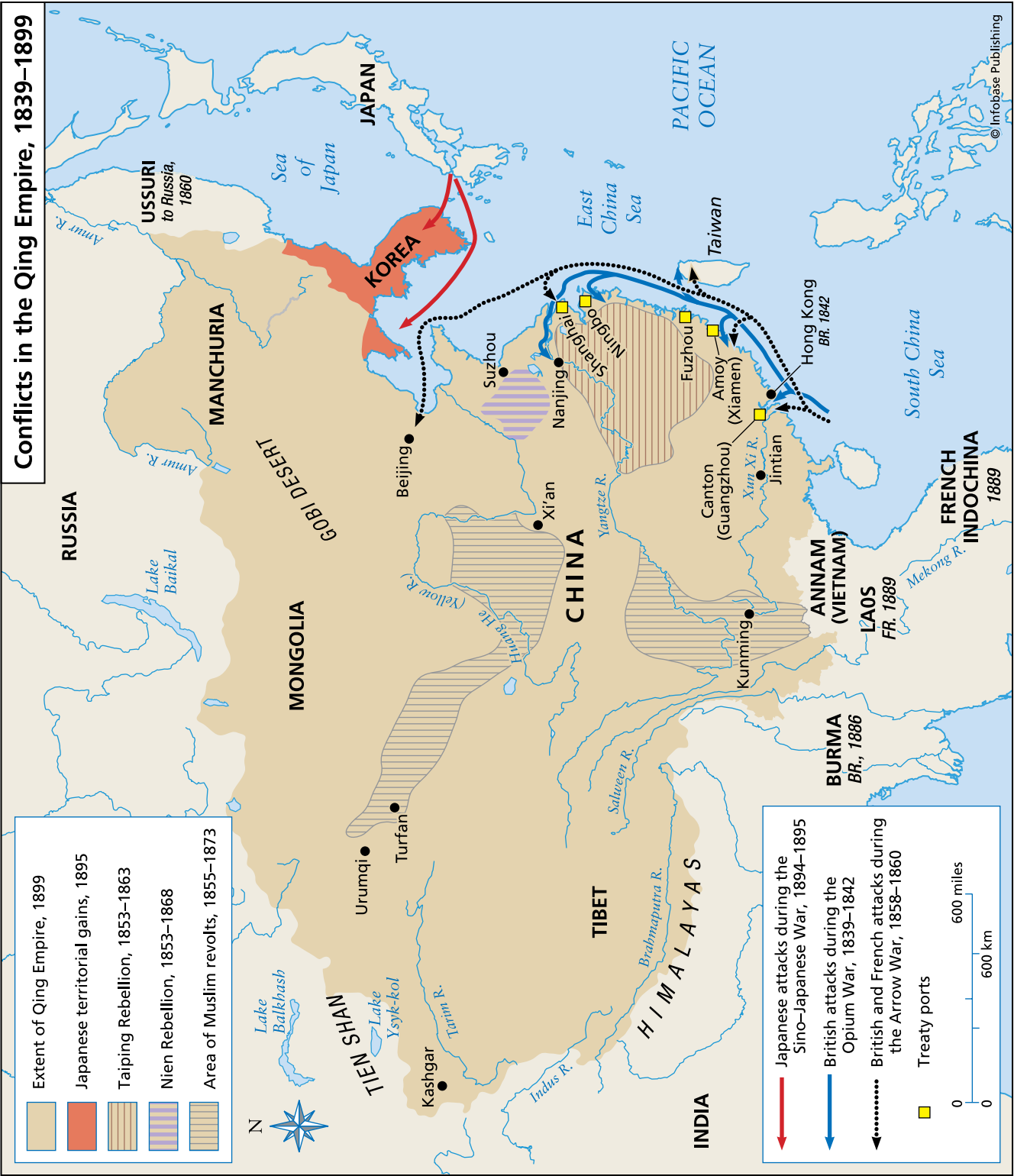






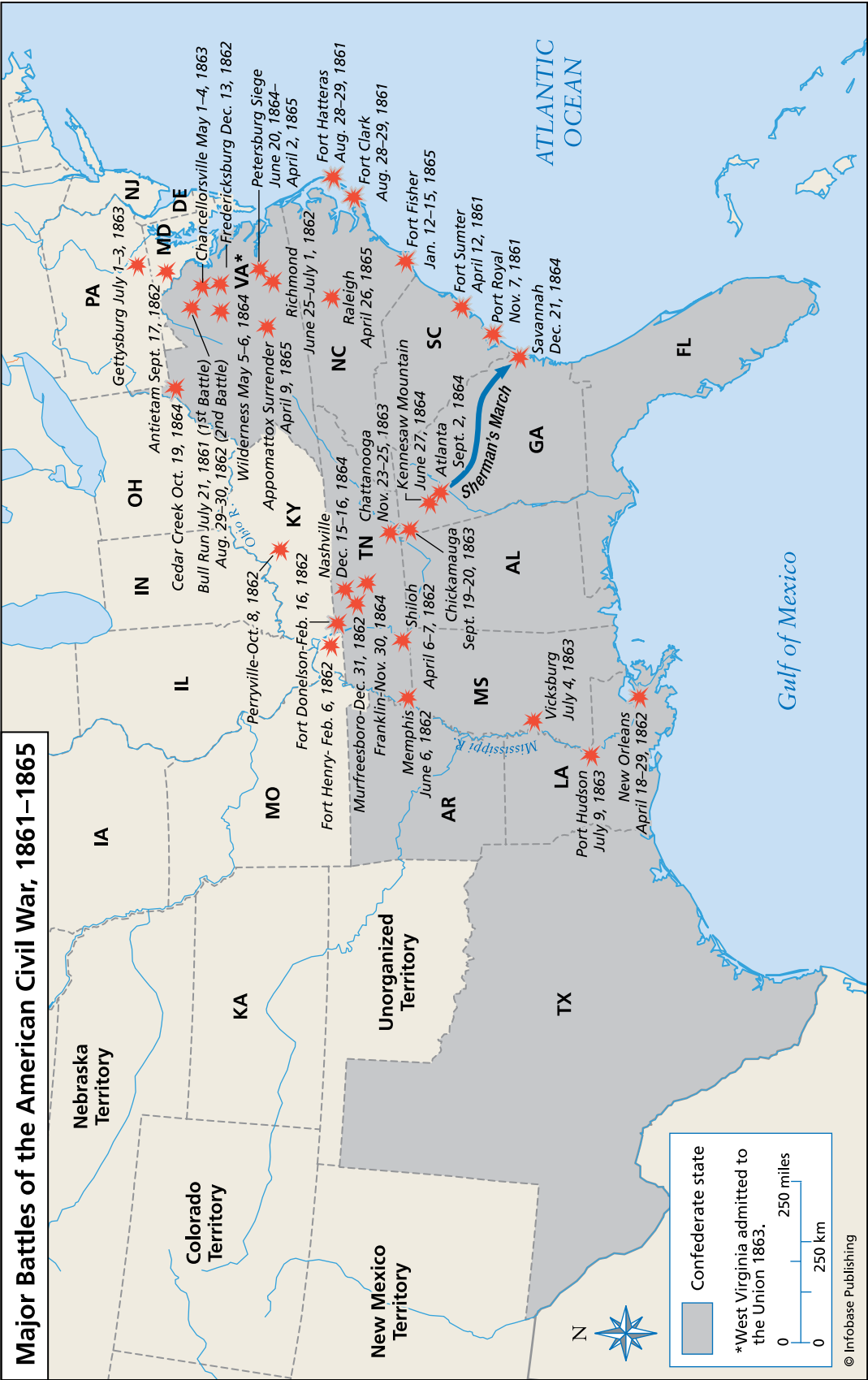


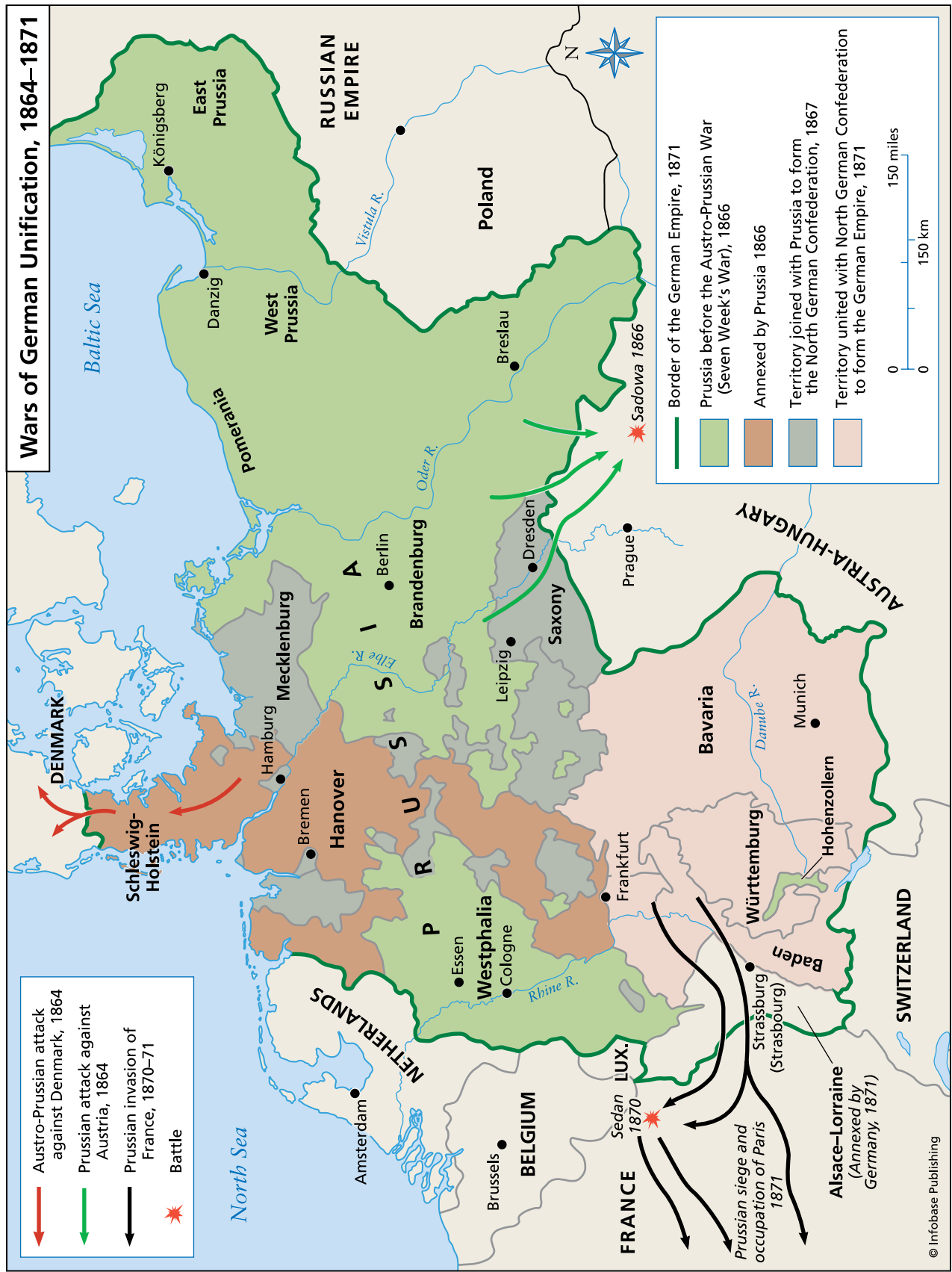




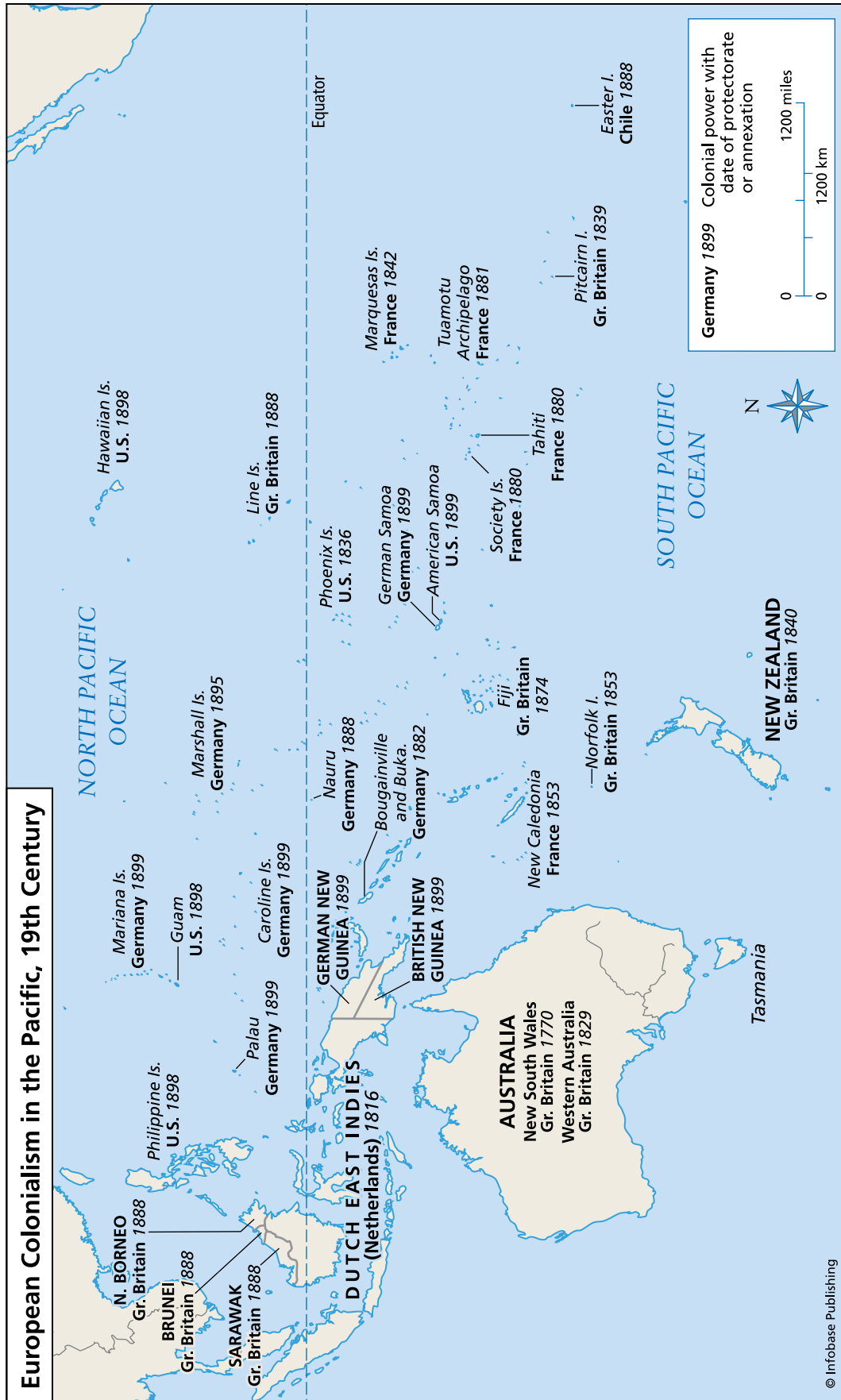


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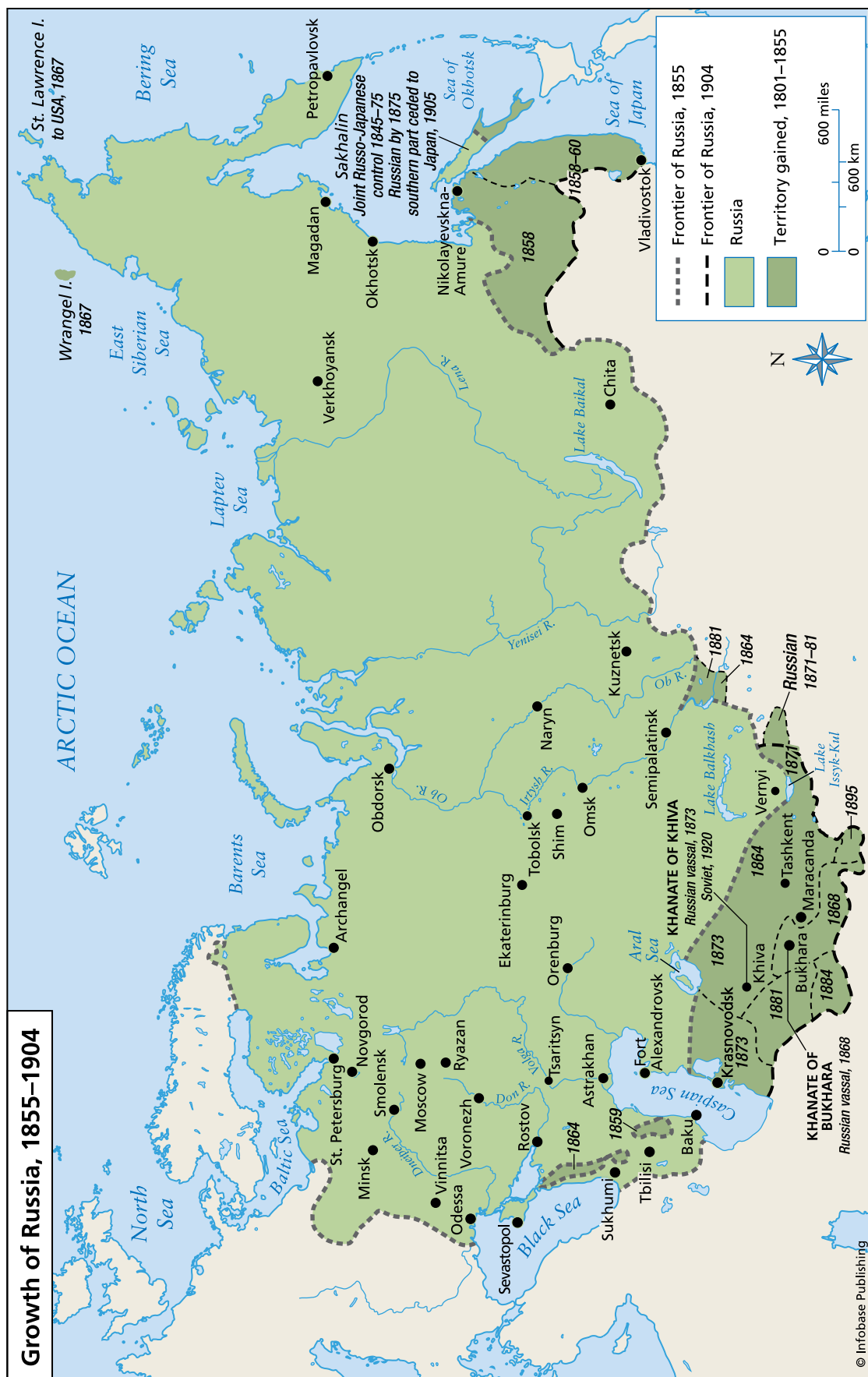


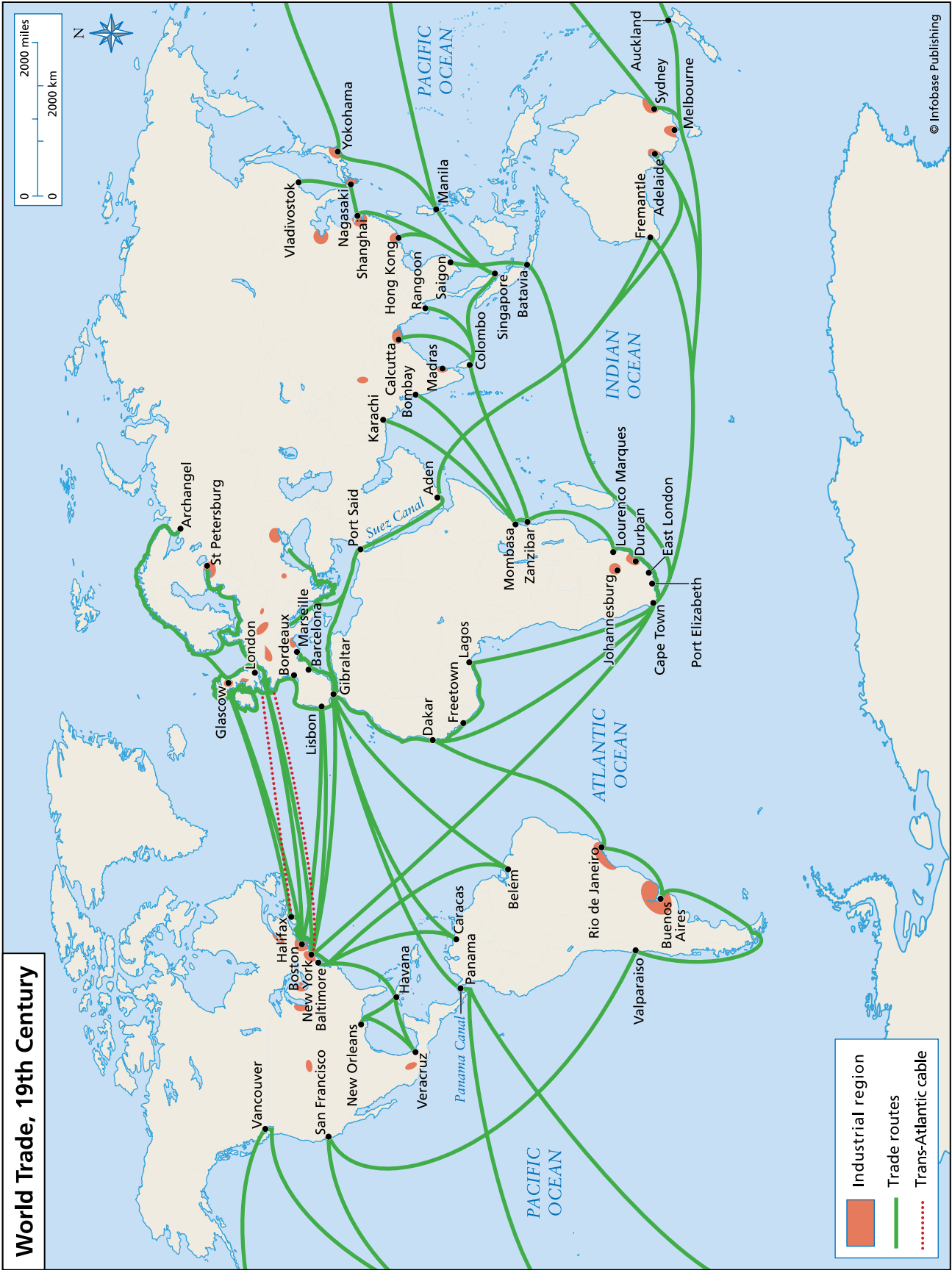












ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

WORLD HISTORY

Edited by
Marsha E. Ackermann
Michael J. Schroeder
Janice J. Terry
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur
Mark F. Whitters



ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT
1900 to 1950



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Volume V

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FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world's major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen because they are specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally, each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER
JANICE J. TERRY
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CHRONOLOGY

1900 Boxer Rebellion

The Boxers, who are Chinese nationalists, stage a revolt that pushes the imperial government to demand the removal of all foreigners from China. The foreigners refuse and have troops sent in to impose their will.

1900 The Boer War

The Boer War is fought between Great Britain, the Boers of Transvaal (South Africa), and the nearby Orange Free State.

1901 Australia Is Created

By an act of the British parliament, the Commonwealth of Australia, a federation of six self-governing colonies, comes into being.

1901 McKinley Is Assassinated

While attending the Pan-American Exposition, U.S. president William McKinley is shot and killed by an anarchist.

1901 Trans-Siberian Railroad Is Completed

The Russians complete the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Moscow to Port Arthur. The railroad opens large-scale access to Siberia.

1902 Anglo-Japanese Treaty

On January 30 Japan and Great Britain sign a treaty of military alliance. The treaty provisions state that if either country is attacked by another country, the cosignatory will maintain a state of benevolent neutrality.

1902 South African Peace Agreement

On May 31 the Boers and the British sign the Peace of Vereeniging, ending the Boer War.

1903 King and Queen of Serbia Are Murdered

Alexander I Obrenovich and his wife, Draga Mashin, are assassinated in the Royal Palace in Belgrade by dissident Serbian Army officers.

1903 Russian Socialist Party Splits

At a meeting in London, the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party splits between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

1903 Turks Massacre Bulgarians

Thousands of Bulgarian men, women, and children are killed by Ottoman Turkish troops. At the time of the attack, the Turks are in the process of suppressing a rebellion in Macedonia.

1903 British Conquer Northern Nigeria

The British capture the mud-walled city of Kano in northern Nigeria on February 3. Once Kano falls, the leaders of the various tribes of northern Nigeria agree to indirect British control.

1903 Ford's First Model A

Henry Ford begins selling the Model A automobile for \$850.

1903 Panama Independent from Colombia

A revolution led by Philippe Jean Bunau-Varilla, an organizer of the Panama Canal Company, declares Panama independent from Colombia. U.S. naval forces prevent the Colombians from suppressing the revolt.

1903 First Messages Are Sent over Pacific Cable

U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt sends the first message across the Pacific Cable. The message connects San Francisco and Manila.

1903 "Wright Flyer" Flies

On December 17 the first flight in a heavier-than-air vehicle occurs in Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.

1904–05 Russo-Japanese War

The Japanese defeat the Russian fleet and land forces in this war, which is the first modern victory of an Asian power over a European power.

1904 Entente Cordiale Is Signed

France and Great Britain reach an agreement that resolves all the major differences between them. This becomes the basis of the alliance among France, Russia, and Great Britain during World War I.

1904 British Forces Reach Tibet

Great Britain forces the Tibetans to agree to a series of commercial agreements for the purpose of opening up Tibet to British trade.

1904 Germans Put Down Revolt in Southwest Africa

On January 11 a revolt by native Africans is initiated against the German colonization of South-West Africa. The Germans ruthlessly put down the revolt.

1904 Treaty between Bolivia and Chile

From 1879 to 1884, the War of the Pacific has taken place between Chile and Bolivia. The war ends in a truce. In 1904, a full treaty is signed.

1905 Revolt in Russia

On January 22 the first Russian Revolution breaks out and is put down.

1905 Sun Yat-sen Founds the United League

Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution, issues the San-min Chu, or the Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. He advocates overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a republic.

1905 First Moroccan Crisis

A crisis develops between France and Germany over who should have rights in Morocco. War is feared, but it is avoided.

1905 Theory of Relativity Is Published

Albert Einstein, who at the time is a German physicist living in Switzerland, publishes the theory of relativity.

1905 Russo-Japanese Treaty of Portsmouth

U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt acts as the mediator in peace talks between the Russians and the Japanese to conclude the Russo-Japanese War, which Japan had won.

1906 Reform in Russia

On May 6 Czar Nicholas II announces the implementation of the Fundamental Laws.

1906 Dreyfus Affair Ends

The Dreyfus affair in France ends when the French court of appeals exonerates Alfred Dreyfus. The affair contributes to the decision to separate church and state in France.

1906 All-India Muslim League

The Muslims of India found the All-India Muslim League. The league's goal is to lobby for constitutional reform and protect Muslim rights.

1906 France Gains Control of Morocco

After a long conference in Algeiras to determine the future of Morocco, it is agreed that the French would have special responsibility for restoring order along the Algerian-Moroccan border.

1906 San Francisco Earthquake

The most disastrous earthquake in America's history hits San Francisco on April 18.

1906 U.S. Troops Occupy Cuba

After a revolt breaks out in Cuba, the Cuban leader, Tomas Estrada Palama, asks the United States to intervene.

1907 Peace Conference at the Hague

At the behest of President Theodore Roosevelt, leaders of all major nations meet at The Hague (Netherlands). The major issue for discussion is the attempt to reach an arms limitation agreement.

1907 New Zealand Becomes a Dominion

New Zealand is granted dominion status in the British Empire and Commonwealth, uniting two self-governing colonies.

1907 Passive Resistance in the Transvaal

The autonomous government of Transvaal announces a policy that requires registration and fingerprinting of all Asians. In response 10,000 Indian residents passively protest.

1907 French Warships Bombard Casablanca

In response to the killing of nine European workers in Casablanca, French warships bombard the city on August 2.

1907 Gentlemen's Agreement

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese agree to withhold passports from laborers intending to migrate to the United States. In return, the United States agrees formally not to limit Japanese immigration.

1908 Union of South Africa Is Founded

On May 31 the Union of South Africa is established, a federation of four self-governing colonies in the British Empire and Commonwealth.

1908 Austria Annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina

Austria unilaterally announces the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two former Ottoman provinces.

1908 Young Turks Revolt

The Turkish sultan Abdul-Hamid II is forced to accede to the demands of the Young Turks, a group of army officers who demand that constitutional rule be restored in Turkey.

1908 King Carlos and Crown Prince Are Assassinated

Assassins kill King Carlos of Portugal, as well as his son and heir, Prince Luis Filipe.

1908 Bulgaria Declares Independence

The Bulgarian Principality declares its complete independence from the Ottoman Empire.

1908 Congo Free State Becomes Belgian Congo

The Congo Free State, which had been the private property of Belgian king Leopold II, becomes an official Belgian colony.

1908 First True Skyscraper Is Built

In 1908 the Singer Building, in Lower Manhattan, is completed. It is the first true skyscraper, reaching 47 stories.

1909 Sultan Abdul Hamid Is Deposed

The Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II is ousted by a unanimous vote of the Turkish parliament.

1909 Revolution in Persia

Revolution breaks out in Persia when the shah, Muhammad Ali, seeks to destroy the constitutional monarchy that he himself had created.

1910 Revolution in Portugal

After the assassination of a prominent republican leader, a revolt breaks out against the monarchy.

1910 Japan Annexes Korea

On August 22 Japan officially annexes Korea. It renames the country Cho-sen, and continues the occupation until the end of World War II.

1911 Tripolitan War

Italy declares war on the Ottoman Empire in September in order to acquire its possession, Libya, in North Africa.

1911 Revolution in China

On October 10 a revolution breaks out against the Manchu government, the central government collapses, and Sun Yat-sen becomes president of the Chinese Republic.

1912 First Balkan War

Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria declare war against Turkey and quickly overrun all Turkish holdings in Europe.

1912 Sun Yat-sen Resigns as President of China

In an effort to unify the country, Sun Yat-sen resigns to allow Yuan Shikai to become president of China.

1912 Italy Annexes Libya

The Italian-Turkish War is brought to an end by the Treaty of Ouchy, which gives Libya to Italy, though the Libyans continue to rebel against Italian domination.

1912 U.S. Marines Intervene in Nicaragua

On August 14 American marines land in Nicaragua to protect American interests from a popular local revolt.

1913 Senators Elected Directly in the United States

The Seventeenth Amendment is ratified, providing for the direct election of senators.

1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand Is Assassinated

Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife are assassinated in Sarajevo in Bosnia.

1914 Austria-Hungary Declares War on Serbia

In the aftermath of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austria declares war on Serbia, thus beginning World War I.

1914 Germany Declares War

When the Russians come to the defense of the Serbs, the Germans declare war to defend their Austrian allies.

1914 Germany Invades Belgium

When Germany invades Belgium, a neutral country, to attack France, an ally of Russia, it provokes Great Britain to declare war on Germany.

1914 Japan Declares War on Germany

On August 15, Japan, an ally of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, issues Germany an ultimatum demanding that the German fleet be withdrawn from the Far East. When they do not receive an answer, Japan declares war against Germany.

1914 Panama Canal Opens

After 10 years of work, and at a cost of \$366 million, the Panama Canal is completed.

1914 Battle of Mons

The Battle of Mons is a series of battles that take place around the River Marne. It lasts seven days, with the result that the British and French break the German advance.

1914 First Battle of Ypres

The battle lasts almost four weeks against the German army, and as a result the Allied lines hold.

1915 Second Battle of Ypres

The Allies' major counteroffensive is stopped by the German use of chlorine gas.

1915 *Lusitania* Sinks

Some 128 American citizens are among the 1,200 passengers of the *Lusitania*, torpedoed by a German submarine.

1915 Battle of the Somme

The British launch a major attack against the Germans, using gas for the first time. On the first day of the battle, the British lose 50,000 soldiers. The battle lasts from July 1 until November 8, and the Allies succeed in recapturing a total of 125 square miles of land.

1916 Battle of Verdun

The battle between French and German forces begins in February and lasts until June. The French lose an estimated 350,000 troops in the battle.

1916 U.S. Troops Intervene in Dominican Republic

After continued armed revolts, U.S. officials declare martial law in the Dominican Republic.

1916 Easter Uprising in Ireland

An uprising in Dublin begins when Irish nationalists seize post offices and other installations.

1917 Allenby Takes Jerusalem

British general Allenby attacks the Ottomans in Palestine. The high point in the British assault is the capture of Jerusalem in December.

1917 Russian Revolution

The February Revolution begins as a series of riots protesting food shortages and the Russian suffering in World War I. Czar Nicholas II is forced to abdicate.

1917 Bolshevik Revolution

On November 6, the Bolsheviks, led by the Military Revolutionary Committee, capture most of the government offices and storm the Winter Palace, overthrowing the provisional government.

1917 United States Enters World War I

On April 6 the United States declares war against the

Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria). The vote is 90 to 6 in the Senate and 373 to 50 in the House.

1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

A treaty is signed between the Central Powers and the Soviet government of Russia.

1918 Battle of the Marne

The Battle of the Marne is a massive attempt by Germany to break through on the western front before American forces could arrive in large numbers.

1918 Battle of Argonne Forest

On September 26, Allied troops begin the offensive. The German high command warns that it could no longer ensure victory, and as the German army begins mutinying, it sues for peace.

1918 Poland Declares Independence

Poland declares its independence as a nation on October 6, 1918.

1918 United States and Allies Intervene in Russia

The United States takes a limited role in the international force that intervenes in the Russian Civil War.

1918 Czechoslovakia Declares Independence

The Prague National Council declares Czechoslovakia independent from Austria-Hungary on October 28, 1918.

1918 Armistice Is Signed in Europe

On November 11, an armistice is signed, bringing World War I in Europe to a conclusion.

1919 Versailles Peace Conference

On June 29, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles is signed, officially ending World War I.

1919 Amritsar Massacre in India

On April 13 British general Reginald Dyer orders his troops to open fire on demonstrators at Amritsar in the Punjab of India; 379 people are killed, and nearly 1,200 are wounded.

1919 Anglo-Afghan War

Afghan ruler Amanullah Khan proclaims a religious war against the British and calls on the Muslim subjects of India to rise up. He leads a failed small-

scale invasion of India. As a result Britain recognizes Afghan independence.

1920 Ireland Is Granted Home Rule

The British parliament passes the Government Act. The act calls for the creation of separate parliaments in Northern and Southern Ireland.

1920 Gandhi Leads Indian Independence

Mohandas Gandhi begins a nationwide speaking campaign to enlist support for the nonviolent, noncooperation movement against Great Britain.

1920 Palestine Becomes British Mandate

Under terms agreed to at the Paris Peace Conference, the British government is given the mandate for Palestine, TransJordan, and Iraq.

1920 Syria and Lebanon Become French Mandate

The Syrian National Congress declares its complete independence. The League of Nations wartime Anglo-French agreements officially confirm the land of the French mandate, and French forces take Damascus by force.

1920 Prohibition Begins in the United States

The Senate and House override the veto of President Woodrow Wilson and enact into law a bill outlawing the production, sale, and transportation of all forms of liquor.

1920 Participation by the United States in League of Nations Is Rejected

On November 19 the U.S. Senate votes 53 to 38 against supporting the League of Nations.

1920 Women's Suffrage in the United States

With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, women gain the right to vote.

1921 Modern Turkey Is Founded

On January 20 Turk nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) adopt a set of fundamental laws that becomes the foundation of the modern state of Turkey. These laws provide for the sovereignty of the people, a parliament elected by male suffrage, and a president with extensive powers.

1921 Reza Khan Becomes Ruler of Persia

Reza Khan arrives in Tehran on February 22, commanding an army of 4,000 troops. His forces topple

the government, and he becomes the new leader of Persia, later named Iran.

1921 Faisal Becomes King of Iraq

In June 1921, Emir Faisal, formerly the king of Syria, arrives in Iraq with British support. Faisal is soon proclaimed king of Iraq. He remains on the Iraqi throne until 1933.

1921 Washington Naval Conference

The United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy meet and agree to a treaty limiting the size of their respective navies.

1922 Irish Free State Is Established

An agreement is reached that provides for an independent Ireland, having the status of dominion within the British Empire.

1922 Mussolini Seizes Power in Italy

As a result of large-scale demonstrations by his supporters King Victor Emmanuel III appoints Fascist leader Benito Mussolini prime minister and gives him dictatorial powers in an effort to restore order.

1922 British Give Egypt Limited Independence

The British government unilaterally terminates its protectorate of Egypt but retains British troops in the country.

1923 France Occupies the Ruhr

France announces on January 9 that the Germans are in default on their coal deliveries under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. On January 11, the French occupy the Ruhr district of Germany in order to force the German government into compliance.

1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch

Adolf Hitler, together with General Erich Ludendorff, attempt to overthrow the German government of the Weimar Republic. The putsch is suppressed by the government.

1923 TransJordan Is Established as a Separate Country

Britain separates TransJordan from the mandate of Palestine and installs Emir Abdullah as the titular ruler.

1924 Mongolian People's Government Is Established

With the support of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian

Peoples Revolutionary Government is established. It becomes the first Soviet satellite state.

1924 Lenin Dies

The death of Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Union, starts a power struggle between Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky.

1924 Ibn Saud Takes Mecca

Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud undertakes a campaign to unify Saudi Arabia. In October Ibn Saud captures Mecca, thereby coming close to achieving his goal.

1926 Trotsky Is Ousted

Joseph Stalin wins his battle for control of the Soviet Union by ousting Leon Trotsky from the Communist Party in 1926. Trotsky is assassinated while in exile in Mexico.

1927 Chiang Kai-shek Breaks with Communists

Chiang, leader of the Chinese Nationalists after the death of Sun Yat-sen, initially continues to cooperate with the Russian and Chinese Communists. In 1927, ending the alliance, Chiang sets up a separate government and turns against them.

1927 Lindbergh Crosses the Atlantic

On May 27 Charles Lindbergh arrives in Paris after completing the first solo nonstop flight between New York and Paris.

1928 First Five-Year Plan

The Soviet Union launches an ambitious five-year plan for economic growth under the Marxist model.

1928 Warlord Era Ends

The Chinese Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, capture Peking (Beijing), ending the Warlord era.

1928 Kellogg-Brand Pact

The Kellogg-Brand Pact, started as a bilateral French-American accord, is expanded to include 62 nations. Its goal is to outlaw war.

1929 Stalin Enforces Collectivization

Joseph Stalin begins a policy of forced collectivization of farms. Small farmers are forced off their land and onto collectives.

1929 Settlement of Tacna Arica Question

Chile and Peru settle a longstanding border dispute.

Under terms of the agreement, Chile is awarded Arica, and Peru is awarded Tacna.

1929 Stock Market Crash

Between October 29, on what becomes known as “Black Tuesday,” and November 13, the U.S. stock market loses a total of 40 percent of its value. The stock market crash is the first major event of the Great Depression.

1930 Nazis Win 107 Seats in Parliament

The Nazi Party wins 107 seats in the election for the German Reichstag, later home of the German parliament.

1930 London Naval Accord

Great Britain, the United States, and Japan sign a naval pact limiting the number of capital (major) ships.

1930 Chiang Kai-shek Attacks Communists

Chiang Kai-shek begins the first of five military campaigns against the rebelling Chinese Communists.

1930 Peruvian President Is Ousted

A rebellion breaks out in southern Peru in August. As a result, Peruvian president Augusto Leguía is forced to resign.

1930 Revolt in Brazil

After Conservative Julio Prestes is elected president, a revolt breaks out in the southern provinces.

1931 Japan Attacks Manchuria

In violation of all its treaty obligations, Japan begins the occupation of Manchuria, a region in northeastern China, on September 18. This is the first step toward World War II in Asia.

1932 Coup d'État Ends Absolute Monarchy in Siam

The army stages a coup d'état in Siam (named Thailand) that ends the absolute powers of the monarchy.

1932 Japan Attacks Shanghai

The Japanese continue their assault on China by attacking Shanghai but are forced to withdraw due to Chinese resistance and international mediation.

1932 War between Peru and Colombia Breaks Out

Peruvians seize the Amazon border town of Leticia. This action sparks a two-year war that ends when

the League of Nations restores the area to Colombian control in 1933.

1933 Hitler Becomes Chancellor of Germany

Adolf Hitler becomes the chancellor (prime minister) of Germany after his Nazi Party forms a coalition with a centrist party. It is his first step toward dictatorial powers.

1933 Dachau Concentration Camp Is Established

The Nazis round up all potential adversaries, arresting tens of thousands of opponents and Jews. There is no place to put them in jail, so the first of many concentration camps is opened.

1933 New Deal Begins

The inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt as president brings with it the New Deal, which sees the creation of a multitude of government agencies and activities to combat the Great Depression in the United States.

1933 Prohibition Is Repealed

One of the first acts of the Roosevelt administration is the repeal of Prohibition.

1933 Western Hemisphere Agreement

The nations of the Western Hemisphere enter into an agreement in which they renounce aggression.

1934 King of Yugoslavia Is Assassinated

King Alexander of Yugoslavia arrives in France for a state visit on October 9. While traveling in a motorcade with French foreign minister Louis Barthou, both are killed by a Croatian assassin.

1934 Unrest in Austria, Dollfuss Is Assassinated

The Nazi Party of Austria, abetted by the German Nazi Party, attempts to stage a coup in Austria. They take over the chancellery in Vienna and kill Austrian chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, but the coup fails.

1934 Stalin Begins Purges

Sergei Kirov, a close associate of Joseph Stalin, is assassinated. This prompts Stalin to institute a great purge throughout the Soviet Union.

1934 Mao Sets off on Long March

Continued victories by the Kuomintang Army under Chiang Kai-shek compell the Chinese Communist forces under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) to flee in what becomes known as the Long March.

1935 Germany Rejects Versailles Treaty

Adolf Hitler announces on March 16 that he is abrogating those portions of the Versailles Treaty that limit the size and weapons of the German armed forces.

1935 Government of India Act

The British parliament passes the Government of India Act. Under its terms, Burma and Aden are separated from India, and India and Burma are given greater measures of self-government.

1935 Commonwealth of Philippines Is Declared

The Filipinos approve a new constitution, passed by the U.S. Congress, under which they are granted independence as a commonwealth.

1935 WPA Is Created

The largest U.S. employment agency is created under President Franklin Roosevelt with the enactment of the Works Progress Administration.

1936 Italy Invades Ethiopia

The League of Nations censures Italy for aggression in Ethiopia but fails to take measures to prevent the country's conquest by Italy.

1936 Spanish Civil War Breaks Out

The Spanish army, led by General Francisco Franco, begins a revolt against the democratic government of the Spanish Republic.

1936 Oil Found in Saudi Arabia

Standard Oil of California discovers oil under the Saudi desert.

1936 Treaty between Egypt and Great Britain

A treaty is signed in August between Egypt and Great Britain. Under the terms, Great Britain is to withdraw all but 10,000 of its troops.

1936 Arab Revolt in Palestine

An Arab High Committee is formed to unite Palestinian opposition to a Jewish state in Palestine and the British mandate.

1937 Sino-Japanese War Resumes

On July 7, Japanese troops clash in maneuvers with Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge, 10 miles west of Peking (Beijing). Three weeks later, the Japanese invade in large numbers, beginning an all-out

war between the two countries that becomes part of World War II.

1937 Partition of Palestine

The Peel Commission in the United Kingdom recommends the partition of Palestine into a small Jewish state, a much larger Arab state united with TransJordan, and a small continuing British presence in Jerusalem.

1937 Somoza Family Gains Control over Nicaragua

The legitimate government of Juan Sacasa is overthrown by the national guard, led by General Anastasio Somoza.

1937 Italian-German Axis Is Announced

On November 11 Italy joins an Anti-Communist Pact already in force between Japan and Germany.

1938 Germany Seizes Austria in the Anschluss

On March 12 German troops invade and annex Austria to Germany.

1938 Munich Agreement

In a desperate attempt to avoid war, the leaders of Great Britain and France meet with Hitler and Mussolini in Munich at the end of September. During the meeting, they accede to Hitler's demands to annex the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia, to Germany.

1939 German Forces Enter Prague

In March 1939, the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia are conquered by Germany.

1939 Madrid Surrenders

The Spanish civil war comes to an end in March with the surrender of Madrid and Valencia.

1939 Pact of Steel

Italy and Germany enter into the Pact of Steel. The alliance pledges that each nation will support the other in case of war.

1939 The White Paper

The White Paper states that since the Balfour Declaration called only for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and since there were over 450,000 Jews in Palestine, Britain has met its responsibilities and that independence should be granted in 10 years.

- 1939 Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact**
Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union sign a Non-Aggression Pact.
- 1939 Germany Invades Poland**
World War II begins when Germany invades Poland on September 1. On September 3, Great Britain and France declare war against Germany.
- 1940 Germany Invades Norway**
German forces invade Norway and Denmark.
- 1940 German Armies Invade the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg**
In a flanking move that makes the French Maginot Line irrelevant, the Germans attack the Low Countries. The Netherlands surrenders in four days, after massive German attacks on Rotterdam.
- 1940 Dunkirk Is Evacuated**
The British successfully extricate 200,000 British and 100,000 French troops from the beaches of Dunkirk as German forces advance on France.
- 1940 Paris Falls, France Surrenders**
On June 13, Paris is evacuated by French forces in the face of advancing German troops. France surrenders 10 days later.
- 1940 Battle of Britain**
Germany attempts to subdue Great Britain, attacking major British cities and military installations by air, but fails.
- 1940 Italy Invades Greece**
The Italians invade Greece, expecting a quick victory.
- 1940 British Attack Italian Forces in Egypt**
British troops launch a surprise attack on Italian troops that occupy parts of western Egypt, routing the Italians.
- 1941 German Forces Invade Greece and Yugoslavia**
Germany invades Yugoslavia after a coup in Belgrade that overthrows the pro-German government and replaces it with one committed to neutrality.
- 1941 German Forces Invade the Soviet Union**
Breaking the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, German forces invade the Soviet Union. Germany advances on a 2,000-mile-long front.
- 1941 Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor**
On December 7 the Japanese launch a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.
- 1942 Singapore Surrenders**
The British fortress at Singapore surrenders to the Japanese.
- 1942 Philippines Surrender**
On December 22, 100,000 Japanese troops land on the island of Luzon. Japanese forces converge on the capital of Manila, forcing the U.S. and Filipino defenders to retreat to the island of Corregidor. On May 6, American forces surrender.
- 1942 Battle of Midway**
The entire U.S. naval carrier force intercepts and sinks four Japanese carriers. This victory is the turning point for the United States in the Pacific war.
- 1942 German Troops Reach Stalingrad**
German troops reach the Russian city of Stalingrad, on the Volga, and besiege it.
- 1942 British Victory at El Alamein**
German forces, under the command of Erwin Rommel, meet the British forces under General Bernard Montgomery at El Alamein. Montgomery has a two-to-one advantage in tanks and is victorious.
- 1942 Operation Torch**
The invasion of North Africa in Operation Torch is designed to encircle German troops there. American troops land in French North Africa with limited opposition.
- 1942 Japanese Americans Are Interned**
On February 20, President Roosevelt issues a presidential order to intern Japanese-American residents of the West Coast.
- 1943 Casablanca Conference**
A conference is held in Casablanca, in French Morocco, January 14–24, between U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill and their respective staffs.
- 1943 German Troops Surrender at Stalingrad**
The starving and surrounded German troops at Stalingrad surrender to Soviet forces.

1943 Quebec Conference

British and American leaders meet in Quebec to coordinate war plans. At the meetings Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt discuss the upcoming landing in Italy, as well as a future summit with Joseph Stalin.

1943 Teheran Conference

A three-way conference is held in Tehran between Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin.

1944 U.S. Troops Land at Anzio

American forces land at Anzio, just south of Naples in Italy, in an attempt to outflank the Germans.

1944 Rome Is Liberated

On June 4, American forces, under the command of General Mark Clark, enter Rome, ending effective Italian resistance.

1944 D-Day

On June 6, 45 Allied divisions, with almost 3 million men led by U.S. general Dwight Eisenhower, begin landing on the beaches of Normandy in France.

1944 Paris Is Liberated

Allied forces, led by the French Second Armored Division, liberate Paris from the Nazis on August 25.

1944 Battle of the Bulge

German forces make a surprise attack against U.S. forces in Belgium—it is the last major German counteroffensive of World War II.

1945 Auschwitz Is Liberated

Soviet forces liberate the largest German concentration/death camp, Auschwitz, where Germany had killed 2,500,000 people, the great majority of whom were Jews.

1945 Yalta Conference

President Franklin Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Marshal Joseph Stalin meet at Yalta in the southern Soviet Union. The agenda concerns the Soviet Union declaring war against Japan and the postwar world.

1945 Fire-Bombing of Dresden

The Allied air forces bomb the city of Dresden in repeated waves. The resulting fire storm consumes 11 square miles of the German city.

1945 San Francisco Conference

On April 25 the Allied Big Four (United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union) representatives meet in San Francisco to create the United Nations.

1945 Germany Surrenders Unconditionally

On May 8 German forces officially surrender.

1945 Atomic Bomb Is Dropped on Hiroshima

On August 6 the U.S. Air Force drops an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, followed by one at Nagasaki.

1945 Japan Surrenders

On September 2 the Japanese formally surrender unconditionally aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Harbor.

1946 Perón Becomes Dictator of Argentina

Colonel Juan Perón is popularly elected president of Argentina.

1946 Chinese Civil War Resumes

Upon the surrender of Japan, which concludes World War II, war once again breaks out between the Communists and the Nationalists in China.

1946 Republican Government Is Organized in Italy

The Italian people vote in a referendum to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic.

1946 Republic of the Philippines Is Inaugurated

On the July 4 the independent Republic of the Philippines is officially declared.

1946 Greeks Vote for Return of Monarchy

In a special referendum, 70 percent of Greeks vote in favor of returning King George II to power.

1946 Verdicts at Nuremberg War Crime Trials

Nine of Nazi Germany's top leaders are hanged at the end of their trials for crimes against humanity and other charges.

1947 Truman Doctrine

President Harry Truman enunciates a policy under which the United States would oppose communist advances anywhere in Europe.

1947 Revolt against France in Indochina

A nationalist rebellion breaks out in Madagascar.

White settlers are assaulted, plantations burned, and French garrisons attacked. It takes the French more than a year to put down the revolt.

1947 India/Pakistan Gain Independence

On August 15 the two new states achieve independence, creating millions of refugees.

1947 Unrest in Palestine

On November 29 the UN General Assembly meets to vote to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state.

1948 Communists Take over Czechoslovakia

In a bloodless coup, the Communists seize control of Czechoslovakia.

1948 Civil War in Costa Rica

After incumbent president Teodora Picado attempts to annul the election won by Otilio Ulate, a civil war breaks out.

1948 Organization of American States (OAS)

The Pan American Conference, held in Bogotá, Colombia, establishes the OAS as the United Nations' regional grouping for countries in North and South America.

1948 United Nations Votes to Create Two States

On May 14 the British Mandate ends, and the Jews of Palestine declare themselves independent. Neighboring Arab states respond by declaring war, which Israel wins, thereby extending its territory.

1948 South Africa Enacts Apartheid Laws

The government outlaws marriages between whites and nonwhites. It also passes the Group Areas Bill that divides the country into entirely separate ethnic zones.

1948 Major Nationalist Defeat in Manchuria

On October 30, Nationalist troops are defeated in Manchuria after the Communists capture the city of Mukden in their first major victory in the Chinese Civil War.

1949 Soviet Union Detonates A-Bomb

America's monopoly on atomic weapons ends when President Truman announces on September 23 that the Soviet Union has successfully detonated an atomic bomb.

1949 Communist Victory in China

The Nationalist army and government fall in China. The People's Republic of China is established.

MAJOR THEMES



1900 to 1950

FOOD PRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, agricultural outputs soared, even though the number of people engaged in farming declined precipitously in industrialized nations. Famines became less common but still took the lives of millions. Processed and convenience foods gained in popularity, while urban elites became more adventurous in their eating habits, adopting cuisines from an array of nations. In poorer countries, most agriculture was still based on traditional methods. Food variety and supply remained scant, and meat was a luxury for most, reserved for holidays and feasts.

Producing Food. North America enjoyed several “golden” seasons of farming between 1910 and 1914. On the Great Plains of both Canada and the United States, bountiful wheat harvests were exported to many parts of the world and briefly attracted more farmers. With agriculture disrupted in Europe by World War I, North American farmers received government incentives to increase production and enjoyed record prices. At war’s end, the good times ended for many small farmers. In 1900, 41 percent of the U.S. population was engaged in agriculture; by 1945, just 16 percent made their living on the land.

Farming was soon in decisive decline across the industrialized world. Yet farm productivity grew dramatically, thanks to new machinery, chemicals, and education. The 19th-century promise of farm machinery was fulfilled as more versatile internal combustion engines, manufactured by Henry Ford among others, replaced bulky steam-powered farm implements. As the number of farms and farmers decreased, both the size of farms and the number of tractors, combines, and other specialized machinery soared. In 1900, American farmers owned 21.6 million work animals, mainly horses and mules. In Canada there were 22 human farmhands for each tractor or combine. By 1950, the numbers of both animal and human workers were comparatively tiny.

In industrial nations, agricultural productivity was also fostered by crop specialization related to potential markets, as well as climate and soils. Plant geneticists developed improved seed stocks and varieties. Research into grains including wheat, corn, and rice helped poorer countries and would lead to a “green revolution” later in the century. African-American agricultural chemist and botanist George Washington Carver (1864–1943) introduced soil-enriching crops like sweet potatoes, peanuts, and soybeans in southern U.S. states, and engineered useful products made from these crops, as

well as new foods. New or improved chemical fertilizers and pesticides increased yields and diminished crop damage. The downside of these scientific interventions included increased costs, overreliance on potentially dangerous chemicals, and monoculture—growing only one variety of corn, for example, year after year. These problems would become more pronounced after 1950. Meanwhile, fewer farmers grew and raised more food.

Harsh natural conditions, aggravated by politics and war, brought about two major famines in the Soviet Union, as well as one in China in the 1920s and 30s. About 9 million people died in 1921–22 following massive crop failures caused by a complex combination of civil war and political and social revolution, atop the extraordinary devastation wrought by World War I, and exacerbated by drought. In Soviet Ukraine, an estimated 7 million people died between 1932 and 1934 as a result of a drought, made into a disaster by Joseph Stalin's massive program to impose collective farming on the once-independent Ukraine and sell its farm products to finance industrialization. In China's Henan (Honan) province in 1940, some 2 million people died from a combination of drought and Japanese invasion.

In North America, an agricultural disaster coincided with the Great Depression. Beginning in 1930, decades of poor land management in the continent's midsection created the dust bowl. Years of severe drought worsened the situation. For six years, hot winds in the agricultural heartland periodically deposited once-fertile soil as far away as Boston. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers were the worst affected. Many of these "Okies" (so called because some were from hard-hit Oklahoma) trekked to California's fertile Central Valley, where they were unwelcome or exploited. Depression-era programs also provided aid to the agricultural sector. Hydropower projects brought electricity and irrigation to the Tennessee Valley and the Northwest's Columbia River region. A federal Rural Electrification program extended the electric grid to widely scattered farms that had been bypassed by urban America's electrification earlier in the century. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 set a precedent for stabilizing farm prices by paying some farmers not to grow as much as they could.

Consuming Food. In 1906, the U.S. Congress passed and President Theodore Roosevelt signed a sweeping law to protect consumers from shady food and drug purveyors. Many years in the making, the Pure Food and Drug Act was given its final push by Upton Sinclair's muckraking exposé, *The Jungle*, a novel set in the meatpacking plants of Chicago, where animals, workers, and the food itself were all abused. It was a key victory for the new consumer movement and also revealed the extent to which Americans, and urbanites in many other developed countries, now depended on foods grown on large farms and processed in factories rather than food grown locally and prepared in home kitchens. New appliances, especially home refrigerators and freezers, that began to replace regular ice delivery made food preparation easier and more varied in every season. Supermarkets and chain groceries, emerging first in California, were soon able to offer more kinds of food at generally lower prices. Gerber Foods, founded in 1928, was an early processor of baby foods and formulas.

Food like Spam, reconstituted eggs, Jell-O, Cotolene, and Crisco were more uniform, longer lasting, easier to use, and more colorfully packaged versions of typical American foods or food ingredients. World Fairs, such as St. Louis, Missouri's, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, where ice-cream cones and cotton candy were introduced, promoted new food products to international audiences. Rationing programs imposed during both world wars tested the ingenuity of home cooks and also spurred the adoption of manufactured oils and egg and meat substitutes. During World War II, K-rations—complete canned battlefield meals issued to troops—were another example of convenience and indestructibility. They were also the butt of many jokes.

At the same time, the globalizing tendencies of the early 20th century also produced new openness and exchange among culinary cultures. Imperialism and immigration were central forces driving the adoption and adaptation of specialized foods and methods of preparation. Immigrants to the United States and Canada from Europe helped introduce such foods as hamburgers (from Germany) and pizza (from Italy) that would soon be Americanized beyond recognition in their homelands. Some Texans and other southwesterners enlivened their diet with peppers and beans from Mexico, creating what came to be called Tex-Mex cuisine. Chinese railroad workers and other laborers also

had started restaurants in the American West in the mid-1800s. By the 1900s, this cuisine, dominated by Cantonese specialties tailored to Western tastes, was becoming familiar yet was still “exotic” in many parts of the United States.

In British India, urban classes adopted some typically British habits including tea time and the hearty English breakfast. It was a two-way exchange: British who had resided in India—and many who had not—adopted curries, chutneys, and mulligatawny soup. Likewise, Indonesian foods, including rice dishes and satays, soon became popular in Holland, which had colonized the huge Asian island chain. Wealthy and urban elites in French Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia emulated French cuisine, styles, and table manners.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the early 20th century, engineers and scientists became national heroes. The earlier Industrial Revolution had focused on manufacturing infrastructure; now, consumers were the main beneficiaries of innovations in transport, power delivery, communications, and health. Advances in science and technology tended to widen the developmental gap between the industrialized world of Europe, North America, and Japan and those regions that remained less “modern.” Large corporations and laboratories began to replace independent inventors and scientists in the creation of new products and systems.

Transport. Flight was an ancient human preoccupation, but success had remained elusive. In 1901, Brazilian-born inventor Alberto Santos-Dumont piloted a gas-powered balloon around Paris’s Eiffel Tower. Samuel P. Langley, head of the Smithsonian Institution, attempted a number of well-financed flights in his “aerodrome.” In December 1903, days after Langley’s latest crash, unpublishing Ohio brothers and bicycle fabricators Orville and Wilbur Wright managed a 12-second flight over an icy North Carolina beach. The Wrights obtained a patent for their invention in 1908. Meanwhile, Europeans, especially the French, were also making advances in powered flight.

Early airplanes—fragile, low-flying, and hard to maneuver—were novelties at first, although their potential in warfare was instantly obvious. By 1909 the Wright brothers were training Italian and U.S. aviators. Rudimentary aircraft were used in World War I for surveillance and aerial attacks. Commercial uses of aircraft followed. Germany’s first commercial aviation venture in 1909 used airships, or Zeppelins, rather than airplanes. Many European nations, their railroads badly damaged in the war, established airlines after 1918. Not until the 1920s did businessmen and aviators, including Charles Lindbergh, who was, in 1927, the first pilot to fly solo across the Atlantic, begin to create viable U.S. air fleets for crop-dusting, mail, passenger, and freight-hauling services.

Several inventors, including Germany’s Carl Benz and France’s Peugeot firm, successfully produced automobiles in the late 19th century. These costly vehicles were mainly indulgences for the wealthy. In 1903, American Henry Ford, who, like the Wright Brothers, was a tinkerer and bicycle mechanic, founded his Ford Motor Company. Pioneering such mass production techniques as the moving assembly line, and reducing expensive custom details, Ford was able to bring the price of an automobile within the budgets of middle-class consumers. Famously, one could buy any color of his wildly successful Model T, as long as it was black. Ford paid his workers well but supervised them rigorously; he was an early adopter of efficiency techniques, similar to those propounded in Frederick Winslow Taylor’s 1911 *Principles of Scientific Management*. Within a few years, automobiles and trucks had reshaped urban and rural landscapes, creating a boom for road building, petroleum, and rubber tires and threatening railroads and streetcars with bankruptcy.

The Panama Canal, a new example of a much older transportation technology, significantly enhanced trade across the globe. This enormous project turned a narrow isthmus between North and South America into a waterway that cut some 8,000 miles off the dangerous sea voyage from New York to San Francisco. President Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt engineered a coup in 1903 that turned what had been Colombia’s northernmost province, Panama, into a U.S. client nation. Despite a storm of protest, construction went forward in a 10-mile zone deeded to the United States until 2000, when it came under Panamanian control. Completed in 1914 at a cost of \$350 million and 5,609 worker lives, the canal was made possible by sophisticated project management,

improved earth-moving equipment, and new methods for controlling Panama's endemic tropical diseases, especially yellow fever.

Power. Humans were aware of electricity long before they tried to harness it. This naturally occurring force was scientifically studied in the 1750s by Benjamin Franklin, inventor of the protective lightning rod. Although the telegraph, introduced in the 1840s, used electricity to transmit signals, electrification remained essentially a novelty until the late 19th century. In Europe, Finland in 1877 pioneered electrification for Helsinki street lighting and put its first power plant into operation in 1884. In 1881, water power generated by Niagara Falls was used to provide local street lighting. In 1882, famed inventor Thomas A. Edison opened his first electric power station in New York City. In the first quarter of the 20th century, urban cities in Africa and Asia also slowly acquired electric power systems.

For some time, electricity remained miraculous rather than commonplace. Cost and safety concerns, and arguments between advocates of direct current (like Edison) and those favoring alternating current (like Nikola Tesla and George Westinghouse) meant that gas or oil still fueled most indoor and outdoor lighting after World War I. Yet by 1900, electricity was a \$200 million industry in the United States alone. Two U.S. electric utilities—Westinghouse and Edison (soon to become General Electric)—dominated the market.

Although Edison had long cultivated an image of quirky independence, he was also a cagey businessman. Working with financial giants like J.P. Morgan, he helped pioneer an integrated energy supply and distribution system, providing a model for other new technologies. By the 1920s, a third of homes in more prosperous American cities were wired for electricity as customers eagerly purchased a plethora of new electric appliances. It required a federally financed electrification project during the Great Depression for rural dwellers to share in this advance. Disrupted by World War I, Europeans saw slower but steady growth in electrification. Beginning with the introduction of its first Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union also promoted rapid growth of electrification.

Electrification also fostered the gradual growth of air conditioning, which began in 1902 as a technology designed to ensure consistent results for manufacturers of temperature- and humidity-sensitive products. By the late teens, the new motion picture industry (another Edison venture) was using air conditioning to make its "picture palaces" more appealing in summertime. In the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who disliked air conditioning, encouraged its installation in hot Washington, D.C., hoping to make federal workers more productive in the summers of the depression.

Communications. In 1900, the telegraph, with its worldwide cable connections, was still king, but it would soon lose its communications dominance. Scottish-born Canadian Alexander Graham Bell had won patent rights for his telephone in 1876 (prevailing over U.S. inventor Elisha Gray), but it took a long time for this new device, which many deemed a "useless toy," to catch on. Adopted first by businesses in major towns, the telephone gradually won favor. By 1905, Bell Telephone (by then known as American Telephone & Telegraph, and later simply AT&T) had strung five times as much wire as Western Union, the telegraph giant. It was 1915 before Bell customers could place transcontinental calls; transatlantic calling was launched in 1927. By 1920, a third of urban homes were equipped with this new device.

Many early European and Latin American phone installations used equipment made by Bell. Swede L. M. Ericsson began selling his own models in 1881. As telephones caught on, European phone systems were more likely to operate as government agencies. In Britain, private companies provided service starting in 1878, but by 1912 the national post office took charge. France developed a hybrid public-private system.

Italian Guglielmo Marconi introduced a wireless communication system, later called radio, in 1896, winning a patent for his invention in 1900 and a Nobel Prize in 1909. Although the installation of a Marconi radio communication device on the *Titanic* failed to save the doomed British ocean liner in 1912, his innovation soon caught on. By the 1920s, radio stations, beginning with Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's, KDKA, were broadcasting music and other programming to the lucky few with radio receivers. KDKA broadcast results of the 1920 U.S. presidential election across the

eastern United States. By the 1930s, radio ownership had grown dramatically. Radio carried newly elected chancellor Adolf Hitler's speeches to German citizens; Americans tuned in for President Roosevelt's regular fireside chats.

Edison's "Kinetoscope," and his improved "Vitascope," introduced in 1896, were forebears of what became the 20th century's motion picture industry, as were image projection systems created by France's Lumière brothers. First shown in amusement parks, often featuring naughty "peepshows," these "movies" were an almost immediate novelty hit, but it took new modes of presentation—the nickelodeon and the movie house—to make films an enduring entertainment choice. "Talkies"—moving pictures with coordinated sound—were introduced in 1927. Frenchman Charles Pathé, a moving image pioneer who relocated to London in 1902, became the foremost producer of newsreels shown in movie theaters. These let audiences see actual newsmakers and recent events in the days before television.

The growing communications industry was a key beneficiary of versatile new materials that would eventually be known generically as "plastics." Most of these, including celluloid, rayon, bakelite, and nylon, were formulated to be cheaper, safer, more durable, or easier to use than traditional plant- and animal-based materials such as silk, ivory, and tortoiseshell. By 1900, most movies were projected on celluloid film, an ingenious but highly flammable medium that was eventually replaced with safer synthetic materials. Bakelite, developed in the United States in 1907 by Belgian chemist Leo Baekeland, is considered the first true plastic. It was used in Edison's phonograph records, Bell's telephone receivers, and cameras made by George Eastman's Kodak company.

Biology, Health, and Medicine. Nineteenth-century breakthroughs in understanding disease processes energized medical innovation in the 20th century. Ironically, Western imperialism brought new attention to the dangers of tropical diseases including malaria, yellow fever, and dengue fever. The Panama Canal project was but one example. New medications and mosquito eradication helped white colonials (and many indigenous people of afflicted countries) to improve child survival rates and overall adult health.

In 1901–02, Austrian physicians led by Karl Landsteiner discovered the four major human blood groups: A, B, AB, and O. This paved the way for lifesaving blood transfusions that significantly improved the survival rates in operations. Deficiency diseases including pellagra, beri-beri, and scurvy, occurring mainly among poor populations around the world, became more treatable when the properties of certain amino acids, later named "vitamins," were identified in 1915.

The first half of the 20th century introduced "miracle drugs" and "magic bullets" that indeed saved many lives and increased the human life span, although not without their own medical and social side effects. Syphilis, a disabling sexually transmitted disease, was controlled by arsenic-based compounds derived in 1909 by Prussian Paul Ehrlich and Japan's Sahachiro Hata. In 1921, Canadian scientists discovered and synthesized insulin, turning diabetes from a death sentence to a mostly manageable condition. A British team headed by Alexander Fleming in 1928 showed that a common mold could kill deadly bacteria, but this antibiotic, penicillin, did not become widely available until the 1940s. In the interim, sulfa drugs, first synthesized in 1908 by an Austrian chemist, became vital weapons against bacterial infections, especially in World War II.

Physical Sciences. Building on Wilhelm Roentgen's 1896 discovery of X-rays, Polish-born French scientist Marie Curie was the first woman to win Nobel Prizes for both physics (1903) and chemistry (1911) and also contributed to new knowledge in the health sciences. Her X-ray investigations, in partnership with physicists Henri Becquerel and Pierre Curie, her husband, led to the discovery of new elements, including radium and polonium, named by Curie for her native country, Poland. They also revealed properties of radiation, both healing and killing, that led to new cancer therapies, as well as atomic energy and the atom bomb. Both she and her chemist daughter Irène, who also won a Nobel with her husband, Frédéric Joliot-Curie (1935), died of ailments caused by radiation poisoning.

Physics was further revolutionized in 1905, when German Albert Einstein propounded his special theory of relativity, following up 10 years later with a general theory of relativity. Einstein's work fundamentally questioned the long-accepted physics of gravitation and other cosmic forces that were

developed in the 18th century by Sir Isaac Newton. Einstein's insights, and new discoveries by many other physicists, led to radically new knowledge of the power stored inside individual atoms. Einstein renounced his German citizenship when Hitler became chancellor in 1933, and he then emigrated to the United States. He was a key proponent of the United States's secret Manhattan Project, which in 1945 produced the first atomic bombs. Other important theoretical physicists who participated included Italian Enrico Fermi, Dane Niels Bohr, and American J. Robert Oppenheimer. The largest research and development project in world history, the Manhattan Project cost more than \$2 billion in 1940s dollars, employed 43,000 people, and became a model for doing science and technology in the second half of the 20th century and beyond.

SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

Important changes in social and class relationships, brought about by the Industrial Revolution that began in western Europe and North America during the 19th century, spread to other parts of the world during the first half of the 20th century. The changes were accelerated by global upheavals caused by World Wars I and II and revolutionary and nationalist movements, especially the Marxist revolutions in Russia and China. Many momentous changes were violent and cost millions of lives.

The Industrial Revolution, begun in England, had spread to western Europe and Japan by 1900. It caused domestic migrations as many people left farms and rural areas to work in factories in cities that sprang up in the industrialized nations. Millions also migrated across oceans, mainly from Europe to North America and Australasia, to seek better lives. Wide gaps separated the rich industrial nations and the agrarian ones, and within nations, they separated the wealthy industrial magnates, the middle-class professionals and white collar workers, and the lower class of factory workers and small farmers. Although the newly rich and powerful industrialists and entrepreneurs held great power in the United States, they shared power and influence with the hereditary aristocrats in many European countries.

By the early 20th century, significant improvements had taken place in the living standard of the urban working class in western Europe and the United States, especially among skilled workers. On the other hand, the lives of factory workers and miners in newly industrializing countries such as Russia, China, and India remained desperately poor. In Western countries, better nutrition and living conditions characterized the lives of many workers, whose children attended schools mandated by laws that forbade child labor and enforced compulsory education. Whereas many women had worked under harsh conditions in factories during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, protective laws had improved their working environment in the advanced countries by 1900, and higher wages for male workers allowed their wives to stay at home to raise their children. The power of organized labor, legal in most Western nations, increased during the first half of the 20th century. The spread of the Industrial Revolution to eastern Europe and parts of Asia from 1900 to 1950 also contributed to the changing social and class patterns in those regions.

New Politics. In some countries, for example Great Britain and Australia, workers became strong politically by forming political parties that competed in local and national elections. Electoral success (the first Labour government was formed in Australia in 1904 and in Great Britain in 1924) by labor or socialist parties allowed workers to accelerate the pace of change through the passage of legislation such as the progressive income tax that aimed at income leveling. Such government actions had the effect of blurring class differences and lessening the advantages that the upper classes had enjoyed. In the Middle East and Africa, educated urban classes led the nationalist movements and struggled for greater political and economic power from the Western imperial rulers.

The most extreme reordering of social classes occurred in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. The Communist government of the Soviet Union brutally reorganized the social order, eliminated the nobility and much of the middle class, and later put the peasants who formed the majority of the population into collective farms. However, although the government of the Soviet Union officially favored the proletarian class, ordinary citizens had little say in the ordering of their lives because the Communist Party monopolized all power. Although less extreme, World

War I and the revolutions that followed in many countries dramatically changed class relations worldwide. In Europe, monarchies were overthrown in Germany and Austria-Hungary, which led to the downfall of the once powerful aristocracy in those countries. Outside of Europe, North America, Japan, and Australasia, China underwent continuing social and political revolutions that began with the overthrow of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in 1911 and culminated in the establishment of a Communist government in 1949.

Race, Class, and Politics. Race was important in determining class in several parts of the world. For example, in Latin America, people of European origin enjoyed high status, followed by those of mixed-race descent, with indigenous people and the descendants of African slaves at the bottom. It was also an important factor in economic and class divisions in the United States. Similarly, class was determined by race in parts of Africa where Europeans had settled. Political and social revolutions that swept over several nations of Latin America threatened or overthrew the traditionally powerful classes and organizations. In Argentina, radicals advocating social reforms became politically active after 1912. In 1946 Juan Perón was catapulted to power on a populist ideology that combined left-wing, pro-working class rhetoric with right-wing, protofascist bureaucratic-authoritarian policies, winning electoral power on a platform ostensibly geared toward benefitting the *descamisados*, or shirtless ones. In Mexico, the vast social convulsion later dubbed the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) eroded the power of the Catholic Church, foreign corporations, and large landowners, and after 1917 offered a more inclusive and democratic polity to indigenous Mexicans. In Brazil, strongmen rulers also promulgated economic and social reforms to satisfy the demand of workers.

Social Engineering. The worldwide Great Depression that began in 1929 also accelerated social and political changes. In the United States it led to important social engineering in legislation called the New Deal. It led to growth of socialist parties in Europe, and contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. In all cases it led to a realignment of social classes, and in Germany and Nazi-conquered lands, it led to forced population displacements and the extermination of millions of Jews, gypsies, Slavs, and people with disabilities in the Holocaust.

Outside Europe, the political revolution under Kemal Atatürk that overthrew the discredited Ottoman Empire also led to a social revolution that secularized Turkish society, orienting it toward the West and granting legal equality to women. In these respects Turkey presented an alternative model of society to the traditional Islamic world. In Iran the new Pahlavi dynasty attempted similar reforms with far less success. In China the revolution that overthrew the dynasty in 1911 also ushered in a wide-ranging social revolution that encompassed the quest of women for equality and that of young people from the control of their parents. Chinese women won legal equality in new codes promulgated in the 1930s, and those from the middle class made rapid advances. For example, although there were no women's colleges in China in 1900, by 1937 a quarter of college students were women. As in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party carried out a violent and thorough social and economic revolution after it gained power in 1949. It eliminated landlords and rich peasants, first distributing their land to the poor peasants and later forcing them to join collective farms. In India the caste system determined the social status of Hindus. British rule had forced forward-looking Hindu intellectuals to reexamine their traditional social system beginning in the late 19th century; many leaders, as a result, advocated reforms. After World War I, Mohandas K. Gandhi emerged as India's leader in its struggle for political independence and social reform. Gandhi's nonviolent protest aimed at advancing not just India's nationalistic goals but also the causes of female emancipation and equality for the untouchables that constituted about 20 percent of Hindus. Partly as a result of his labors the constitution of newly independent India gave women equality and also abolished the discrimination suffered by untouchables. Gandhi would later be an inspiration for the Civil Rights movement in the United States and in the quest for equality by Africans in South Africa.

Women and Class. The 20th century also saw remarkable advances in the position of women worldwide. Whereas in 1900 only women in Australia and New Zealand had the right to vote and enjoy many of the same rights as men, by mid-century women had won equality in many nations on all continents. For example, English suffragists had been unsuccessful in lobbying for female

franchise, but with most men drafted to fight in World War I, women joined the workforce in large numbers, making important contributions to the war effort and advancing their economic independence. As a result, women in Great Britain, the United States, and many European nations won the right to vote soon after the war ended.

In Asia, by the early 1920s Indian women had also won the right to vote on the same terms as men. Turkish and Egyptian women led others in the Middle East and Africa to struggle for both political and social rights. Japanese women did not win voting or other equal rights with men until after World War II. It was then mandated by the U.S. occupation authorities and guaranteed in a new constitution. However Japanese women had been able to receive a higher education and enter the professions, especially in teaching and medicine, since the end of the 19th century. Among the Westernized urban middle class in many non-Western countries women made astonishing gains. For example, Sarojini Naidu was elected president of the Indian National Congress, India's foremost nationalist organization in the 1920s, and became India's first female provincial governor soon after.

The enormous devastation and dislocation caused by World War II was truly global. The forced migrations of hundreds of millions of refugees, the tremendous destruction and demand for manpower, and the outcome of the war changed the world. Among the changes effected were all levels of social and class relationships. Women went to work in larger numbers than during World War I, including performing combat and noncombat military duties, in skilled professions, and in industrial production. Former colonies demanded and won independence and in the process empowered previously voiceless peoples. In the United States the G.I. Bill gave opportunities to millions of young war veterans to attend college and enjoy better lives. High rates of taxation (up to 95 percent in Great Britain) to finance the war and war-caused inflation realigned social classes.

TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

In the early 20th century European nations with vast empires in Africa and Asia dominated and controlled trade around the world. The United States also emerged as a major supplier of both agricultural commodities and manufactured goods. In Asia Japan emerged as an industrial and colonial power.

The open door policy in China enabled Western nations and investors to dominate the Chinese economy and vastly reduced the political independence of the nation. A plethora of new consumer goods, many from the United States, coupled with aggressive marketing, helped to create consumer societies in wealthy nations and among the wealthy in poor nations.

Improved transportation routes and modes of travel facilitated global trade. The Panama Canal, linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was begun in 1904 and opened in 1914. The Trans-Siberian Railway from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) on the Baltic coast to Vladivostok on the Russian Pacific coast was completed by 1917. The development of air travel opened up new and faster modes of transportation and enabled the wealthy to travel for business and pleasure over vast distances. The first flight from London to Delhi, India, occurred in 1926.

In 1927 Charles "Lucky" Lindbergh flew nonstop across the Atlantic from the United States to France. Henry Ford's assembly line and the introduction of interchangeable parts made the manufacture of relatively inexpensive automobiles such as the Model T affordable to the middle class in the United States. Easier and more affordable transportation systems fostered a growing tourist industry and made the world a much smaller place.

More accessible transportation systems also fostered increased movement of peoples in search of better jobs and lifestyles, especially from Europe to the Western Hemisphere. Between 1905 and 1914 over 10 million people, mostly from eastern and southern Europe, emigrated to the United States. Asians were mostly excluded by law from entry into both the United States and Australia.

The 1929 Great Depression ended world prosperity and lessened international trade. Many nations, such as the United States, attempted to solve their economic problems by introducing protectionist tariffs that worsened and lengthened the depression. Others abandoned the gold

standard to improve their international trading positions. Many nations were also caught in a web of debts incurred during World War I.

Nations and regions in eastern Europe, Africa, South and Central America, and Asia that produced primarily raw materials and agricultural goods were economically devastated when demand and prices for their goods dropped. As the depression deepened, many people became profoundly disillusioned with their governments, and some turned to totalitarian dictators and international aggression to solve the problem. Many nations, including the United States, only recovered full production and employment with the advent of World War II.

U.S. culture spread after World War I, especially through radio, popular music, and motion pictures, which became a major source of entertainment for people around the world. During the 1920s in New York, Paris, Cairo, and Singapore, men and women flocked to nightclubs to dance and drink cocktails. Urban women from Japan and elsewhere found new freedom, cut and permed their hair, and wore short dresses, giving up more modest traditional fashions and lifestyles.

Profound divisions between secular and traditional religious groups also emerged. For example, after the 1917 revolution in Mexico a secular constitution was implemented in this predominantly Catholic nation. Similarly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran both attempted, with various degrees of success, to limit the power and influence of religious authorities in their mainly Muslim nations. Secularists in Asia also questioned ancient traditions and religion. A new cultural movement in China begun after World War I was inspired by Western-educated Chinese scholars. Many also rejected the moral teachings of Confucius. Sigmund Freud and others developed modern psychiatry. Freud used psychoanalysis to probe the unconscious; he also openly discussed sexuality, a previously taboo subject in much of the world. Earlier the German Friedrich Nietzsche, who died in 1900, and later Bertrand Russell in England questioned age-old beliefs regarding spirituality and the existence of God.

Religious leaders challenged not only the work of Freud but also Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, arguing that it countered the teachings of creation in the Bible. In the famous Scopes "monkey trial" in the United States, a teacher was found guilty of teaching evolution in 1925. In India the nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi championed traditional Indian culture and Hinduism. However, Gandhi also preached and practiced tolerance for Indian Muslim communities, whereas other nationalist leaders sought support by rejecting tolerance for dissenters or minorities. In the West, Christian church leaders sought to establish more communication and cooperation among the various Christian sects, leading to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. The differences and hostilities between secularism and religion would be one of the major sources of tension in the 20th century.

Literature, Art, and Music. In literature the novels of Ernest Hemingway reflected a new wave of authors, many of whom became highly disillusioned about the human condition during the interwar years. Other writers sought to maintain traditions while accepting Western ways of life and technology. Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Aimé Césaire, and others wrote about *négritude* and the values of African traditions. Rabindranath Tagore wrote poetry in his native Bengali (a language of India), for which he received a Nobel Prize in 1913, while he also sought to return Indians to traditional ways through moral education.

Modern art in its many variations drew on several African and Asian modes of artistic expression. Impressionist artists, including Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, were heavily influenced by Japanese art and Polynesian life, respectively. Pablo Picasso, along with Georges Braque, was credited with founding cubism in 1907–08. Both were influenced by African art forms such as carved wooden masks. Many artists mixed traditional, indigenous motifs in their compositions. In Mexico, muralists Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco all used folk influences and Amerindian symbolism.

Music was similarly influenced by a wide variety of cultures. The South American tango became popular around the world. Western motifs influenced musicians and composers from other continents. For example, the Egyptian composer Sayyed Darweesh used a variety of traditional Arab and Western

forms in his operettas and classical pieces. His music remains popular throughout the Arab world. He also wrote about women's rights and class differences.

Jazz, a uniquely American musical art form, was a fusion of African and Western traditions largely created and popularized by African Americans. Many artists and writers worldwide, among them African-American musicians, often sought the social and artistic freedom of postwar western Europe, especially Paris, which became the cosmopolitan center of the arts, as Vienna had been before 1914. This movement ended with the Great Depression, when struggling artists could no longer afford the luxury of travel to distant locales.

Organized sports, especially football (or soccer, as it was known in the United States), baseball, and tennis, became popular in most nations around the world. The World Cup in soccer was begun in the 1930s, as were international tennis tournaments. The mass media of newspapers, movies, and radio made cultural and artistic endeavors more international and accessible and led to the opening up of new cultural forms. In contrast, rural poor countries in much of Africa, South America, and Asia remained highly traditional. Many of the cultural trends pioneered in the first part of the 20th century would continue and accelerate after World War II and into the 21st century.

WARFARE

Fueled by imperial rivalries, powerful new weapons, enlarged manufacturing capacity, and broader military conscription, the wars of the first half of the 20th century included the two largest armed conflicts in world history. The Great War of 1914–18, later renamed World War I, followed by World War II (1939–45), reshaped the global order, but neither proved to be the “war to end all wars.”

The years 1900 to 1914 were the high point of European and, to a lesser extent, American and Japanese colonial adventurism. Partitioning a war-weakened China into spheres of economic and political influence, the great powers also competed for control of many other resource- and labor-rich regions of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. At the same time, European powers used their industrial might to accelerate an arms race and developed intricate agreements and alliances to protect their interests at home and in their colonial holdings.

In the summer of 1914, a Serbian nationalist's assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, set these alliances in motion and led directly to the Great War. The war pitted the Allied Powers—France, Russia, Britain, Japan, and other nations, eventually including the United States—against the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the fading Ottoman Empire.

New Strategies. The Great War was a field laboratory for a range of new weapons and new strategies for deploying troops. For the first time, aircraft played a significant role. They were used by both sides for aerial reconnaissance and to drop explosives on enemy forces. Germany's successful use of torpedo-equipped U-boats, mainly to harass enemy shipping, was the first time that submarine technology, developed late in the 19th century, was taken seriously as an important tool of war. Breach-loading, quick-firing field guns made infantrymen more deadly; howitzers capable of firing five or more rounds of shells a minute were deemed responsible for 70 percent of the war's 9 million troop deaths. Radio, newly developed, revolutionized the ability of troops and commanders to communicate in real time. Near the end of the war, the British first used internal combustion-powered armored tanks to breach German positions. Tanks were better able to protect drivers and rolled easily over barbed wire and other obstacles—they became standard equipment in subsequent conflicts.

As both sides relied on massed infantry assaults and protected their men behind trenches dug into battlefields, stalemate became a frustrating and dangerous enemy, especially on the war's western front. The trenches indeed protected soldiers, but they also prevented them from effectively engaging the enemy in battle. To leave the trench was to face likely attack by a sniper in the opposing trench. The trenches filled with water and filth, causing illness and injury. Chemical and biological weapons, such as deadly and debilitating chlorine gas (its use has since been outlawed under international law), were a particular threat to troops trapped in trenches. The introduction of tanks late in the war would help to overcome this standoff.

As the war dragged on, inflicting huge casualties in such battles as Gallipoli in 1915 and Verdun and Somme in 1916, Central Power conquests in Russia, Serbia, and Romania, combined with internal unrest, led to Russia's withdrawal and its separate peace with Germany. As the Russian Revolution intensified, Romanov czar Nicholas II abdicated in March 1917. A month later, the United States, jolted by submarine attacks and outraged by a secret German plan to help Mexico regain territory lost to the United States, declared war on the Central Powers. Although it would be 1918 before significant numbers of U.S. troops began fighting with the Allies in Europe, the effect of fresh manpower helped bring about Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication on November 9, followed by the armistice on November 11, 1918, that ended the war.

The Great War, ended by the controversial Treaty of Versailles with Germany and by other treaties with allies, solved few problems and almost certainly created new ones. Despite the creation of a League of Nations (which the United States declined to join) and a series of disarmament proposals and conferences, both rearmament and colonialism continued. Although Ireland would win its long-sought independence from Britain in 1921, other colonial struggles remained unsettled. In fact, Britain and France found new opportunities to dominate the Middle East in the remains of the former Ottoman Empire.

Russia, now under a Communist regime, fought off a postarmistice invasion by its alarmed former Allies and set about securing what would become a two-continent Soviet Union in Europe and Asia, while leader Joseph Stalin tightened his totalitarian rule. This almost guaranteed unrest in eastern Europe and new confrontations with Japan. Germany's new Weimar Republic struggled to recover from the lost war, and from the Versailles Treaty demands for billions in war reparations (although never collected in full). Austrian-born Adolf Hitler would brilliantly use post-Great War political and social conflict and German bitterness and resentment to obtain power as leader of the new National Socialist, or Nazi, Party.

Civil war in China in the 1920s and 1930s emboldened Japan to seize Manchuria in 1931 and launch a full-scale invasion of China in 1937. Japanese brutality toward their victims, for example, in the Rape of Nanjing (Nanking), equalled the horrors of Nazi atrocities. Meanwhile, Hitler began rebuilding German military power, in direct defiance of treaty provisions, meeting only token resistance from the former Allies. With his Fascist ally, Benito Mussolini of Italy, Hitler tested his new weapons by intervening in the Spanish civil war on the side of Fascist insurgents led by Francisco Franco. As a new war threatened in Europe, France responded by building its Maginot Line, a system of fortifications. Some 3,000 Americans defied official U.S. neutrality to fight against Franco in Spain. Otherwise, the predominant sentiment in France and Britain was appeasement of the aggressors.

Poland Attacked. World War II in Europe began on September 1, 1939, when German panzer divisions of massed tanks and mobile artillery invaded Poland days after a nonaggression pact between Hitler and Stalin gave Hitler a free hand in eastern Europe. By June 1940, Hitler's forces had occupied France, where they installed the Vichy government, which was subservient to Germany, and controlled most of Europe, while Britain fought virtually alone. That September, Germany, Italy, and Japan created a formal alliance known as the Axis. In June 1941, German forces invaded the Soviet Union, violating the 1939 pact.

From the outset, the fighting forces relied heavily on tanks, especially the reliable U.S. Sherman Tank, and air power. Battleships were central to earlier conflicts; in World War II aircraft carriers became the most significant fighting innovation because they enabled the simultaneous projection of both sea and air power. When Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, bringing the United States into the war, the huge loss of life and warships at the Hawaiian air base was partially offset by the fortunate deployment elsewhere of America's aircraft carriers. Submarine warfare, especially in the Atlantic Ocean, expanded in importance for both the Allies and the Axis, inflicting huge damage on commercial shipping and enemy navies. Military aviators, including those from Britain's Royal Air Force, Germany's Luftwaffe, and the U.S. Army Air Force, depended on heavily armored bombers capable of flying long distances with heavy loads of bombs and on nimble fighter planes to repel enemy attackers. Radar technology, first made functional in the 1930s by

British and American scientists, helped the Allies detect submarines and obtain advance warning of air attacks, somewhat defusing the effectiveness of both these tools of war.

Total Global War. World War II was a global war and a total war with fronts in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. As the Allies struggled in the early war years, the Soviet Union bore the brunt of Axis attacks in eastern Europe; Britain held out in the west, while the United States deployed most of its power against the Japanese in the Pacific. In 1942, the Allies began to have successes, especially at Midway Island in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in the USSR, where the Soviet Union, despite huge military and civilian casualties, turned back Hitler's siege of Stalingrad in January 1943. The Allies' "Operation Overlord" D-day invasion of Normandy beaches in June 1944 finally opened a second European front. It took almost a year of hard fighting before converging Soviet troops and British and American forces were able to force Hitler's suicide and Germany's surrender in May 1945.

This total war claimed an unprecedented number of civilian casualties and displaced persons. Millions were killed or wounded by military action. Millions more were victims of deliberate murder, overwork, or starvation. Stalin sent millions of Soviet citizens into forced labor camps. Hitler turned much of occupied eastern Europe into a Nazi forced labor camp and deliberately exterminated "undesirables," including 6 million Jews, in what became known as the Holocaust. Japan imposed brutal measures on occupied Asian territories, especially Korea and China. In the United States, 120,000 West Coast Japanese, most of them U.S. citizens, were forced to leave their homes and businesses for internment in rural detention camps for the duration of the war.

On both sides, the war mobilized millions of volunteers and conscripts and brought more women than ever before into the industrial economy. The United States instituted its very first peacetime draft in 1940. African Americans, as they had in every American war since the Revolution, fought in racially segregated units commanded by white officers. This changed in 1948 when U.S. president Harry Truman controversially ordered the U.S. armed forces to desegregate. Some 30,000 Japanese Americans served, but they were sent to Europe, not the Pacific theater. As had also been true in the Great War, political officials for both the Axis and the Allies created massive public relations campaigns designed to demonize their enemy, preserve home front morale, and encourage obedience to various rationing and work initiatives.

During the final two years of World War II, both sides would introduce controversial new kinds of weapons. Germany's blitz of London with manned bombers was succeeded in 1944–45 by even more terrifying unmanned medium-range rockets, the V1 and V2. Allied fire bombings of Dresden, Germany, and Tokyo incinerated large parts of both targets, killing thousands of civilians. But the most controversial weapon by far was the atomic bomb, or A-bomb, used twice on Japan by the United States in August 1945. An experimental weapon created during the war by America's top secret Manhattan Project, this bomb could be delivered by a small plane and destroy entire cities, as it did Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Conventional bombing had killed even more people; what made the A-bomb so terrible was the radiation it emitted, sickening survivors and causing their deaths or harming unborn children weeks or even years later. After the two A-bombs were dropped, Japan surrendered in September 1945, bringing World War II to its end.

Warfare continued, however, despite the creation of the United Nations, a new global peace-keeping body headquartered in New York City, and well-publicized Nuremberg War Crimes and Tokyo International Court Trials of surviving Axis leaders. In 1949, forces led by Mao Zedong, which had been nurtured during Japan's invasion of China while the Nationalist forces were ground down, finally won the Chinese Civil War, defeating China's U.S.-supported Nationalist government and installing a communist regime. Anticolonial wars threatened the remains of British, Dutch, and French colonial interests. Britain granted independence to India in 1947, but most African and Asian nations would only gain independence in the years following 1950.



Addams, Jane

(1860–1935) *U.S. social reformer and peace activist*

Born into a prosperous Illinois family, Jane Addams forged important new roles for women in education and social work. As founder of Chicago's Hull-House, she helped revolutionize social services for the poor and immigrants. Her work for peace as the United States marched into WORLD WAR I antagonized some Americans but made her the first U.S. woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize.

Addams, a sickly child, was just two when her mother died. Her father encouraged Jane's desire for a higher education. She became part of the first generation of U.S. women to have significant access to college and was one of many well-educated women who would make their era one that historians labeled "Progressive."

After great success at Rockford Seminary Addams found herself adrift, searching for some useful purpose for her education. Her father's sudden death in 1881 compounded her depression. She considered medical school but dropped out within weeks. Two trips to Europe and deepening religious convictions helped put Addams on a path toward achievement and acclaim. In 1887 she visited England's Toynbee Hall, where reformers were seeking to improve the lives of workers exploited by the Industrial Revolution. Back home a group of Smith College women had just founded the College Settlement Association to assist the millions pouring into U.S. factories and cities.

In 1889 Addams and college friend Ellen Starr opened their own settlement house in a former mansion at 335 Halsted Street. These small-town Protestant ladies soon found themselves purveying social services to families who were mostly Italian, Catholic, and poor. Initially emphasizing cultural uplift—art, music, and good manners—Hull-House under Addams's pragmatic supervision refocused on such pressing neighborhood needs as garbage collection and playgrounds.

By 1900, of more than 100 settlement houses in U.S. cities, Hull-House was the most famous, thanks to Addams's skills in writing, lecturing, public relations, and fundraising. Possibly the best-known U.S. woman, she was acclaimed a motherly saint before she was even 40. Unlike most white progressives, Addams worked with African-American reformers. Her fame peaked in 1910 when she published *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, her autobiography.

An 1896 visit with Russian author Leo Tolstoy, a theorist of simplicity and nonresistance, followed in 1898 by the Spanish-American War, helped turn Addams's attention to problems of aggression and war. Writing extensively on war, peace, and pacifism, she became active in U.S. anti-imperialism efforts. With war raging in Europe, Addams sailed to Holland for a women's peace conference in 1915, just weeks before German U-boats sank the *Lusitania*, and she later met with both sides in the vicious conflict.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Addams found herself vilified by some as an unpatriotic defeatist and ridiculed by others as a naive

female unable to understand the necessity of warfare. When the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION produced a communist regime, “red” and “Bolshevik” were added to the failings listed by Addams’s critics.

Addams spent much of the 1920s outside the United States. A long effort by her friends finally paid off when Addams shared the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize with Columbia University’s president. Her life’s work imbued with new relevance by the GREAT DEPRESSION, Addams died of cancer just days after her pioneering achievements were celebrated by admirers, including First Lady ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Afrikaners, South Africa

The first half of the 20th century represented a consolidation of white-dominated rule in South Africa. Yet the century began with a conflict between the British colony and the Afrikaner, or Boer, republics. Afrikaners, who claimed their lineage from the original Dutch settlers of the Cape colony, had developed an increasingly distinct national identity in conflict with the British and the African peoples of South Africa. Despite British victory in the brutal South African War, the increasingly segregated and racialized system in a united South African state pinnacle with the birth of apartheid in 1948.

What the British called the Second Anglo-BOER WAR the Afrikaners called the Second War of Freedom. Historians have called it the South African War (1899–1902) to reflect that the war was not merely an imperial war between the British and the Boers, but a civil war that involved the entire population of South Africa. The British claimed that the war was about the rights of foreigners—Uitlanders—in the Boer republic called the Transvaal; Paul Kruger, the president of the Boer republic, understood the conflict to be about something more—British desire to control the Cape and the mineral wealth of Transvaal. After the early success of the Afrikaner war effort, the British drew on the resources of the empire to meet a significant challenge to their imperial dominance. The Boers, led by generals including JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS and Louis Botha,

turned increasingly to guerrilla tactics. In turn the British commander, HORATIO, Lord KITCHENER, responded by burning Boer farms and imprisoning enemy civilians, including Africans, at concentration camps, where thousands died of disease. Africans generally did not fight in the war, but they did provide logistical support and supplies. In Britain, opposition to the war on both financial and humanitarian grounds grew. Finally, the last holdouts surrendered in 1902. The Treaty of Vereeniging treated the Boers relatively mildly and even granted them political and cultural autonomy. The specter of African rebellion against growing repression in the white-dominated state quickly healed the wounds of the South African War. The Native Affairs Commission (1903–05), appointed by High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner, suggested a policy of territorial segregation between whites and blacks, making Africans the true victims of the war.

In 1910, the British parliament created the self-governing UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. It became a Commonwealth nation under the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The Cape government enfranchised adult blacks, but only whites could stand for election in the new Union parliament. The Afrikaner nationalist Louis Botha, on the ticket of the South Africa Party, was elected as the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa in May 1910. Blacks were denied political or economic power within the official structure of the state and society.

Some individuals within the Afrikaner political elite, like J. B. M. Hertzog, remained intensely hostile to the British. During both world wars, South Africans served the empire on the battlefields of Europe, though African troops were relegated to noncombat roles. Military alliance with Britain during both wars revived old debates about white South Africa’s relationship with its “mother country.” Afrikaner nationalists revolted in 1914 after Botha allied South Africa with Britain and even agreed to invade German South-West Africa (now Namibia). During WORLD WAR II, a coalition between Jan Smuts (Botha’s predecessor) and Hertzog, called the United Party, broke apart over the same issue. Groups like the African Brotherhood and the Purified National Party, a political party that developed after Hertzog allied with Smuts, built a mythology of Afrikaner nationalism centered on the Great Trek. The most radical Afrikaner nationalists went as far as to openly sympathize with the NAZI PARTY during World War II.

The beginnings of apartheid can be found in the increasing segregation of and discrimination against

black South Africans. The Natives' Land Act (1913) and the Natives' Trust and Land Act (1936) designated a small percentage of South Africa's total land area to (segregated) black reserves. The 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act limited blacks' access to white urban areas. While black South Africans were indispensable to whites as laborers, their overwhelming number in relation to the white population was perceived as a threat to the white-dominated state.

In 1912, a group of Western-educated Africans formed the South African Native National Congress (later known as the African National Congress, ANC). While African leaders like Pixley Seme and John Dube petitioned brilliantly against the color bar of the white-dominated society, their pleas were generally ignored by both the British and white South African governments. Some Africans sought to challenge their social and economic oppression through labor unions and even revolutionary groups like the Communist Party of South Africa. The period after 1945 witnessed revived rhetoric of human rights and self-determination in the birth of the United Nations (ironically, Jan Smuts was recruited to help draft the preamble of the United Nations Charter). In 1944, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and Walter Sisulu founded a Youth League in the African National Congress. While they shared the ANC's goal of a democratic, racially egalitarian society, they advocated more militant tactics.

In the 1948 campaign the National Party, led by D. F. Malan, centered on their message of racial purity and white domination. In particular, their agenda was based on a systematic exclusion of and separation from Africans. With victory the National Party instituted what would become the bane of humanitarian society for the next four decades—apartheid.

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CHARLES V. REED

Aga Khan

Aga Khan, the title ascribed to the imam of the Nizari Ismaili community, was first bestowed on Aga Hasan

Shah by Fateh Ali, the Shah of Persia, in 1818. The Ismaili branch of Islam is the second-largest Shi'i community after the Twelvers. The Ismailis and Twelvers both accept the same initial imams from the descendants of the prophet Muhammad. However, a dispute arose on the succession of the sixth imam, Jafar as-Sadiq. Although the Ismailis accepted the legitimacy of Jafar Sadiq's eldest son, Ismael, as the next rightful imam, the Twelvers accepted his younger son, Musa al-Kazim.

The first Aga Khan was appointed as the governor of the province of Kirman. He also aided the British during the first Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42) and in the conquest of Sind in India (1842–43). Ali Shah, who was also known as Aga Khan II, died in 1885.

Upon the death of Aga Khan II, his son, Sultan Muhammad (1877–1957), assumed the title of Aga Khan III. He played an active role in supporting the continuance of British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent. Aga Khan III was also the founder of the ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, the lead political party that later demanded a separate homeland for Muslims be carved out of India. He was also the president of the Muslim League from 1909 to 1914. In the preindependence years of India, Aga Khan III made a number of high-profile visits abroad, including the imperial conference in London in 1930–31, the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1932, and the League of Nations in 1932 and in 1934–37. In 1937, he was appointed the president of the General Assembly of the League of Nations for his pioneering leadership role.

In 1937, Aga Khan III was succeeded by his grandson, Prince Karim, who assumed the title of Aga Khan IV. He was very committed to the promotion of Islamic architecture and instituted a series of awards for architectural excellence and artistic innovation in architecture. Aga Khan IV also donated very generously to various developmental projects in a number of countries with a sizable Ismaili population.

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan is the grandson of Aga Khan IV. He has an impressive educational record with degrees from Harvard University at the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies in 1957. Sadruddin Aga Khan worked strenuously for the ideals and programs of UNESCO, particularly for the promotion of cultural heritage sites worldwide as well as for the UN High Commission for Refugees. In 1965, he was appointed the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and continued in this prestigious position until 1977. He is the founder of the Bellerive Foundation, which is an

international corporate group that funds programs for the alpine environment. In 1978, the prince was made a special adviser and chargé de mission to the secretary-general of the United Nations to promote the cause of universal human rights.

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MOHAMMED BADRUL ALAM

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio

(1869–1964) *president of the Philippines*

Emilio Aguinaldo was a revolutionary independence leader, general, statesman, and the first president of the Philippines according to many Filipinos. He played a major role in the Philippine revolution against Spain and in the Philippine-American War.

Aguinaldo's rise to notability happened early in his life. He was born into a wealthy Chinese-mestizo family that owned extensive lands and that provided benefits not readily available to many Filipinos. The young Aguinaldo overcame a near-death sickness in his youth and briefly attended Letran College in Manila, but left in order to help his family care for their extensive estate. In 1895, when only 17 years of age, he was elected to the position of *capitan municipal* (municipal captain), or town head, of Cavite El Viejo.

Around the same time, Aguinaldo began his revolutionary career and entered the secret Katipunan revolutionary society, an abbreviated Tagalog term for "The Highest and Most Respectable Society of the Sons of the People." The Katipunan advocated complete independence from Spain and thus aroused suspicions and opposition from the Spanish authorities. No longer able to evade notice by the ruling Spaniards, Aguinaldo and his fellow revolutionaries fought them, overcame early setbacks, and achieved considerable victories, most notably at the Battle of Binakayan on November 10, 1896, when they defeated Spanish regular troops. Although he won early successes and gained the leadership of his revolutionary group, Aguinaldo was forced by renewed military pressure from the Spanish to sign the Pact of Biacnabato and to accept banishment to Hong Kong in

return for financial and political concessions, social reforms, and promises of autonomy of government for the Philippines.

In 1898 Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines from exile to continue his revolutionary work and to assist the efforts of the United States to defeat the Spanish during the Spanish-American War. He believed that his participation and the victory over Spain would be rewarded with a declaration of independence for the Philippines; Aguinaldo instead found that the American forces refused to allow his military to occupy Manila. He refused to allow his troops to be replaced by American forces and withdrew to Malolos, where he and his followers declared independence on June 12, 1898. On January 23, 1899, Aguinaldo was inaugurated as the first president of the Philippines, although U.S. authorities did not recognize his government.

The Philippine-American War began on February 4, 1899, after a Filipino crossed over the San Juan Bridge and was shot by an American sentry. Aguinaldo led the resistance to American occupation and rejected the notions of gradual independence advocated by the occupiers and U.S. president William McKinley. Although Aguinaldo's guerrilla warfare tactics posed many difficulties for the U.S. military, they implemented a "carrot and stick" approach that mitigated popular support for the insurgents. The capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela, on March 23, 1901, with the help of Filipino trackers broke the revolt, which foundered within the following year. In exchange for his life, Aguinaldo pledged loyalty to the United States and thus acknowledged its sovereignty over the Philippines.

Although no longer a revolutionary, Aguinaldo thereafter remained committed to independence and veterans' rights while staying retired from public life for many years. In 1935, when the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established, he ran for the presidency but lost to Manuel L. Quezon. During WORLD WAR II the Japanese occupiers forced him to support them and to make anti-American speeches and statements. He was later cleared of wrongdoing when Americans recaptured the Philippines and learned that the Japanese had threatened to kill his family if Aguinaldo did not comply. After the war he actively promoted nationalistic and democratic causes within his country. He died on February 6, 1964, in Quezon City.

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SCOTT CATINO

Alessandri, Arturo

(1868–1950) *president of Chile*

Arturo Fortunato Alessandri Palma was president of Chile from 1920 to 1924, again in 1925, and then from 1932 to 1938. During that time he became known as the Lion of Tarapacá. Known initially for his strident support of the poor of Chile, he was later heavily criticized by many of his former supporters when he became far more conservative.

Arturo Alessandri was born on December 20, 1868, at Linares, south of the Chilean capital of Santiago, the son of Pedro Alessandri and Susana Palma. His father's family originally came to Chile from Italy. He was educated at the Sacred Heart School in Santiago, and then he worked at the National Library of Chile. He used his position there to study for a law degree and in 1893 was admitted to the bar.

Politically, Alessandri was connected with the Progressive Club, making him a liberal, and, in fact, he later joined the Liberal Party, becoming secretary of its executive committee in 1890. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1897 and had six terms in Congress and two terms in the Senate after successfully challenging a prominent local politician for the seat for Tarapacá. During this time he built a major political base by supporting the nitrate workers in northern Chile. He became minister of industry and public works in 1908, minister of finance in 1913, and was appointed minister of the interior in 1918.

In 1920 Alessandri was elected president of Chile, ending a right-wing domination of Chilean politics that had started in the 1830s. Alessandri faced many problems in office, and to raise more government revenue he introduced income tax for the first time in Chilean history. However, Chile was entering a period of economic hardships, and the new tax only partially made up for the shortfall in the economy. This came from the fall in the price of nitrate, which saw the Chilean peso fall from one for 27 cents (U.S.) to one for 9 cents. His reform moves were supported by the Liberal Alliance and the Democratic Party, but unemployment rose, and the pay for civil servants and the army fell into arrears.

Furthermore, Alessandri's attempts to spend more on public education, health, and welfare proved unpopular with some sectors of the country. During his time as president from 1920 to 1924, Alessandri had to change his government 16 times until he was finally able to secure a majority in Congress.

However, Congress moved against him, and with the Chilean peso plummeting in value and his inability to pay the army, Alessandri offered to resign. In the end a military junta staged a coup d'état on September 15, 1924. Alessandri fled to the U.S. embassy and then into exile in Europe. General Luis Altamirano Talavera headed a military junta to run the country, but when it failed to fulfill the social reform program it had promised, junior officers overthrew it and Carlos Ibáñez del Campo headed the new junta. He allowed Alessandri to return to Chile on March 20, 1925, the former president having been promised that the constitution would be rewritten to give the executive more powers. In 1925, when Alessandri returned from exile, a crowd of 100,000 came to greet him, and several people were trampled to death in the confusion.

However, on October 1, 1925, Alessandri was again forced to resign, and Luis Barros Borgoño succeeded him. In the elections that followed, Emiliano Figueroa Larraín became president, but he resigned in May 1927 to allow Ibáñez del Campo to return to power. Ibáñez borrowed U.S. \$300 million from the United States and tried to resuscitate the economy. Initially it worked, but Ibáñez was forced from power, and Anarguía Política became president. Elections were held in 1932, and Alessandri was once again elected president.

Alessandri's new administration was totally different from that of the early 1920s. He was a strict constitutionalist, and he had also become more conservative and depended on the support of the right wing. His economically conservative policies led to his refusing to give money to the poor, especially those hurt by the fall in the price of nitrate and copper. With the depression hurting in Chile, Alessandri tried to reorganize the nitrate industry, doubling the government's share of profits, raising it to 25 percent. Promoting building and civil engineering projects, Alessandri still wanted to improve the provision of education. The only way of raising the extra money was by using his finance minister, Gustavo Ross Santa María, to tighten up the collecting of taxes.

In early 1937 the Nacista movement began to gain support, and on September 5, 1938, it tried to stage a coup d'état to get Ibáñez del Campo back into power. Alessandri had already alienated most of his former

supporters, who then formed the Popular Front. He used the army to arrest Ibáñez del Campo. Alessandri's term as president ended in 1938, and Pedro Aguirre Cerda succeeded him. Alessandri went to Europe, endorsing Juan Antonio Ríos Morales in the 1942 elections, which he won. Returning to Chile, in 1944 Alessandri was elected to the Senate, becoming the speaker in the following year. In the 1946 elections he endorsed Gabriel González Videla, who won. By this time Alessandri had once again become more liberal in his views.

Alessandri towered over Chilean politics, but his speech was often rough and crude. When the U.S. journalist and writer John Gunther visited him, Alessandri's office was decorated with autographed photographs of politicians from all over the world, including Hindenburg, ADOLF HITLER, and Edward, prince of Wales (later the duke of Windsor). He died on August 24, 1950, in Santiago. Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez, who was president of Chile from 1958 until 1964, was Arturo Alessandri's older son. His younger son, Fernando Alessandri Rodríguez, was also active in politics.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Algeria

Algeria remained part of the French Empire throughout the first half of the 20th century, but nationalist movements for independence became increasingly more vocal and determined. Several hundred thousand Algerians fought or worked for the French military during WORLD WAR I. After the war they expected reforms and changes in French policies of assimilation and favoritism toward the colons, but the colons blocked government reforms announced in 1919.

French government policies dating from the 19th century onward had gradually increased the ownership of the best land by the colons and had resulted in the impoverishment of Algerian peasants. By 1950 most Algerians owned small plots of less than 10 acres. To survive, peasants became sharecroppers or seasonal workers or fled to the cities where they were generally either day laborers or unemployed. The growing economic and social disparity between the colons and the

majority Muslim Algerian population contributed to civil unrest and nationalist discontent.

In the early 1920s, Algerian workers in Paris, led by Messali al-Hajj, established the Star of North Africa, a social action, leftist movement, which attracted considerable popular support. In the interwar years, two major approaches toward the relationship with France emerged among Algerians. The first group wanted assimilation and participation as full-fledged French citizens. The second advocated Algerian independence as a separate nation. Ferhat Abbas, a pharmacist by profession, represented the first when he said, "If I had discovered an Algerian nation, I would be a nationalist . . . I have not found it." Hadj Ben Ahmed Messali championed the second approach, asserting that "Islam is our religion, Algeria our country, Arabic our language." The French often jailed Messali for his uncompromising nationalist stances.

To minimize Algerian opposition, the French adopted a divide and rule tactic by favoring the Muslim Berber population that lived in the mountainous Kabyle region and encouraging it as a separate entity from the Muslim Arab population. These attempts failed as Berbers played key roles in the nationalist movement and were particularly attracted to Messali's approach.

The Algerian Muslim Congress drew up a list of grievances in 1936 but fell far short of advocating complete independence for Algeria. Many Muslim leaders still hoped that a form of assimilation could be devised whereby Muslims could become French citizens without abrogating Islamic law or tradition. In response to the problem, the Blum-Violette proposals in 1937 provided for the gradual extension of suffrage whereby some 20,000 Algerians would become citizens with more to follow over time. However, the colons adamantly opposed any reforms that widened Algerian participation and lessened their own political and economic power. The weakness and instability of French regimes in Paris prevented the implementation of reform programs that might have ameliorated the differences.

When the VICHY French regime came to power during WORLD WAR II, it instituted NAZI racist policies that imperiled both Muslim Algerians and Algerian Jews, who had been granted French citizenship in the late 19th century. These decrees were abolished when the Allied-supported French committee of national liberation took power in 1943.

Encouraged by Allied support, Abbas and his supporters issued the Manifesto of Algerian People in 1943. The manifesto paid respect to French culture but



A market in Biskra, Algeria, in the early 1900s: Algeria remained part of the French Empire throughout the first half of the 20th century, but nationalist movements for independence became increasingly more vocal and determined.

noted that assimilation had failed and that reforms were needed. Some French were willing to consider reforms, but others felt that the manifesto would lead to independence and flatly rejected it. Abbas then formed the Friends of the Manifesto and of Liberty and called for an autonomous republic in Algeria while counseling patience. His movement attracted mostly urban middle-class Algerians. The working class, far greater in numbers, supported Messali's calls for complete independence. The leader of the Free French, Charles de Gaulle, tried to conciliate the differences by proposing that more Algerians could become French citizens without giving up their Qur'anic rights, but this compromise failed to satisfy many Muslims and infuriated

the colons. In 1945 the French put Abbas under house arrest, and Messali was exiled.

In the spring of 1945 parades in Setif (southwest of Constantine) celebrating the end of World War II in Europe quickly turned into nationalist demonstrations. Violence spread to cities and other areas. In the rioting and French reprisals that quickly followed, hundreds of colons and thousands of Algerians (the figures vary widely ranging from 1,500 to 80,000) were killed.

The Algerian Statute of 1947 in which assimilation was stopped and two separate communities were recognized pleased no one. Under the new law, the French prime minister appointed a governor-general who was assisted by a council of six with the right to apply

French law. The Algerian Assembly was to have two houses, one European and one for “natives.” Europeans controlled both houses. Colons were against even this compromise, and Messali responded by demanding complete independence. By this time, the majority of Algerians had concluded that the French were never going to grant full equality and that independence was the only solution. By 1950 many Algerian nationalists had either been arrested by the French, were in exile, or had escaped into the mountains of the Kabyle. The conflict remained unresolved until full-scale war broke out in 1954.

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JANICE J. TERRY

alliance system

Alliances are a common military or political action among states. Often resorted to for defensive purposes, they frequently result in the very war they hoped to avoid. When Sparta formed the Peloponnesian League and Athens led the Delian League in the aftermath of the Persian War, war followed, and it was long and costly. Likewise, the alliance system that emerged in the years before WORLD WAR I proved to be a major cause of one of the greatest conflagrations in human history.

The roots of the modern alliance system lie in the situation that arose following the victory of Prussia in its war with France in 1870–71. Since the 1860s the Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismarck had waged wars with Denmark and Austria, which led to territorial acquisitions. With the Franco-Prussian War came the unification of Germany, which then took two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, from France. One of the major consequences of these events was a change in the balance of power as Germany replaced France as Europe’s greatest nation.

German diplomats assessed these new conditions. The first point to be noted was that France constituted a threat on Germany’s western border, eager as it was to retrieve the lost territories. Thus, in the 1880s, Bismarck sought to isolate France and prevent it from

obtaining another ally that could pose a danger to Germany in the east and thus produce the possibility of a two-front war against Germany in the future. With this in mind, Bismarck devised the Three Emperors’ League in 1873, which tied together the conservative empires of Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. Even after signing the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879, he attempted to contain Russia in the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887.

Following Bismarck’s removal from office in 1890, Germany allowed the Reinsurance Treaty to lapse, as it appeared that Russia and Austria-Hungary were incompatible partners. Russian ambitions in the Balkans, fanned by Pan-Slavism, came into conflict with Austria-Hungary’s need to control these areas for the sake of its own national integrity. Thus, Russia was motivated to sign a treaty with France in 1894 to gain its assistance in the east. This created the possibility of a two-front war for Germany. It should also be noted that both France and Germany found themselves linked to eastern powers whose quarrel did not directly involve their national interests. In these circumstances, it was natural for Britain to be taken into consideration, despite the fact that Britain had a history of maintaining its distance from the continent and eschewing treaties. From the German point of view, there were two positive scenarios. The first would be for Britain to maintain neutrality; the second and best option would be for Britain to become a German partner. At the same time Russia and France hoped that Britain would become an ally and add British naval strength to their arsenal of weapons. The contest for British support was to become one of the most important issues around the turn of the century.

Germany made critical mistakes in dealing with Britain. In the first place, they seem to have believed that Germany needed to do nothing to woo Britain, for eventually Britain would be forced to side with Germany because of the former’s differences with France and Russia. There was a tradition of war with both, and Britain had important rivalries with France in Africa and Russia over India and Afghanistan. This turned out to be a serious miscalculation on Germany’s part since Britain, having been embarrassed by the unexpected difficulty of the BOER WAR, was anxious to achieve security. What truly alarmed Britain was the German decision to adopt a program to create a high seas fleet. Britain had always depended on its naval supremacy to be its most important defense and to secure its communications with the empire. The idea that Germany would challenge its predominance spurred Britain to embark

on its own naval building program, resulting in a naval race. More significantly, it prompted Britain, to the surprise of Germany, to reconsider its isolation and enter into conversations with France in 1904 and Russia in 1907. Both concluded in the resolution of their colonial differences and the inauguration of military contacts.

What had occurred was not an alliance between the three; rather, Britain had established friendly relations with the other two. Thus, this relationship became known as the Triple Entente. This outcome, of course, now forced Germany to plan not only for a two-front war but for a war in which Britain might intervene on the side of its opponents. Moreover, it now became clear that Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, could not be counted on to support Germany and Austria-Hungary. The result of all of this was the development of the SCHLIEFFEN PLAN, by which Germany hoped to score a decisive victory over Russia and France before Britain could intervene. This plan committed Germany to a timetable that was very hard to alter once a decision was made. Thus, it led to the violation of Belgian neutrality, which assured that Britain would come to Belgium's assistance.

The crisis in the Balkans caused by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 led to a confrontation between Russia and Austria-Hungary over Serbia. Faithful to its treaty commitments, France supported Russia, while Germany backed Austria-Hungary. When German armies entered Belgium, Britain entered the war. The alliance system ensured that a chain reaction would take place as countries arrayed themselves against each other. In many ways it provoked the war it was intended to prevent.

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MARC SCHWARZ

All-India Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League (AIML) was established on December 30, 1906, at the time of British colonial rule to protect the interests of Muslims. Later it became the main vehicle through which the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims was put forth. The INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC) was perceived by some Muslims as an essentially Hindu organization where

Muslim interests would not be safeguarded. Formed in the year 1885, the INC did not have any agenda of separate religious identity. Some of its annual sessions were presided over by eminent Muslims like Badruddin Tyabji (1844–1906) and Rahimtulla M. Sayani (1847–1902). Certain trends emerged in the late 19th century that convinced a sizable group of Muslims to chart out a separate course. The rise of communalism in the Muslim community began with a revivalist tendency, with Muslims looking to the history of Arabs as well as the Delhi sultanate and the Moghul rule of India with pride and glory. Although the conditions of the Muslims were not the same all over the British Empire, there was a general backwardness in commerce and education. The British policy of “divide and rule” encouraged certain sections of the Muslim population to remain away from mainstream politics.

The INC, although secular in outlook, was not able to contain the spread of communalism among Hindus and Muslims alike. The rise of Hindu militancy, the cow protection movement, the use of religious symbols, and so on alienated the Muslims. Syed Ahmed Khan's (1817–98) ideology and political activities provided a backdrop for the separatist tendency among the Muslims. He exhorted that the interests of Hindus and Muslims were divergent. Khan advocated loyalty to the British Empire. The viceroy Lord Curzon (1899–1905) partitioned the province of Bengal in October 1905, creating a Muslim majority province in the eastern wing. The INC's opposition and the consequent *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement convinced some Muslim elites that the congress was against the interests of the Muslim community. A pro-partition campaign was begun by the nawab of Dhaka, Khwaja Salimullah Khan (1871–1915), who had been promised a huge amount of interest-free loans by Curzon. He would be influential in the new state. The nawab began to form associations, safeguarding the interests of the Bengali Muslims. He was also thinking in terms of an all-India body. In his Shahbag residence he hosted 2,000 Muslims between December 27 and 30, 1906.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, the AGA KHAN III (1877–1957), who had led a delegation in October 1906 to Viceroy Lord Minto (1845–1914) for a separate electorate for the Muslims, was also with Salimullah Khan. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (1837–1907) of the Aligarh movement also was present in Dhaka. On December 30 the AIML was formed. The chairperson of the Dhaka conclave, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (1841–1917), declared that the league would remain loyal to the British and

would work for the interests of the Muslims. The constitution of the league, the *Green Book*, was drafted by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar (1878–1931). The headquarters of the league was set up in Aligarh (Lucknow from 1910), and Aga Khan was elected the first president. Thus, a separate all-India platform was created to voice the grievances of the Muslims and contain the growing influence of the Congress Party. The AIML had a membership of 400, and a branch was set up in London two years afterward by Syed Ameer Ali (1849–1928).

The league was dominated by landed aristocracy and civil servants of the United Provinces. In its initial years it passed pious resolutions. The leadership had remained loyal to the British Empire, and the Government of India Act of 1909 granted separate electorates to the Muslims. A sizable number of Muslim intellectuals advocated a course of agitation in light of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911. Two years afterward the league demanded self-government in its constitution. There was also change in leadership of the league after the resignation of President Aga Khan in 1913. MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (1876–1948), the eminent lawyer from Bombay (now Mumbai), joined the league.

DRIVING OUT THE BRITISH

Hailed as the ambassador of “Hindu-Muslim unity,” Jinnah was an active member of the INC. He still believed in cooperation between the two communities to drive out the British. He became the president of the AIML in 1916 when it met in Lucknow. He was also president between 1920 and 1930 and again from 1937 to 1947. Jinnah was instrumental in the Lucknow Pact of 1916 between the congress and the league, which assigned 30 percent of provincial council seats to Muslims. But there was a gradual parting of the ways between the INC and the AIML. The appearance of MOHANDAS K. GANDHI (1869–1948) on the Indian scene further increased the distance, as Jinnah did not like Gandhi’s noncooperation movement.

The short-lived hope of rapprochement between the two parties occurred in the wake of the coming of the Simon Commission. The congress accepted the league’s demand for one-third representation in the central legislature. But the Hindu Mahasabha, established in 1915, rejected the demand at the All Parties Conference of 1928. The conference also asked MOTILAL NEHRU (1861–1931) to prepare a constitution for a free India. The Nehru Report spelled out a dominion status for India. The report was opposed by the radical

wing of the INC, which was led by Motilal’s son Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). The league also rejected the Nehru Report as it did not concede to all the league’s demands. Jinnah called it a parting of the ways, and the relations between the league and the congress began to sour. The league demanded separate electorates and reservation of seats for the Muslims. From the 1920s on the league itself was not a mass-based party. In 1928 in the presidency of Bombay it had only 71 members. In Bengal and the Punjab, the two Muslim majority provinces, the unionists and the Praja Krushsk Party, respectively, were powerful. League membership also did not increase substantially. In 1922 it had a membership of 1,093, and after five years it increased only to 1,330. Even in the historic 1930 session, when the demand for a separate Muslim state was made by President Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), it lacked a quorum, with only 75 members present.

After coming back from London, Jinnah again took the mantle of leadership of the league. The British had agreed to give major power to elected provincial legislatures per the 1935 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT. The INC was victorious in general constituencies but did not perform well in Muslim constituencies. Many Muslims had subscribed to the INC’s ideal of secularism. It seemed that the two-nation theory, exhorting that the Hindus and Muslims form two different nations, did not appeal to all the Muslims. The Muslims were considered a nation with a common language, history, and religion according to the two-nation theory.

In 1933 a group of Cambridge students led by Choudhary Rahmat Ali (1897–1951) had coined the term *Pakistan* (land of the pure), taking letters from Muslim majority areas: Punjab *P*, Afghania (North-West Frontier Province) *A*, Kashmir *K*, Indus-Sind *IS*, and Baluchistan *TAN*. The league did not achieve its dream of a separate homeland for the Muslims until 1947. It had been an elite organization without a mass base, and Jinnah took measures to popularize it. The membership fees were reduced, committees were formed at district and provincial levels, socioeconomic content was put in the party manifesto, and a vigorous anti-congress campaign was launched. The scenario changed completely for the league when in the famous Lahore session the Pakistan Resolution was adopted on March 23, 1940. Jinnah reiterated the two-nation theory highlighting the social, political, economic, and cultural differences of the two communities. The resolution envisaged an independent Muslim state consisting of Sindh, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and Bengal. The efforts of Jinnah after the debacle in the 1937 election

paid dividends as 100,000 joined the league in the same year.

There was no turning back for the league after the Pakistan Resolution. The league followed a policy of cooperation with the British government and did not support the Quit India movement of August 1942. The league was determined to have a separate Muslim state, whereas the congress was opposed to the idea of partition. Reconciliation was not possible, and talks between Gandhi and Jinnah for a united India in September 1944 failed. After the end of WORLD WAR II, Great Britain did not have the economic or political resources to hold the British Empire in India. It decided to leave India finally and ordered elections to central and provincial legislatures. The league won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims with 86 percent of the votes in the elections of December 1945 for the center. The congress captured all the general seats with 91 percent of the votes. In the provincial elections of February 1946, the league won 440 seats reserved for Muslims out of a total of 495 with 75 percent of the votes.

Flush with success, the Muslim members gathered in April for the Delhi convention and demanded a sovereign state and two constitution-making bodies. Jinnah addressed the gathering, saying that Pakistan should be established without delay. It would consist of the Muslim majority areas of Bengal and Assam in the east and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan in the west. The British government had dispatched a cabinet mission in March to transfer power. The league accepted the plan of the cabinet mission, but the league working committee in July withdrew its earlier acceptance and called for a Direct Action Day on August 16.

The league joined the interim government in October but decided not to attend the Constituent Assembly. In January 1947 the Muslim League launched a “direct action” against the non-Muslim League government of Khizr Hayat Tiwana (1900–75) of the Punjab. Partition was inevitable, and the new viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–79), began to talk with leaders from the league as well as the congress to work out a compromise formula. On June 3, 1947, it was announced that India and Pakistan would be granted independence. The Indian Independence Act was passed by the British parliament in July, and the deadline was set for midnight on August 14–15. The demand of the league for a separate state was realized when the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was born on August 14.

On August 15 Jinnah was sworn in as the first governor-general of Pakistan, and Liaquat Ali Khan

(1895–1951) became the prime minister. The new nation had 60 million Muslims in East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan. After independence the league did not remain a major political force for long, and dissent resulted in many splinter groups. The Pakistan Muslim League had no connection with the original league. In India the Indian Union Muslim League was set up in March 1948 with a stronghold in the southern province of Kerala. The two-nation theory received a severe jolt when East Pakistan seceded after a liberation struggle against the oppressive regime of the west. A new state, Bangladesh, emerged in December 1971. In the early 21st century more Muslims resided in India (175 million) than in Pakistan (159 million).

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Ambedkar, Bhim Rao

(1891–1956) *Indian lawyer and reformer*

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar was the most important leader of the oppressed untouchable minority in the history of India. He acquired the honorific name Babasaheb. Fighting for his people, he angered MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, the revered leader of the Indian nationalist movement, as well as many Hindu traditionalists. When India became an independent country, he served in its cabinet and drafted its constitution. Near the end of his life, he became a Buddhist and encouraged other untouchables to do likewise; he had lost hope of justice for his people within Hinduism.

In Hinduism most people belonged to four hierarchical castes, but a large minority were excluded from the caste system and were regarded as beneath it. They did jobs that other Hindus rejected as ritually

unclean and were not allowed to pray in temples or to draw water from communal wells. Nearly all of them were desperately poor. In English these people often are called untouchables, or pariahs. Gandhi, wishing to improve their status, called them harijans, or children of God. To underscore their miserable condition, untouchables preferred to be called *dalits*, a name that means oppressed.

B. R. Ambedkar was born to an untouchable family as its 14th child. At the time of his birth his father was a soldier. Untouchables were divided into numerous hereditary subgroups, or *jatis*. Ambedkar belonged to the Mahar *jati*. Despite the disadvantages of poverty, family responsibilities, and untouchable status, he acquired an advanced education. In 1912 he earned a B.A. degree from Elphinstone College at Bombay University. The ruler of a princely state then financed his education in the United States and Britain. In 1916 Columbia University awarded him a Ph.D. in economics. He continued his studies at the London School of Economics. In 1921 it awarded him a second doctorate. He studied law at Gray's Inn and in 1923 was called to the bar in Britain. He also studied briefly at a German university.

In India he practiced law, taught, edited newspapers, and entered politics. Although he was elected to the Bombay legislature, his real political career was as the leader of the formerly passive untouchable community. Ambedkar's nonviolent protests mobilized tens of thousands of *dalits* for the right to draw water from wells and public tanks and to pray in temples. Although Gandhi saw himself as a friend of the untouchables, he got along poorly with Ambedkar. They quarreled at the Round Table Conferences on India's future held in London.

When Britain decided to grant India extensive political autonomy, its government grappled with the problem of the diversity within the Indian population. In 1932 Britain offered separate electorates to the untouchables, so that this oppressed minority would control the selection of its representatives. The INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS strongly opposed any separate electorates. Gandhi began a fast to put pressure on Ambedkar to reject the special electorates for his people. Reluctantly, he did so. The Indian National Congress offered Ambedkar concessions in what was known as the Poona Pact. The number of seats reserved for untouchable candidates was increased, but the entire electorate, not just untouchables, would vote on the candidates for these seats.

In 1936 Ambedkar organized the Independent Labour Party. In contrast with Gandhi and the Indian National Congress, Ambedkar and his party supported the British government in India during WORLD WAR II.

In 1942 he became a member of the viceroy's executive council. In the same year he organized a new political party, the Scheduled Castes' Federation.

When India became independent, Ambedkar joined the new government that the Indian National Congress dominated. From 1947 to 1951, he was a member of the cabinet. More important, he chaired the committee that drafted the national constitution and was its principal author.

In the final years of his life, Ambedkar turned to Buddhism, a religion with Indian roots that rejected the Hindu caste system and the concept of untouchability. He formally converted to Buddhism in October 1956. Hundreds of thousands of untouchables joined him in leaving Hinduism for Buddhism. A few weeks after his conversion ceremony, Ambedkar died.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Amin, Qasim

(1863–1908) *Egyptian author and reformer*

Qasim Amin was a noted Egyptian intellectual and advocate of reform in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. His father was a Turkish Ottoman official and landowner married to an Egyptian woman. Amin was educated in Cairo and at the School of Law and Administration. He was a follower of the earlier reformer Muhammad Abduh, who sought to resolve the conflict of Islamic practices and tradition with the adoption of Western scientific thought and development. As a highly respected lawyer, Amin was sent on a government educational mission to France, where he spent several years in the 1880s. Amin wrote a number of works on social issues, and in *Les Egyptiens* he focused on the national rights of Egyptians. He was best known for his works on the status of women.

He addressed the issues of polygamy, marriage laws, education for women, seclusion, and veiling in *The Liberation of Women*, published in 1899. Amin argued that sharia (Islamic law) and Islamic custom

did not mandate either the seclusion of women in the home or veiling. Both were commonly practiced among upper and middle classes of the era. Poor peasant families could not afford the luxury of secluding or veiling women who commonly worked alongside men in the fields. Amin emphasized that sharia granted legal rights to women and that the corruption or decline of morals by outside forces had been responsible for the decline of Islamic societies. He stressed the importance of women in building modern nations and in national struggles and advocated improved education for women. According to Amin, education for women should not be limited to matters of household management but should include subjects that would enable them to participate in life outside the home. Although by contemporary standards Amin's advocacy of gradual reform was not revolutionary, his book on the status of women aroused massive public debate about the role of women and Islam. Amin was severely criticized by conservative religious leaders and the palace.

Amin repudiated his critics in a second more radical—for the age—book, *The New Woman*, in 1900. In this second book he dropped a discussion of Islamic law and tradition to justify reforms and instead applied Western thought to augment his arguments. Amin stated that with education and reforms in status, women would ultimately have almost the same rights and status as men.

Amin supported the Egyptian nationalist movement, in which both men and women were full participants, in his memoirs, *Kalimat*. He also stressed the need for scientific knowledge in order for nations to advance. An early Egyptian nationalist, Amin was friendly with SA'D ZAGHLUL and Tal'at Harb, both of whom became leaders of the Egyptian nationalist movement.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Amritsar massacre

The Amritsar massacre (April 13, 1919) helped many moderate Indian nationalists become fiercely anti-British. The Rowlatt Acts, enacted by the British government, had outraged politically minded Indians.

Extending wartime emergency legislation, the Rowlatt Acts gave the British viceroy in India the authority to silence the press, make arrests without a warrant, and imprison without trial. The Indian members of the viceroy's legislative assembly opposed this legislation, and several of them resigned (including MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, later the founder of Pakistan).

To protest the Rowlatt Acts, MOHANDAS K. GANDHI called for a national *hartal*, a day of prayer and fasting, that on April 6 closed most shops and businesses in the northwestern province of the Punjab. The British administration in the Punjab, headed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was notoriously stern, and the province had long seethed with unrest. In Lahore there were large anti-British demonstrations and a railroad strike. On April 10, on O'Dwyer's order, British officials in Amritsar arrested Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, a Muslim lawyer, and Dr. Satyapal, a Hindu who had served as a medical officer in the British army. They were leaders of the Amritsar nationalist movement. In the angry reaction against these arrests, violence broke out resulting in destruction of property and looting in Amritsar. Five British civilians and 10 Indians were killed. A school superintendent, Marcella Sherwood, was trapped by a mob, badly beaten, and left for dead. This mistreatment of a British woman outraged officials.

The villain in the story of the Amritsar massacre was Reginald E. H. "Rex" Dyer. Dyer was a colonel who held the temporary rank of brigadier general while commanding an infantry brigade in the Punjab. Born in India, he was competent in several Indian languages, including Hindi and Punjabi. Before the Amritsar massacre, he had not had a reputation of being more racist than other British officers. In fact, early in 1919 he had resigned from the officers' club that served his brigade because he objected to the exclusion of Indians who held commissions as officers. He appears to have been lacking in self-confidence while at the same time being stubborn and rash. He did not always obey orders. Unfortunately, he was stationed near Amritsar.

Apparently, Dyer acted on his own initiative in moving his brigade to Amritsar on April 11. On the next day he reissued an earlier government order that banned any meetings or gatherings. He did not continue the previous policy of slowly extending British military and police control over one part of the city after another. He preferred to parade large forces through Amritsar as a demonstration of strength and then withdraw them.

Despite the proclamations against meetings, thousands of Indians flocked to the Jallianwala Bagh on April 13, most of them in support of the imprisoned Kitchlew and Satyapal. Some arrived after the police had closed a nearby fair held in honor of the Sikh new year. By late afternoon a huge throng was present, a rather quiet crowd and not an angry mob. Estimates vary, but there certainly were more than 10,000 people. The Bagh was a trap for them. Enclosed by the walls of surrounding buildings, it had only a few narrow openings for entrance or exit, some of them locked.

Dyer made no attempt to prevent the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh or to disperse it peacefully. He decided to make an example of those who had violated the British prohibition of large gatherings. For this purpose he assembled a small force of 90 men that included no British soldiers. Instead he chose Baluchis, Gurkhas, and Pathans, “native” soldiers but ones who lacked sympathy for local Indians. He brought with him two armored cars equipped with machine guns. He later said that he did not use them because the entrances to the Bagh were too narrow. Even without the machine guns, the carnage was great. Without any warning Dyer’s soldiers fired on the crowd for 10 to 15 minutes. There was only one exit available for the thousands. In desperation many of those in the Bagh jumped into a deep well. After his troops had fired 1,650 rounds, Dyer ordered an end to the slaughter because he feared that his men would run out of ammunition and not be able to protect their withdrawal.

Nobody knows how many people were killed. An official estimate made by the British authorities says 379. An Indian investigation says 530. The wounded numbered over 1,000.

After the facts of the massacre became known, Dyer was dismissed. He returned to Britain, where a special commission of investigation censured him in 1920. Despite the official censure, some in Britain saw Dyer as a hero who took decisive action to prevent a rebellion that might have shaken British rule throughout the subcontinent. For many members of the upper and middle classes and military officers, Dyer was a victim of the government’s need to appease Indian nationalists. Dyer died of natural causes in 1927. An embittered Indian assassinated O’Dwyer in 1940.

See also INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

analytic philosophy

Since its beginnings in ancient Greece, one of the motivations driving Western philosophy has been the conviction that concepts such as “knowledge,” “mind,” “justice,” and “beauty” are obscure and that it is the business of philosophers to achieve a clearer understanding of their meanings. Analytic philosophy seeks this elevated understanding through a clarification of “ordinary,” that is, nonphilosophical, language that is believed by most analytic philosophers to be vague and obscure, at least in regard to concepts of interest to philosophers.

In the early decades of the 20th century, the founders of the analytic tradition, Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein, sought to use newly developed techniques in symbolic logic to produce ideally simple “atomic statements,” the meanings of whose component terms were absolutely clear. These component terms would, they believed, directly match, or, to use Wittgenstein’s term, “picture,” “atomic facts,” thereby yielding absolutely certain truths about “reality.” Russell called this technique “logical atomism.” During the 1920s and 1930s, this methodology, especially as embodied in Wittgenstein’s book, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, inspired the short-lived analytic movement known as logical positivism.

In this view science represents the standard of what is to count as knowledge, and, positivists claimed, science itself ultimately rests on statements of the sort sought by Russell and Wittgenstein, namely, simple statements the truth or falsehood of which can be verified, in principle, by direct sensory experience. Utterances that cannot be analyzed and verified in this way, for example, those containing religious or ethical terms, were dismissed by logical positivists as meaningless, or at the very least as outside the boundaries of possible knowledge.

Though Russell never lost faith in some form of “logical analysis” as the proper approach to the solution of philosophical problems, over time most philosophers in the analytic tradition, including the logical positivists, came to doubt the feasibility of arriving at absolutely clear and simple statements whose truth could be conclusively verified by basic sensory experiences.

Wittgenstein also began to question his own “picture theory” of language. Later in his life he authored a radical critique not only of his and Russell’s earlier work, but of virtually all of previous philosophy and in the process inspired a second movement within the analytic tradition, one that came to be known as ordinary language philosophy. Through the presentation of extensive “reminders” about how concepts actually function in “ordinary” language, the later Wittgenstein sought to wean philosophers away from the perception that our ordinary concepts are obscure and in need of philosophical analysis and clarification. With regard to our familiar concepts, Wittgenstein claimed that “nothing is hidden.” A concept’s meaning, he said, is fully visible in the ways in which it is used in ordinary language. If we remind ourselves of how words such as *knowledge*, *mind*, and the rest are used in the push and pull of life, he argued, we can see all there is to see about what they mean. The outcome of this realization should then be that philosophers’ traditional problems are not solved, but dissolved, that is, shown not to have been genuine problems in the first place.

In spite of the widespread influence in the mid-20th century of this critique of the need for philosophical analysis, philosophers’ faith in the legitimacy and profound urgency of their ancient puzzles reasserted itself, and it has for the most part prevailed, at least for the foreseeable future. The vast majority of analytic philosophers are today fully engaged in attempts to “shed light” on concepts of traditional philosophical interest, though without resorting to the kind of rigorous, but discredited, logical analysis envisioned by Russell and Wittgenstein in the early decades of the 20th century.

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MICHAEL H. REED

anarchist movements in Europe and America

Anarchism is a political belief that rejects organized government and asserts that each individual person should govern him- or herself. Anarchists believe that

all forms of rulership and government over a people are detrimental to society because they interfere with individual action and responsibility. The term is distinguished from the word *anarchy*, which means the actual absence of any form of organized government. The origin of anarchism can be traced to the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, when movements supporting intellectualism and reason became influential. Some of the effects of the ideas of this age were radical changes in government ideals and values. The ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), a Swiss-born philosopher, influenced the inciters of the French Revolution. Some of these groups applied the term *anarchist* to themselves as a positive label referring to people who were opposed to old and undesirable forms of government.

Anarchist ideas can be found in the writings of William Godwin (1756–1836), the father of *Frankenstein* author Mary Shelley. Godwin attributed the evils of mankind to societal corruption and theorized that it was better to reduce organized government. Godwin felt that humans’ possession of a rational mind would be spoiled should external controls interfere.

The person who is most often credited as the father of modern anarchism is Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65). He was the first to coin the words *anarchism* and *anarchist* to refer to his belief system. In 1840 he published his first significant work, *What Is Property?* He was also opposed to both capitalism and communism, though his beliefs and writings put him under the socialist umbrella.

Proudhon, when he settled in Paris, found people who had already accepted his ideas. However, the movement soon evolved into several types of anarchism mainly due to views on economics. Most of the concepts of anarchist groups are based on the treatment of the industrial worker, as this was a primary concern at the time these groups were founded, and workers were the ones who most commonly formed anarchist groups.

The major types of anarchism that have evolved since then are:

Mutualism—Although this started as a set of economic ideas from French and English labor groups, it later became associated with Proudhon. It bases its ideas on Proudhon’s assertion that a product’s true price should be determined by the amount of labor spent to produce it without considering materials. Therefore, mutual reward is achieved when people are paid for their labor no matter what economic conditions will apply. However, private ownership of production facilities is maintained.

Collectivist Anarchism—This movement is mostly attributed to Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76). For collectivist anarchists private ownership of the means of production is opposed, and ownership is collectivized. Workers should be paid according to the time spent on production work.

Anarchist Communism—Also called communist anarchism, this movement suggests that a worker is not necessarily entitled to the products that he or she worked to produce and that mere satisfaction of needs is the payment. Instead of a general government, self-governing communes can be organized that are ruled by actual democracy, based on constituent voting. Joseph Déjacque (1821–64) is considered the first figure of this subgroup, while the most influential is Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921). Like in communism, private ownership is opposed.

Anarcho-Syndicalism—This movement promotes the power of trade unions to override capitalism and seeks to abolish the wage system and private ownership. It borrows heavily from collectivist and communist modes of anarchism. Workers' groups are to have a heavy degree of solidarity and are able to self-govern without external controls. The most prominent anarcho-syndicalist was Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958).

Individualist Anarchism—This is the most common form of anarchism in the United States. Individualist anarchism is influenced mainly by the writings of Henry David Thoreau (1817–62), although his writings are mainly philosophical and do not recommend any kind of action. Other U.S. anarchists, such as Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, and Benjamin Tucker had more explanation on their courses of action. However, another kind of individualist anarchism, egoism, was presented by German philosopher Max Stirner (1806–56) in the mid-1800s.

Other anarchist forms were anarcho-capitalism, which enjoys a strong following in the United States, and anarchism without adjectives, a uniquely named form championed by the most prominent female anarchist in history, Voltairine de Cleyre (1866–1912). Russian writer Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) promoted a religion-based form of anarchism, Christian anarchism, advocating that since God is the ultimate government there should be no human governments organized.

Anarchist ideals had gained a significant following by the 19th century but had lost mass appeal by the turn of the 20th century. In the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR of 1917, anarchists participated alongside communists but were turned against by the communist government. This led to the 1921



An act of terrorism by anarchists caused this Wall Street explosion in New York City in 1920.

Kronstadt Rebellion, and anarchists were either jailed or made to leave the country.

In the 1930s, anarchists were opposed to the Fascist government of Italy under BENITO MUSSOLINI. Anarchists were active also in France and Spain. In 1937, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo was a generally anarchist labor union that participated in events leading to the SPANISH CIVIL WAR.

See also GOLDMAN, EMMA.

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CHINO FERNANDEZ

Anglo-Japanese treaty

The Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed between Lord Lansdowne (1845–1927), the British foreign secretary, and Hayashi Tadasu (1850–1913), the minister of Japan, on January 30, 1902, in London to create an alliance scheduled to last five years. Its terms gave Japan an equal partnership with a great power of the Western

world. The purpose of this first military agreement was stabilization and peace in northeast Asia. On Japan's side it was to prevent Russian expansionism in northeast Asia, and on Great Britain's side it protected British interests and its commerce in China.

Japan felt vulnerable due to Russian influence in Manchuria and interest in Korea. The Anglo-Japanese treaty allowed Japan to become a more powerful player in world diplomacy and in negotiations with Russia. It allowed Japan to go to war against Russia in February 1904 and to ask for financial support from Great Britain. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) astounded the world because of the success of Japan. It ended the menace of Russia and helped Great Britain to play a greater role in Europe.

The revision of the Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed on August 12, 1905, between Lansdowne and Hayashi in Lansdowne's residence. The new terms included an extension of the area covered by the alliance to include India, British recognition of Japan's right to control Korea, and Japan's recognition of Great Britain's right to safeguard her possessions in India. It also provided that in the event of any unprovoked attack neither party would come to the assistance of its ally. The alliance would remain in force for the following 10 years. The new terms showed Japan had increased its status in international society after winning the war over Russia.

The third Anglo-Japanese alliance agreement was negotiated in 1911 after Japan's annexation of Korea. Important changes concerned the deletion of the articles related to Korea and India and the extension of the alliance for 10 more years. The second revision accommodated Japan's annexation of Korea but also, at Britain's request, excluded the United States from the region. The alliance enabled Japan to participate in WORLD WAR I as a British ally.

With World War I beginning in the summer of 1914 and with political changes in China, Anglo-Japanese relations entered a new era. The new situation in the Far East resulted in a closer relationship between the United States and China. With the outbreak of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR in 1917, U.S. participation in the war, and later the publication of President WOODROW WILSON's Fourteen Points on how to end the war, the groundwork was set for new national relations.

These new circumstances brought changes in Anglo-Japanese relations after World War I. Great Britain no longer feared the Russian expansion in China and had developed a close relationship with the United States. The United States had also started

to view Japan as a competitor in East Asia. The problems of China were also affecting international politics. As a result, the United States decided to call a conference whose aim was to prevent expansion in China. At the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE (1921–22) Anglo-American cooperation in Asia allowed the United States to force Japan to accede to an end of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The official termination of the alliance took place on August 17, 1923.

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NATHALIE CAVASIN

anti-Communist encirclement campaigns in China (1930–1934)

In 1923 SUN YAT-SEN (d. 1925), leader of the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party, then out of power, made an agreement with Adolf Joffe, Soviet representative in China. It became the basis of an entente between the KMT and the Russian Communist government whereby Russia sent advisers to help Sun and the KMT and allowed Chinese students to go to Russia to study. It also allowed members of the newly formed CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) to join the KMT. This entente ushered in what became known as the first united front.

In 1926 the KMT launched a campaign called the NORTHERN EXPEDITION, commanded by Sun's lieutenant CHIANG KAI-SHEK, to oust the warlords and unite China. Its spectacular success led to a power struggle between the Soviet-supported CCP and the anti-CCP faction of the KMT, led by Chiang. Chiang won the showdown, expelling the Soviet advisers, purging the CCP, and then defeating most of the remaining warlords. Between 1928 and 1937 the KMT ruled from China's new capital, Nanjing (Nanking), under an unstable coalition led by Chiang.

Remnant CCP members fled to the mountains in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) province, where they established the Chinese Soviet Republic with its capital at Ruijin (Juichin). Chiang's new government was too preoccupied with dissident KMT leaders to worry about the CCP between 1928 and 1930, which allowed the CCP to expand to parts of Hunan, Hubei (Hupei), Anhui (Anhui), and Fujian (Fukien) provinces and increase its army to 120,000 men plus paramilitary units. Between 1930 and 1934 the Nationalist government launched five encirclement and extermination campaigns against the Communists (First Campaign, from fall 1930 to April 1931; Second Campaign, from February to May 1931; Third Campaign, from July to September 1931; Fourth Campaign, from January to April 1933; and Fifth Campaign, from October 1933 to October 1934). The first four campaigns failed because they were commanded by generals of varying ability and loyalty, because the government simultaneously had to deal with more serious revolts by dissident KMT generals, and because of Japan's attack on Manchuria and Shanghai (1931–32).

Meanwhile, Chiang consolidated his leadership and improved the central government's army with the help of German military advisers. He personally led the 700,000-strong army in the Fifth Campaign and adopted new strategies that were "70 percent political, 30 percent military." Militarily, he emphasized good training and improved morale for his officers and soldiers. As they advanced, his men constructed forts and blockhouses that blockaded the Communist-ruled areas. The political aspect of his strategies stressed economic reform, rural reconstruction, and neighborhood organization for security. These measures eliminated many of the abuses that had allowed the Communists to win the loyalty of the people of the contested region. The combination of military success and economic blockade effectively strangled the Communist-controlled land, reducing it to six counties by September 1934. On October 2 the central Chinese Soviet government headed by MAO ZEDONG (Mao Tse-tung) and its main army under ZHU DE (Chu Teh) decided to abandon Ruijin. They broke through the western sector of the blockade, where a general not loyal to Chiang had not completed building the blockhouses. Thus began the LONG MARCH.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

appeasement era

In October 1925 British, French, Belgian, and Italian representatives met in Locarno, Switzerland, to settle postwar territory claims in eastern Europe and normalize diplomatic relations with Weimar Germany. Germany also sought to establish guarantees protecting its western borders as established by the Treaty of Versailles that ended WORLD WAR I.

Under the Locarno Pact, Germany, France, and Belgium agreed not to attack each other, while Great Britain and Italy signed as guarantors to the agreement. As such, all parties pledged assistance if Germany, France, or Belgium took any aggressive action against any of them. Additionally, Germany agreed with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to handle any disputes diplomatically through the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, while France guaranteed mutual aid to Poland and Czechoslovakia in the event of a German attack.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to disarm, lost all territorial gains, and had to pay reparations as part of the acceptance of guilt in starting the war. Germans resented the treaty, considering it far too harsh and demeaning. Many blamed the treaty for compromising Germany's economy, so much so that by 1923 the Weimar Republic could not make the required reparation payments. The situation worsened when the GREAT DEPRESSION hit in the 1930s, heightening the already-bleak socioeconomic pressures of the country. As a result, Germans faced a complete disintegration of their society, as a majority of citizens became disillusioned about the future of the country. Upon his ascension to the chancellorship in January 1933, ADOLF HITLER sought changes to the treaty that would allow for German *lebensraum* (living space). With that in mind, Hitler formally repudiated the Treaty of Versailles in March 1935, using it as both scapegoat and propaganda for the ills of the nation. He set about restructuring the economy and, more importantly, rearming the military in violation of the treaty. Industrial production and civic improvements were expanded, the results of which were both positive and negative: The unemployment rate fell with continued arms production and construction projects,

while inflation increased due to currency manipulation and deficit spending. The German military (Wehrmacht) reintroduced conscription, which helped to lower the unemployment rate further, and reorganized to include a new navy, the Kriegsmarine, and an air force, the Luftwaffe—both of which were severe violations of Versailles.

Hitler made the argument that rearmament was a necessity for Germany's continued security. At the time, European leaders felt such allowances simply corrected certain wrongs that bitter victors had set in the aftermath of a brutal world war; thus, Germany faced no repercussions other than formal protests. When France and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of alliance in 1936, Hitler's aims became even more significant. In response to the Franco-Soviet treaty, Hitler pressed for the stationing of German troops in the Rhineland. In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the entire Rhineland area was demilitarized to serve as a buffer between Germany and France, Belgium, and Luxembourg. By 1930 Allied forces had completely withdrawn under the terms of the treaty, which equally prohibited German forces from entering the area. Further, the Allies could reoccupy the territory if it was unilaterally determined that Germany had violated the treaty in any way.

France was not prepared militarily to dispute any claim over the territory without British aid. Great Britain could not provide such support. As a result, both countries had no choice but to allow Germany to retake the region. Thus, a policy of appeasement toward Germany was officially born under British prime minister Stanley Baldwin (1935–37), though it had already begun under his predecessor, Ramsey McDonald (1929–35). Guided by the growing pacifist movement, both Ramsey and Baldwin realized that national consensus did not favor military action. In spite of pressure from outspoken critics like WINSTON CHURCHILL, who recognized the dangers of German rearmament, both were determined to keep the country out of war.

Hitler's ambitions grew greater. Unwilling to assist the Republican government, Baldwin initiated a pact of nonintervention with 27 countries, including Germany and Italy. Despite being signatories, Hitler and Italy's BENITO MUSSOLINI, in violation of the agreement, sent weapons and troops to support General FRANCISCO FRANCO and his nationalist forces. By December both countries were fully involved in the Spanish conflict, having agreed two months earlier to an alliance, known as the Axis, to solidify their positions in Europe.

Using the war as a test for its armed forces and methods, particularly the Luftwaffe and blitzkrieg tactics, Germany demonstrated how far its remilitarization efforts had advanced. On April 26, 1937, the town of Guernica came to symbolize and foreshadow the German advancements. German and Italian forces in a joint operation began a bombing campaign against the town. The attack happened so swiftly that it appeared as one continuous assault, with no other intent than the complete decimation of the civilian population. However, several thousand refugees had come to the town in the wake of the war; by all estimates the number of dead stood near 1,700, consisting mainly of women, children, and elderly, with over two-thirds of the town in ruins.

ANSCHLUSS

As the Axis powers continued to lend support in Spain, Hitler forced his native Austria to unify politically (*Anschluss*) with Germany in March 1938. Despite the Treaty of Versailles's prohibition of union between Germany and Austria, again the Allies' response to the *Anschluss* went no further than formal diplomatic protests. A month earlier, on February 12, Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg had met with the führer in Berchtesgaden, Bavaria. Hitler had demanded the ban on the Austrian NAZI PARTY be lifted and that they be allowed to participate in the government, or Austria would face military retaliation from Germany. With little choice, Schuschnigg complied with the demands by appointing two Nazis to his cabinet, Arthur Seyss-Inquart and Edmund Glaise-Horstenau. He also announced a referendum to decide independence or union with Germany—a stall tactic aimed at preserving Austrian autonomy.

However, the gradual usurpation of authority by Schuschnigg's newly appointed ministers and pressure from Germany—in the form of an ultimatum from Hitler that threatened a full invasion—forced Schuschnigg to hand power over to Seyss-Inquart and the Austrian Nazi Party. When Hitler further threatened invasion, Miklas reluctantly acquiesced. On March 12 the German Wehrmacht 8th Army entered Vienna to enforce the *Anschluss*, facing no resistance from the Austrians. Many Austrians gave their support to the *Anschluss* with relief that they had avoided a potentially brutal conflict with Germany. Others fled the country in fear of the Nazi seizure of power.

Austria was only the beginning. When Neville Chamberlain became prime minister of Great Britain in May 1937 he adhered to the policy of appeasement that

his two predecessors had cultivated. He believed that the continued consent of changes to the Treaty of Versailles could prevent another war with Germany. To that end, Chamberlain, France's Édouard Daladier, and Italy's Benito Mussolini met with Hitler in Munich, Germany, in September 1938 to settle a dispute over the German-speaking Sudetenland, which both Czechoslovakia and Germany claimed. Hitler claimed that the Czech government was mistreating Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, despite no evidence of such treatment and adamant denials from government officials; the same argument was made for German minorities living in Hungary and Poland. Exploiting ethnic tensions as a pretext to gain a foothold in eastern Europe, Germany demanded the incorporation of the region into Nazi Germany.

The Allies urged the Czech government to comply. In what is known as the MUNICH PACT, the parties agreed on September 29, 1938, without Czech representation, to the transfer of the Sudetenland to German control. Terms of the agreement included the allowance of German settlements in the region, with Germany exacting no further claims of Czech lands. Triumphant that the situation had been resolved and war resoundingly avoided, Chamberlain and Daladier returned to England and France, declaring that the peace had been preserved. Feeling abandoned by its allies, particularly France, Czechoslovakia had no choice but to capitulate to Hitler.

As German troops moved into the newly acquired territory, the Czech population fled to central Czechoslovakia. Six months later Germany violated the Munich agreement by invading Czechoslovakia itself. Despite an alliance with France and the Soviet Union, neither came to Czechoslovakia's aid. Hitler's main motivation for the invasion involved the seizure of Czech industrial facilities. However, Hitler's intentions to invade Poland following the breakdown of negotiations over territorial concessions deemed it necessary that he eliminate Czechoslovakia first. Accordingly, on March 15, 1939, German forces entered the Czech capital of Prague, proclaiming the regions of Bohemia and Moravia as German protectorates.

Chamberlain and the Allied nations now faced a major international impasse. They had granted concessions to Hitler, with no repercussions when Germany violated the agreements. If Hitler were to continue that course of action, the Allies would find themselves in a difficult position in regard to other international commitments. In particular, both Great Britain and France pledged aid to Poland were Germany to invade it. The scenario became a reality when Germany invaded Poland

on September 1, 1939. In a final attempt to avert war Great Britain and France lodged formal warnings and diplomatic protests against the invasion, to no avail. As a result, notwithstanding the Soviet-German agreement, both countries were forced to declare war on Germany.

See also WORLD WAR II.

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STEVE SAGARRA

Arab-Israeli War (1948)

After WORLD WAR II Great Britain was no longer able economically, politically, or militarily to control Palestine. The Labour government was elected to power in 1945, and the new foreign minister, Ernest Bevin, attempted to placate mounting Arab opposition to a Jewish state by enforcing limitations on Jewish immigration into Palestine. Even during World War II some Revisionist Zionist groups had begun attacking British officials and forces in attempts to force the British to vacate Palestine. The Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, and LEHI (Stern Gang) both attempted to kill Sir Harold MacMichael, the British high commissioner in Palestine, and in 1944 LEHI killed Lord Moyne, the British minister of state for the Middle East. In 1946 the Irgun bombed the King David Hotel, the British headquarters in Jerusalem, killing over 90 people. The British branded the Irgun a terrorist organization and arrested many of its members. The Irgun retaliated by kidnapping British soldiers; British arms depots were also raided.

Although the United States was reluctant to ease its own immigration quotas, it pressured Britain to allow increased Jewish immigration into Palestine. In the aftermath of the HOLOCAUST, the forced return or imprisonment on Cyprus of illegal Jewish immigrants fleeing Europe was an untenable moral and political position. From the Zionist perspective there was no such thing as an "illegal" Jewish immigrant into Pales-

tine, and numerous means of circumventing or evading British border controls were devised to allow the landing of new Jewish immigrants. Some Zionists, including CHAIM WEIZMANN, recognized the potential problem posed by the displacement of Palestinians, but he argued that the Jewish need was greater. DAVID BEN-GURION and others in Palestine continued to claim all of Palestine for the Jewish state.

Following the war, the United States issued several public statements favoring the creation of a Jewish state. In the face of its domestic weakness and reliance on U.S. economic assistance, the British government in 1947 announced that it was turning over the entire problem of Palestine to the newly formed United Nations. The UN then created the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), composed of 11 member states, to investigate the situation and to make recommendations as to what should be done regarding the mounting conflict between Zionist demands for a Jewish state and Palestinian demands for an independent Arab state in Palestine.

In 1947 UNSCOP traveled to Palestine, where it was well received by the Zionists and boycotted by the Arab Higher Command of Palestine under the mufti Hajj Amin al-Husseini, an implacable opponent of a Jewish state. From the Palestinian point of view, any Jewish state would result in a loss of territory that was considered part of the Palestinian national homeland. However, by boycotting the negotiations, the Palestinians lost an opportunity to present their side to the general Western public and politicians. UNSCOP submitted a minority and majority report; the minority recommended a binational state, and the majority recommended partition. The proposed partition plan allotted approximately 50 percent of the land for the Jewish state and 50 percent for an Arab state, with Jerusalem and a large area around the city to be under international control. The projected Jewish state included most of the north and coastal areas with the better agricultural land and sea access as well as the Negev desert in the south. Jaffa, totally surrounded by the proposed Jewish state, was to be an Arab port. Although the plan did not include all the territory the Zionists had claimed, Ben-Gurion and the majority Labor Party reluctantly accepted the UN partition scheme and launched an all-out effort to make an independent Jewish state a reality and to obtain recognition from the international community.

At the time there were 1.26 million Palestinian Arabs, or two-thirds of the total population, and 608,000 Jews, or one-third of the population, in Palestine, and Arabs

still owned over 80 percent of the total land within Palestine. Consequently, the Palestinians and other Arab states rejected the plan. At the pan-Arab conference in Bludan, Syria, in 1937, the Arabs had already unanimously rejected any partition of Palestine, so the rejection in 1947 came as no surprise to either side.

The United States lobbied several nations that were poised to abstain or vote against partition: Members of the UN narrowly voted in favor of the partition plan in November 1947. Violence immediately broke out in Palestine and elsewhere in the Arab world, and in waves of anti-Semitism Jewish quarters and businesses in Cairo, Baghdad, and elsewhere were attacked. The mufti called for a three-day strike in Palestine, during which violence between the two communities escalated.

The British withdrew from Palestine in May 1948, and war immediately broke out. By the time of the British withdrawal the HAGANAH effectively controlled the area allotted to the Jewish state by the partition plan. On May 14, 1948, Ben-Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the independent state of Israel amid widespread rejoicing among Jewish communities. Ben-Gurion became the first Israeli prime minister in a coalition government dominated by the Labor Party, and the Haganah became the Israeli Defense Force (IDF). The new state was immediately recognized by both the United States and the Soviet Union; however, the celebrations were tempered by the certainty of impending war with the surrounding Arab states and the Palestinians.

Israeli forces were well organized and trained with a unified chain of command and a plan for securing all the territory allotted to the new state. With the IDF, the Palmach, or shock troops, the police, and the Irgun and Stern Gang Israeli forces numbered about 60,000 in addition to 40,000 reservists. The Irgun and Stern Gang were not incorporated in the IDF but on some occasions coordinated efforts with it.

Arabs forces also numbered about 40,000 and included the Arab Liberation Army, volunteer forces led by Fawzi al-Kawakji, and the Jordanian Arab Legion, commanded by a British officer, Glubb Pasha. The legion was the best trained of the Arab forces. Abd al-Kader al-Husseini commanded Palestinians in Jerusalem; Iraqi and Syrian soldiers also fought in the war. The Arab League supported the Palestinian cause but refused to provide money to the mufti or to recognize the establishment of a Palestinian state in exile. The Palestinian population remained demoralized from their earlier defeat by the British in the Arab

Revolt of 1936–39 and had no real unified political or military leadership. Arab armies also suffered from inferior armaments and corrupt leadership, and they had not coordinated their efforts or devised an effective plan for military victory.

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

By the time the war broke out massive numbers of Palestinians had already become refugees in neighboring Arab countries. Some upper- and middle-class Palestinians had left for jobs and businesses in other Arab countries during the mandate period, and the peasantry, by far the majority of the Palestinian population, was frightened by the mounting violence and impending war. The causes for the mass exodus remain highly controversial, with both sides blaming the other for the refugee problem. Some Palestinians undoubtedly left what was soon to become a war zone in the belief that they would return home after the war was over and the Arabs had been victorious. Attacks by Israeli forces, especially the Irgun, also terrorized the peasants and incited many to flee.

In the spring of 1948 the Irgun and LEHI attacked Deir Yasin, a peaceful village near Jerusalem, killing over 200 Palestinian civilians. The massacre at Deir Yasin spread terror among Palestinian peasants, who feared the same fate might befall their villages. Palestinians left Haifa and the northern area of Tiberias; those from northern Palestine fled into Syria and Lebanon, those in the central area went to the West Bank and across the Jordan River into Jordan, and those in the south crowded into the Gaza Strip along the Mediterranean Sea. By the end of April over 150,000 Palestinians had left, and by May the numbers reached 300,000.

The 1948 war is known as the war of independence in Israel and called al-Nakba, or disaster, by the Palestinians. Military engagements in the war fell into three parts. In the first part, lasting from May to June, Egyptian forces crossed into the Negev in the south on May 15, and the Iraqis subsequently marched through Jordan into Palestine and Israel and at one juncture were within 10 miles of the Mediterranean. According to an earlier secret agreement between the Zionists and King Abdullah of Jordan, Jordanian troops would not move into areas allotted to the Jewish state, in return for which Abdullah was to secure the West Bank. The agreement held during the war, but since there had been no agreement regarding Jerusalem, Jordanian and Israeli forces fought over the city, and the Jews were forced to surrender the Jewish quarter in

the old part of the walled city. The Syrians were halted in the north, and there was no Lebanese resistance.

The UN sent Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, a leading figure in the International Red Cross, to mediate; Bernadotte secured a truce in mid-June that lasted for four weeks, during which time the Israelis secured arms from Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Great Britain suspended the supply of arms to Iraq, Transjordan, and Egypt. The truce ended in July, followed by 10 days of fierce fighting during which time the Israeli victory became apparent. Israeli forces took all of northern Palestine and restored communication between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

A second truce was negotiated in July, when al-Kawakji's forces had been decisively defeated and Israel held all Galilee; however, the eastern part of Jerusalem, including the Old City, remained under Jordanian control. In the negotiations Bernadotte had angered both sides, and there was fear among Israelis that his final report due in September would be favorable to the Arabs. His report supported the partition plan but with the right of Palestinian repatriation; he also recommended that the Negev go to the Arabs, that Galilee be Jewish, the creation of a UN boundary patrol, and that Haifa be a free port. Jerusalem was to remain under UN auspices. The Stern Gang assassinated Bernadotte in September, and the report was never implemented. The U.S. diplomat Ralph Bunche was appointed the new mediator.

In October the Israelis attacked the Egyptian forces in the Negev. A small group of Egyptian soldiers including a young officer, Gamal Abdul Nasser, held out for several months at Falluja but, lacking reinforcements or relief from Egypt, were ultimately forced to surrender. Nasser blamed the corrupt regime of King Faruk for the loss and would lead a successful revolution against the monarchy in 1952. In December Israel moved further into the Negev and northern Sinai but reluctantly withdrew from the Gaza Strip, which was administered by the Egyptian military.

The 1948 war resulted in the partition of Jerusalem, with west Jerusalem held by Israel and east Jerusalem by Jordan. Through military victories Israel had increased its territory by about one-third more than the original partition plan had called for. As far as Israel was concerned, the gains were nonnegotiable, and the land was immediately incorporated into the new state. The mufti attempted to establish a Palestinian state based in Gaza, but he was thwarted by King Abdullah. In December Abdullah announced the unification of the West Bank and east Jerusalem with Jordan; Abdullah's

claim as sovereign of Palestine was supported by hand-picked notables, and the Palestinians remained without a state of their own.

Peace negotiations were held at Rhodes in early 1949. Because the Arabs refused to recognize Israel, Bunche had to shuttle back and forth between the Arab and Israeli delegations, and the negotiations became known as the Proximity Talks. An armistice was reached with Egypt in February 1949, Lebanon in March, Jordan in April with clauses for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Jordanian territory, and Syria in July. No formal armistice was ever reached with Iraq.

SETTING THE STAGE

The losses in the 1948 war left the Arabs humiliated and unforgiving and set the stage for future political upheavals through much of the region. Attempts by the UN to secure a full peace failed; although full-scale fighting ceased, technically the Arabs and Israel remained at war.

Nor was the Palestinian refugee issue resolved. Fearing the creation of a possible fifth column within its new borders and a possible Arab majority in the new Jewish state, Israel refused to permit the return of most of the refugees and blamed the Arab governments for having created the problem in the first place. The Arabs blamed Israel. The Palestinians were determined to return to their homes in the future and refused resettlement elsewhere. Arab states were also ill equipped to deal with the influx of refugees; some Arab regimes also used the refugees as pawns in their own struggles with Israel. Only Syria volunteered to discuss granting citizenship to the refugees. Ben-Gurion refused to negotiate unless his preconceived terms were met, and the offer was dropped.

By 1949 there were about 800,000 Palestinian refugees, and the United Nations established an agency that became UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Administration) to provide minimal assistance of about 16 cents per day for them. As the conflict continued and as successive generations were born in the camps, the number of refugees grew. The issues of repatriation, reparations, or compensation for land and businesses lost remained unresolved into the 21st century.

The new Israeli government set about incorporating its territorial gains and assimilated over half a million new Jewish immigrants, many of whom came from Arab states, especially Iraq and Yemen. No peace settlement was reached between the Arabs and Israel, and the conflict continued to fester until full-scale war broke out again in 1956.

See also HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN; ZIONISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arab nationalism

Arab nationalism emerged in the 19th century as the ruling Ottoman Empire continued its long decline. Arabs, who constituted the single largest ethnic group in the empire, were particularly resistant to the program adopted by the ruling Committee of Union and Progress stressing Turkish history, language, and ethnicity after 1908. Arabs were particularly opposed to the teaching of the Turkish language as the first language in schools. Both Arab and Turkish nationalists such as the YOUNG TURKS grappled with the questions of what to do about the Ottoman Empire and whether separation along nationalist lines or decentralization was preferable. Prior to WORLD WAR I, when many still hoped that the Ottoman Empire might be reformed, a number of Arab intellectuals and activists formed clubs and published essays dealing with the problems of the empire and offering possible solutions to its problems.

In 1905 Negib Azoury (d. 1916), a French-educated Syrian Christian, published *Le Reveil de la Nation Arabe*. Azoury separated religion from government and openly demanded Arab independence from the Ottomans. He envisioned one Arab nation with the full equality of Muslims and Christians; however, Azoury did not include Egypt or North Africa in the projected Arab state. Amin al-Rihani and others emphasized Arabism over either Christianity or Islam.

A number of small nationalist clubs and political organizations were also established. Al-Qahtaniyya, formed in 1909, was made up of Arab officers in the Ottoman army who discussed the issues of ethnic and national identity. Many of the same officers joined Al-Ahd (the Pact), led by the Egyptian major Aziz Ali al-Misri. Misri was anti-Turkish and aimed for full Arab independence. In 1911 Al-Fatat (the Youth) had several

hundred Christian and Muslim members who called for the decentralization of the empire under some sort of dual monarchy along the lines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. An Arab congress met in Paris in 1913 and recommended the decentralization of the Ottoman government and that Arabic be the official language in Arab provinces. All of these groups aimed for the creation of a secular, democratic state.

When the Ottomans joined the Central Powers in WORLD WAR II and declared jihad, or holy war, in the fight against the Allies, most Arab Muslims rejected the call, arguing that both sides of the European conflict were predominantly Christian and that it made no sense to fight on religious grounds. Sherif Husayn of the Hashemite family used the war as an opportunity to gain what he believed to be British support for an independent Arab state after the war in the SHERIF HUSAYN-MCMAHON CORRESPONDENCE. Sherif Husayn's son Faysal met with Arab nationalists in Syria to secure their backing for his father's efforts. Misri and other Arab nationalists supported the Hashemites and in the Damascus Protocol of July 1915 agreed to Anglo-Arab cooperation in the war. Consequently, the Arabs raised the standard of revolt in June 1916 and fought with the British against the Ottomans and Germany for the duration of the war. Misri and another Arab Ottoman officer of Iraqi origin, Jafar Pasha Al-Askari, were among the most notable soldiers to join the fight against the Ottomans. In 1916 Ottoman Turkish soldiers commanded by Ahmed Jemal Pasha publicly hanged several known Arab nationalists in downtown Beirut.

However, during the war the British made two other conflicting agreements, the SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT and the BALFOUR DECLARATION, regarding the future of the Arab world. After the war the Arabs did not receive national independence. The Arab provinces of the old Ottoman Empire, including present-day Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel—none of which existed as independent states at the time—were divided up between the British and the French. Egypt, the Sudan, and North Africa also remained under French, British, or Italian control. When the Arabs failed to achieve self-determination, one Arab nationalist reputedly remarked, "Independence is never given, it is always taken."

In Syria representatives had gathered at the General Syrian Congress in 1919, and in the spring of 1920 they declared Syria's independence governed as a constitutional monarchy under Emir Faysal. To enforce their mandate over Lebanon and Syria, French forces attacked the fledgling Syrian army, defeating it at Maysalun Pass,

near Damascus. Faysal was forced into exile but was subsequently made king of Iraq by the British.

During the interwar years Arab nationalist parties from Morocco to Iraq adopted a wide variety of tactics including economic boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, and negotiations in the struggles against imperial control. When all of these failed some turned to more violent methods, joining armed paramilitary groups. There were also periodic and often spontaneous revolts and insurrections against the European occupiers from Egypt, to Iraq, to Syria. The Syrian revolt in 1925 was a major grassroots uprising against the French occupation. The revolt failed, and the French retained control of the Syrian mandate. Although the British granted facades of independence to Iraq, Transjordan (later Jordan), and Egypt, most of the other Arab territory remained under direct or indirect Western control until after WORLD WAR II.

Sati al Husri, a Syrian, was one of the foremost theoreticians of pan-Arabism. An Ottoman official prior to World War I, Husri supported Sherif Husayn and his son Faysal in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Turks. In the 1940s Husri was responsible for the Iraqi educational curriculum that emphasized Arab history and culture. A prolific writer, Husri argued that the Arabs were a single people, including Egyptians and Maghrabis (North Africans), and that their common identity was based on a common language and history. His books included *In Defence of Arabism*. Husri and other Arab writers recognized the importance of Islam for Christian as well as for Muslim Arabs in their history and culture but foresaw the creation of one unified secular democratic Arab state. After World War II Husri became director general of cultural affairs of the League of Arab States, where he continued to champion pan-Arabism.

With the encouragement of the British, the first Arab conference was held in Alexandria, Cairo, in 1944; it resulted in the formation of the League of Arab States, ratified in 1945. The league was headquartered in Cairo, and Egypt often dominated the organization. Member states were usually represented by their foreign ministers at meetings. Abd al-Rahman Azzam, an Egyptian who had fought in the nationalist Libyan war from 1911 to 1912, became the first secretary-general of the league and remained in that position until 1952. Azzam was a tireless champion of the league and of a pan-Arabism that would be all inclusive. As Arab states became independent in the postwar era, all joined the league.

The league supported the Palestinian cause and, as part of the struggle against Israel after the Arab

losses in the 1948 war, implemented an Arab boycott of Israeli goods. The boycott was administered from Damascus, but individual Arab governments enforced it in a haphazard fashion; it had minimal impact. In 1950 league members signed a Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty as a cooperative effort to protect members against Israel. Pan-Arabism reached its apogee during the Nasserist era in the 1950s and 1960s, when there were numerous efforts to unify the separate Arab states.

See also FRENCH MANDATE IN SYRIA AND LEBANON; HASHEMITE DYNASTY IN IRAQ.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Armenians in the Ottoman Empire

After the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II captured Constantinople on May 26, 1453, a new policy regarding minorities was initiated. The Ottomans organized each non-Muslim religious minority, mainly Christians and Jews, into a separate national administration, called a *millet* (pl. *milletler*). The head of each *millet* was its highest religious authority residing in the Ottoman Empire. For Christians there were at first three *milletler*: one for the group of Byzantine (Greek) Orthodox, one for the Armenian Orthodox, and one for the Assyrian Church of the East. By the time of the fall of the Ottoman Empire there were no fewer than eight Christian *milletler*. The ideology behind this principle of organization was a liminal concept of “clean” versus “defiled.” Expressed in sociological terms, the “clean” Muslim Ottoman Turks did not wish to come into contact with “unclean” Christians. Furthermore, by substituting the Christian idea of “church” with the Islamic idea of an ethnic and religious nation in which the Armenian clergy were also civil and judicial administrators of the Armenian people, the Ottomans sought to destroy the spiritual power of the churches by forcing the bishops and other clergy to be embroiled in secular administration.

In the Ottoman system, the civil head of each Christian minority *millet* was a patriarch. The duty of the patriarch was to administer the internal civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs of his *millet*. The patriarch's chief responsibility was the collection of taxes on behalf of the Ottoman government, and the patriarch was the sole representative of his nation to the sultan. The patriarch also was responsible for education, hospitals, family law, and permission to travel within the Ottoman Empire.

The *millet* system offered some advantages for the minority groups themselves. It was illegal to convert Armenians to Islam, although this took place with significant frequency when it behooved the Ottoman government. Armenians were also nominally protected from intermarriage, and thus the homogeneity of each *millet* was largely preserved. For other minorities who were Muslim, principally the Kurds, their fate was worse: As Muslims they were not accorded a distinct national identity.

NATIONAL SELF-CONCEPT

For Armenians the church was the foundation of their national self-concept. Most Armenians were ignorant theologically. While many, especially in the rural areas of eastern Anatolia, were not formally religious, they were strongly pious. The major festivals of the church were celebrated even in the poorest homes. Even the simplest folk understood that the church was fundamental to their national survival, and Armenians supported their church as much as they could.

In the last three decades of the 19th century, like many other minorities in the Ottoman Empire, Armenians were faced with a precarious existence. Armenians in eastern Anatolia, who were forbidden to keep firearms, were at the mercy of marauding Kurds and Turks. Although some Armenians loyal to the Ottoman government rose to positions of power in the state, overall they were second-class citizens, faced with corruption both within and outside of their own community, unfairly taxed, and who, despite their industriousness and hard work, began immigrating to the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia in large numbers.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 marked the beginning of a new and bloody chapter for Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The wars with Russia brought Armenians in Turkey into close quarters with their brethren in Russia, who enjoyed a much higher standard of living and greater autonomy. As a result the national revival of Armenians advanced much faster in Russian Caucasia than in Turkey. The Great Concert of

European powers produced the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878), which blocked Russia's attempt to force the sultan to improve the lives of Armenians. The situation of Armenians in Anatolia became worse in the 1880s, as Kurds and other Muslim minorities attacked Armenians without interference from the Turkish governors.

The result was that Armenians formed political organizations to force the Ottomans to deal with these and other problems. By the 1890s Armenian paramilitary organizations emerged with the intention of organizing a defense of Armenians and Armenian interests. The most important of these was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which sought greater autonomy for Armenians while ruling out political independence, and the Social Democratic Hnchag ("Clarion") Party, which sought complete independence for Armenia.

In 1894 the matter came to a head when Hnchag leaders sought to stir the international community to action through a planned act of rebellion. The response of the Ottoman government was very much disproportionate to the threat posed by the act: The Kurds and the Turkish military exterminated many villages that did not participate in the rebellion. In the course of 1894–96 in a planned and systematic fashion, Sultan Abdul Hamid I sought to solve the Armenian question through reduction of the number of Armenians through massacres. European powers did not intervene largely out of fear of Russia, and American president Grover Cleveland refused to intervene. The massacres essentially ended the Armenian revolutionary drive for independence and even led to a rejection of revolution from some of its most prominent Armenian supporters.

However, after 1904 renewed Armenian guerrilla activity in eastern Anatolia resulted in further punitive massacres similar to those in 1894–96. Further attacks followed in Adana and in Syria in 1908 with the participation of the YOUNG TURKS, who had seized power that same year. The tense situation between Armenian political organizations and the government of the Young Turks continued. The problem was compounded by the intervention of Western powers in Turkish governance and their open hostility to the Turkish regime. The start of WORLD WAR I, which pitted Turkey against many of its former enemies, particularly Russia, resulted in a cataclysm of death for Armenian civilians. The policy of brutally suppressing Armenian cries for safety from murder and pillage under the Ottomans continued. The government of the Ottoman Empire, led by the Young Turks, began a policy of massacre that was concentrated in 1915 but continued in the new Turkish Republic until 1922. Claiming that the Armenians and other

Christians were collaborating with the Russian army, the Turks set out to systematically eliminate, or at least to reduce to an insignificant number, the Armenians and other Christians from eastern Anatolia.

Along with this violence came the transfer of the wealth of these groups into Kurdish and Turkish hands. Although most of this activity was conducted at the hands of Kurds and prisoners released for the massacres, the Turkish army provided support, and the Turkish government was responsible for sanctioning and in some cases actively planning the removal of Armenians from eastern Anatolia. As many as 1.5 million Armenians, along with hundreds of thousands of Suryani and Assyrian Christians, were killed or died as a result of forced marches southward through the desert or in concentration camps.

The Turkish government in the early 21st century vehemently denied that the government of the Young Turks (who also were the founders of the modern Turkish Republic) engaged in a planned and systematic elimination of all Armenians from Anatolia. Instead, the Turkish Republic claimed that most of the casualties were Armenians who fought with the invading Russian army against the Ottomans, and that the number of these battle casualties for Armenians was 600,000. Currently, a reassessment of the Turkish participation in the slaughter of the Armenians is occurring among intellectuals and historians in Turkey, and even the government is promoting restoration and cultural expressions of the Armenians and other minorities as it lobbies to join the European Union.

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ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

art and architecture (1900–1950)

With new styles and the availability of new construction material, there was a dramatic change in architecture during the first half of the 20th century. Although prefabrication had first been used in London's Crystal Palace in 1851, it did not become popular until the early 20th century, which saw the rise in functionalism.

However, some architects reacted sharply against this, the most well-known being perhaps British architect Edwin Lutyens, who returned to a simplified Georgian classicism with the Viceroy's House in Delhi, India, and other projects. In Britain Norman Shaw was one of the main domestic architects.

The first half of the 20th century saw a massive increase in travel around the world and the publication of heavily illustrated photographic works, art books, and millions of postcards. This led to much use of iconography, with particular cities being identified by specific buildings or structures. Examples of these include the Empire State Building (1931) in New York, the Harbour Bridge (1932) in Sydney, and the Golden Gate Bridge (1937) in San Francisco. Postcards also became important for artists whose designs, drawings, and photographs were reproduced and sold around the world, exposing creative people to influences of which previous generations had not known.

In terms of art styles, Fauvism from France of the 1890s continued to influence painters, and cubism began to revolutionize the manner in which art and sculpture was produced, the latter producing artists Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, and Georges Braque. Expressionism emerged in the 1910s, and Dadaism peaked from 1916 until 1920, introducing an antiwar polemic through the work of Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, and others. From the 1920s surrealism became a cultural movement, reflecting itself in visual artwork. In Germany the Bauhaus movement flourished under Walter Gropius during the 1920s and also led to work by Vasily Kandinsky and Josef Albers; the Swiss architect Le Corbusier became famous during the 1940s for his introduction of modernism and functionalism; and Buckminster Fuller was celebrated for his geodesic domes. Other notables include Max Ernst, Joan Miró, and Salvador Dalí.

The two world wars and several other conflicts also had a dramatic influence on both art and architecture. War artists wanted to record specific events or sought to capture the spirit of an event. At the same time photography emerged as an art form with Robert Capra's depiction of the dying republican soldier during the Spanish civil war becoming famous—despite some doubts over whether it had been staged. The film and still photographs showing ADOLF HITLER looking at the Eiffel Tower and the soldier flying the Soviet red flag over the Reich Chancellery in Berlin are also famous for what they symbolized. The pile of captured German flags dumped at the foot of LENIN's mausoleum on June 24, 1945, signified the final destruction

of the German war machine in the same way that the haunting photographs and later paintings of the ruins of HIROSHIMA marked the first use of an atom bomb in war. In terms of architecture, the massive destruction of many European and Chinese cities during bombing raids and land bombardment also saw many pieces of artwork destroyed, although a remarkable number survived, having been moved to safekeeping in time of war. The Basque city of Guernica in northern Spain, bombed in 1937 in what is now seen as a prelude to the WORLD WAR II bombing raids, led to Picasso producing his famous painting *Guernica* later in 1937. In Britain painters such as C. R. W. Nevinson (1889–1946) recreated the horror of WORLD WAR I, as did Paul Nash (1889–1946), while artists in communist countries depicted heroic scenes from battles that became part of their respective countries' folklore.

The main way in which the world wars affected architecture was in terms of the war memorials and war cemeteries that were built. Then there were also the tombs to the unknown soldiers, at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, Westminster Abbey in London, the Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome, and in many other capital cities. Although war memorials had been built in previous centuries, the number and the diversity of them after the world wars is important. The building of the Cenotaph in London, the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, the India Gate in New Delhi, the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, and the National War Memorial in Canada are only the most obvious examples, with small memorials throughout Europe and indeed throughout the world. In Japan Yasakuni Shrine not only remembers Japan's war dead but also provokes foreign consternation over the reverence given to Japanese war criminals also remembered there.

It is also impossible not to mention military architecture, with pillboxes and fortifications constructed of such indestructible material that they will outlast ordinary buildings—both in places that were invaded and also as a preventive measure in places that feared attack. The MAGINOT LINE, along the French-German border, was perhaps the most famous defensive structure of the period, with the Pentagon in Washington D.C., opened in 1943, still the largest-capacity office building in the world.

With changes in political arrangements around the world, a number of totally new capitals were constructed, the most well known being Canberra, Australia. In Turkey the move from Constantinople (Istanbul) to Ankara in 1923 represented a major change in Turkish thinking and attitudes to the world. While Canberra

was built in what had been agricultural land, Ankara was constructed in what had been the city of Angora. In March 1918 Moscow became the capital of the Soviet Union, having been the capital of Russia until 1703. The period of great turmoil during the 1920s and 1930s also saw a number of countries establish new temporary capitals. Burgos in northern Spain became the nationalist capital during the SPANISH CIVIL WAR, with the inland city of Chungking (modern-day Chongqing) serving as the capital of Nationalist China during the SINO-JAPANESE WAR. In France the spa resort of VICHY became the capital of occupied France for three years. The growth of the urban environment saw a number of suburbs growing up. The British architect and civil planner Sir Ebenezer Howard designed Letchworth Garden City and in the 1920s moved on to found Welwyn Garden City.

Political forces of the far right and extreme left also supported designs that supported their views of the country in question. In NAZI Germany Adolf Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, designed impressive and grandiose structures that gave rise to the term *Albert Speer architecture*, describing a building or edifice that makes the onlooker seem small. In the Soviet Union grand architecture and "heroic" paintings were popular. The former impressed observers about the wealth of the country, with the latter highlighting important historical scenes. The building of Lenin's mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow, initially in wood and then in stone, incorporated some of the design of the grave of Cyrus the Great of Persia.

The changes in technology during the first half of the 20th century saw the construction of many railway stations around the world, but not on the scale of the edifices built during the late 19th century. The Moscow Metro was opened in 1935 and was part of the attempt to show the Soviet Union as a modern and efficient country. The British architect Charles Holden worked extensively on the London Underground. In addition, airports and factories were built, some with impressive art deco buildings, others being functional and having small sheds and huts to cater to the air passengers, or in the case of many factories, unimpressive work areas behind the façade.

The rise of art deco during the 1920s and 1930s featured not only in architecture but in art, furniture design, and interior decorating. In terms of architecture, the spire of the Chrysler Building in New York (1928–1930), the city hall of Buffalo, New York, and many other civic buildings follow this style. As well as in the United States, it was also popular in Italy, with the port

city of Asmara being the best surviving example of an art deco city; the most famous art deco building in Latin America is the Edificio Kavanagh (Kavanagh Building) in Buenos Aires, completed in 1936. The most well-known art deco architects included Albert Anis, who worked at Miami Beach; Ernest Cormier from Quebec, who designed the Supreme Court of Canada; Sir Banister Fletcher, author of the famous work on architecture; Bruce Goff, whose Boston Avenue Methodist Church in Tulsa is regarded as one of the best examples of art deco in the United States; Raymond Hood, who designed the Tribune Tower in Chicago; Joseph Sunlight; William van Alen, who worked on the Chrysler Building in New York; Wirt C. Rowland from Detroit; and Ralph Walker of Rhode Island. The writer Ayn Rand set her book *The Fountainhead* (1943), about an idealistic young architect, in the office of the New York architect Ely Jacques Kahn, with some seeing it as being modeled on Frank Lloyd Wright.

In sculpture art deco saw Lee Lawrie, Rene Paul Chambellan, C. Paul Jennewein, Joseph Kiselewski, and Paulanship; and expressionism, which had first flourished in Germany in the 1900s and early 1920s, led to artwork by Latvian-born American Mark Rothko, Jackson Pollock, and others.

The prosperity of the 1910s and 1920s led to the building of many hotels around the world and the enlarging of many others. The Waldorf-Astoria in New York, an art deco building, was designed in 1931. In Africa Treetops in Kenya and in Asia the Raffles Hotel in Singapore, the E&O Hotel in Penang, and the Strand in Rangoon were all either built during this period or had major refurbishment work. There were also many holiday resorts emerging from the late 19th century concept of life in the Tropics with a place to retreat to in the hot summer: Simla in India, Hua Hin in Thailand, the Cameron Highlands in Malaya, Dalat in Vietnam, and Maymyo (Pyin U Lwin) in Burma (Myanmar). This coincided with many civic buildings being constructed: town halls, schools, hospitals, and libraries. The Bund at Shanghai teemed with magnificent stone buildings showing stability and the feeling of commercial well-being. In time of war some of these structures were actually best able to weather bombing raids, with the Fullerton Building in Singapore being used as a shelter during Japanese bombing raids in early 1942.

The new construction techniques led to the building of skyscrapers. The first of these was the Flatiron Building in New York City, which was completed in 1902 and is 285 feet tall. However, in 1913 this was overtaken by the Woolworth Building (792 feet), which

in turn was overtaken in 1930 by 40 Wall Street and in 1931 by the Empire State Building, which was the first building in the world to have more than 100 floors.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal

(1881–1938) *Turkish leader and reformer*

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was one of the greatest reformers of the 20th century, and his legacy is present-day Turkey. He built a modern state from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire through massive and progressive domestic reforms. Viewed with godlike status by Turks, he is considered the savior of a country that under his guidance resisted occupation and colonization and embraced democracy and modernization.

He was born in 1881 in Salonika (present-day Thessalonica, Greece). His father, Ali Reza, was a low-ranking Ottoman government employee who died when Mustafa was young. His mother, Zubeyde, raised him and his sister, Makbule. Zubeyde was a religious woman and hoped that her son would attend the local religious schools. However, with the help of his uncle he instead attended military school. The military schools, reflecting the Ottoman system, allowed students to rise not according to class status but by ability. Mustafa excelled in his studies. He took the name Kemal, which means perfection. He completed his studies at the War College in Harbiye, Istanbul, in 1905.

In Istanbul and elsewhere throughout his postings, Mustafa Kemal was deeply disturbed by the corruption in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He joined several underground organizations that had contacts with exiled Turks in Geneva and Paris. To keep him away from Istanbul, his superior officers, suspicious of Mustafa Kemal, posted him in faraway places such as Damascus



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was one of the greatest reformers of the 20th century, and his legacy is present-day Turkey.

and Tripoli, but he was able to remain active in the secret societies, although events unfolding in the Balkans pushed other figures to the forefront.

The underground organizations united and formed the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and in 1908 started the YOUNG TURK revolution. The subsequent leaders of this movement, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha, ruled as a triumvirate and were also suspicious of Mustafa Kemal and preferred to keep him away from the seat of government. Mustafa Kemal was critical of the CUP's lack of ideology and program. The CUP's only objective in the revolution was to reinstate the 1876 constitution, which had been abolished by the sultan. Mustafa Kemal was also wary of the expansionist and pan-Turkic postrevolution ideology the CUP embraced. Germany cleverly took advantage of the situation and entered into an alliance with the CUP. Mustafa Kemal, although he did not agree with the alliance, gladly learned modern military technology

from German military officers who had been sent to train the Ottoman armies.

ALLIED DEFEAT AT GALLIPOLI

The CUP-led Ottoman Empire fared badly in both the BALKAN WARS and WORLD WAR I. The only major victory was at Gallipoli, where Mustafa Kemal soundly defeated the British invasion. In 1915 the British army and navy valiantly fought to open the Dardanelles in a plan created by WINSTON CHURCHILL. It was essential for the Allies to take Istanbul in order to reopen the Bosphorus Strait. The Allied defeat in Gallipoli compromised that situation and possibly lengthened the war.

Mustafa Kemal was heralded as a hero among the Turks during a war that saw few victories and many defeats for the Ottomans. At the conclusion of the war, the remaining Ottoman territories were divided amongst the Allied powers. France was given control of southern Turkey (near the Syrian border), Italy was given the Mediterranean region, and Greece was given Thrace and the Aegean coast of Turkey. Istanbul was to be an internationally controlled city (mainly French and British). The Kurds and Armenians were also granted territory under the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turks would have only a small, mountainous territory in central Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal was outraged, as were most Turks. Of all the occupying armies, he viewed the Greek army as the most dangerous threat. Greek nationalism was at an all-time high, and many wanted to reclaim all of ancestral Greece (which extended well into Asia Minor). This fear was confirmed by the Greek invasion of Smyrna (present day Izmir) in 1919.

In May 1919 Mustafa Kemal secretly traveled to Samsun (on the Black Sea coast) and journeyed to Amasya, where he issued the first resistance proclamation. He then formed a national assembly, where he was elected chairman. Next he organized a resistance army to overthrow foreign occupation and conquest. Under his leadership the Turkish resistance easily drove out the British, French, and Italian troops, who were weary of fighting and did not want another war. The real conflict was with the Greek troops and culminated in horrible atrocities committed by both sides. In September 1922 the Turkish army drove the Greek army into the sea at Izmir as the international community silently observed.

In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed and replaced the Treaty of Sèvres. This treaty set the borders of modern-day Turkey. On October 29, 1923,

the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed, with Mustafa Kemal as president and Ismet İnönü as prime minister. Even though the government appeared democratic, Mustafa Kemal had almost absolute power. However, he differed from several rising dictators of the time in several respects. He had no plans or ideology pertaining to expansionism. His primary focus was the modernization and domestic reform of his country. He wanted to make Turkey self-sufficient and independent.

He believed that the only way to save his country was to modernize it, and by force if necessary. He moved the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, a centrally located city. He then abolished both the sultanate and the caliphate, and his fight against religion became one of his most contested reforms. He believed that Islam's role in government would prevent the country from modernizing. He was not antireligion but against religious interference in governmental affairs. He closed the religious schools and courts and put religion under state control. He wanted to lessen the religious and ethnic divisions that had been encouraged under the Ottoman system. He wanted the people of Turkey to identify themselves as Turks first. He established political parties and a national assembly based on the parliamentary system. He also implemented the Swiss legal code that allowed freedom of religion and civil divorce and banned polygamy.

Atatürk banned the fez for men and the veil for women and encouraged Western-style dress. He replaced the Muslim calendar with the European calendar and changed the working week to Monday through Friday, leaving Saturday and Sunday as the weekend. He hired expert linguists to transform the Turkish alphabet from Arabic to Latin script based on phonetic sounds and introduced the metric system. As surnames did not exist until this time, Mustafa Kemal insisted that each person and family select a surname. He chose Atatürk, which means "father of the Turks."

Some of his most profound reforms, however, were in regard to women. Atatürk argued that no society could be successful while half of the population was hidden away. He encouraged women to wear European clothing and to leave the harems. Turkey was one of the first countries to give women the right to vote and hold office in 1930. He also adopted several daughters. One of them, Sabiha Gökçen, became the first woman combat pilot in Turkey.

These reforms did not come easily and in many cases garnered little support. Many religious and ethnic groups such as the Sufi dervishes and Kurds staged rebellions and

were ruthlessly put down. Other minority groups suffered or were exiled as a result of the new government.

A heavy drinker, Atatürk died of cirrhosis of the liver in November 1938. As he had no children he left no heirs and instead bequeathed to his country the democracy that he created, which would survive him to the present day. Although Atatürk forbade many basic concepts of democracy such as free press, trade unions, and freedom of speech, he paved the way for the future addition and implementation of these ideals.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Aung San

(1915–1947) *Burmese nationalist and freedom fighter*

Aung San was born on February 13, 1915, at Natmauk in central Burma (Myanmar). Aung was the president of the student union at Rangoon University in 1938. He joined the left-leaning Dobam Asiayon (“We Burmese” Association) and was its general secretary between 1938 and 1948. Aung was also a founding member of Bama-htwet-yat Ghine (Freedom Bloc). At the time of WORLD WAR II he was very active in the resistance movement against the British. He went to Amoy, China, and met with the Japanese to seek help forming an army to fight the British. An anti-British unit was formed by the “Thirty Comrades,” who received military training on Hainan Island in Japanese-occupied China. Aung became the commander of the Burma Independence Army (BIA), which was formed on December 26, 1941. Ne Win, the future authoritarian ruler of Burma (1962–88), was one of the comrades.

The army was stationed in Bangkok and entered Burma in January 1942 along with the invading Japanese army. The BIA, which had formed a provisional government, became unpopular because of an influx of criminals into the organization. It was replaced by the Burma Defense Army (BDA), with Aung as commander. The BDA, trained by the Japanese, was a conventional army. The name BDA was changed to Burma National Army (BNA). In the Japanese-sponsored government Aung was minister of war.

Aung became disillusioned with the Japanese and discussed with the other resistance leaders their next course of action. The Anti-Fascist Organization came into being in April 1944. Later renamed the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL), it was formed with Aung as its president. He openly turned against the Japanese in March 1945 and switched his loyalty to the British, renaming the forces the Patriotic Burmese Forces.

The British then founded a new government, and he became its deputy chairman in the executive council, holding important portfolios of defense and foreign affairs. In January 1947 he went to London and negotiated with the British Labour government about granting independence to Burma. The Aung San–Attlee Agreement of January 27, 1947, guaranteed independence within a year. There would be an elected constituent assembly, and until it finalized its work, the country would be governed under the provisions of the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT of 1935. The British government also would sponsor Burma’s admission to the United Nations. On February 12 Aung signed the Panglong Agreement, which supported the cause of a united country with the leaders of other Burmese nationalist groups. Under his guidance the AFPFL won a landslide victory in April elections to the constituent assembly, securing 196 out of a total of 202 seats.

Aung was concerned about his country’s future and called a series of meetings in Rangoon (now renamed Yangon) in June 1947. He urged people in a public meeting to remain disciplined in a speech on July 13. He was assassinated six days later, along with six other councilors, during a meeting of the constituent assembly. Aung San’s political rival, U Saw, a former premier, was found guilty of the crime and executed in 1948. On January 4, 1948, Burma became independent from British rule. Aung had become a martyr and a national hero and continued to inspire his people with his dedication and sacrifice. He was criticized by some for his collaboration with the Japanese; others say it was a tactical move to gain independence for his country. He turned against the Japanese at the opportune moment. His wife became a diplomat and later served as ambassador to India.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Australia and New Zealand

During the 1880s there were many attempts to establish a “federation” by which the six British colonies of Australia—New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia—would be able to come together under a single government. In 1890 it was finally agreed to call a convention in the following year and draft a federal constitution. Because of the depression of the 1890s, the constitution was not drawn up until 1898, and agreement from all the states was reached with Western Australia holding a referendum to agree to joining the Commonwealth of Australia in 1900. New Zealand decided not to join with Australia. As a result, on July 14, 1900, the first governor-general of Australia, being the representative of the British sovereign, was appointed, and on January 1, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed in Centennial Park in Sydney, New South Wales.

Part of the reason why the federation had taken so long to negotiate was the intense rivalry between the states, which had to agree to hand over powers for defense, foreign relations, and foreign trade and which also had to agree to dismantle tariffs and restrictions on the sale of goods within the commonwealth. There were disagreements over where the new capital was to be, and initially it was in Melbourne. The first opening of the federal parliament took place there on May 9, 1901, with Edmund Barton as the first prime minister. Fittingly, some of the Australian contingents to China, sent in the wake of the BOXER REBELLION, had returned to Sydney a few days before the first parliament was opened. They were rushed down by train to take part in the ceremony. At the time, Australian soldiers, as well as New Zealanders, were also involved in supporting the British in the BOER WAR. The early soldiers had left as part of state units—after federation Australian Commonwealth units were dispatched.

After federation it was obvious that Melbourne could not remain Australia’s capital, and in 1902 a Capital Sites Enquiry Board started inspecting prospective sites, which had to be within 100 miles of Sydney. Eventually a site was agreed on, and in 1913 Lady Denman, wife of the governor-general, announced “I name

the capital of Australia Canberra, with the accent on the *Can*”—*Canberra* being the Aboriginal name for the area. The region around it then became the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), designed with a conscious attempt not to make the mistakes that had taken place in the building of Washington, D.C. The ACT was 100 times larger than the District of Columbia, and all land in it was declared under leasehold to prevent property speculators’ taking it over. The U.S. architect Walter Burley Griffin drew up plans for the city after he won first place in a worldwide competition for the appointment. It was not until 1927 that a temporary parliament building was established there.

Over the same period, in New Zealand, which was also a self-governing “dominion,” Richard “King Dick” Seddon was prime minister of a liberal administration from 1893 until 1906. One of the major issues he faced was the need to encourage the expansion of agriculture by the establishment of more small farms. Both New Zealand and Australia during this period relied heavily on primary industries: farming and mining. Although the Australian economy was diversifying slightly, New Zealand’s main products were sheep/lamb/mutton, wool, and butter, most of which was exported to Britain. By 1913 New Zealand had become the largest exporter of dairy products in the world.

While the Liberals were in power in New Zealand, the trade union movement was growing in strength in both New Zealand and Australia. In 1889 a state Labour government was formed in Queensland, in northern Australia, and in 1891 the Australian Labour Party was formed. Seven years later, in 1898, the Trades and Labour Confederation decided to establish a New Zealand Labour Party, although it was not until 1935 that they were able to form a government. In Australia, in contrast, from 1904 to 1907 Chris Watson formed a minority administration and presided over the first national Labour Party government anywhere in the world, and in 1910 Labour achieved an absolute majority in the Australian parliament.

Australia and New Zealand were affected in the early 1910s by a small economic depression. This was followed by the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, and both countries were keen to support Britain, the “mother country” of many Australians and New Zealanders. Australian and New Zealand soldiers were immediately sent to Egypt, where, as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, they became known as Anzac. In 1915 they were deployed to Gallipoli in a failed attempt to capture the Turkish capital, Constantinople. In Australia and New Zealand this became an impor-

tant symbolic occasion for both countries, and many still visit Gallipoli each year on April 25.

After Gallipoli both Australian and New Zealand soldiers fought in France, with the Australian general Sir John Monash leading his men to victory in November 1918. During the war two attempts to introduce conscription in Australia failed; New Zealand maintained conscription throughout the conflict.

At the Versailles Peace Conference after the end of the war, Australia and New Zealand were represented by their respective prime ministers, William Morris "Billy" Hughes and William Ferguson Massey. Both were keen to ensure that the war had achieved something, and Australia was given charge of German New Guinea (which was merged with Papua to form Papua & New Guinea, later Papua New Guinea) and the Solomon Islands, and New Zealand was given Western Samoa.

The formation of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS after the war was treated differently by Australia and New Zealand. The former decided to play a more active role, but in New Zealand Massey felt that the organization was useless and that New Zealand should rely not on multilateral diplomacy but on the might of the Royal Navy. As a result, in the first 10 years of the League of Nations, New Zealand only sent three delegations to its annual conferences of the International Labour Organisation and did not ratify any of the league's conventions until 1938. This was in spite of New Zealand's election in 1936 to the League Council and a gradual move to support collective security.

THE DEPRESSION

During the 1930s in Australia and New Zealand the worldwide GREAT DEPRESSION saw widespread unemployment, which hit many families very hard. Others, fearing they might become unemployed, stopped spending money, further deflating the economy, and both countries were struggling to pay their war debts. Many of those badly hit were former soldiers who had fought in World War I and were now angry about a government that had "let them down." Soup kitchens appeared, beggars were regularly seen in the streets, and children came to school malnourished. Some people turned to extreme political movements, and with the increase in strength of the trade union movement came the formation of pseudo-fascist organizations in Australia—the New Guard—and in New Zealand—the New Zealand Legion. In 1935 a Labour government came to power in New Zealand with Michael Savage as prime minister. When he died in 1940 he

was succeeded by Peter Fraser, who remained in office until 1949. In contrast, in Australia for most of the depression Joseph Lyons of the United Australia Party was prime minister, having defeated the Labour Party under James Scullin in 1932.

Pointing to the desire of both countries to connect with the wider world, Australian and New Zealand aviators began a series of remarkable pioneer flights. On September 10–11, 1928, the Australian aviator Charles Kingsford Smith made the first Australia–New Zealand flight. During that trip he met the teenage Jean Batten, who was to become a New Zealand flying legend. She moved to Sydney in the following year to train for a commercial pilot's license. Kingsford Smith was to achieve numerous records for his flying across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Tasman Sea, as well as his October 1933 solo flight from England to Australia, and Jean Batten was to be the first woman to fly solo from England to Australia and back (1934–35), the first woman to fly the South Atlantic solo, and in 1936 the first person to fly from England to New Zealand.

In the arts Australian painters Hans Heysen, Arthur Streeton, William Dobell, and in the 1940s Sidney Nolan and Russell Drysdale were to gain international prominence, as were New Zealand artists Charles Goldie and Frances Hodgkins. Prominent artistic families the Lindsays and the Boyds flourished in Australia. Writers like Frank Clune and Ion Idriess wrote many books describing Australia and Australians—perhaps the most famous book by Idriess was about the quintessential Australian hero Harold Lasseter and the search for gold in central Australia. Other writers such as Miles Franklin, Ernestine Hill, Eleanor Dark, and Henry Handel Richardson dealt with Australia in fiction.

Poets such as Dame Mary Gilmore, Banjo Paterson, and Judith Wright are representative of that genre of Australian literature. New Zealand literature is widely known by way of Katherine Mansfield and crime fiction writer Ngaio Marsh. Australian actor Oscar Asche and singer Nellie Melba achieved as much fame overseas as they did in Australia.

In the realms of medicine and science, respectively, Australian pathologist Howard Florey and atomic scientist Ernest Rutherford (from Nelson, New Zealand) were to make major contributions to the world. In Britain New Zealander Sir Arthur Porritt became surgeon to King George VI, and on the day of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 news was received of the scaling of Mount Everest by another New Zealander,



An Australian World War I recruitment poster calls for men to join the Allied cause. Though Australia and New Zealand became increasingly independent from Great Britain, both maintained strong cultural ties, especially in times of war.

Edmund Hillary, earlier that day, the first known ascent of the mountain.

In Australia and New Zealand the indigenous populations, the Aboriginals and the Maoris, remained marginalized economically and socially. Gradually, the Maoris in New Zealand began, through their numbers and the fact that they all spoke a common language, to exert some political influence. Maori started to be taught in some schools and by the 21st century was widely taught throughout the country. By contrast, the Aboriginal people in Australia remained geographically on the fringes of cities and towns and were discriminated against in work and housing. Children were taken away from parents when they were young to be brought up in foster homes or children's homes, where they were alienated from their own culture. They became known as "The Stolen Generation." Although Maoris were always recognized as citizens of New Zealand, it

was not until 1967 that Aboriginal Australians had the right to vote.

In 1931 the British parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, by which Britain relinquished powers over self-governing dominions. However, it was not adopted in Australia until 1942 and was finally adopted in New Zealand in 1947. In 1940 Australia established its own diplomatic posts in foreign countries: in Washington, D.C.; Tokyo; and Ottawa. New Zealand followed in the following year with a minister in Washington, D.C. Representation in commonwealth countries was still by a high commissioner and in other countries by an ambassador.

With the outbreak of WORLD WAR II in 1939, Australia and New Zealand both immediately declared their support for the United Kingdom, and soldiers from both countries were sent to the Mediterranean, serving in North Africa and in Greece. In December 1941, when

the Pacific War began, there was panic in both Australia and New Zealand over a possible Japanese invasion. Australian soldiers were immediately recalled from the Middle East, and some were sent into action in Malaya and Singapore, both of which quickly fell to the Japanese. On February 19, 1942, the Japanese bombed Darwin, causing significant physical damage and showing Australia's vulnerability to attack. Australian soldiers returning from North Africa were reinforced by large numbers of U.S. soldiers. Australian soldiers were then sent into action against the Japanese in New Guinea, where at Kokoda they managed to halt the Japanese advance and gradually drive them back. In contrast, in New Zealand soldiers were not recalled and continued to play an important part in the campaigns in the Western Desert and in Italy but a minimal role in the Pacific. U.S. soldiers also came to New Zealand, which at that point was largely defended by World War I veterans and teenagers who were hastily armed by the frightened government.

Australia and New Zealand, seeing their joint vulnerability, decided to conclude the Canberra Pact of 1944, which was to determine that after the war Australia and New Zealand would dominate the

South Pacific, and the United States would be excluded. As the Pacific War gradually saw the Japanese pushed back, New Zealand soldiers were recalled from Italy. Some were posted to the Pacific, but the war ended soon after. After the war both Australia and New Zealand became founding members of the United Nations, and both were led by governments that supported a multilateral approach to political problems.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration was a statement by the British government regarding Zionist aspirations for the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. The statement took the form of a public letter from Lord Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British Zionist and member of the renowned banking family. After many preliminary drafts the final statement, issued on November 2, 1917, read that His Majesty's government viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." It went on to say that the British government would use its "best endeavours" to achieve that goal and that nothing should be done to prejudice "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews" in other nations.

CHAIM WEIZMANN, a leading figure in the World Zionist Organization and a skillful diplomat, had been instrumental in securing British support for a Jewish state. Weizmann was a personal friend of Balfour's and had met with many key British officials to gain their sympathy for a Jewish state.

There were many motivations for the British to issue the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Some Christian Zionists supported a Jewish state for religious and moral reasons. But most government officials supported the declaration for political and wartime reasons. It was hoped that the declaration would encourage Russia to

stay in the war in spite of the revolutionary upheaval at the time. Some also thought the statement would prod the United States, where some key Zionists, especially LOUIS BRANDEIS of the Supreme Court, had important positions, to enter the war. However, the arguments that a Jewish state would support Britain in the Middle East and help to protect the vital Suez Canal were probably paramount in convincing many in the British cabinet to support the declaration.

Because most people in the West knew little or nothing about Palestine, many assumed that there were only a few non-Jews in Palestine and that their civil and religious (but not political) rights should be protected. However, in 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was issued, Palestinian Arabs, a mix of Muslims and Christians, made up over 80 percent of the population in Palestine. It was a predominantly agricultural society, and most people lived in settled villages. Palestinian Arabs and Arab nationalists, especially Sherif Husayn, immediately expressed their opposition to the Balfour Declaration. Sherif Husayn also argued that the statement contradicted the earlier SHERIF HUSAYN-McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE regarding the creation of an Arab state. But the Balfour Declaration did not mention the Palestinian Arab population by name, and they remained largely invisible to the Western world. Interestingly, some Jews also opposed the statement. Sir Edwin Montagu, a British Jew and secretary of state for India, opposed the creation of a Jewish state on the grounds that it would raise problems of dual nationality and might actually increase anti-Semitism.

The Balfour Declaration was a major step forward in the Zionist struggle to create a Jewish state in Palestine. At the Paris Peace Conference after the war, Weizmann used the Balfour Declaration to justify the creation of a Jewish state. However, neither Arab nor Jewish national aspirations would be realized after the war because the British and French implemented the SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT, which essentially divided the Arab world between the two imperial powers. The division was formalized in the SAN REMO TREATY, and Britain made key decisions on how to rule its newly gained Arab territories, including Palestine, at the CAIRO CONFERENCE in 1921.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Balkan Wars (1912–1913)

During 1912–13 the Balkan Peninsula witnessed two wars: the First Balkan War, which saw an alliance of Balkan states all but destroy the Ottoman presence in the region, and the Second Balkan War, fought between the former allies over the division of the spoils. The Balkan Wars were the result of the incomplete processes of nation-state formation in southeastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. Ever since the Congress of Berlin in 1878 warranted the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire in the region, the dominant foreign policy goal of the Balkan states had been expanding into European provinces. Their main motive was to recover territories that were perceived to be under foreign occupation. Thus, one of the dominant claims of the Balkan states at the time was that their fellow ethnic kin were still oppressed by the Ottoman sultan. Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro justified their desire to extend into Ottoman-controlled Macedonia and Thrace through the principle of “liberation” of subjugated populations. For this purpose each country supported armed groups of its conationals that subverted and challenged the Ottoman regime. One of the aims of the YOUNG TURK revolutions of 1908 had been precisely to end these revolts, suppress rival national identities, and “Ottomanize” the population.

In this context the situation in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire impressed on the Balkan governments the need to cooperate. External great powers such as Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy were also sizing up the opportunity to get their share of the crumbling Ottoman state, which was referred to at the time as the “sick man of Europe.”

The war that Italy launched against the Ottoman Empire in September 1911 hastened the resolve of Balkan governments to sit at the negotiating table. On March 13, 1912, Bulgaria and Serbia signed a treaty of alliance and friendship, which was accompanied by a secret annex anticipating war with Turkey and providing for the division of territorial acquisitions in case of a successful war. According to this annex the territory of Macedonia was to be divided into three zones: two zones that would belong, respectively, to Bulgaria and Serbia and a third one that was contested and would be subject to the arbitration of the Russian czar. At the same time Greece and Bulgaria were conducting separate negotiations, which culminated in the signing of a mutual defense treaty on May, 29, 1912, assuring support in case of war with Turkey. Bulgaria and Serbia had separate discussions with Montenegro, which concluded with verbal agreements that provided for mutual actions against the Ottoman state. By autumn the Balkan governments had managed to prevail over their mutual distrust and had formed a Balkan League premised on an extensive system of bilateral treaties.

The Balkan Wars began immediately afterward. On September 26, 1912, Montenegro opened hostilities invoking a long-standing frontier dispute as an excuse for declaring war. On October 2 Turkey hastily concluded a peace treaty with Italy, and on the next day it broke diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro but tried to mend relations with Greece. On October 4, 1913, the Ottoman Empire declared war on the Balkan League. In turn Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro declared war, accusing the Sublime Porte of not having implemented an article of the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which insisted on the recognition of the minority rights of their conationals in Macedonia. This event began the First Balkan War.

With specific manifestos the governments of Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia informed their citizens that they were to fight for a common cause and against Ottoman tyranny. Military operations began on all frontiers of European Turkey. Within a month after the start of hostilities, the Balkan armies had won spectacular victories on all fronts. The Bulgarian troops had pushed the Ottoman army to the Çatalca



Turkish soldiers in the Balkans in 1912 line up for inspection. The two wars in the Balkans saw the effective end of the Ottoman Empire in the region. Following the war against the Turks, the other countries in the Balkans fought each other for territory.

line of defense, just 40 kilometers outside of Istanbul, and had besieged Adrianople (modern-day Edirne in Turkey). The Serbs had surged into Macedonia, reaching Monastir (Bitolj) on November 17, 1912, and together with Montenegrin forces had occupied the Sandzak of Novi Pazar and had besieged the town of Scutari (today Shkodra in Albania). The Greek troops advanced in Thessaly. They entered Thessalonica on October 28, only a few hours before the arrival of a Bulgarian detachment, and the town was occupied by both armies. In Epirus Greek detachments advanced all the way to Janina (present-day Ioannina in Greece) and on November 10 laid siege to the city.

By December 1912 the Ottoman rule in the Balkans was over. Save for the besieged Adrianople, Scutari, and Janina, the Ottoman troops had been driven out of the former European provinces beyond the Çatalca line covering Istanbul. Alarmed by the success of the Balkan armies, the great powers imposed an armistice on the belligerents on December 3, 1912. It was signed

by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, who pledged that their troops would remain in their positions. Greece, however, did not join in, as it wanted to continue the siege of Janina and carry on with the blockade of the Aegean coastline. Yet despite the continuation of hostilities in Epirus, Greece, together with Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey, took part in the peace conference that opened in London on December 16, 1912. After two months of negotiations, toward the end of January 1913, a peace agreement seemed to be in sight. However, on January 23, 1913, a group of disgruntled Turkish officers overthrew the Ottoman government.

By January 30 fighting had resumed on the Çatalca line. On February 21 the Greek army captured Janina, and on March 13 the Bulgarian troops broke the Turkish defenses at Adrianople and occupied the city. On April 10, 1913, Montenegrin and Serb forces entered Scutari, but they had to withdraw eventually under the threat of war from Austria-Hungary. At this juncture the great powers again insisted on armistice and proposed

a peace treaty, which projected that all the territory west of a straight line stretching between Enos (Enez) on the Aegean Sea and Midia (Midye) on the Black Sea would be ceded to the Balkan states, that this territory was to be divided between the Balkan states under the supervision of the great powers, that an Albanian state would be established, and that the future of the Aegean islands was to be decided by international arbitration. By the end of May 1913 all parties taking part in the First Balkan War were compelled to agree to these conditions at the Treaty of London.

Yet at that time rifts started to appear among the Balkan allies over control of the “liberated” territories, with skirmishes between the Greek and Bulgarian troops occupying Thessalonica. Furthermore, the creation of an Albanian state confused the agreements made between Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia before the start of hostilities. Greece and Serbia insisted that the emergence of Albania deprived them of their anticipated gains on the Adriatic. Therefore, they asserted their right to retain the territories that their armies had already occupied in Macedonia at the expense of Bulgaria. Sofia insisted that the acquired territory should be divided in accordance with the principle of proportionality of the acquisitions to the military input. Athens and Belgrade insisted on a principle ensuring the balance of power among the members of the Balkan League.

Because of their shared interests, Greece and Serbia entered into secret negotiations and on May 19, 1913, reached an agreement for a military pact against Bulgaria. At the same time Romania, which had so far remained neutral, took the opportunity to obtain some concessions for itself. On the pretext of concern about the treatment of the Vlach population in Macedonia, Romania demanded that Bulgaria give up some of its territory in the contested Dobrudja region. Under pressure from Russia, Bulgaria agreed to cede the town of Silistra and the surrounding area to Romania. At the same time Bulgaria, urged by Austria-Hungary, refused to concede any territory in Macedonia to either Serbia or Greece.

In the beginning of June there were several military clashes between Bulgarian and Serbian troops. However, it was on June 16, 1913, by an oral command from the Bulgarian czar Ferdinand, that Bulgarian troops launched a full-scale attack on Greek and Serbian forces. Ferdinand was partly encouraged by promises by Austria-Hungary of assistance. However, a recent visit to Bulgarian-occupied Adrianople had also stirred in him a desire to revive the medieval Bulgarian Empire

and capture Constantinople. Thus, on June 16, 1913, the Second Balkan War began.

In the first few weeks the Bulgarian army had some limited success in holding to its positions, but by the end of the month the Serb, Montenegrin, and Greek armies were already on the offensive. On June 28, 1913, Romania also joined in the fray and declared war on Bulgaria. By July 6 Romanian troops had occupied the whole of northern Bulgaria, and a Romanian cavalry detachment arrived at the Bulgarian capital of Sofia. On June 30, 1913, Ottoman troops began attacks on Bulgarian positions, and on July 10 they recaptured Adrianople. By mid-July Bulgaria was suffering defeats on all fronts and had lost most of the territory it had gained during the First Balkan War.

The Second Balkan War ended in late August 1913. After a personal intercession by Emperor Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary, a peace conference was convened at Bucharest from July 17 to August 16, 1913. As a result of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, Serbia kept the territories of Macedonia, which its troops had obtained during 1912. Thus, it added Kosovo, Novi Pazar, and Vardar Macedonia to its territory.

Greece secured over half of Macedonia (Aegean Macedonia), the southern part of Epirus, and an extension into southern Thrace. Bulgaria received the smallest part of Macedonia (Pirin Macedonia) and a section of the Aegean coast, but it had to cede southern Dobrudja to Romania. As a result of its treaty with the Ottoman government, Bulgaria also gave up its claims to Adrianople. In the meantime an independent Albanian state was officially created by the Conference of Ambassadors in London on July 29, 1913.

This series of treaties concluded the Second Balkan War. It was bloodier than the first one, cost more lives, witnessed horrific crimes against civilians, and deepened the divisions between the Balkan states. All sides in the Balkan Wars acted in a way that indicated that their main aim was not simply the acquisition of more territory but also ensuring that this territory was free of rival ethnic groups. The atrocities committed during the Balkan Wars led to the establishment of an international commission of inquiry set up by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It produced an extensive report detailing the crimes committed by all combatants against their enemies and against civilian populations.

Instead of resolving the problems between nationalities in the region, the Balkan Wars further exacerbated interethnic tensions. The psychological trauma of the wars and the displacement of populations increased

the suspicions and divisions between the Balkan states. The new boundaries that were established as a result of the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 produced conditions for persistent resentment and created a feeling of unjust expropriation of territory and eradication of people. The suffering and the perceived injustice that all nations in the Balkans experienced molded the foreign policies of regional states. In this respect the Balkan Wars became a major source of the grievances that contributed to the beginning of WORLD WAR I.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI

Bao Dai

(1913–1997) *Vietnamese emperor*

Prince Nguyen Vinh, later known as Emperor Bao Dai, was the son of Annamese emperor Khai Dinh. Born in Hue on October 22, 1913, Bao Dai was educated in France. He became emperor of Vietnam on November 6, 1925. On his ascension to the throne he took the name Bao Dai, meaning “Keeper of Greatness.” After taking the throne he returned to France and resumed his education, and the regent Ton-Thai Han served until he came of age in 1932. Bao Dai married Jeanette Nguyen Huu Hao on March 24, 1934. As the empress Nam Phuong, she bore him two sons and three daughters.

Bao Dai was a reformer, seeking to modernize Vietnamese educational and judicial systems and to end archaic court practices such as the kowtow, and he put young reformers in his first cabinet of 1933. However, the French government continually undermined his initiatives and his authority.

In the mid-1930s, with France threatened by Germany, Bao Dai saw his opportunity to seek greater autonomy. When Germany conquered France the new French government at VICHY was compelled to surren-

der Indochina to Japanese control. Japan declared that it had freed Vietnam from foreign rule.

Under Japanese control Bao Dai established a nationalist government. Although he declared Vietnamese independence, in reality Vietnam switched from French to Japanese control. Under Japanese occupation a communist resistance formed led by Ho Chi Minh communist guerrillas called the Vietminh.

At the Potsdam Conference in 1945, the Allied leaders FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WINSTON CHURCHILL, and JOSEPH STALIN agreed that Vietnam would be divided between Chinese and British control after the war. A month after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Ho Chi Minh announced the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietnam became a battleground among the Vietminh, royalists, democrats, and supporters of the French.

Bao Dai stepped down to avert a civil war and in March 1946 went into exile in Hong Kong. However, France returned him as a constitutional monarch in an attempt to unify Vietnam. Bao Dai was hesitant, but French agreement to recognize the independent Vietnam led him to return. In 1948 Bao Dai agreed to lead a unified Vietnam under the French Union, received permission to return, and became head of state in 1949. But he soon left Vietnam for Europe, vowing never to return until his country was truly independent.

In 1954, when France lost the crucial battle at Dien Bien Phu against the Vietminh, it finally agreed to grant independence to Indochina. At Geneva in June 1954, representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France met to decide how to end conflict in Vietnam. They agreed to divide Vietnam at the 17th parallel, with Ho Chi Minh ruling the north and Ngo Dinh Diem ruling the south as prime minister under Bao Dai. The Vietnamese could choose whether to live in the north or south. By July 1956 an election would be held to determine whether Vietnam would be unified.

With U.S. backing Ngo Dinh Diem held a plebiscite on whether to abolish the monarchy in October 1955. The United States opposed Bao Dai because he was out of touch, and supported Diem. American adviser Colonel Edward Lansdale suggested that ballots should be in two colors in hope that the Vietnamese would vote based on their beliefs that red meant good luck while green meant misfortune. Voters complained that they were harassed at the polls, with ballots for Diem counted and votes for Bao Dai tossed into the trash. Diem won 99 percent of the vote. Bao Dai lost the election and went into exile in France. In exile Bao Dai spoke

often on behalf of peace and unity for Vietnam, but he lived the life of a playboy. He died in a Paris military hospital on July 31, 1997.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Batista, Fulgencio

(1901–1973) *Cuban soldier, politician, and dictator*

Fulgencio Batista was born in Banes, located in the Oriente province of Cuba, on January 16, 1901, to a poor farming family. He received little formal schooling, although he attended night school, and joined the army in 1931, where he studied stenography. He was promoted to sergeant in 1928. During 1931–33 he took part in a conspiracy to overthrow the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado, which was successful in August 1933. In September of that year he led a revolt against Machado's successor, Manuel de Céspedes. During this period he violently suppressed a number of attempts to defeat his control. During one attempt a number of those who surrendered to Batista and his men were executed. He was then promoted to colonel and commander in chief of the army by the provisional president, who Batista thanked by leading another revolt that overthrew him. Batista resigned from the army in 1944 and was elected president.

Batista was not allowed to succeed himself as president by Cuban law, so he left office in 1944. He traveled widely and lived in Florida for a time. He returned to Cuba and was elected to the senate in 1948. He staged another coup on March 10, 1952, and regained control of the government. He was elected president unopposed on November 1, 1954. In that election he was not expected to win and again used force to suppress his opponents.

During his presidency, Batista promoted education and public health care, encouraged independent economic development, and improved labor conditions. He also simplified administrative procedures. However, his regime was exceptionally corrupt, and

that, along with his brutal terror against political opponents, turned the people against him. There were several revolts, most notably the guerrilla campaign led by Fidel Castro in 1956, which was successful by late 1958. His regime was overthrown by Castro's forces, and he resigned the presidency on January 1, 1959, and fled the country with his family and many of his followers to the Dominican Republic. He later settled in Portugal, where he wrote *Cuba Betrayed* in 1962. He also wrote *I am With the People* (1939), *Repuesta* (1960), *Stones and Laws* (1961), *To Rule is to Foresee* (1962), and *The Growth and Decline of the Cuban Republic* (1964). Batista died in Spain on August 6, 1973.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Batlle, José

(1856–1929) *president of Uruguay*

José Batlle y Ordonez was the president of Uruguay from 1903 to 1907 and again from 1911 to 1915 and remains one of the great politicians in the history of Uruguay. He was a passionate believer in pan-Americanism and introduced many social reforms that made Uruguay one of the most liberal countries in the world.

José Batlle (pronounced "Bajé") was born on May 21, 1856, the son of Lorenzo Batlle y Grau, who was one of the major figures in the Uruguayan Colorado Party. Lorenzo was minister of war during the siege of Uruguay's capital, Montevideo. In 1868, when José, Jr., was 12, his father became president of Uruguay, a post he held until 1872. José spent four years studying at Montevideo University and then traveled around Europe, returning to Montevideo in 1881. He followed his father into the Colorado Party and on June 16, 1886, founded the newspaper *El Día*, which became the party's paper. In the following year José Batlle became political chief of the department of Minas, an area near Montevideo, and in 1890 he reorganized the Colorados. His wife, Matilde, was also from an

important Colorado family. Her father was Manuel Pacheco y Obes, who had fought in the defense of Montevideo with José's father.

From February 15 to March 1, 1899, José Batlle was acting president of Uruguay, and he made an unsuccessful bid for the presidency in 1900. Following his narrow victory in elections four years later, on March 1, 1903, he succeeded Juan Lindolfo Cuestas. Many people knew José Batlle as the son of a former president and a man of great intellect. However, when he was elected he had no public platform to implement. This was in spite of his being one of the most prominent journalists in Montevideo. When he was elected, Aparicio Saravia, the leader of the rival party, the Blancos, launched a rebellion that lasted for 18 months. When the Colorados defeated the Blancos at the Battle of Masoller on September 1, 1904, it marked the end of fighting as a way of sorting out political problems in the country. Saravia was mortally wounded in the fighting, and his forces were annihilated.

Batlle promoted discussion on social reform and gave Uruguay much of its heritage of democracy and the system of the welfare state, almost alone in Latin America. In 1905 he ended the payment of income tax by low-level civil servants, encouraging people to join the government service. In the following year by presidential decree, he established secondary schools in every city in Uruguay. His third major reform, in 1907, was to allow women to divorce their husbands if they were being cruelly treated, while men could only divorce on grounds of adultery. That bill spent two years in the Uruguayan congress before it was finally made law. Other social reforms included the removal from public oaths of references to God and other Christian beliefs and the removal of crucifixes from hospitals.

When his term of office ended on March 1, 1907, Batlle went to Switzerland, where he became an admirer of the plural presidency. He was also hugely influenced by the social reforms in Europe during this period, and when he returned to Uruguay he was determined to establish a complete welfare state. His first move was to shore up the financial side of his government, and in 1912 he established the Banco de Seguros, the state insurance bank, and took over the state mortgage bank.

In 1913 Batlle wanted to introduce a collegiate head of the executive branch of government on the Swiss model. This caused a massive split in the Colorados, which lasted until 1966 and was blocked by dissident Colorados and the Blancos until Batlle threatened in 1919 to run for a third term. This forced his enemies

to decide to back the project as a way of reducing any future power he would have. In 1914 Batlle instituted social security for people who were unemployed. He also legislated for employers in bakeries and textile factories to provide chairs for women employees. In the following year he finally pushed through a law that had taken four years of debates. This established the eight-hour workday. At the same time the government took over the telephone services and power generation facilities. The two were merged to form the Usinas Eléctricas y los Teléfonos del Estado (the State Telephone and Electrical Facilities). Many secondary schools were created around the country, and everybody was guaranteed a free high school education. The university was enlarged and also allowed to admit women.

Many of these reforms were paid for by the increasingly wealthy beef industry, which expanded dramatically. It was to provide much of the meat required by the British war effort during WORLD WAR I. José Batlle stood down as president on March 1, 1915, and went into retirement. He died on October 20, 1929.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Ben-Gurion, David

(1886–1973) *prime minister of Israel*

Born as David Josef Gruen in Plonsk, Russia, David Ben-Gurion studied the “Lovers of Zion” movement at a school established by his father. At an early age he met and greatly admired Theodore Herzl, the founder of the International Zionist Movement, who died when Ben-Gurion was 18. It was from then on that he was determined to carry through with what Herzl had only dreamed of—the establishment of a Jewish state. Because of his determination and in fear of the widespread anti-Semitism that plagued eastern Europe, Ben-Gurion moved to Palestine in 1906. He initially worked as a laborer and remained active in the Poalei Tzion movement, which he joined at 17. In 1910 he was elected a member of the editorial board of the *Achdut*

(unity) newspaper and shortly thereafter adopted the Hebrew name David Ben-Gurion.

In hopes of changing the anti-Zionist Ottoman policies in Palestine he went to Constantinople, Turkey, in 1912 to study law and government. At the outbreak of WORLD WAR I Ben-Gurion returned to Palestine but was arrested as a known member of Poalei Tzion and was deported. He moved to New York City and began Hehaultz, the American wing of Labor ZIONISM, and in 1917 married Paula Munweis, with whom he had three children. Certain that the Ottoman authorities would never support Zionism, he strategically altered his plans and joined Ze'ev Jabotinsky's call to form Jewish battalions within the British Army to liberate Palestine from the Ottoman Empire.

Ben-Gurion and his family returned to Palestine in late 1918. Ben-Gurion formed the Histadrut, the Federation of Laborers in Israel, in 1920 and was elected secretary-general in 1921. He also established the HAGANAH, the paramilitary force of the Labor Zionist movement, which facilitated underground Jewish immigration and provided the backbone of the future Israel Defense Force (IDF). In 1930 Ben-Gurion formed the Israel's Workers Party, Mapai, which became the government during the first three decades of Israel's existence. He was elected chairman of the Zionism Executive and chairman of Histadrut, was regarded by the British as the official representative for the Jews in Palestine, and was instrumental in purchasing arms from Europe.

Ben-Gurion was elected the leader of the World Zionist Organization's Department of Defense in 1946. From this and his other positions he pressured the British to either grant the Jews a state in Palestine or to quit the mandate. In 1947 Britain chose the latter. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion announced Israel's declaration of independence and became leader of its provisional government. The surrounding Arab nations invaded Israel, and violence increased between the Arabs in Israel and the Jews. Ben-Gurion recognized the rationale of Arab objections to Zionism early on and was aware of the nature of the clash between two genuine claims to the same land; however, he and others believed that the establishment of a Jewish homeland was crucial for the survival of Judaism.

Equipped with a stronger military force, Israel defeated the Arabs, and Ben-Gurion became the prime minister on February 26, 1949, a post he held until 1963 except for a period of two years (1953–55). In 1970 he resigned from politics altogether and worked on his autobiography at Kibbutz Sde-Boker until his death in 1973.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1948); BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE.

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JENNA LEVIN

Black Dragon and Japanese ultranationalist societies

Owing their origins to the yakuza, Japan's native organized crime group, Japanese ultranationalist societies gained strength in the ex-samurai class during the reign of Emperor Meiji. The purpose of one such society, organized in 1901, was the expansion of Japanese control past the Amur River, the border between northeastern China (Manchuria) and Russia. The river, named Amur in Russian, has a Chinese name that translates as the Black Dragon River, hence the name for the society. The Black Dragon Society and other new types of yakuza organizations considered themselves righteous gangsters who worked for the rights of the people, reverence for the imperial institution, and total Japanese domination of Asia.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the reign of Emperor Meiji had turned Japan into a world power with a growing economy and a population of around 45 million people. Commerce flourished in Japan. As the economy grew and the priorities of the population shifted toward consumerism, gangs grew in power as they organized laborers in businesses such as construction, gambling, building the new metal-wheeled rickshaw, and running street stalls. Gang bosses often opened legitimate businesses to act as covers for underground work. Often they paid off local police to keep their activities quiet.

As their power grew, the yakuza increased their presence in politics. Eventually, close ties to influential officials developed, and many gangs worked under government sanction that protected them from persecution. Since both sides were motivated by opportunism, ideology played only a small part at this time, and cooperation between the gangs and the government resulted. There was always a conservative slant to the

yakuza, but as the Japanese increased their international military presence and some Japanese sought greater democracy, the new yakuza became more conservative and ultranationalist.

First erupting on the southernmost Japanese island of Kyushu, ultranationalism became the defining force behind Japan's move to extreme conservatism. The island served as the home to a large number of discontented ex-samurai. Many of these samurai had already been taken advantage of by charismatic patriots and politicians who fought against the perceived disregard for tradition among the modern sector. The city of Fukuoka, located closest to mainland Asia, had developed into a center of xenophobic ultranationalism.

From this center of antigovernment ideology, Mitsuru Toyama emerged as a strong leader who effected lasting change in Japanese organized crime. During his 20s, Toyama's political activities sent him to jail for three years, and upon his release he joined his first nationalist society, called the Kyoshisha, the Pride and Patriotism Society. Toyama handed out money to his followers on the streets in the manner of those before him, earning him the moniker Emperor of the Slums. Next he began enlisting the disgruntled youth of Fukuoka and created a workforce of disciplined and dedicated fighters.

Toyama made a move in 1881 upon the founding of the Genyosha, the Dark Ocean Society. According to the tenets of its charter, the Dark Ocean Society vowed to revere the imperial institution, love and respect the nation, and defend the people's rights. Even with such vague intentions, Toyama exploited the passion of the ex-samurai for Japanese expansion and total rule. Toyama was able to successfully tap into this sentiment and create a strong political, paramilitary force. The work of the Dark Ocean Society, whose very name indicated expansion across the small divide of ocean between Japan and mainland Asia, was a campaign of strength. Using blackmail, assassination, and other forms of terror as a catalyst, the Dark Ocean Society was successful in exerting influence over government officials and ultimately played a critical role in pushing Japan into mainland Asia and war with the United States.

An offshoot of the Dark Ocean Society, the Black Dragon Society was known for their espionage, sabotage, and assassination methods in Japan, China (especially in Manchuria), Russia, and Korea. The ultimate objective of the Black Dragon Society was domination of Asia. The natural successor of the Dark Ocean Society, the Black Dragon Society took over Dark Ocean followers along with Dark Ocean policies and goals. Under the patronage and guidance of the Dark Ocean

Society's Toyama, the Black Dragons pushed Japan into a victorious war with Russia, committed political assassinations, and helped create the conditions for a Japanese invasion of Asia. For 30 years, the Black Dragon Society flourished. They discouraged Japanese involvement in capitalism, democracy, and anything associated with the West.

In the 1920s, even during the TAISHO democracy and the increase in Japan's liberalism, the Black Dragons grew. As a result the Japanese polity was overwhelmed by assassination, police repression, and an increasingly renegade military. Ultranationalist groups increased in power, even receiving money from the imperial family. The Black Dragon Society evolved into the paramilitary arm of a dominant political party.

See also MANCHURIAN INCIDENT AND MANCHUKUO.

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MELISSA BENNE

Boer War

The Boer War, from 1899 to 1902, was a conflict between Great Britain and the Boers, or Dutch settlers, in South Africa. The Boers were mostly farmers who had settled as early as the 18th century in South Africa. The British wanted to unify their Cape Colony and Natal colonies and the Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. The discovery of gold in Transvaal in 1886 led more English settlers to South Africa. These new settlers, called *Uitlanders* by the Boers, raised Boer concerns over the possible loss of valuable farmland to the English, who were predominantly interested in the mineral resources of South Africa.

After British leaders attempted to incite an uprising among the English in Transvaal in the Jameson Raid of 1896, the rift between the British and the Boers widened. As a result, the Boer leader Paul Kruger won the 1898 election as president of the South African



Soldiers man their guns during the Boer War, which pitted the agrarian Dutch settlers of South Africa against the British.

Republic. To undercut possible British moves, the Boers demanded that the British withdraw all their troops; when the ultimatum was rejected, the Boers attacked the Cape Colony and Natal, laying siege to the cities of Kimberley, Mafeking, and Ladysmith. The defense of Mafeking was led by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts. The future prime minister of Britain WINSTON CHURCHILL also participated in the war, as did the Indian nationalist leader MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, who served in the British medical corps.

After initial defeats, the British rallied their troops and in 1900 appointed HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER, who had just successfully taken the Sudan, as the commander in chief. With superior firepower the British army successfully lifted the sieges, but the Boers then resorted to hit-and-run guerrilla warfare tactics, some of which they had learned from the Zulus in earlier confrontations. To defeat the Boers, Kitchener adopted techniques that were used against guerrilla fighters throughout the world in the 20th century. These included slash-and-burn attacks against civilian farms and cutting off supplies of food and arms to Boer fighters by placing the civilian population in concentration camps. Thousands of Boer women and children were rounded up and placed in armed camps, where many starved to death. Their farms were then burned to the ground, thereby depriving the Boer fighters of cover and food supplies. Many indigenous Africans were also placed in camps. Some were sent to camps in Bermuda, India,

and St. Helena. Almost 30,000 Boers, mostly women and children, and 14,000 Africans died in the camps. The destruction of much of the countryside also led to food shortages. In the spring of 1902 the Boers were forced to accept defeat. Under the Treaty of Vereeniging all of South Africa became part of the British Empire.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich

(1906–1945) *theologian and social activist*

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a German pastor and brilliant theologian who was made famous by his role in the German resistance movement. He was executed in April 1945 for his involvement in plots to overthrow ADOLF HITLER.

Bonhoeffer and his twin sister, Sabine, were born on February 4, 1906, in Breslau, Germany (now Wrocław, Poland). His father, Karl Bonhoeffer, was a distinguished psychiatrist, and his mother, Paula, presided over the early education of her eight children with the aid of a governess, entering her children for state examinations at an early age.

In 1912 the Bonhoeffers moved to Berlin, where Dietrich's father took a post as a professor of psychiatry. By age 14 Dietrich Bonhoeffer had already decided to pursue theology. His family was not particularly religious, attending church only occasionally, but respected his decision even at a relatively young age.

In 1923 at age 17, Bonhoeffer entered the University of Tübingen. In 1924 he switched to the University of Berlin, a center for theology made famous by one of its founders, Friedrich Schleiermacher. The theology faculty was headed by Adolf von Harnack, an eminent theologian, and Reinhold Seeberg, a well-known systematic theology professor and author. Bonhoeffer stood out as a brilliant, studious, and somewhat independent thinker.

It was during this period that Bonhoeffer began to read and be influenced by the works of the Neo-Orthodox movement, a reaction to the liberal theology of Schleiermacher and von Harnack made famous by Karl Barth. Bonhoeffer began work on his doctoral thesis in mid-1926 under Seeberg, finishing in December 1927 at age 21 with a rarely awarded *summa cum laude*.

Assigned to work for a year as an assistant pastor in a Lutheran church in Barcelona, Spain, Bonhoeffer plunged into congregational life. Always interested in children, Bonhoeffer quickly organized a Sunday school program aimed at boys, who responded well to his leadership. In 1930–31 Bonhoeffer did postgraduate study in New York at the Union Theological Seminary. Returning to Berlin, he took up his pastoral duties but continued his association with the university. By this time he had published two books (*Sanctorum Communio* and *Act and Being*). In 1931 Bonhoeffer attended an ecumenical conference in Cambridge, England. This conference proved to be the start of his leadership role in the ecumenical movement as well as a wartime cover for many of his activities. During this period, Bonhoeffer's own faith grew more intensely personal rather than simply academic.

In 1933 Adolf Hitler came to power and quickly moved to control the churches. After spending several months in England in late 1933, where he was able to inform British Christians about the increasingly severe plight of Christians in Germany, Bonhoeffer returned to Berlin. During 1934 the regional churches that were still relatively free from government influence formed what was called the Confessing Church. This church body decided to form unofficial seminaries separate from the theological schools at the government-controlled universities. Bonhoeffer was asked to run a seminary consisting of 23 seminarians in the country town of Finkevalde. It was during this time that Bonhoeffer wrote his best-known work, *The Cost of Discipleship*, which was based on some of his evening lectures to the seminarians. In the context of Germany with its unquestioning obedience to the führer, Adolf Hitler, Bonhoeffer focused on what true obedience as a Christian meant. He would eventually prove such obedience with his own life.

In 1939, in part to avoid a call-up into the military, Bonhoeffer went to England for several months. During that time he met with church and ecumenical authorities trying to persuade them to support the Confessing Church on an official basis. In the United States Bonhoeffer was offered a position as pastor to the German refugees in New York. Accepting it would have meant he could never return to NAZI Germany, then on the verge of war. After much discussion and prayer he chose to return to Germany to share in the fate of his country.

Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi, was already deeply involved in the resistance movement, which at the time was trying to persuade influential generals to arrest Hitler. Hitler's early successes in the war precluded this strategy. In 1940 Bonhoeffer

began working for the Abwehr, the German intelligence service headed by Admiral Canaris ostensibly to gather information for the Germans from his international church contacts. This cover provided Bonhoeffer with the freedom to travel internationally as well as avoid a military call-up but at the same time drew him deeper into the circle of resistance, which included Admiral Canaris himself. In 1941 and 1942, well aware of the conspiracy to overthrow Hitler, which involved several German generals, Bonhoeffer traveled several times to Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden looking for ways to communicate via church channels to officials in England and elsewhere the necessity for a speedy recognition of the new government that would result from Hitler's overthrow.

In March 1943 Dohnanyi was involved in a failed plot to blow up Hitler during one of his inspection tours. The Gestapo investigations of the resistance were drawing their nets tighter around Canaris and his associates, and on April 5, 1943, Dohnanyi, Bonhoeffer, and several others were arrested on suspicion of conspiracy and put in prison in Berlin. Bonhoeffer had carefully prepared for this moment and was able to evade the charges against him successfully, although he was never released from prison. His case never came to trial, and in 1944 it increasingly looked like Bonhoeffer would be released. During his time in prison Bonhoeffer secretly worked on his book *Ethics*, which was published posthumously.

On July 20, 1944, there was another assassination attempt on Hitler by the conspirator von Stauffenberg. The resulting investigation uncovered incriminating evidence against Canaris and Dohnanyi and indirectly against Bonhoeffer. This judgment sealed the fate of all the conspirators. They were moved to a concentration camp, where they were hanged on the personal orders of Hitler on April 9, 1945.

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BRUCE FRANSON

Bonus Army

During the summer of 1932, in the midst of the GREAT DEPRESSION, as many as 25,000 WORLD WAR I veterans calling themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force

marched on Washington, D.C., to ask Congress for bonuses promised for wages they had lost while in service to their country. The bonuses, authorized in 1924, would not mature until 1945, but the former servicemen clamored for any small portion that would aid the survival of themselves and their starving families.

Many of the desperate vets inhabited abandoned downtown buildings or erected makeshift abodes of cardboard, wood, and tin in a shantytown located across Washington's Anacostia River. Peaceful demonstrations and parades past the capitol were organized by Walter Waters. President HERBERT HOOVER refused to meet with Waters or the other vets. The House of Representatives passed Texas representative Wright Patman's bill for accelerated payment, but the Senate defeated the measure by a vote of 62 to 18.

With Congress set to recess for the summer, some of the protesters accepted an offer of free transportation back to their homes; others had nowhere else to go. With the help of superintendent of police Pelham Glassford, many others defiantly remained in Washington. On July 28 Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley ordered Glassford to remove the emaciated veterans, many of whom occupied condemned buildings. Feeling betrayed, veterans hurled rocks at the police, who opened fire, killing one and wounding another. That afternoon 600 federal troops led by General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR moved on the marchers in compliance with the president's order to evict.

MacArthur, perhaps convinced that these were communists, not veterans, exceeded his orders and attacked the desperate itinerants with tanks, gas grenades, and cavalry; MacArthur ordered the troops across the Anacostia River, where fire was set to the Bonus Marchers' makeshift village, killing three and injuring 54, including children and women. Public sentiment favored the Bonus Marchers. President Hoover could not escape the wrath of an astonished U.S. public that rebelled at such harsh tactics. It was a final straw in his decisive loss in that fall's election. Hoover's Democratic successor, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, while opposing payment of the bonus, created the Civilian Conservation Corps, setting aside jobs for many veterans; soon after his wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, met with a small group of marchers in 1933. In 1944, during WORLD WAR II, Congress passed and Roosevelt signed the G.I. Bill of Rights, the United States' first-ever comprehensive and reliable benefit system for its military veterans.

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JOHN M. MAYERNIK

Bose, Subhas Chandra

(1897–1945) *radical Indian politician*

Subhas Chandra Bose abandoned an intended career in the Indian civil service to support MOHANDAS K. GANDHI and the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC) in the cause of Indian independence from Great Britain. However, he later found Gandhi's nonviolent movement too moderate, attacked Gandhi for negotiating with the British authorities, and organized a Socialist Independence of India League in 1928. He also became a labor leader, organized strikes, and was elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress (1929–31). When Gandhi suspended his *satyagraha* (truth, force, nonviolent protest) campaign against the British in 1933, Bose and the left-wing members of the INC called for Gandhi's suspension from the organization and its reorganization.

A showdown between Gandhi and Bose in 1937 resulted in the first contested election for president of the INC, which Bose won in 1938. He became an open admirer of ADOLF HITLER and took on the title *Netaji*, which means leader in Hindi, in emulation of the German NAZI leader. His policies so severely fractured the INC that it could not function, compelling him to resign. He broke off relations with the INC and Gandhi as a result and formed the Forward Bloc Party. Whereas Gandhi and the INC advocated noncooperation with the British government when WORLD WAR II broke out, Bose sponsored terrorism, sabotage, and assassination. His party was banned, and he fled India, arriving in Berlin via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. He was welcomed by Hitler, who provided him with a radio facility to broadcast anti-British propaganda to India.

Bose arrived in Japan in mid-1943 in a German U-boat. He proceeded to Japanese-occupied Malaya and helped organize the "Indian National Army," which consisted of 40,000 soldiers from among the 45,000 Indian prisoners of war captured in Malaya and Singapore. However, command and control of that army remained in Japanese hands. In October 1943 Bose announced the creation of a Provisional Government of Free India and assumed the titles of head of state, prime minister, and minister of war and foreign affairs.

The people he supposedly controlled were the 2 million ethnic Indians who were living in Japanese-occupied Malaya and Singapore. However, the Japanese initially put Bose on the Andaman Islands. In November 1943 Bose and other Japanese puppets met in Tokyo in the Greater East Asia Conference.

This conference marked the high point of Japan's "New Order" in Asia and the GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE it created and controlled. Bose's "government" was moved to Rangoon in Burma in 1944 as the Japanese-controlled Indian army advanced across the Indian border. It was turned back and surrendered in Rangoon in May 1945. Bose escaped with his Japanese patrons, fleeing to Indochina, and when Japanese forces collapsed there he left Saigon for Taiwan on the last Japanese plane, which crashed on landing. Captured officers who served under Bose were tried and convicted but were given suspended sentences.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Boxer Rebellion

The Boxer Rebellion in China was the culmination of the reactionary policies of the dowager empress Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) after she crushed the reform movement of 1898 and imprisoned Emperor Guangxu (Kuang-hsu), who had advocated the thoroughgoing reforms. The defeat of the Boxers by forces of seven Western powers and Japan would bring deeper losses of sovereignty and humiliation to China and totally discredit the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty.

The Boxer movement was rooted in half a century of Western victories over China and the unequal treaties they had imposed on the Chinese, resulting in deep popular resentment among all segments of the people. Many Chinese resented the activities of Western Christian missionaries who had been free to build churches and proselytize throughout the country and were not subject to Chinese laws. The expansion of Western trade in China and the low tariff that they imposed made Chinese-produced goods noncompetitive against Western imports, damaging the economy. Shandong (Shantung) province was particularly hard hit by economic hardships, the result of frequent flood-



Watching the "Foreign Devils": Cantonese citizens peer through the gate of the English Bridge, barring them any further access.

ing of the Yellow River beginning in the 1880s. Local frustration reached a high point in 1898 due to two events: a particularly bad flooding of the Yellow River and Germany's establishment of a sphere of influence in Shandong. A Chinese secret society called the Yihe chuan (I-ho chuan), or the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists," capitalized on the popular discontent. It was an offshoot of the White Lotus Society and the Eight-Trigram Sect, which had risen in revolt against the Qing dynasty in the late 18th century. Their members claimed magical powers through the practice of shadow boxing, charms, and magical arts. Westerners called its members Boxers because they practised martial arts.

The Boxers were mostly poor unemployed farmers and were initially noted for being both antiforeign and antidynastic. However, they were soon co-opted by Cixi and the powerful reactionary Manchu nobles who surrounded her, who hoped to use them to consolidate their power. They skillfully manipulated the Boxers to support the Qing and whip up xenophobia among the people. The Boxers were initially most active in Shandong. However, acting governor YUAN SHIKAI (Yuan Shih-k'ai) was no fool and knew that their martial arts were no match for firearms. He defied Cixi's order to

afford them protection, suppressing them and driving them out of the province. They found a new home in Zhili and Shanxi (Shansi) provinces and were welcomed by Cixi into Beijing (Peking), where they were organized into a militia and “proved” their invulnerability to bullets by a demonstration before her with blanks. Then followed a reign of terror by the Boxers, killing Westerners, Chinese converts to Christianity, and anyone who opposed them. Cixi executed a number of officials opposed to the Boxers in the capital, thereby silencing opposition.

On June 21, 1900, Cixi issued an edict declaring war against all Western nations, ordered all Chinese diplomats stationed in the West to return home, and ordered provincial governors to round up all foreigners. She also ordered the cutting of telegraphic links between China and the outside world. Several Western diplomats were killed in the capital city, and a Boxer force besieged the Western diplomatic quarters. Fortunately, governors in the south and eastern provinces, including the senior statesman Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) and Yuan Shikai, among others, jointly declared the court’s declaration of war illegitimate and their intention to suppress the Boxers and protect the foreigners in their territories. Likewise, Chinese diplomats stationed in the West declared Cixi’s moves illegitimate since the rightful ruler, Emperor Guangxu, was held prisoner by her.

A relief force consisting of units of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the United States, and Japan was organized and captured Beijing on August 14, lifting the siege of the diplomatic quarters because with no artillery pieces, the Boxers had been unable to capture the sandbagged buildings that held the diplomats, Western missionaries, and Chinese Christians inside. Meanwhile, Cixi, her nephew the captive emperor, and her supporters had fled Beijing disguised as farmers. The city and environs were subjected to severe destruction and looting by the conquering soldiers.

Diplomats of the eight powers then negotiated terms among themselves to dictate to China. The Boxer Protocol (1900) had 12 clauses: official apologies, punishment of the guilty, suppression of antforeign organizations, no civil service examinations to be held in provinces that supported Boxer activities, the demolition of Chinese forts at Taku (that controlled entry to Beijing by sea), no import of arms by China for two years, the Western powers to be able to garrison troops at designated points in northern China and to fortify their diplomatic quarters, the abolition of the Zongli

Yamen (Tsungli Yamen) that had conducted Chinese foreign affairs since 1862 (to be supplanted by a new ministry of foreign affairs), and an indemnity of 450 million gold taels (1 tael=1 1/3 ounces) to be paid over 40 years. China was not represented at the negotiations and was not permitted to change a word in the protocol. Li Hongzhang was appointed head of the delegation to offer apologies to the Western powers—he died soon after completing the task. Allied soldiers evacuated Beijing in September 1901. Cixi returned to Beijing in 1902 and issued a proclamation blaming Guangxu for all that had happened.

The Boxer Rebellion was propelled by popular anger against Western imperialism that was manipulated by an ignorant and reactionary court headed by Cixi. Both the Boxers and Western troops caused terrible suffering among innocent people, the inevitable collapse of the Boxer Rebellion plunged China’s existence into jeopardy, and ultimately it spelled the death knell of the Qing dynasty.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Brandeis, Louis D.

(1856–1941) U.S. Supreme Court justice

A son of German immigrants who became a crusading attorney and the United States’ first Jewish Supreme Court justice, Louis Brandeis made his mark as a leading progressive and helped shape President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT’S NEW DEAL.

Brandeis was born in St. Louis but made Boston his home soon after graduating from Harvard University. He became a wealthy lawyer while also pursuing cases on behalf of embattled labor unions, immigrants, and others left behind in Gilded Age America. He took on streetcar and railroad interests and wrote MUCK-RAKING articles about banking. In 1910 New York City cloakmakers struck local sweatshops. Brandeis

negotiated a settlement satisfactory to both the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the manufacturers.

Brandeis believed that big business tended to excessively concentrate economic power, harming regional and local enterprises and eliminating true competition. He played a key role in making the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment, used mostly to bolster corporate rights since its adoption in 1868, into a vehicle expanding rights for ordinary people. His biggest victory came in 1908 when in *Muller v. Oregon* the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the state could prevent manufacturers from making women work more than 10 hours a day. Brandeis's win came just three years after the Court had invalidated a maximum hours statute for bakery workers. In what was soon nicknamed a "Brandeis Brief," its namesake wrote a 112-page document that went far beyond narrow legal precepts, adding sociological information that, in the words of the *Muller* decision, included "extracts from over ninety reports of committees, bureaus of statistics, commissioners of hygiene, inspectors of factories, both in this country and in Europe, to the effect that long hours of labor are dangerous for women. . . ."

By the time President WOODROW WILSON nominated Brandeis, a political ally, to the Supreme Court, Brandeis had a national reputation as "the people's attorney." Nevertheless, his confirmation process was difficult. Both his liberalism and his religion were held against him. His "fitness" was questioned by leading attorneys, including former President William Howard Taft, and officials from his alma mater opposed him. Brandeis was confirmed by a 47-22 Senate vote in 1916.

Considered a reliably liberal member of a rather conservative court, Brandeis was a supporter of the New Deal but by no means a doormat. In 1935 he joined in the unanimous *Schechter* decision that killed Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act, a centerpiece of the New Deal program. In 1932 Benjamin N. Cardozo joined the Court as its second justice of Jewish descent. Brandeis was instrumental in mentoring Felix Frankfurter, a law professor and Roosevelt aide, who became the third Jewish member of the Court, replacing Cardozo when he died in 1938. Brandeis, who was 80 when Roosevelt proposed his controversial 1937 Court-packing plan, was offended but decided to retire in 1939.

Brandeis was not especially religiously observant but took a strong interest in ZIONISM during WORLD WAR II. His Court duties and a falling-out with European Zionists, including CHAIM WEIZMANN, reduced his

involvement, but Brandeis continued to back creation of a Jewish state in British Palestine. In 1948, seven years after Brandeis's death and the year of Israel's founding, Brandeis University opened in Waltham, Massachusetts, commemorating its namesake as a Jewish-American legal pioneer and supporter of social justice.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

British mandate in Palestine

Although British control of Palestine started on December 11, 1917, the Palestine mandate was not approved by the council of the League of Nations until July 24, 1922, through the TREATY OF SAN REMO. The mandate was formally established on September 29, 1923. Some of the causes of the delay were uncertainties about the territorial boundaries of the new entity and the issue of the contradictory future obligations of the Mandatory Power. The land's symbolic and political significance by far exceeded its local or even regional importance.

The historical cradle of the Jewish people and the holy land of Christianity, Palestine had for many centuries been inhabited by a mainly Muslim and Arab-speaking population. Since the beginning of the 20th century the Zionist movement, established at the congress at Basel in 1897, sought to recreate there the Jewish national home, but up until WORLD WAR I it still had no international recognition and only limited Jewish support. During World War I on November 2, 1917, the British foreign secretary, Arthur James Balfour, seeking Jewish international support, issued a declaration assuring his government's support for the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish national home. The Palestine mandate copied the text of the BALFOUR DECLARATION, as both Britain and the LEAGUE OF NATIONS apparently believed that building a Jewish national home and protecting the Arab majority's rights and position were not incompatible objectives.

The Palestine mandate received by Britain in 1920 included the future Transjordan, but this was transformed into a separate territorial unit. The Emirate of Transjordan, never considered part of historic Palestine, was explicitly excluded from the area of Palestine designed as the Jewish national home. In this framework

of the Palestine mandate the Jews enjoyed numerous advantages over the local Arab Palestinian population. With the help of worldwide Jewish communities and the British government the Zionists made enormous progress in developing an up-to-date economic, social, and political system.

Their numbers increased quickly because of growing immigration, from 83,790 in 1922 to 174,606 in 1931, and were estimated at 528,702 in 1944; they grew from 12 percent of the total population in 1922, to about 17 percent in 1931, to about 31 percent in 1944. In spite of that, the Jewish population remained a minority and would not have achieved their goals and aspirations without constant British military and security guarantees and protection. In practice the British granted considerable autonomy to the various religious groups along the lines of the old Turkish *millet* system and intended to prevent the development of the national-minded Palestinian Arab ethnic community. Lack of self-rule institutions and elected representatives deprived the Palestinian population of many political chances in the future. Led mainly by the clan (*hamula*) and big land-owning families, the Palestinian population in the country by 1936 had increased to about 1 million, primarily as the result of a high birth rate.

The British government started to introduce limitations on Jewish immigration to Palestine, but these quotas and the very concept of the absorptive capacity of the country became controversial, particularly in the 1930s and early 1940s. The situation in Palestine deteriorated largely under the impact of external factors, which included the GREAT DEPRESSION and HITLER's assumption of power in 1933 followed by the NAZI regime in Germany. Legal and illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine increased dramatically, from 9,553 in 1932 to 61,854 in 1935, because of which Arab-Jewish relations became tenser. Even before that, especially in 1921 and 1929, there had been violent clashes between the two communities. The Jewish Self-Defense Force, HAGANAH, was formed on June 15, 1920, and eventually evolved into the Israeli Defense force (IDF).

Between 1936 and 1939 there was the great Arab uprising, directed predominantly against the British mandatory power but also against Zionist settlers. The revolt began with a general strike that lasted some six months and soon evolved into a large-scale peasant revolt that mobilized the entire Palestinian Arab population. Almost 1,000 Palestinians and 80 Jews were killed in the first year, and by 1939 the British military had either killed or imprisoned most of the key Palestinian leaders. The revolt considerably weakened Palestinian political and

military organizations and caused the loss of key leaders who might have been effective after WORLD WAR II in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict.

The British also tried to find a political solution to the existing dilemma of conflicting Zionist and Palestinian demands for national control over the same territory. In 1936 the Peel Commission was sent to Palestine, and in 1937 it concluded that the mandate was unworkable in its present form. The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, a Palestinian area to be merged with Transjordan, and Jerusalem and its neighborhood remaining under direct British control. The partition plan was opposed by both sides.

In May 1939 the Statement of Policy on Palestine replaced the partition plan with new directives. The British government declared that it wanted to establish "an independent Palestine State." This state was to be established within 10 years. During that period Jewish immigration would be limited to 15,000 per year during the first five years, after which no further Jewish immigration without Arab consent would be allowed. In 90 percent of Palestine, the transfer of Arab lands was forbidden or restricted.

Predictably, the most negative reaction came from the Zionist and Jewish circles, who dubbed it the "Black Paper." The most radical wing of the Zionist movement, the revisionists, almost immediately initiated violent actions against the British administration and the Arabs. The smuggling of arms and illegal immigrants into Palestine had begun before 1939, but it continued and intensified after that. Between 1939 and 1943 about 20,000 illegal Jewish immigrants and 19,000 legal ones entered the country.

After World War II several factors, such as U.S. support for the Zionist cause, the decline of British economic and political power, and the impact of the HOLOCAUST on world opinion persuaded the British to submit the Palestine question to the United Nations on April 12, 1947. On May 15, 1948, the British mandate was terminated, and the British evacuated their troops from Palestine. Caught between conflicting obligations and facing the decline of their own power, the British had no choice but to leave.

See also BEN-GURION, DAVID; HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN.

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ANDREJ KREUTZ

Bryan, William Jennings

(1860–1925) U.S. political leader

Although he lost the presidency three times, William Jennings Bryan used powerful oratory and sympathy for America's downtrodden to transform the Democratic Party. In the WOODROW WILSON administration, Bryan tried unsuccessfully to keep the United States out of WORLD WAR I. A committed Christian, he spent his final days in Tennessee, opposing Darwinian evolution at the SCOPES TRIAL and thereby entering history as a hero to the devout and a laughingstock to an urbanizing nation.

Bryan grew up in rural Salem, Illinois, becoming a lawyer and a Democrat like his father. In 1887, seeing greater political opportunity, he moved to Nebraska, where he became in 1890 only the second Democrat to win a congressional seat in Nebraska's 23 years of statehood.

In an era that esteemed oratory, Bryan spoke clearest and loudest, attracting national attention as he took up "prairie insurgency" causes that challenged both major parties. A supporter of direct senatorial election and banking reform, he called for federal intervention on behalf of farmers and laborers who felt themselves oppressed. Bryan sided with those who demanded unlimited coinage of cheaper silver money, positioning himself in the depression year of 1896 as the one candidate who could make populist demands a reality. The Chicago nominating convention erupted in cheers when Bryan finished his 20-minute "Cross of Gold" speech. The next day Bryan outpolled 12 other hopefuls, winning nomination on the fifth ballot.

Bryan broke campaign tradition by barnstorming 18,000 miles through 26 states, while Republican senator William McKinley conducted a genteel campaign from his Ohio front porch. Despite attracting a huge following of "believers," Bryan could not match the Republicans' fund-raising prowess and had trouble

attracting urban support. He lost decisively and would lose again to McKinley in 1900 and to William Howard Taft in 1908.

Although he volunteered for the 1898 Spanish-American War (but never saw action), Bryan opposed imperialism and especially opposed U.S. efforts to rule the Philippines. Yet he disregarded Jim Crow laws that stifled African-American political participation. Bryan calculated that his political success depended on white votes from the "Solid South." Even so, black leader W. E. B. DUBOIS saw hope in the "Great Commoner's" concern for the poor and exploited.

Bryan's tenure as Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state was disastrous. Wilson, who meddled in the MEXICAN REVOLUTION and the Caribbean, did not share Bryan's idealistic pacifism. In June 1914 World War I broke out in Europe. Bryan counseled true neutrality but resigned after a German U-boat attack on Britain's *Lusitania* in 1915 killed 128 Americans and prompted a harsh presidential warning.

Although Bryan was a dedicated Christian and teetotaler who championed PROHIBITION, he was no rube. He became wealthy from speaking engagements yet supported the graduated income tax. He traveled widely abroad, visiting Russian writer and pacifist Leo Tolstoy. Bryan (and his wife, Mary Baird Bryan) strongly backed WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. By the 1920s, though, Bryan seemed quaint to a new generation. His focus on Darwinism's evils and the Bible's truth seemed especially antimodern, even though he was among the first evangelists to speak on radio.

So when Bryan was brutally interrogated during the 1925 Scopes trial by famed lawyer Clarence Darrow, once a Bryan supporter, the legendary orator's weak showing seemed to prove the idiocy of his cause. Six days later Bryan, a diabetic, died in his sleep in Dayton. Mourned by thousands along its route, Bryan's funeral train carried him to burial in Arlington Cemetery. The Democratic Party of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and other future leaders would owe much to Bryan's initiatives.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN



Cairo Conference (1921)

The Cairo Conference was convened by the British to decide how to govern their newly gained Arab territories after WORLD WAR I. Opening in March 1921, the conference represented a virtual who's who of British experts on the Middle East from the foreign office and the military. Lawrence of Arabia (T. E. LAWRENCE), champion of the Arab revolt; Gertrude Bell, an expert on Iraqi tribes and politics; as well as Sir Percy Cox, high commissioner for Iraq, and Sir Herbert Samuel, high commissioner for Palestine, all participated. The conference was chaired by WINSTON CHURCHILL, then secretary of state for the colonies.

The SAN REMO TREATY in 1920 had formalized British control over Iraq and Palestine, formerly territories of the now-defunct Ottoman Empire. However, the British had been caught off guard by the 1920 violent revolt against their occupation of Iraq. If possible, they wanted to avoid future confrontations that necessitated the deployment of British or imperial troops and that placed heavy financial burdens on the British treasury.

At the conference it was agreed that a plebiscite should be held in Iraq to elect a king who would rule in close conjunction with British advisers. Faysal, Sherif Husayn's son and a favorite of the British, was proposed as the British nominee. After some hesitation he accepted the position. Faysal won subsequent elections that were held under British supervision, and he duly became the king of Iraq. His heirs continued to rule

Iraq until they were overthrown in a violent military-led revolution in 1958. The installation of an Arab-led government made Iraq ostensibly independent, and it was ultimately granted entry into the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. But Iraq remained linked with Britain by a treaty that granted Britain extensive control over its foreign affairs and allowed the British military access whenever it chose.

Faysal's older brother Abdullah was selected to become amir (prince) and ultimately king of the land east of the River Jordan. Churchill coined this new entity, Transjordan, meaning on the other side of the Jordan. Abdullah was dependent on Britain for economic and military support, and his main military force, the Arab Legion, was led by a British military officer. This territory ultimately became the HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN under the rule of Abdullah and his heirs. His great grandson, Abdullah II, ruled Jordan in the early 21st century. The creation of allegedly independent countries was meant to assuage Sherif Husayn and Arab demands that the promises regarding Arab independence after the war seemingly made by the British in the SHERIF HUSAYN-McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE be met.

In Palestine the British retained direct political and military control and assured their security concerns in the region, especially the protection of the vital Suez Canal. During the interwar years the British retained their preeminent position while attempting, with various degrees of success, to balance the conflicting national demands of the Palestinian Arabs for an independent

Arab state and the Zionists for an independent Jewish state. The BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE lasted until after WORLD WAR II, when the British could no longer economically or militarily afford to maintain order in Palestine, and they consequently turned over the entire issue of who should rule Palestine to the newly formed United Nations.

The decisions made at the Cairo Conference failed to satisfy either Arab or Zionist demands for self-determination. They also formalized the division of the Arab territories into separate nations ruled by regimes established and in large part maintained by the British. The nationalist hostility and resentment fostered throughout the Arab world by the actions taken at the Cairo Conference lasted throughout the 20th century.

See also HASHEMITE DYNASTY IN IRAQ; IRAQI REBELLION (1920).

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JANICE J. TERRY

Cairo Conference (1943)

China was Japan's first target during WORLD WAR II and fought alone from July 1937 until Japan attacked the U.S. Pacific naval base at PEARL HARBOR, the Philippines, and British interests in East and Southeast Asia in December 1941. These events led to a general declaration of war between the Allied and Axis powers and an expansion of World War II to Asia.

China's military position and diplomatic status improved significantly after December 1941. Militarily, it no longer fought alone. The Allies established the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chinese leader CHIANG KAI-SHEK was appointed supreme commander of the China theater (which included Vietnam and Thailand) effective January 1, 1942. U.S. Lend-Lease aid to China increased, U.S. general Joseph STILWELL was appointed Chiang's chief of staff, and the until-now U.S. volunteers of the Flying Tigers were incorporated into the U.S. Fourteenth Air Force under the command of General CLAIRE CHENNAULT. On the diplomatic front, China was now recognized as one of the Big Four Powers among the 26 anti-Axis nations; it also became a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and a permanent member of the



U.S. officials leaving the 1943 Cairo Conference, which dealt with the future of Asia after World War II.

UN Security Council. New treaties were negotiated and signed between China, the United States, and Great Britain in 1943 that ended a century of inequality for China.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, a proponent of personal diplomacy, proposed a joint meeting with British prime minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN, and Chiang (Roosevelt had numerous meetings with Churchill). However, Chiang did not wish to meet Stalin due to his anger over the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty (1941) and Soviet assistance to the Chinese communists, both damaging to his war effort. Roosevelt agreed to meet first with Chiang and Churchill at Cairo, Egypt, and then with Stalin at Tehran, Iran. Accompanied by his popular U.S.-educated wife, Mei-ling Soong Chiang, Chiang met Roosevelt and Churchill in November 1943. The Cairo Declaration, published on December 1, 1943, stipulated the unconditional surrender of Japan, the complete restoration to China of territories that it had lost to Japan since 1895, the return of southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union, and that Japan give up the north Pacific islands it had received as mandates after WORLD WAR I.

The Cairo Conference was the only one during World War II that focused solely on Asia. It was also the first time in modern times that China's leader played a major world role. Roosevelt declared in his Christmas message in 1943: "Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose."

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Calles, Plutarco

(1877–1945) *Mexican president*

Plutarco Elías Calles was president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928, taking over from ALVARO OBREGÓN. He was the founder of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Party), which in 1946 would become the Institutional Revolutionary Party and dominate Mexican politics until 1988.

Plutarco Calles was born on September 25, 1877, the son of Plutarco Elías Lucero, a Lebanese man hired by the U.S. Army to test the use of camels in the southwestern United States. He was orphaned when he was three and went to live with his father's sister, Josefa Campuzano, and her husband, Juan Bautista Calles. They looked after him well, and he took his uncle's surname as his own. Young Calles became one of the earliest teachers at the Colegio Sonora and also contributed some articles on problems in the Mexican educational system of the time. However, he left teaching, as he found the strictures too great for his independent thought.

During the MEXICAN REVOLUTION, Calles became a supporter of FRANCISCO MADERO and became mayor of Agua Prieta, a town on the Mexican side of the Mexican-U.S. border. When Madero was deposed and killed, Calles was involved in the resistance to the new government and rallied supporters of the revolution in Sonora. He was involved in a battle in 1915 against Maytorena, an ally of PANCHO VILLA, defeating him. However, he was a politician rather than a military strategist and became the interim and later the constitutional governor of Sonora. There he introduced some of the educational reforms that he had advocated as a teacher. He was also affected by the anticlerical traditions of the period, expelling all Roman Catholic priests from Sonora. He also introduced laws prohibiting the production and consumption of alcohol.

In 1914 President VENUSTIANO CARRANZA offered Calles a cabinet position on two occasions, with Calles finally accepting the post of minister of industry, trade, and labor in 1919. By this time Calles was seen as a

clear supporter of Alvaro Obregón, who was emerging as a major rival to Carranza. Both came from Sonora, and as the alliance between Carranza and Obregón began to falter Calles resigned from the cabinet and in April 1920 published his Plan de Agua Prieta calling on Sonorans to overthrow Carranza.

After the death of Carranza, Adolfo de la Huerta became president, and during his short presidency Calles became minister of war. He was then minister of the interior for three years during Obregón's period as president. It was not long before Obregón and de la Huerta were arguing, and very soon the latter was getting army support for a revolt. Calles sided with Obregón and quickly defeated the de la Huerta rebellion. When Obregón retired as president on December 1, 1924, Calles became the new president.

One of his most controversial political decisions was the Law Reforming the Penal Code. Published on July 2, 1926, this law reinforced the anticlerical provisions of the 1917 constitution by fining people who wore church decorations and even threatening five years in prison for anybody who questioned the law. Some Roman Catholics were involved in the CRISTERO REVOLT, which caused much trouble in central and western Mexico from 1926 until 1929.

Although Calles was a revolutionary, his enemies in the United States denounced him as a communist and even as a Bolshevik. On September 29, 1927, he established a direct telephone link with Calvin Coolidge. He also managed to get the new U.S. ambassador, Dwight Morrow, who had worked for banker J. P. Morgan, to get the famous aviator CHARLES LINDBERGH to visit Mexico City. There Lindbergh met Morrow's daughter Anne, whom he later married. Morrow was, however, critical of many of the measures that Calles had introduced.

Calles drew much of his support from the poor farmers, and his plan was to improve their lot as small businessmen. To help them, on February 1, 1926, he established the National Bank of Agricultural Credit, having overhauled the banking system and established the Bank of Mexico, modeled on the American FEDERAL RESERVE, five months earlier. He also introduced a new system of running the government finance ministry.

On November 30, 1928, Calles stood down as president, and with Obregón having been killed Emilio Portes Gil became provisional president. In 1934 Calles supported LÁZARO CÁRDENAS, who was elected president. In the following year the press became extremely critical of Calles, who returned from retirement to defend the decisions he had made in office. However,

in 1936 Cárdenas had Calles deported after he was accused of trying to establish his own political party. After some years in exile in San Diego, where he reflected on his time in office and played golf, in 1944 President Manuel Ávila Camacho invited him to return to the country to provide more unity during WORLD WAR II. He died on October 19, 1945, in Mexico City.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Cárdenas, Lázaro

(1895–1970) *Mexican president*

Lázaro Cárdenas del Río was president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940 and was drawn into Mexican revolutionary politics during the presidency of FRANCISCO MADERO from 1911 until 1913. Born on May 21, 1895, in Jiquilpan de Juárez, Michoacán, Lázaro Cárdenas was the eldest of eight children. When his father died, Lázaro Cárdenas was 16 years old and had to look after the family, working variously for a printer, collecting taxes, and even in the local prison.

In 1913, with the overthrow of Madero, Cárdenas joined the Constitutional Army and served under ÁLVARO OBREGÓN and then PLUTARCO CALLES. When Obregón signed the Treaty of Teoloyucan, sending rival politician Adolfo de la Huerta into exile, Cárdenas was one of the witnesses. In 1928 he became a divisional general and also governor of Michoacán, where he became well known for his work on building roads, starting schools, and promoting land reform. Calles was president from 1924 to 1928, and Cárdenas served under him.

When Calles stepped down from office he was succeeded by Emilio Portes Gil, then by Pascual Ortiz Rubio, and then by Abelardo L. Rodríguez. All these men were seen as “puppets” of Calles, and when Cárdenas was nominated as the candidate for the ruling Partido Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Party), most people believed that Cárdenas was also under the control of Calles.

Cárdenas became president on December 1, 1934, and immediately set about trying to establish an administration that would earn the public’s respect. In a surprise move, one of his first acts was to cut his own salary in half. He then arrested Calles and many of his associates, and some of these were deported, includ-

ing Calles himself. Sweeping away many of the political and business elite, Cárdenas changed the name of his political party to the Party of the Mexican Revolution. In 1946 it would be renamed the Institutional Revolutionary Party. He also established a system of government whereby large trade unions, peasant organizations, and middle-class professionals played a major role in the political party, which took on a corporatist structure. Introducing a massive land reform program, Cárdenas granted large pay raises to industrial workers.

The money to pay for these developments was largely drawn from Mexican oil revenue, which followed the nationalization of the petroleum reserves. Cárdenas tried to negotiate with Mexican Eagle, a company controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Royal Dutch/Shell. However, oil executives refused a plan to establish a presidential commission to look into compensation for the companies. Eventually, on March 18, 1938, the oil companies agreed to accept 26 million pesos in compensation but rejected some of the other terms. For Cárdenas, the decision came too late, and at 9:45 P.M. he nationalized the oil reserves. This resulted in some 200,000 people marching in the streets of Mexico City to celebrate for the next six hours.

On the home front, Cárdenas also had to deal with an internal rebellion led by General Saturnino Cedillo. It was believed that he had been supported by foreign oil companies, and Cárdenas tried to negotiate personally with the rebel commander. With the death of Cedillo in January 1939, Mexico’s last military rebellion came to an end.

For his foreign policy, Cárdenas was resolutely left wing and issued strong condemnations of the invasion of Abyssinia by Mussolini, the Japanese actions in China, the German *Anschluss* of Austria, and the German persecution of the Jews. Britain severed diplomatic relations with Mexico, which, curiously, led to the Mexicans’ selling oil to NAZI Germany. With the outbreak of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR, Cárdenas proclaimed his support for the Spanish Republic, supplying weapons and ammunition. At the end of the war, he allowed 30,000 Spanish republicans to migrate to Mexico. After the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, Cárdenas condemned the German invasions of Belgium and the Netherlands and also the Soviet Union for invading Finland.

After his term as president ended on December 1, 1940, Cárdenas became secretary of defense until 1945. Never wealthy, he retired to a modest house on Lake Pátzcuaro and died of cancer on October 19, 1970.

His son, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, contested the Mexican presidential elections in 1988, and his grandson, Lázaro Cárdenas Batel, was also prominent in Mexican politics.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Carranza, Venustiano

(1859–1920) *Mexican president*

Venustiano Carranza Garza was president of Mexico from 1914 to 1920, having been a supporter of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION of FRANCISCO MADERO. Born on December 29, 1859, at Cuatro Ciénegas, in Coahuila, he was the son of Colonel Jesús Carranza, who had served in the army of Benito Juárez, and María de Jesús Garza.

Carranza was educated at the Ateneo Fuente in Saltillo and then at the National Preparatory School in Mexico City, returning to Coahuila, where he took part in running the family farm and ranch. At school he had become interested in Latin American history, and this led him into a late involvement in politics when he became an opponent of Porfirio Díaz, leading a successful revolt against Díaz's handpicked governor of Coahuila. Carranza, who had been a municipal president, was allowed to retain much of his political power in Coahuila and was also a senator in the national congress. He initially became a supporter of General Bernardo Reyes but quickly came to support the presidential candidate Francisco Madero. Madero was forced to flee into exile in Texas, and from there he rallied his supporters for an attempt to overthrow Díaz. It had been Díaz who had narrowly beaten Madero in the 1910 election, but many, like Carranza, felt that Díaz should not have been allowed to stand, as it went against the Mexican constitution.

Madero became president in November 1911, and Carranza, who had been his secretary of war and of the navy, was appointed governor of Coahuila, where he improved working conditions for people. However, Madero was soon faced with several rebellions against him, and in February 1913 he was overthrown and replaced by General VICTORIANO HUERTA. Carranza then led a rebellion against Huerta, leading what

became known as the Constitutionalist Army, as it supported the reinstatement of Benito Juárez's liberal constitution of 1857.

On May 1, 1915, Carranza became president and immediately tried to continue the reforms introduced by Madero. This included land reform, the formation of a more independent judiciary, and the decentralization of political power. He wanted to control the developing Mexican Revolution by trying to regulate the economic problems facing the country. Carranza introduced rules to regulate the economy, regulating banks and forcing foreign investors to renounce any diplomatic protection they had previously enjoyed. One of his major targets was the U.S.-owned oil companies, from which the taxation revenue rose 800 percent during Carranza's five years as president. The government also took over the railways and boosted support for the *Compañía Telefónica y Telegráfica Mexicana* (CTTM). Although some commentators have seen Carranza as being anti-U.S. and seeking to move against foreign companies, he was actually more focused on promoting Mexican industry.

Facing criticism for being too dictatorial, Carranza was eager to prove that his moves were popular, and in November 1916 he held a constitutional convention in Querétaro, which resulted in the 1917 constitution. Carranza felt that it was too radical but agreed to implement it. It made extensive provisions for education and labor, ensuring that government schools were "free and secular," and limited work to the eight-hour day, with minimum wages, the right to collective bargaining, and the right to strike. In March 1917 special presidential elections were held, and Carranza was reelected.

Carranza became involved in the Plan de San Diego Revolt, whereby Mexican Americans in Texas staged a rebellion that they hoped would bring Texas back under Mexican control. To help, many hundreds of Mexican soldiers, disguised as civilians, crossed into Texas to launch attacks, which ended in October 1915 when the U.S. government recognized Carranza. In 1916, in answer to attacks across the border by PANCHO VILLA, the U.S. government sent Brigadier General John J. Pershing with 10,000 soldiers, mainly cavalry, to pursue Pancho Villa into Mexican territory with reluctant help from Carranza. Pershing had to withdraw in February 1917 without capturing Villa.

As well as international problems, Carranza had some immediate trouble from revolutionary insurgents. However, he put a bounty on the head of EMILIANO ZAPATA, who was killed soon afterward. He then turned to grooming Ignacio Bonillas as his successor, but this



Carranza's government took control of the railways and boosted support for Mexican-owned business interests.

was to annoy ALVARO OBREGÓN. One of Obregón's men tried to kill Carranza on April 8, 1920, forcing the president to flee Mexico City for Veracruz. He was deposed on May 7, and on his way to Veracruz, on May 21, in Tlaxcalantongo, in the Sierra Norte of Puebla State, he was assassinated by Rodolfo Herrera. He was succeeded as president by Adolfo de la Huerta, who was president until November, when he was replaced by Alvaro Obregón.

See also MEXICAN CONSTITUTION (1917).

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Casely Hayford, Joseph Ephraim (1866–1930) *West African lawyer and politician*

J. E. Casely Hayford made enormously important contributions to the theory of PAN-AFRICANISM and organized the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA. Casely Hayford became an inspiration for Ghana's independence movement leader and first president, Kwame Nkrumah, though Nkrumah's generation no longer accepted the British presence in the way that Casely Hayford and his colleagues had.

Born in 1866, the man whom many would later describe as the “uncrowned king of West Africa” enjoyed educational opportunities in Africa and in

England. He completed his secondary education at a Wesleyan (Methodist) boys' high school in Cape Coast, the major port in the colony known to the British as the GOLD COAST. He spent several years as a teacher and principal in Wesleyan schools in both Accra (Nigeria) and Cape Coast. Following an apprenticeship to a European lawyer, he traveled to London in 1893 to become a lawyer himself. He completed legal training in 1896 and soon returned to Cape Coast, where he established an active, admired private practice.

Casely Hayford largely identified himself with other professional, European-educated black Africans, but he did not forget the traditions and worldview characteristic of the Fanti. During his youth Casely Hayford's father had participated in protests against the British erosion of native autonomy and customs, particularly with regard to land distribution and usage. This early exposure to political activism and to debates about the virtues (and flaws) of traditional, as opposed to British, law prepared Casely Hayford to become involved in the activities of the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society (ARPS) that formed at the end of the 19th century. Shortly after the introduction of the 1897 Lands Bill into the British parliament, traditional elites and intellectuals of the Gold Coast joined together in the ARPS to resist this proposed introduction of British property laws. Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah supported the ARPS's effort by authoring pamphlets that explicated the traditional systems and presented cogent arguments against the Lands Bill.

Over the next few decades, he augmented his already strong reputation by publishing several books that revealed his intelligence and his passionate commitment to achieving prosperity in Africa. *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, published in 1903, dealt with the issues at stake in the Lands Bill controversy. He asserted that these societies already possessed democratic institutions and a high degree of civilization. He thought of native institutions as an asset, not a liability, in the quest for progress and modernization.

In his 1911 autobiographical novel, *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation*, Casely Hayford provided a fictionalization of Pan-Africanist themes and ideals. By evoking the achievements and influence of the “Ethiopian” (in Pan-Africanist ideology, this signified all Africans and not just the inhabitants of a particular country in Africa), Casely Hayford boasted that the African could feel proud of his heritage despite the various racial theories that cast him as inferior. The goal of activism should be to encourage the expansion of education, the preservation of

indigenous customs where they proved durable and useful, and the unification of Africans both within a single colony and within a region governed by a single imperial power. Eventually, this unity should extend across Africa and would reap tremendous economic, political, and cultural benefits for all Africans as they strived to modernize.

In keeping with his ideology, Casely Hayford worked to organize the National Congress of British West Africa in the years immediately following WORLD WAR I. The group met for the first time in 1920, and Casely Hayford became its vice president. The congress's agenda of promoting economic development, education, and democratic institutions without seeking complete independence from Britain reflected Casely Hayford's own hopes. He expected that British West Africa would become the continent's leader in the overall effort to modernize.

Future generations might criticize Casely Hayford for his gradualism and willingness to accept British rule. Even when frustrated by British intransigence, he never resorted to violence or other radical tactics that might have gotten results. Despite his relatively few concrete achievements, he became the leader of his generation and urged his fellow citizens to prepare to govern themselves and to take pride in their culture and traditions.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Chennault, Claire Lee

(1890–1958) U.S. officer and Air Corps organizer

Claire Lee Chennault grew up in rural northeastern Louisiana. He served as a fighter pilot of the U.S. Army Air Corps during WORLD WAR I. After the war he served as an instructor in the army air service, organized and led an air corps acrobatic team called Three Men on a Flying Trapeze, and worked on perfecting air combat tactics. Health problems led to his retirement from the military in April 1937.

On July 7, 1937, Japan attacked China, beginning WORLD WAR II in Asia, whereupon Italy, later Japan's partner in the Axis, withdrew its air force mission from China. Chinese leader CHIANG KAI-SHEK contacted Chennault and his two partners in Three Men on a Flying Trapeze to help China develop an air defense system; all three accepted. Chennault arrived in China in 1938 and was commissioned as a major in the Chinese air force. He developed a close working relationship with Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Mei-ling Soong Chiang), commander of the Chinese air force.

Chennault first developed an effective air raid warning system by training Chinese spotters in Japanese-occupied areas, using radios to report the takeoff and direction of Japanese planes on bombing raids. In October 1940 Chiang sent Chennault to the United States to procure planes and enlist American combat pilots and a support staff to defend China. He secured 100 P-40 Tomahawks originally intended for Great Britain (which received instead a newer model of the plane), funded with \$25 million through the Lend-Lease Act passed by Congress. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT then signed an executive order that allowed U.S. active and reserve military personnel to resign from their commissions and join the American Volunteer Group (AVG) to serve in China. Over 300 people—pilots, mechanics, and support personnel—signed up, including four women (two nurses and two office workers). They were given fictitious job descriptions and headed for Toungoo, Burma. There Chennault trained them in tactics of aerial combat, with special attention to the planes and techniques used by the Japanese air force. The AVG men liked the shark mouth painted on British Tomahawk planes in Egypt but changed the logo to the "Flying Tiger." The final design was created by Walt Disney. Their flight jackets had a patch called the "blood chit" that read in Chinese: "I am an aviator fighting for China against the Japanese. Please take me to the nearest communication agency." It proved a lifesaver for pilots shot down in Japanese-occupied China.

The AVG's first action took place on December 20, 1941, against 10 Japanese bombers flying out of Hanoi for Kunming in China. Only one returned. Between that day and July 4, 1942, when it was disbanded, the AVG fought and won 50 actions despite overwhelming negative odds. For example, on February 25, 1942, the 166 Japanese planes attacking Rangoon, Burma, met nine Flying Tigers, who downed 23 planes and made another 10 probable kills, losing only one plane themselves. Chennault had the backing of thousands of Chinese workers, who repaired the runways after Japanese raids, and a large network of scouts, who kept him informed of

Japanese movements. The Chinese government paid the AVG salaries and bonuses for downed Japanese planes. In all, the AVG had 299 confirmed kills and damaged 153 planes so badly that they probably could not fly again, in addition to many destroyed on the ground. It also destroyed thousands of tons of Japanese supplies and many trucks. A total of 29 AVG men would become aces for recording five or more enemy kills. It lost 12 planes in combat, 61 planes on the ground, 13 men in action, and 10 in operational accidents. Although the U.S. government could not honor the AVG members, the Chinese government decorated many for heroism, as did the British government for their actions over Rangoon. Many of its men joined the regular U.S. Army Air Corps after the AVG was disbanded. Chennault also continued to serve in China, but for the U.S. armed forces.

The AVG lasted for less than two years and saw action for nine months. Chennault's skill, temperament, and courage were essential for molding its members into a great fighting unit that inflicted heavy damage on the Japanese, boosted Chinese morale, and contributed to Allied victory in World War II.

Following the war Chennault remained in China to assist the Nationalist government against the Communists. During that time he organized an airline called Civil Air Transport (CAT), which would later become a major resource for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in South Asia. Chennault died on July 27, 1958, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Chiang Kai-shek

(1887–1975) *Chinese military and political leader*

Chiang's proper name was Chung-cheng, but he is better known by his courtesy name, Kai-shek. The son of gentry parents from Fenghua in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province, Chiang was raised by a widowed mother, graduated from the first class of Paoting Military Academy, and then studied in a Japanese military school, where he joined Dr. SUN YAT-SEN's revolutionary move-



Chiang Kai-shek led the Nationalist forces in the Northern Expedition and was ultimately defeated in the Chinese Civil War.

ment, later called the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist Party [Guomindang]), in 1911. It became his lifelong cause. He fought in the wars that overthrew the Manchu Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in 1911 and with Sun out of power in 1912, became a businessman in Shanghai.

In 1922 Chiang answered Sun's call in Canton. Sun sent him to the Soviet Union in 1923, where he spent three months studying Red Army techniques and in talks with LEON TROTSKY (father of the Soviet Red Army). This trip made him deeply suspicious of Soviet intentions in China. Back in China he founded the Whampoa Military Academy, which trained officers in Sun's Three People's Principles and in modern military techniques. In 1926 Chiang led the NORTHERN EXPEDITION to unite China under the Kuomintang. His rapid victories led to the capture of southern China and the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley by 1927, whereupon he broke with the Soviet Union, expelled its advisers, and purged the KMT of its left-wing elements, led by WANG

JINGWEI, and their CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) allies. By 1928 Chiang's forces had captured Beijing (Peking). Defeated warlords and those facing defeat promised to obey the KMT, and China was unified, at least nominally.

The KMT-led National Government established its capital at Nanjing (Nanking), where for the next decade Chiang led China's first modern government, whose major nation-building projects included roads and railroads, modern schools, new law codes that made women equal, industries, and the military. Chiang and his government were challenged by three enemies: the remaining warlords and his rival generals in the KMT, whom he partly succeeded in taming; the CCP, which established a Chinese Soviet Republic in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) province in southern China (Chiang defeated but did not eliminate them in the encirclement campaigns and the LONG MARCH); and Japan, which sought to seize Chinese territories beginning with the MANCHURIAN INCIDENT in 1931 and culminating in the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT in 1937, which led to eight years of war that became part of WORLD WAR II. Chiang led China in an exhausting war in which Japan occupied the coast but could not conquer China. China's role in World War II led to its recognition as a leading Allied power. It was a founding member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

However, victory came at a heavy price. China's economy was ruined, tens of millions of refugees awaited resettlement, and Chiang's troops were exhausted. War vastly expanded the CCP's power, from 30,000 troops in 1937 to 3 million in 1945. The CCP refused to participate in a constitutional process initiated by the KMT, and civil war broke out between the KMT and CCP forces in 1946. Chiang resigned as president of China in 1948, and all China came under CCP control in 1949. Remnant KMT forces rallied behind Chiang on Taiwan in 1949, and Chiang resumed his presidency in 1950 and continued to serve until he died in 1975. Chiang's government undertook land reforms and successful economic measures on Taiwan with U.S. economic and military aid. By 1975 it was well on its way to the success that made it one of the "Four Tigers" of Asia.

See also ANTI-COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT CAMPAIGNS IN CHINA (1930–1934); CAIRO CONFERENCE (1943); CHINESE CIVIL WAR (1946–1949); SINO-JAPANESE WAR; XI'AN INCIDENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Chinese Civil War (1946–1949)

Japan's unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945, ended WORLD WAR II. China was Japan's first victim and had suffered eight years (since 1937) of devastating warfare on its soil. In 1945 its economy was in ruins, while about a fifth of its population awaited resettlement. While the Nationalist, or Kuomintang (KMT [Guomindang]), government and its army, led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK, had borne the brunt of the fighting, the war had given the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) unprecedented opportunities for growth, reflected in the explosive expansion of its forces from around 30,000 men in 1937 to 1 million regular troops and 2 million militiamen in 1945.

MAO ZEDONG (Mao Tse-tung) immediately ordered his troops, called the People's Liberation Army (PLA), to seize land and equipment from surrendered Japanese forces. When Soviet forces evacuated Manchuria (China's Northeastern Provinces, which had been the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo) in 1946, prior notification of the CCP enabled the PLA to seize most of the land and arms left by Japan in that region also. On the other hand, Nationalist forces were scattered along many battlefronts and less favorably disposed to take control of land from the defeated Japanese despite U.S. aid in providing transportation.

To forestall civil war, Chiang invited Mao to negotiate in the wartime capital Chongqing (Chungking) with the mediation of U.S. special ambassador George Marshall. An agreement was signed between the two Chinese leaders in January 1946 that included the calling of a Political Consultative Conference to form a coalition government and to form a national army. However, the two sides' irreconcilable goals led to resumption of a bitter civil war. The CCP also refused to participate in a KMT-convened national assembly to write a constitution. Realizing his failure to mediate a peaceful settlement, President HARRY S. TRUMAN recalled Marshall in January 1947 and appointed him secretary of state. The United States then washed its hands of events in China.



Mao Zedong, leader of China's Communists, addresses some of his followers on December 6, 1944.

The Nationalists won most victories in the early phase of the civil war, even capturing the CCP capital Yan'an (Yenan) in March 1947. However, the tide turned in mid-1947, which Chiang's resignation in January 1948 and a change of command to his vice president Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen) failed to stem. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China, while the KMT government and remnant KMT forces fled to Taiwan, where the Republic of China remained.

The outcome of the Chinese Civil War was due to Communist military victory and defeat of the KMT forces. However, many factors contributed to the outcome. World War II and China's sufferings, the ruined economy, high inflation, and corruption were blamed on the KMT government. The CCP capitalized on the KMT's problems and won over many people with promises of social and economic reforms. Internationally, the CCP benefited from the support of the Soviet Union. The initial U.S. support and its later abandonment of the KMT contributed to its defeat and collapse. The outcome of the Chinese Civil War was a result of World War II in Asia and contributed to the worldwide cold war.

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR; UNITED FRONT, FIRST (1923–1927) AND SECOND (1937–1941); YAN'AN PERIOD OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Chinese Communist Party (1921–1949)

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed in 1921. On October 1, 1949, with the founding of the People's Republic of China, it became the ruling party of that country.

The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the subsequent success of the Communist Party in the Russian Civil War were the main external influence in the founding of the CCP. Domestically, China's failure at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919 and the subsequent MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT/INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION resulted in some left-wing Chinese, disillusioned with the West, to turn to Marxism. They were led by Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) and Li Dazao (Li Ta-chao), dean of the faculty of arts and head librarian, respectively, of the National Beijing (Peking) University, who organized Marxist study groups in several cities across China. In April 1920 Grigorii Voitinsky, an agent of the Third Communist International (Comintern), arrived in China; he conferred with Chen and Li, and they decided to organize a Chinese Communist Party. In 1921, 12 men (neither Chen nor Li could attend, but MAO ZEDONG [Mao Tse-tung] did) met secretly in the French Concession in Shanghai, formed the Chinese Communist Party, and elected Chen Duxiu general secretary.

Starting in 1921 Russian Communist representatives began to negotiate with the Chinese government to establish formal diplomatic relations; one was Adolf Joffe, who arrived in Beijing in August 1922. Hitting an impasse with the Beijing government, he went to Shanghai in January 1923 to meet SUN YAT-SEN, father of the Chinese Republic and leader of the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), then out of power.

The result was a joint communique on January 26, 1923, whereby the Soviets agreed to assist Sun in reorganizing the KMT on the condition that the approximately 300 CCP members would be allowed to join

it. The communique clearly stated that the communist social order and the Soviet system were not suited to China. Despite this many KMT members were opposed to the agreement. The CCP was not consulted about the Sun-Joffe agreement.

Political shifts in 1923 allowed Sun to establish a government in Canton in opposition to the warlord government in Beijing. Many Russian advisers arrived in Canton, headed by Michael Borodin, who became political adviser to both Sun and the KMT. In January 1924 the KMT held its First Party Congress, which reorganized the party on Soviet lines and elected several CCP members, including Li Dazao and Mao, to key KMT committees. Sun's chief lieutenant in military affairs, CHIANG KAI-SHEK, was sent to Russia to study the organization of the Red Army, and General Galen (Blücher) came to China to help him train army officers.

A Sun Yat-sen University was established in Moscow to train Chinese in revolutionary techniques—its first students included Chiang's son Chiang Ching-kuo (later president of the Republic of China on Taiwan) and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing, later general secretary of the CCP). The UNITED FRONT, however, was a marriage of convenience. Sun needed Soviet help, and the Soviets were willing to aid him in order to give the CCP a chance for rapid growth. Sun died in 1925, but the United Front continued under left-leaning KMT leaders.

In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek was appointed commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army and began a NORTHERN EXPEDITION to oust the warlords. Chiang was spectacularly successful due to his tactical brilliance, the fighting quality of an ideologically motivated army, an upsurge in nationalistic fervor, and Communist propaganda that won the support of peasants. By early 1927 he had gained control to the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley. Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN intended to use the KMT to nurture the CCP to a point that it could seize power, then to throw out the KMT, in his words, like "squeezed out lemons." But Chiang squeezed first, expelling the Soviet advisers and purging the CCP. Many Communists were killed, but the leaders fled to the hills in the Jiangxi (Kiangsi) province in southeastern China, where they organized the Chinese Soviet Republic with its capital at a little town called Ruijin (Juichin).

The Nationalist government ruled China from the capital city Nanjing (Nanking) between 1928 and 1937. Besides having to deal with several major warlord revolts, it was faced with the twin challenges of Japanese imperialism and the Communist revolt. Chiang launched five campaigns against the CCP in Jiangxi between 1930 and 1934. The first four failed

because they were poorly commanded. He took personal command of the fifth campaign in 1934 and through a combination of political and economic reforms and effective military techniques forced the greatly reduced Communists to flee in the LONG MARCH. About 100,000 men and a few women fought as they fled through nine provinces from the southwest to northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) province between October 1934 and October 1935, with about 20,000 surviving. During the march the CCP held a conference at Zunyi (Tsunyi), where Mao emerged the most powerful leader.

Japan's attack on China in 1937 and the resulting SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1937–45) led to the forming of a Second United Front between the KMT and the CCP. Although Communist guerrilla forces also fought the Japanese, the KMT troops bore the brunt of the war and suffered the most losses. The war years were also the Yan'an period in CCP history, during which Mao and his second in command, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i), wrote extensively on the theory and practice of Marxism and prepared their followers for the postwar struggle with the KMT. The civil war that followed Japan's surrender initially favored the KMT forces, but the tide turned in favor of the CCP in 1948. By the end of 1949 the Nationalist government had been defeated on mainland China. With the establishment of the People's Republic, the CCP became the ruling party of China.

See also ANTI-COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT CAMPAIGNS IN CHINA (1930–1934); RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR (1917–1924); YAN'AN PERIOD OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Churchill, Winston

(1874–1965) *British prime minister*

Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, one of the greatest prime ministers of Great Britain and Nobel

laureate for literature, was born on November 30, 1874, in Oxfordshire. He studied at Harrow and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. With intermingling careers in the army and in journalism, he traveled to Cuba, the North-West Frontier in India, SUDAN, and South Africa. His political career began as a member of the House of Commons in 1900. After the electoral victory of the Liberals in 1906, Churchill became the undersecretary of state for the colonies. He also became the president of the Board of Trade and afterward the home secretary, undertaking major social reforms. In 1911 he was appointed lord of the admiralty in the ministry of Herbert Asquith (1852–1928) and undertook modernization of the Royal Navy. An abortive naval attack on the Ottoman Turks and the Allied defeat at Gallipoli led to Churchill's resignation at the time of WORLD WAR I. He was called back and was put in charge of munitions production in the ministry of DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (1863–1945) and was instrumental in deploying tanks on the western front. He returned to the Conservative Party as chancellor of the exchequer in 1924 in the ministry of Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947). He reintroduced the gold standard in his tenure of five years. For about a decade he did not hold any ministerial office and was isolated politically because of his extreme views. Most of the political leaders also did not pay any heed to Churchill's caution against APPEASEMENT policy toward Germany and the German march toward armament.

For Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) the policy of appeasement toward NAZI Germany was not working. There was no relenting of the march of Germany's army under ADOLF HITLER (1889–1945). Churchill became the premier on May 13, 1940, when he also took charge of the Department of Defense. As wartime policy, he initiated measures that enabled the country to withstand the Nazi onslaught and led Great Britain toward victory. However, the bombing of German cities, particularly the firebombing of Dresden, which resulted in the loss of thousands of innocent lives, brought criticism against him. Churchill initiated changes in the war efforts of his government. For the Air Raid Precautions (ARP), half a million volunteers were enlisted. Under the National Services Act, conscription and registration of men between 18 and 41 began. In 1944 the British army had a strength of about 2,700,000. Women's emancipation took another step when they were called upon to work outside the home in the war economy. Agencies like the Women's Transport Service (FANY), the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS),



Winston Churchill led Great Britain through the trials of World War II and stood in opposition to Soviet expansion.

and the Women's Royal Naval Service were created, by which women contributed to the nation's war efforts.

Churchill, along with the Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN and FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, formulated war strategy, peace plans, the reconstruction of Europe, and the fate of the Axis powers. Churchill had met Roosevelt on August 14, 1941, and signed the "Atlantic Charter," which spelled out a plan for international peace and adherence to national sovereignty. The "Grand Alliance" was committed to defeating Nazism and bringing about world peace. The last wartime conference that Churchill attended was the YALTA CONFERENCE in Crimea in the Soviet Union (now in Ukraine) with Roosevelt and Stalin between February 4 and 11, 1945. The differences between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other were emerging. Churchill had many rounds of verbal dueling with Stalin over the fate of Poland, the division of Germany, and the occupation of Berlin. Once the war was over and their common enemy was defeated, the cold war began.

WORLD WAR II ended in victory, but Great Britain was no longer the country commanding the most

military and economic clout in the world. It was in debt £4.198 billion, and the cost of living had increased by 50 percent. Churchill's Conservative Party was defeated in the elections of July 1945, and the Labour Party under Clement Attlee (1883–1967) came to power. Disillusionment with the Conservative Party, Churchill's neglect of the health and educational sectors, and economic woes contributed to the Conservative defeat. Churchill was the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons. He was relentless in turning public opinion against international communism. His speech delivered on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, was a clarion call to the West to be ultra careful against communism. He called for an alliance of the English-speaking peoples of the world before it was too late. This "iron curtain" speech was regarded as the beginning of the schism between the East and the West and the division of the world into two blocs.

With the return of the Conservative Party to power in Britain, Churchill became the prime minister as well as the minister of defense in October 1951. Great Britain intervened in Iran after its prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh (1880–1967), nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). Churchill planned a coup to oust the government with the help of the United States. He dispatched British troops to the colony of Kenya in August 1952 at the time of the Mau Mau Rebellion, which was suppressed. Churchill's administration dealt with the rebellion against British colonial rule in Malaya. Churchill during his first and second premierships was never willing to grant self-government to the colonies. Although high-sounding words like *democracy*, *national sovereignty*, and *self-determination* had been uttered at the time of World War II by Churchill and other Allied leaders, granting independence to the colonies was not in Churchill's agenda. In fact, he had shown an apathetic attitude toward the Indian freedom movement. The Quit India movement of 1942 was suppressed ruthlessly. He had lampooned MOHANDAS K. GANDHI (1869–1948) as a "naked fakir." He was also indifferent to the devastating famine of 1943 in Bengal, which killed about 3 million people. Churchill resigned in April 1955 due to ill health. He continued as a backbencher in the House of Commons until 1964. Churchill died in London on January 24, 1965.

In his lifetime Churchill was bestowed with many honors. He became Sir Winston Churchill after becoming a Knight of the Garter in 1953. For his contribution to European ideals he was awarded the Karlspreis

award by the city of Aachen, Germany, in 1956. The U.S. government made him an honorary citizen in 1963. His writing career began with reports from the battlefield like *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898) and *The River War* (1899). He published a biography of his father, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), and wrote one on his ancestor, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (four volumes, 1933–38). Churchill's *The World Crisis* (1923–31) was a history of WORLD WAR I in four volumes. He also wrote *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* in four volumes (1956–58). In 1953 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature for his six-volume work *The Second World War* (1948–53).

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Clemenceau, Georges

(1841–1929) *French politician*

Georges Clemenceau was one of the most famous political figures in the Third French Republic and a major contributor to the Allied victory in WORLD WAR I. He was born in 1841 in the small village of Mouilleron-en-Pareds in the Vendée, a region on the western coast of France. Trained as a doctor, he gave up the practice of medicine for a life in politics.

He began his career as mayor of Montmartre and in 1876 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, where he identified with leftist causes and became a powerful figure in the Radical Party. A brilliant orator and a fiery critic of republicans in the Center and on the Right, he was instrumental in overthrowing many ministries, earning in the process the nickname "The Tiger." Implicated in the Panama Canal scandal, he lost his seat in

the elections of 1893 and for the following nine years earned his living as a journalist.

Clemenceau was elected to the senate in 1902 and in 1906 served as interior minister in the Jean Sarrien cabinet. When Sarrien resigned in October 1906, Clemenceau formed his own cabinet, which endured until 1909. While in office he strengthened ties with Britain and Russia to counter Germany's growing challenge to France. At home he continued his predecessors' anti-clerical policies and adopted a hard-line stance toward striking workers, alienating large sections of the political left. A sudden no-confidence vote after a violent debate brought down the government in the summer of 1909. Clemenceau returned to the senate and spent the years prior to 1914 urging the buildup of France's armed forces. In 1913 he founded a newspaper so he could warn the country about the need to rearm.

When World War I broke out in August 1914 Clemenceau was disappointed that he was not recalled to the helm. After the stalemate set in on the western front he assailed the French High Command for its fruitless offensives and for failing to make adequate preparations at Verdun, the target of a German onslaught in 1916. As 1917 wore on, the war was going badly for the Allies with the impending loss of Russia, a disastrous Italian defeat at Caporetto, and defeatism threatening both the military and civilian strength of France. In this particularly dark moment the president, Raymond Poincaré, called on the 76-year-old Clemenceau to form a government after the last one had fallen in November.

On taking office Clemenceau's single purpose was to win the war, subordinating all other considerations. He ended internecine fighting in the cabinet by selecting minor figures on whose loyalty he could depend. With the acquiescence of parliament he established a virtual dictatorship in order to prosecute the war more effectively. He cracked down on pacifists, defeatists, and traitors, anyone he considered uncommitted to total victory. He secured greater control over the military; made frequent visits to the front, where he spoke not only to generals but to ordinary soldiers; and helped bring about a unified command. His unflinching style of waging war revived popular morale and was instrumental in helping the nation withstand the series of German hammer blows in the spring of 1918.

Clemenceau presided over the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919, where he sought to punish and disarm Germany. It soon became apparent that Clemenceau's demands for France's security clashed with the postwar aims of Britain and the United States. Clemenceau fought hard to create a buffer state in the Rhineland under per-

manent French control but reluctantly gave up the idea on receiving an Anglo-American pledge of assistance in case Germany again attacked France. What Clemenceau did not foresee was that the treaties would be repudiated by the U.S. Senate and Britain's parliament. Although the Versailles Treaty imposed harsh terms on Germany, Clemenceau was criticized by a sizable section of the French citizenry who considered it too lenient.

Clemenceau hoped to be elected president, a largely ceremonial post, when Poincaré's term expired in February 1920. Of all the candidates he seemed the most deserving in view of his wartime services. As it happened, the chamber and the senate rejected him in favor of the undistinguished Paul Deschanel. He resigned as premier the day after his defeat and left the senate as well. He died in 1929 and according to his wish was buried near his father at Colombier in his native Vendée.

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GEORGE CASSAR

Comintern

During its existence (1919–43) the Third International, or Communist International (Comintern), was an umbrella organization of the world's Communist Parties. Its stated mission was to coordinate all Communist activities independent of the Soviet Union. In time, however, the Comintern was made to serve the objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, thus, the goals of the Soviet Union. Placing its headquarters in Moscow reinforced this process.

The Comintern came into being in March 1919 in response to what Lenin perceived as a critical need. The socialists who had gathered under the framework of what was known as the Second International were undisciplined. Several of the socialist parties in the various nations had supported their nations' entry into WORLD WAR I and continued to support that effort. These socialist parties were thus seen as supporting bourgeois institutions rather than advancing the socialist cause. Having just completed the first stages of seizing the Russian government and beginning a civil war that would last for another four years, Lenin and the Russian Communists believed that socialists must be

devoted to worldwide revolution with their actions according to a prescribed party line. That line was defined by what were known as the 21 Points. Any Communist Party had to obey all of these directives in order to become part of the Third International.

The 21 Points included the requirements for member organizations to take the name Communist Party while removing members who did not accept the points, to subscribe to the philosophy of liberating colonies, to use the combination of both illegal and legal methods (as required), to change its internal rules to conform to Comintern policy, and to obey all Comintern directives. These points were drafted by Lenin in combination with the Comintern's first head, Gregory Zinoviev.

The Second Congress of the Comintern was held in 1920, with subsequent congresses in 1921, 1922, 1924, 1928, and 1935. Membership included the Communist Parties of Austria, Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Portugal, Spain, the United States, Yugoslavia, and the parties of Japan and various Asian and South American Nations.

The official language of the organization at the beginning was German. Significantly, by the 1930s Russian became the official language. The Comintern was organized into several departments: Cadres (which maintained files on all members and worked very closely with NKVD, the secret police), Propaganda and Mass Organization, Administration of Affairs, Translation, Archives, and Communications. While not stated, one of the most important functions of the Comintern was to gather information that was then sent to Soviet intelligence organizations.

The leaders of the Comintern's national sections were the individuals leading various national parties in the interwar period. Those who survived the purges of the 1930s and WORLD WAR II became the leaders of the Eastern European states that became Communist in the aftermath of the war. These included George Dimitrov, head of the Comintern from 1935 to 1943 and leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party; László Rajk and Mátyás Rákosi of Hungary; Klement Gottwald of Czechoslovakia; and many in the mid- to higher levels of the new Communist governments.

This international staff were regarded by the Soviets with great suspicion. In the period of the purges (the second half of the 1930s), many Comintern staff disappeared. The most prominent of those arrested was Béla Kun, who had led the Hungarian Soviet in 1919, but many others perished as well. The height of this purge of foreigners was in the years 1937 to 1938,

after which it eased significantly. Maintenance of party discipline was extremely important, and directives concerning activities, organization, and other changes were conveyed from this headquarters to all of the Communist Parties. Even when Communist Parties were banned and had to go underground (as happened in Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, and Yugoslavia), they still had to report to Moscow. Comintern activities also included funding the parties.

Up until 1935 and the Seventh Comintern Congress the Comintern was opposed to cooperation with other socialist parties. Then the policy shifted with FASCISM being defined as the enemy. In addition to the Comintern's support of the popular fronts, its most significant effort was creating an army to fight for the republic in the SPANISH CIVIL WAR. The Comintern recruited, transported, and organized (politically as well as militarily) the volunteers who would form the International Brigades. Over 30,000 volunteers would be sent to Spain in this effort.

In 1939 the Soviet Union and Germany signed a nonaggression pact. From the beginning of World War II in September 1939 until the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, the war was referred to as an imperialist conflict, and members of the Comintern were told not to oppose the fascists.

During the interwar period the Comintern (as well as communism and the Soviet Union in general) was feared by nearly all nations. The Comintern was regarded as the international arm of the Soviet Union. It was for this reason that to please his Western allies it was disbanded in 1943 on Stalin's orders. It revived in another form in 1947 as the Communist Bureau of Information (Cominform). Cominform's function was the same as the Comintern: to extend control over all international Communist Parties; it was abolished in 1956.

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ROBERT STACY

Communist Party, U.S.

The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) is the most prominent communist political party in American history, though its influence has been minimal since the early days of the cold war. In 1919 VLADIMIR LENIN himself invited the communist faction of the Socialist Party to join the COMINTERN. Many of the Socialist Party members who broke away and formed CPUSA in response to Lenin's invitation belonged to groups of European immigrants in the United States, bound by a common language and a commitment to socialism. A number of delegates expelled from the Socialist Party convention formed a separate communist party, the Communist Labor Party, but by 1921—at the order of the Comintern—these two parties merged.

After the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and other socialist victories around the world, the United States was coming under the grips of the RED SCARE. Many communist groups were explicit about their aims to overthrow existing institutions at the expense of those benefitting from or protected by those institutions. Racial and nationalist issues sometimes played into this anticommunist paranoia; many American communists were part of the waves of eastern European immigration that ended the 19th century—and a significant number of them were Jewish. CPUSA was predominantly eastern European and Jewish and found itself the target of anticommunist and anti-Semitic literature.

The late 1920s saw conflicts with JOSEPH STALIN, who regarded the success of CPUSA as entirely dependent on its followers' belief that the party was a link to the Comintern and who considered the party dangerously out of step with Soviet communism. CPUSA's goals in the period following this shift were focused principally on labor issues and civil rights, especially after the GREAT DEPRESSION increased the ranks of the working poor and made union issues even more critical. Though antifascist, CPUSA opposed military action against HITLER's Germany until the invasion of the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath of WORLD WAR II, CPUSA became even more suspect than it had been during

the Red Scare, with membership or attendance at one of its meetings grounds for suspicion, firing, and blacklisting. The party continued to support the Civil Rights movements and allied itself with many leftist and liberal political movements throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many of which distanced themselves in response. Over the decades since World War II, this reluctance on the part of liberal interests to ally themselves with the Communist Party has led to a decrease in the party's influence.

Various revelations in the aftermath of the cold war have confirmed that at various periods the Soviet Union supported CPUSA financially, hoping that its survival would weaken the United States from within. In the early days of the cold war, there were several cases of American communists passing secrets to the Soviets, including details related to the design of the atomic bomb. But despite the fears of the McCarthyists and the hopes of the Soviets, CPUSA appears to have had little impact on the American infrastructure.

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BILL KTE'PI

Communist Party of Indochina

The Communist Party of Vietnam was formally founded on February 3, 1930, in Hong Kong by a group of Vietnamese exiles. Its first members included Nguyen Ai Quoc (later better known as Ho Chi Minh). At the urging of the COMINTERN, the group changed the name to the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI). Despite its name, all of the initial members were Vietnamese.

There was political controversy over the name Communist Party of Indochina. The choice of *Indochina*, which recognized a French-imposed political unit, was anathema to many Vietnamese nationalists. This led many Cambodian nationalists to see it as an attempt by the Vietnamese to try to dominate Cambodia and preserve the French political unit of Indochina after independence. It was not until the late 1940s that any Cambodians or Laotians would join.

With the start of the worldwide GREAT DEPRESSION there was a precipitous decline in the demand for rub-

ber, and French plantations, largely located in southern and central Vietnam, responded by lowering wages or laying off workers.

This led to disputes and riots on these plantations, followed by strikes in factories throughout Cochinchina (southern Vietnam). The newly formed Communist Party of Indochina saw an opportunity to agitate against French rule and encouraged the peasants, who in the summer and the fall of 1930 started taking over their villages and establishing “soviets,” in which the villagers took over property from unpopular landlords and reduced rents and taxes, cutting off links with provincial governments. This rebellion became known as the Nghe-Tinh Soviet revolt because of the location of the main protests. The revolt was ruthlessly crushed by the French in the spring of 1931, and the CPI regional network was destroyed. Indeed, the headquarters of the Standing Committee of the party in Saigon was raided during a meeting in April 1931.

Although the revolt was disastrous in the short term, it did bring the Communist leadership the realization that they needed to be better organized for the eventual confrontation with the French. A Second Plenum had been held just before the April 1931 arrests, and soon afterward the party had been admitted into the Communist International (Comintern). Ho Chi Minh and the surviving leadership, all in exile, realized that any attempt to eject the French could no longer rely solely on a peasant revolt.

In 1936 the Popular Front government was formed in France, and from then until 1938 the CPI was able to organize again. One of the first actions of the new socialist government in France was to order the release of political prisoners in Indochina, among whom were many CPI members. The party also used this period to gain extra members and became the major political group for those opposed to French rule.

The signing of the NAZI-Soviet Pact in 1939 and France’s subsequent declaration of war on the Germans gave French authorities in Indochina an extra reason to crack down on the CPI and isolate it from the people. The Sixth Plenum of the CPI, held in November 1939, called for an armed uprising. France’s surrender to the Germans in 1940 destroyed the belief in the invincibility of the French army among Vietnamese. Soon afterward the Japanese were able to move their soldiers into Vietnam. This again caused the CPI to debate its approach to ending French rule. Some wanted to use the Japanese presence to agitate against the French. However, Ho Chi Minh urged caution. In 1941 the central committee of the CPI held a meeting at Pac Bo and declared the forma-

tion of the League for the Independence of Vietnam, a grouping that became known as the Vietminh Front.

With the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941, Ho Chi Minh sought to establish a friendly relationship with the United States, going as far as meeting General CLAIRE LEE CHENNAULT in March 1945. In that month the Japanese took control of Indochina, rounding up the French and throwing them in jail. On August 13–15, 1945, the CPI finally decided that the time for a national insurrection had come. Japan’s surrender on August 14 sealed the matter, and a general uprising in Hanoi took place on August 19, followed by a takeover of the imperial capital, Hue, four days later, and a seizing of much of Saigon two days after that. Although with British help the French were able to regain control of Saigon and later Hanoi, much of the countryside was in the hands of the CPI.

However, Ho Chi Minh realized that in the forthcoming conflict the CPI would be a liability, as the United States was becoming more anticommunist. As a result, on November 11, 1945, the CPI announced that it was dissolving itself and being replaced with the Indochinese Marxist Study Society. This was an attempt to portray the Vietminh as more nationalist than communist, and the communist movement became the Vietnamese Workers’ Party. This had the effect of allowing the eventual formation of separate Cambodian and Laotian Communist Parties.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Cristero revolt

Between 1926 and 1929 a localized uprising exploded in Mexico’s western states in reaction to the anti-Catholic policies of Mexican president PLUTARCO CALLES, which attacked the privileged position of the Catholic Church.

Many Mexican revolutionaries viewed the church as the enemy and worked toward stripping it of its political power and landholdings. The writers of the constitution of 1917 sought to tip the balance of

power by weakening the church and subordinating it to a strong Mexican state through a variety of provisions. The constitution prohibited the church from owning property and barred clergy members from voting, holding political office, or assembling for political purposes. Calles enforced these constitutional provisions with anticlerical legislation that forbade the wearing of religious clothing in public, placed all primary education under state control, required the registration of clergy, allowed state governors to reduce the number of practicing ecclesiastics, and called for the deportation of foreign-born clerics. In reaction Mexican priests suspended their religious duties in July 1926, refusing to hold Mass, hear confessions, or administer the sacraments.

The attack on the Catholic Church enshrined in the constitution of 1917 had aroused considerable interest and action from many Mexicans. A few priests and several lay leaders encouraged direct action. One group to heed that call was the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty (LNDLR), a civic organization that formed in May 1925. Responding to the religious strike by the clergy, the LNDLR called on Mexican Catholics to rise up in arms against the Calles government in the name of Christ and as defenders of the faith. The rebels, dubbed *Cristeros* due to their battle cry, “Vivo Cristo Rey,” or “Long Live Christ the King,” targeted schools in particular, the new symbol of the revolutionary regime in rural Mexico. They burned several to the ground and murdered teachers. Calles’s administration listed national education as a priority and viewed the building of 2,000 rural schools as a success; rural residents resented the schools, which placed financial and land burdens on poor communities and challenged traditional Catholic norms.

Full-blown rebellion exploded when Catholic insurgents bombed a government troop train. Sporadic unorganized guerrilla warfare characterized most of the violence, with local leaders recruiting a dozen to a hundred horsemen as a mounted fighting force, supported by groups of peasants serving as the infantry. Few of the leaders had military experience. The LNDLR attempted to direct the rebellion and create national cohesion among the *Cristeros*, but its members lacked knowledge of military tactics and command. The group named a journalist living in the United States, René Capistrán Garza, as the head of the Catholic revolution. Garza never assumed military command of the rebellion and worked unsuccessfully toward gaining the support of U.S. Catholics against the anticlericalism of the Mexican government. Conversely, many of the rebel leaders

in the field simply ignored the leadership of the LNDLR or were disenchanted with the organization’s inabilities to send supplies or reinforcements. Although many *Cristeros* fought courageously and mounted a significant challenge to the federal army, in the end they did little to threaten the stability of the Calles government.

The diplomatic work of U.S. ambassador Dwight Morrow brought the *Cristero* rebellion to an end. Morrow worked diligently to convince Calles to create peace in Mexico with the Catholic Church, and in 1929 negotiations between the government and the church resulted in a truce. The church agreed to operate within the law and resumed services, but it would never again command the prominent place in Mexican social and political life it had enjoyed for over two centuries. Although a minority of Catholics participated in the rebellion and it was centered in the western states of Jalisco, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Zacatecas, and Colima, by the end of the violence over 50,000 Mexicans had died, and many others had fled the country.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Cunha, Euclides da

(1866–1909) *Brazilian engineer and historian*

Euclides da Cunha was born on January 20, 1866, at Santa Rita do Rio Negro, near Cantagalo, close to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the eldest son of Manuel Rodrigues Pimenta da Cunha and Eudóxia Moreira. When the boy was three years old his mother died, and the family moved to Teresópolis and then went to stay with relatives in Rio de Janeiro. He attended Aquino College, where he studied under Benjamin Constant, an important republican historian. In 1886 he attended the Escola Militar da Praia Vermelha, a military school in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of the country. Two years later he took part in a protest during a visit by Tomás Coelho, the minister of war in the last conservative cabinet under the Brazilian monarchy, which ended in the following year.

On December 11, 1888, for his role in the protest, he was expelled. Through the efforts of Major Solon Ribeiro, a prominent republican, and others, there was an amnesty for those who had protested against the emperor, and da Cunha was readmitted to the military school. He graduated in the following year and was commissioned second lieutenant. In that year he also married Ana, the daughter of Ribeiro.

In 1891 da Cunha went to the Escola de Guerra (War School) and was quickly promoted to first lieutenant. He then worked as a military engineer in the Brazilian army but left to study civil engineering, although he was soon working as a journalist. In 1896–97 he went, on behalf of the magazine *O Estado de São Paulo*, with the army to Canudos, a village in Bahia state in east-central Brazil, where Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel “Conselheiro” (“the Counselor”) and his supporters had established their own “empire.” Some 30,000 people moved to Canudos with the promise of freedom for escaped slaves and impoverished Indians. The Conselheiro also promised the return of the Portuguese late medieval king, Sebastian.

There were five army expeditions over three years to Bahia in what became known as the War of Canudos. It took three generals, 19 guns, and 10,000 men to conquer the place, with the rebels fighting to the death for their messianic leader. Da Cunha’s first article on the rebellion had been published in March 1897 as “A Nossa Vendéia”; this led to his becoming a reporter attached to the general staff.

He spent the period from August 7 to October 1, 1897, writing about what he saw in the rebellion and the subsequent reprisals. This was to form the basis of his historical narrative, *Os Sertões* (1902), the first major work that championed the rights of Brazil’s Indi-

ans. On September 21, 1903, da Cunha was elected to the Academia Brasileira de Letras (Brazilian Academy of Letters). On December 13 of the same year he established the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico (Historical and Geographic Institute). In 1907 da Cunha was appointed to head a commission to deal with problems in Amazonia, and he spent December 1904 and much of 1905 traveling down the Amazon. In early 1909 da Cunha was appointed chairman and professor of logic at the Colégio Pedro II, a public secondary school in Rio de Janeiro.

Euclides da Cunha was a keen amateur geographer and geologist and spent the last years of his life visiting remote parts of Brazil and writing about the Indian tribal people he met. He also was influenced by the Darwinian aspects of naturalism. He was the author of *Contrastes e confrontos* (Contrasts and confrontations, 1907), and *Peru versus Bolívia* (1907).

On August 15, 1909, da Cunha was killed in a duel by a young army lieutenant, Dilermando de Assis, who was having an affair with his wife. He died at Piedade, Rio de Janeiro. He is commemorated by the Brazilian education department, and in August each year they observe a *Semana Euclideana* (Euclides Week) in his honor. The Euclides da Cunha Foundation in Brazil commemorates the historian and the role he played in the education system.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



D-day

Although it is a general military term, *D-day* has become synonymous with the Allied invasion of Normandy, France—code-named “Operation Overlord”—on June 6, 1944, during WORLD WAR II. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Soviet premier JOSEPH STALIN called on the Allies to open a second front in western Europe. By May 1943 such a plan had become the Allies’ number one priority. At a meeting held in Quebec, Canada, Lieutenant General Frederick Morgan, chief of staff to the Supreme Allied Command, presented a preliminary plan to the Allied leadership. With input from Lord Louis Mountbatten, chief of the British War Department’s Combined Operations Division, Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, and numerous others the invasion plan began to take shape; by D-day close to 30,000 civilian and military personnel had worked on the plan in some capacity.

Officially, “Overlord” was the overall designation for the Allied offensive that would run from June to August 1944; the naval and beach assault operations on the day of June 6 were code-named “Operation Neptune,” with various related operations, such as airborne drops, given their own code names. To gain a foothold on mainland Europe and liberate it from NAZI occupation, “Neptune” involved a strategy of coordinated attack from the air, sea, and land that culminated in an amphibious assault by Allied forces—composed of U.S., British, and Canadian troops—upon the German-held beaches of Normandy in northern France. In Decem-

ber 1943 American general Dwight D. Eisenhower was chosen as supreme Allied commander, with three British commanders in charge, respectively, of air, sea, and land forces: Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, Admiral Sir Bertram H. Ramsay, and Field Marshal Montgomery. Likewise, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, the deputy supreme Allied commander, and General Walter Bedell Smith, Eisenhower’s chief of staff, supervised the massive logistical task of coordinating the men and materials needed for the invasion.

Before settling on Normandy, Allied commanders had considered the Pas de Calais, the narrowest point in the English Channel between England and France. However, Mountbatten felt that although Normandy was farther away, it offered an ideal location for two main reasons: long, sheltered beaches that would be less defensible, theoretically, than Calais and two large ports vital to the invasion fleet, Cherbourg and Le Havre, which could be captured by land. As commander of all ground forces, Montgomery pushed for five beachheads, which Eisenhower endorsed—“Utah” and “Omaha,” assigned to the American-led Western Task Force, and “Gold,” “Juno,” and “Sword,” assigned to the British-led Eastern Task Force. Both task forces comprised the 21st Army Group, consisting of the British Second Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Miles Dempsey; the Canadian First Army, commanded by General Henry D. G. Crerar; and the U.S. First Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley.

For the Germans, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt commanded all forces in western Europe



Troops land on the beaches of Normandy, June 6, 1944. Code-named Operation Overlord, the amphibious landing by American, British, and Canadian troops led to the liberation of France and the eventual surrender of German forces in World War II.

(Oberbefehlshaber West), consisting of Army Groups (Heeresgruppen) B and G; Field Marshal ERWIN ROMMEL commanded Group B, which was given the task of defending the channel coast. Because of the fight with the Soviet Union that reduced troop strength in the west, ADOLF HITLER charged Rommel with shoring up gaps in the coastal defenses that exposed Germany's western flank to invasion. Coined the "Atlantic Wall"—consisting of concrete bunkers, gun emplacements, and varied obstacles on land and in the sea that extended along the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the French Mediterranean—by May 1944 the Germans had poured close to 18 million cubic meters of concrete and placed over half a million obstacles. Rundstedt and Rommel disagreed, however, on how to defend against an Allied

threat. Rundstedt pushed for a central reserve farther inland that could counterattack once Allied intentions were known; Rommel, on the other hand, advocated confrontation at the point of invasion, with the strongest units readied to "push them back into the sea." With neither willing to concede, a plan developed that encompassed both ideas—which would prove ineffective in the end.

THE CALAIS DECEPTION

Despite the Allies' choice of Normandy, Calais still played an integral part in their plan. Many in the German High Command, most notably Hitler himself, believed Calais to be the genuine target of any Allied offensive against the mainland. Through a deception

operation known as Operation Fortitude, the Allies broadcast fake radio traffic and invented nonexistent armies that pointed toward an invasion at Calais. Hitler and the High Command, headed by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, believed that any actions by the Allies against the mainland would simply be a diversionary tactic to draw away from the real target of Calais. Consequently, the Germans concentrated a majority of their best reserves, including the powerful 15th Army (Armee Oberkommando), in the Pas de Calais region, with the weaker 7th Army stationed at Normandy—a maneuver that would prove costly when D-day arrived.

Originally planned for May 1, 1944, the invasion date was set for dawn on one of three days—June 4, 5, or 6. Imperative that a combination of moonlight and high tide coincide in order to aid, respectively, the airborne and beach landings, Allied commanders chose June 5. However, unfavorable weather conditions caused Eisenhower to delay for 24 hours. The next optimal window of opportunity not until late July, Eisenhower made the decision to proceed with the invasion.

Just after midnight on June 6, the American 82nd and 101st and British 6th Airborne Divisions landed by parachute and glider on the Cotentin Peninsula behind German lines in support of the amphibious landings only a few hours away. Throughout the previous month the Allies had conducted a bombing campaign against key areas of northern France to destroy German communications. In addition, French resistance, having received word of the impending invasion, sabotaged communication lines and railroads to delay German mobilization even more. The three airborne units, tasked with the further disruption of German capabilities, were to secure the flanks of the beaches, capture strategic bridges and causeways for Allied use, and destroy other key bridges that the German counterattack could utilize.

For the British 6th, assigned to capture the bridges spanning the Orne River and Caen Canal and protect the left flank of Sword Beach, mission execution was near flawless. Commanded by General Richard Gale, the division quickly completed its objectives within hours of landing in France and with very little mishap. They had only to hold their position to await relief from the main attack force and keep German reinforcements—specifically the armored tank units—from advancing on the beaches. Unfortunately, the same could not be said for American paratroopers. Due to poor visibility, German anti-aircraft fire, and

inexperienced pilots who had not flown in such conditions, both the 82nd and the 101st found themselves scattered across the peninsula. Nevertheless, per their training, units that failed to reach their designated zone were to carry out the missions assigned to the area in which they found themselves. As a result, mixed units were able to assemble, organize, and achieve objectives on a limited scale. Ironically, German commanders became confused as to the Allies' intended target due to this situation, thus failing further to mobilize against the impending invasion.

As the airborne units carried out their missions, an Allied armada—the largest ever in history, which included close to 1,000 warships and 4,000 transport ships—made its way from assembly areas in southern England toward the Normandy coast. Having cancelled coastal patrols, the Germans were unaware of the Allied advance across the English Channel.

Around 5:00 A.M. a sustained Allied naval bombardment and assaults by bomber aircraft commenced against the German defenses on Normandy. The sea-borne troops then began their approach to the five beaches by transport ships. The first ashore were elements of the U.S. 4th Division, landing at approximately 6:30 A.M. on Utah under intense German fire. South of their target zone they faced lighter resistance than anticipated, thus minimizing expected casualties, and advanced rapidly up the beach to gain their objective. Only a few minutes later elements of the U.S. 1st and 29th Divisions landed at Omaha, where intact obstacles and fierce opposition bogged down subsequent waves of soldiers and equipment. The congestion made the Americans easy targets for German gunners, resulting in the worst casualty rates of the entire invasion force—estimated at close to 95 percent for the first wave alone. Pinned by enemy positions atop the high bluffs that dominated the beach, many units suffered losses close to 60 percent and higher, which threatened the assault's success.

On the three other beaches the results were just as mixed. Landing around 7:30 A.M. on, respectively, Sword and Juno, the British 3rd Division, which also included French commandos, and the Canadian 3rd Division met typical conditions—obstacles that hindered their progress and strong opposition as well as the capacity to advance rapidly onward. Thanks to continued naval bombardments that suppressed German defensive fire, both divisions were able to move inland by early afternoon. However, the British 50th Division, landing on Gold only a few minutes before, encountered an almost identical situation to what

the Americans found on Omaha. Despite continual deployment of troops, the division could not secure the beach until after nightfall.

By the end of the day, close to 150,000 Allied troops had landed in France. In spite of heavy losses, although lower than expected, and the day's slow advance, which did not push inland as far as planned, the invasion was a dramatic success for the Allies.

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STEVE SAGARRA

Debs, Eugene V.

(1855–1926) *U.S. labor leader and socialist*

Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, Eugene Victor Debs was a homegrown socialist at a time when most people in the United States reviled socialism as a European import. Debs ran five times for president, winning his largest vote total when he campaigned in 1920 from an Atlanta prison cell. A central figure in two railroad unions, Debs led an 1894–95 strike against Chicago's Pullman Car Company and later spoke out against U.S. participation in WORLD WAR I.

Debs, the son of Alsatian immigrants, dropped out of school at 14 to help support his family. By 1870 he was a railroad fireman, and in 1875 he helped organize a Terre Haute lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, a national craft union founded in New York in 1873. A skilled and forceful writer, Debs was soon editing the union's national magazine. He would continue as editor even after he resigned from the brotherhood in 1891.

Meanwhile, Debs was also active in local politics. As a Democrat he served two terms as Terre Haute city clerk and was elected in 1885 to the Indiana general

assembly. He was a supporter of WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, inviting controversial suffragist Susan B. Anthony to speak in Terre Haute and, as city clerk, declining to fine prostitutes as long as their customers went free.

In 1893 Debs organized the new American Railway Union (ARU). Unlike the brotherhood, the ARU would be less a fraternity than a mass worker organization, making it an important departure from Samuel Gompers's craft-based American Federation of Labor (AFL). With the U.S. economy sinking into depression, Debs in April 1894 engineered a successful strike against the Great Northern Railway. The union's 18-day stoppage ended with an ARU victory and a membership upsurge.

A month later Debs and his new union found themselves in a much more difficult situation. George Pullman, a Chicago entrepreneur who had made a fortune building luxurious private train cars for elite travelers, had also built a beautiful but paternalistic workers' town just outside the city. The sagging economy caused Pullman to slash wages, but rents and prices at Town of Pullman company stores stayed the same while laid-off workers lost their homes as well as their jobs. Reluctantly, Debs mounted a boycott on behalf of striking Pullman workers. It was crushed by federal troops because other unions, notably the AFL, withheld their support. When Debs and the ARU defied a back-to-work injunction, lawyer Clarence Darrow, later famous for the SCOPES TRIAL, defended them, but Debs was jailed for six months in 1895.

The Pullman strike ended Debs's formal union leadership but made him a national figure and five-time presidential candidate who campaigned as a Socialist in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Whistle-stopping across the United States in a "Red Special Train," Debs attracted enthusiastic crowds, but his third party garnered few votes. He achieved a 6 percent vote share in the 1912 election; in 1920, as "Federal Prisoner 9653," Debs won almost 914,000 votes.

In June 1918 in Canton, Ohio, Justice Department agents listened as Debs spoke against the war, blaming Wall Street's "master class." Convicted under WOODROW WILSON's wartime ESPIONAGE ACT, Debs was sentenced to 10 years. His health failing, Debs was released in December 1921 by President Warren G. Harding. One of Debs's final acts was to donate his prison release money to the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Fund.

See also SACCO-VANZETTI TRIAL.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Diagne, Blaise

(1872–1934) *Senegalese politician*

Gaiaye M'Baye Diagne was born on the island of Gorée, the old slave trade base, in 1872. His energy and intelligence attracted the attention of wealthy mulattoes (people of mixed race), who sponsored his education at a religious school, where he was baptized as Blaise. Diagne was educated in Senegal and France and entered the French colonial administrative service in 1891. He served in a number of administrative posts in parts of the French West African empire. In 1909 he married a Frenchwoman.

A proponent of assimilation and African rights as equal participants in French political and cultural life, Diagne became the first black African member of the French parliament in 1914. He became the first African member of the French government when he was appointed commissioner of the republic in West Africa in 1918; in the 1930s he became undersecretary of state for the colonies. During WORLD WAR I he was particularly active in recruiting Africans to serve in the French army. Large numbers of Africans from throughout the huge French West African empire served with distinction during the war, but many were disappointed by their subsequent treatment as inferiors once the war was over. Diagne's vision of assimilation was not realized, and many former African soldiers in the French army consequently became active supporters and leaders of the nationalist movements that struggled to secure independence from the French in the first half of the 20th century.

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JANICE J. TERRY

dollar diplomacy

During the 30 years before the GREAT DEPRESSION, the United States used a policy of loan-for-supervision, also called dollar diplomacy, with countries that it per-

ceived as unstable. Dollar diplomacy was the U.S. policy encouraging private loans to countries in exchange for those countries' accepting financial advisers. This became a way for the government to advance its policies in the face of fiscal and institutional constraints such as Congress. It was believed that the professional advisers would help the targeted countries (China, many in Latin America, Persia, and Poland) reorganize their finances and create an infrastructure that would bring stability and allow for a large volume of trade. Along with the increase in trade would come a rise in the standard of living of the people in the targeted country and in the process increase the markets for U.S. goods.

In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War and the control the United States gained over the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, opposition grew to the point that policy makers assumed that the United States could not make any more territorial gains by force. Yet many people, including anti-imperialists, believed that the United States had an obligation to create commercial ties to developing countries. Even after WORLD WAR I, when U.S. policy was viewed as isolationist, the United States did not try to avoid foreign entanglements.

At first policy makers tried to tie in commitments from the U.S. government to secure the loans, but this required the approval of Congress. Therefore, to avoid Congress the policy was changed to use financial experts to help stabilize a given country, and the U.S. government's involvement was reduced. It was the job of the experts to introduce reforms to the host country's financial structures. These included putting the country on a gold standard, creating a central bank, and using strict accounting practices. These reforms were seen as being modern and scientific.

Unfortunately, not all the countries receiving this help found it to their liking. In a number of cases dollar diplomacy was viewed as just another form of imperialism. In most cases the advisers did not speak the language of the countries they were assigned to, nor did they know the cultures of the countries. There was also the issue of the advisers' salaries. They expected to be paid based on U.S. standards of pay, which meant they were lavishly paid by local standards. To the locals these men seemed more interested in their own well-being than in that of the local population.

There was also disagreement in the United States about dollar diplomacy. As the years passed more people saw it as imperialism and exploitation in a different guise. Antibanking factions saw the policy as nothing more than a way for bankers to make more money for themselves and that the U.S. policy was being held

hostage to these profits. As the arguments against dollar diplomacy grew sharper and the quality of the loans deteriorated, the government tried to extract itself from the financial entanglements, which in turn reduced the confidence in the loans. By the early 1930s the government was working hard to detach itself from international economic affairs. It did not want to accept any of the responsibility for either international economic stability or losses of the bondholders.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

DuBois, W. E. B.

(1868–1963) *African-American activist*

In a life spanning nearly a century William Edward Burghardt DuBois was one of the most brilliant, contentious, and significant leaders in the post-slavery United States. A sociologist and the founder of the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), DuBois wrote extensively on issues of race—the “problem of the color line”—and worked to achieve equality for African Americans weighed down by poverty and prejudice. Disillusioned with U.S. racial politics, DuBois late in life became a communist and left the United States for Africa, where he died a citizen of Ghana at age 95.

DuBois was born in Massachusetts just after the Civil War. As part of a tiny black minority, he suffered occasional racism, but not until he attended Fisk College in Nashville, Tennessee, did he see firsthand how emancipated slaves and other people of color were treated in the former Confederacy. By 1895 DuBois had become Harvard University’s first black Ph.D.

DuBois’s most influential book was published in 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk* is a meditation on history and race that lyrically describes what both whites and blacks need to do to overcome the “two-ness” that keeps African Americans from equal participation in U.S. society. More controversially, the book

launched a stinging attack on Booker T. Washington, a former slave who as head of Alabama’s Tuskegee Institute encouraged blacks to (temporarily) accept inferior status. Soon DuBois’s critique of the nation’s best-known black leader turned him from academic to activist.

In 1905 DuBois and 28 other opponents of Washington’s accommodationist policies met secretly in Buffalo, New York, once a stop on the underground railroad, to assert new roles for African Americans. Their public meeting in Fort Erie, Canada, soon followed. A year later members of this Niagara Movement met at Harper’s Ferry, the site of John Brown’s 1859 raid. Although the “Niagarites” failed to attract a large membership, they signaled a new militancy. In 1909 DuBois’s group joined with liberal whites who were shocked by rising racial violence to form the NAACP.

For 25 years DuBois served the NAACP as editor of *The Crisis*, using the magazine to focus attention on racism and African-American demands. His scorching editorials often offended other black leaders and white supporters, but circulation and membership soared. Unlike many others, DuBois encouraged blacks to fight in WORLD WAR I, later acknowledging that soldiers’ sacrifices had not translated into white respect or greater equality. During the 1920s DuBois helped to publicize the HARLEM RENAISSANCE but feuded with Jamaican MARCUS GARVEY, whose populist Universal Negro Improvement Association had very different goals and methods for racial uplift.

By the 1930s DuBois, who had once encouraged racial integration, was developing a separatist ideology similar to what in the 1960s would become the Black Power Movement. Leaving the NAACP in 1933, he returned to academia. From Atlanta he questioned the desirability of school integration and espoused PAN-AFRICANISM for black people around the world. He also saw in the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION an ideology that might overcome racism, although he did not officially become a communist until age 95.

A foe of imperialism and nuclear weapons, DuBois was deemed a subversive by the U.S. Justice Department during the cold war. Although acquitted, DuBois soon after expatriated himself to Ghana. He died there a day before Martin Luther King, Jr., led the Civil Rights March on Washington.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

dust bowl

Dust bowl is a term coined by an Associated Press correspondent when he described the drought conditions that affected the residents of 27 states as they struggled to grow wheat in the unforgiving weather conditions of the “dirty thirties.” The American South, primarily the plains of Kansas, western Colorado, northwestern New Mexico, and the panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma, was the most affected area as a cyclical meteorological phenomenon dropped Pacific Ocean air far to the south,

preventing the normal introduction of moist weather from the Atlantic Ocean into the Plains.

The national and international demand for wheat, a less drought resistant crop, was high during and immediately after WORLD WAR I; Plains farmers, eager to reap high profits, began the “great plow-up” using poor farming techniques that led to soil erosion. Grasses and native plants that had served as windbreaks were overplowed in the quest to produce more wheat; farmers believed that “rain follows the plow.”

But the rain did not follow these farmers’ plows; instead, it stopped. Amid record high temperatures, dust storms increased in number and intensity, carrying away millions of tons of topsoil and depositing the dust as far away as the East Coast. Before a storm, residents blocked their windows and doors with wet cloths but still shoveled dust out of their homes with wheat scoops afterward.



Drought and overfarming led to the dust bowl in the American heartland through the 1930s. Millions of acres of topsoil were swept away. The drought led to significant changes in agricultural practices.

The American Red Cross issued calls for facemasks for children who were contracting “dust pneumonia,” dead cattle were found with three inches of dirt in their stomachs, people spit up what looked like chewing tobacco, and starving jackrabbits came down from the hills to menace the land and devastate small gardens. Frustrated and overwhelmed, one of four families left the area, earning the nickname “Exodusters.” John Steinbeck’s novel *The Grapes of Wrath* chronicles the Joad family as it migrated toward the West Coast in search of employment picking crops.

After Black Sunday, April 14, 1935, the date of the worst dust storm, a day many believed was the end of the world, the NEW DEAL created programs that determined the farmers were responsible for soil and water erosion, and Congress established the Soil Conservation Service under the direction of Hugh Bennet. New plowing techniques were initiated, lands were allowed

to lay fallow, crops were rotated, plantings that retained topsoil were introduced, and a 100-mile-wide tree belt from Canada to Texas was proposed; these methods reduced blowing soil by 65 percent.

In the fall of 1939 the rains returned, and with the onset of WORLD WAR II and the end of the GREAT DEPRESSION the Plains were once again flush with wheat.

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JOHN MAYERNIK

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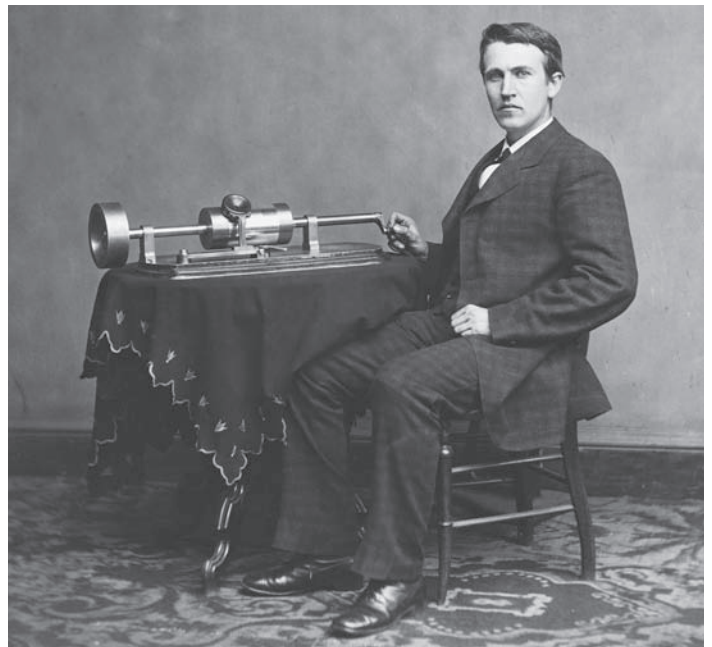
Edison, Thomas

(1847–1931) *American inventor*

The Wizard of Menlo Park, as journalists called him in reference to his New Jersey research laboratory, Thomas Edison was the quintessential American innovator. While many inventors are a century later remembered for one principal invention (Bell's telephone, Whitney's cotton gin), Edison is responsible for or associated with the phonograph, lightbulb, the microphone used in telephones until the end of the 20th century, and direct current—along with more than 1,000 patents for lesser-known creations. Only the more fanciful Nikola Tesla, his rival in the “war of the currents,” approached the breadth and variety of his work.

The seventh son of an Ohio family, Edison had less than a year of formal schooling and was largely educated by his mother, a retired schoolteacher. For the rest of his life, he praised her for encouraging him to read as a child and to experiment on what intrigued him. For some years he worked as a telegraph operator but at the age of 30 became famous for his invention of the phonograph, a device that recorded sound on tinfoil, later wax cylinders, then vinyl; though the sound quality was poor, the mere fact of its existence in 1877 was held as a marvel and captured the public attention, helping to create the fascination the public would have with inventors and cutting-edge technology.

More inventions followed, as well as refinements of earlier work; his incandescent lightbulb was not the first of its kind but was the first to be a success, efficient and



Thomas Edison, pictured with a phonograph. Edison was the quintessential American innovator.

bright enough to be used on a wide scale. His Edison Electric Light Company provided not only electric lamps but the power needed to use them.

Though Nikola Tesla had also developed a lightbulb, it was the “war of the currents” that made rivals of Edison and Tesla. While Edison had developed direct current (DC) for power distribution, Tesla developed alternating

current (AC), which could be carried by cheaper wires at higher voltages. Edison's famous tactic was to promote AC power for the use of the electric chair in order to demonstrate the dangers of the method; his employees publicly electrocuted animals as a scare tactic. The effort was in vain. AC slowly replaced DC as the power distribution method of choice and remains so today.

By the time of Edison's death in 1931, his inventions had helped lead to a world lit by incandescent lights and powered by electricity; entertained by radio plays, records, and motion pictures; connected by telephone and telegraph; and home to such works as James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* and Marcel Duchamp's "Nude Descending a Staircase," both of them inspired by and possible only in the Edisonian world.

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BILL KTE'PI

Egyptian Revolution (1919)

The revolution in Egypt broke out in March 1919 after the British arrested SA'D ZAGHLUL, the leader of the WAFD PARTY, the main Egyptian nationalist party, and several other Wafdists. They were then deported to Malta. The exile of these popular leaders led to student demonstrations that soon escalated into massive strikes by students, government officials, professionals, women, and transport workers. Nationalist discontent had been fueled by the protectorate established by the British at the beginning of the war, wartime shortages of basic goods, increased prices, the forced conscription of peasants as laborers for the military, and the presence of huge numbers of Western soldiers in Egypt.

Within a week all of Egypt was paralyzed by general strikes and rioting. Violence resulted, with many Egyptians and Europeans killed or injured when the British attempted to crush the demonstrations. European quarters and citizens were attacked by angry crowds who hated the special privileges and economic benefits given to foreigners. Rail and telegraph lines were cut, and students refused to attend classes. Zaghlul had worked hard in the weeks prior

to his arrest to mold the Wafd into an efficient political party. He traveled around the countryside gathering support and collecting money. In spite of martial law, which was imposed by the British at the beginning of the war, large-scale public meetings were held. In his absence Zaghlul's wife, Safia, played a key role in party politics. Led by Safia and Huda Shaarawi, upper-class Egyptian women staged a political march through the streets of Cairo, throwing off their veils, waving banners, and shouting nationalist slogans.

Wafdist cells throughout the country coordinated the demonstrations and strikes through a central committee chain of command. Religious leaders, especially the sheikhs at al-Azhar, the premier Muslim university, also participated. Propaganda leaflets, posters, and postcards with pictures of Sa'd and Safia Zaghlul were distributed throughout the country. The Wafd's central committee maintained an active role within unions, student groups, and professional organizations.

Determined to maintain control over Egypt, the British government replaced High Commissioner Reginald Wingate, who was considered weak and too moderate, with General Edmund Allenby, the greatest British hero from WORLD WAR I. Allenby promptly met with leading Egyptians, who convinced him that the only way to restore order was to release the Wafd leaders. A realist, Allenby complied and permitted Zaghlul and others to travel to Paris. The Wafd kept up the pressure in Egypt, organizing boycotts of British goods and refusing to meet with the Milner Mission that had been sent out from London to investigate the situation. Steps were taken for more economic independence, and Talat Harb established an Egyptian bank in 1920.

Negotiations were held between the Wafd and the British in London in 1920, but the Wafd failed to secure a withdrawal of British troops, the end of the protectorate or the capitulations (favored status granted to foreign residents), or full independence. Nevertheless, the Wafd leaders were greeted as heroes when they returned home. When Zaghlul was again arrested and deported in 1921, a new wave of nationalist demonstrations erupted.

In light of the determined nationalist movement, Allenby forced a reluctant foreign office to end the protectorate, and in 1922 the British unilaterally declared Egyptian independence under a constitutional monarchy led by King Fu'ad. However, Britain retained widespread powers, including the stationing of troops in Egypt and a role in determining Egyptian foreign affairs as well as control over the Sudan. Consequently,

Egyptian nationalists continued in opposition to Britain throughout the interwar years.

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JANICE J. TERRY

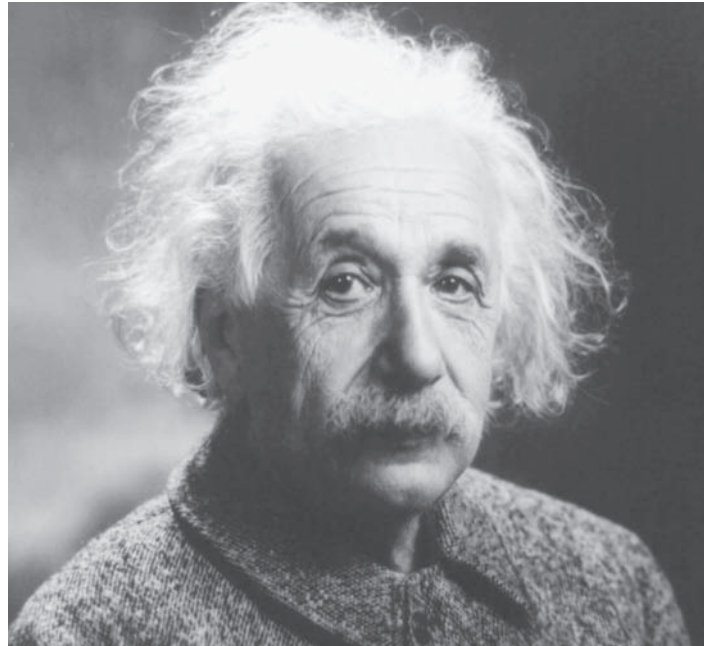
Einstein, Albert

(1879–1955) *scientist*

Perhaps the most significant individual of the 20th century, Albert Einstein's contributions to science reshaped physics in ways that continue to be explored and led to the development of atomic energy and the atomic bomb. A nonobservant German Jew, he was a late bloomer as a student, showing slow language development. Although folklore claims Einstein was a poor math student, he had a knack for mechanics and geometry at an early age, teaching himself geometry and calculus from a copy of Euclid's *Elements*. Any reputation he may have had as a poor student came from his dissatisfaction with the curriculum at the German gymnasiums; at age 16 he left school, failed his university entrance exam for the Federal Polytechnic Institute (FPI), and took steps toward formulating his theories of relativity.

He was accepted at the FPI the following year and four years after that was granted a teaching position. His first published paper, "Consequences on the Observations of Capillarity Phenomena," hinted at his hopes for universal physical laws, binding principles that would govern all of physics. When he graduated FPI, he took a job as a patent clerk and continued to work on scientific papers in his spare time. Four such papers were published in the *Annalen der Physik* journal in 1905, each of them major contributions to the shape of modern physics. Today they are called the "Annus Mirabilis" ("Extraordinary Year") papers.

The Annus Mirabilis papers concerned the photoelectric effect; Brownian motion, Einstein's treatment of which helped provide more evidence for the existence of atoms; matter and energy equivalence, the paper that included Einstein's equation $E=mc^2$; and special relativity, which contradicted Newtonian physics by stipulating the speed of light as a constant. The importance of these papers cannot be overstated—they continue to be relevant to physicists today, and the photoelectric effect



Albert Einstein's contributions to science reshaped physics in ways that continue to be explored.

paper had a huge effect on the development of quantum mechanics and earned Einstein a Nobel Prize.

It was during the war years that Einstein introduced his theory of general relativity, more radical than his special relativity. The general relativity theory replaces that most basic and intuitive of concepts from Enlightenment physics, Newtonian gravity, with the Einstein field equation. Under general relativity there is no ether or constant frame of reference, and gravity is reduced simply to an effect of curving space-time. Because of WORLD WAR I, Einstein's writings were not readily available to the rest of the world, but by war's end general relativity became a controversial topic. Einstein's importance to the scientific field of his day was assured when journals reported that experiments conducted during a 1919 solar eclipse confirmed general relativity's predictions about the bending of starlight in contradiction to the effects demanded by Newtonian models.

Throughout the next two decades Einstein sparred in papers and debates with other scientists, particularly about quantum theory, which he viewed as an inherently incomplete model of physical reality and hence an incorrect one. When the NAZIS came to power, he was working at Princeton University in the United States, where he remained after renouncing his German citizenship. Fearing the Germans would develop nuclear weapons, Einstein wrote to President

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT advising the research and testing of fission bombs, a suggestion that led to the United States's MANHATTAN PROJECT, the outcome of which was the development of the first atomic bomb and its use to end the war in the Pacific.

Einstein continued to search for a “unified field theory” that would describe all physical laws in one theory, the quest that had driven everything from his capillarity paper to his theory of general relativity. He lived a quiet life, refusing the request of the government of Israel that he serve as its president, and died in 1955 of an aneurysm.

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BILL KTE'PI

El Alamein

El Alamein is railway station west of the Egyptian port of Alexandria where a series of three battles were fought in 1942. The result was the end of German and Italian aspirations of conquering Egypt and advancing into the Middle East. El Alamein was one of the most decisive battles of WORLD WAR II not only because of its strategic results but also because of how it altered perceptions about who could win the war.



British troops, under the command of General Montgomery, march back from the battlefield after the victory at El Alamein.

In 1940 Libya was an Italian colony that bordered on Egypt, where British troops were stationed in force. When the Italians joined the war in June 1940 on Germany's side, they expected that they would be able to attack France and gain some quick and easy concessions. They did not expect that the British, outnumbered by the Italians, would attack. Yet under the direction of Generals O'Connor and Wavell, that is exactly what they did. The British captured the port city of Benghazi. They were well on their way toward capturing all of Libya when they were counterattacked by the Germans, reinforcing the Italians. The Germans took the city of Benghazi back from the British and then advanced to Egypt and the Suez Canal. The German commander ERWIN ROMMEL next attacked the city of Tobruk, was in turn attacked by the British, and was forced to retreat. The British managed to force him back deep into Libya.

In the next year Rommel counterattacked, retaking Benghazi and capturing Tobruk. From there he again advanced and crossed the border into Egypt. He was stopped at the First Battle of El Alamein in July 1942. Both sides waited for a time. The British solidified their positions, while Rommel gathered his increasingly small amount of supplies, including fuel for his vehicles. In the first week of September, Rommel felt he had to attack and so launched an assault on the British positions at a place called Alam Halfa in what became known as the Second Battle of El Alamein. Repulsed by the British, Rommel now began efforts to fortify his positions, creating obstacles through the use of minefields. He had no realistic expectation of attacking again and so had to remain in place. Although he had advanced so far into Egypt, the situation now favored the British.

The troops under the British commander Montgomery outnumbered Rommel's nearly two to one and had at least twice as many tanks. In all aspects the British supply situation was much better. Rommel had so little fuel that his ability to move was severely limited. At the same time, the British gasoline was more plentiful than water. That logistical superiority was to translate into immense tactical superiority on the night of October 23, 1942. That night the British opened with a massive artillery barrage using over 600 guns.

This extensive artillery preparation lasted several hours and moved its focal point up and down the German line. Then it moved forward to allow the combat engineers with supporting tanks to disarm the extensive minefields that formed the backbone of Rommel's defenses. The process of attacking by the 8th British

Army was slow and methodical and would concentrate first on one part of the German line and then on another. Montgomery referred to this process as “crumbling” the enemy’s defenses. The Germans counterattacked but failed in their attempt to drive the British back. Finally, on November 2 the British broke through the last belt of minefields, and the attack could begin. By November 4 Rommel decided to retreat to the west.

From the west, in French North Africa, the Americans landed an army of over 400,000 men, who advanced eastward. Caught between the British and the Americans, Rommel’s army surrendered in Tunisia in May 1943. The war in Africa was over.

At El Alamein Rommel was at his farthest point from his base of supplies. He had one route that followed the coastline; everything had to come to him that way from the Italians in Libya. Their bases were supplied by ship from Italy. This supply route was under constant attack by British submarines and aircraft. Italian and German ships were sunk, and much of what was supposed to go to Rommel never reached him. Supply superiority translated into tangible benefits: more tanks and cannon as well as massive air superiority. That also translated into intangibles such as better morale helped by ample stores of food and other supplies.

If the British had lost at El Alamein, they could have lost all of Egypt, which would have been catastrophic. The Germans had hoped to link up with their soldiers in Russia by this route. The Germans could have captured the Suez Canal and controlled the Mediterranean. A push further would have brought them into Palestine. There was no oil there, but a pipeline from Iraq built in the 1930s would have given them access to it. Considering that the government in Iraq was pro-NAZI, that would have solved Germany’s oil problems. Further, the loss would have damaged British prestige and credibility.

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ROBERT N. STACY

El Salvador/*La Matanza*

La Matanza, a Spanish phrase translated as “the massacre” or “the slaughter,” refers to the aftermath of an indigenous, communist-inspired uprising in El Salvador in 1932. Although precise figures of the dead are difficult to discern, it is estimated that between 8,000 and 30,000 Salvadoran Indians were killed in the state-sponsored violence.

The roots of the insurrection lay in the appropriation of communal lands for coffee production by the elites and the resulting dislocation of a large number of peasants, many of them indigenous. In the 1880s the Salvadoran government passed laws outlawing Indian communal landholdings and passed vagrancy laws that forced the landless peasants to work on the large coffee plantations owned by the elites. In response peasants in El Salvador launched four unsuccessful uprisings in the late 19th century.

Coffee production expanded into the 20th century, as the country was ruled by a coalition of the coffee-growing oligarchy, foreign investors, military officers, and church officials. In the 1920s land used to grow coffee had expanded by more than 50 percent, causing the Salvadoran economy to be heavily dependent on the international price of coffee. This expansion also created a number of peasants with vivid memories of their recent displacement.

The GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 resulted in a dramatic decline in coffee prices. By 1930 prices were at half of their peak levels, and by 1932 they were at one-third of the peak levels of the mid-1920s. In response the coffee producers cut the already low wages of their laborers up to 50 percent in some places, in addition to cutting employment.

Meanwhile, the country was experiencing a period of democratic reform unusual in Salvadoran history. In 1930 President Pío Romero Bosque announced that the 1931 election would be a free and open election. This democratic opening allowed Arturo Araujo to win the presidency with the support of students, peasants, and workers. Araujo was distrusted by much of the elite, whose distrust grew with his attempted implementation of a modest reform program. Araujo’s presidency would be marked by increasing social and political unrest and a deepening economic crisis, accompanied by the growth of leftist unions and political groups. On May Day 1930, 80,000 farm workers marched, demanding better conditions and the right to organize.

On December 2, 1931, Araujo was deposed in a military coup, and his vice president, General Maximiliano

Hernández Martínez, assumed the presidency. Martínez quickly ended Araujo's program of social reform and also ended the democratic opening.

In early 1932 Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) members led by AUGUSTÍN FARABUNDO MARTÍ planned a revolt against the landowning elite. The insurrection was to be accompanied by a revolt in the military. Before the revolt could begin Martí was captured, and the rebels in the army were disarmed and arrested. Martí would be executed in the aftermath of the failed revolt.

Despite these setbacks Indian peasants heeded the call of the PCS and revolted in western El Salvador. On the night of January 22 farmers and agricultural workers armed with machetes and hoes launched attacks against various targets in western El Salvador, occupying Juayúa, Izalco, and Nahuizalco in Sonsonate and Tacuba in Ahuachapán.

The military counteroffensive quickly defeated the rebels and retook towns that had fallen to the rebels. While an estimated 20 to 30 civilians were killed in the initial revolt, thousands would die in its aftermath. The military along with members of the elite organized into a civic guard and carried out reprisals singling out Indian peasants, those who wore Indian dress, and those with Indian features. In the town of Izalco groups of 50, including women and children, were shot by firing squads on the outskirts of town. These reprisals would last for about a month after the insurrection. It is estimated that between 8,000 and 30,000 Salvadoran Indians were killed in the aftermath of the insurrection.

In addition to the loss of life suffered by the indigenous community, *La Matanza* would have other long-term effects. The massacre influenced many Indians to abandon traditional Indian dress, language, and other identifiable cultural traits in many communities in western El Salvador, although recent research has suggested that Indian identity was not completely destroyed.

For the Salvadoran elites the revolt would combine their strong fears of Indian rebellion and communist revolution. When the violence of *La Matanza* subsided, a combination of racism and anticommunism became the leading ideology of the elite. This ideology served to block social change and to justify repression. Politically, El Salvador would have a series of military juntas until the El Salvador civil war in the 1980s.

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MICHAEL A. RIDGE, JR.

Ellis Island

Ellis Island was the chief port through which immigrants came to the United States from 1892 to 1954. Located at the mouth of the Hudson River in New York Harbor, Ellis Island witnessed the arrival of more than 12 million immigrants into the United States, most of whom were European. Of the millions who came through Ellis Island, nearly 2 percent were denied entrance to the United States for one reason or another.

Immigrants coming into the United States were classified according to the manner in which they arrived. Those who came in first- and second-class accommodations were presumed to be of good enough social standing that they would not prove to be a burden on American society. First- and second-class passengers came to Ellis Island only if they had particular legal or medical problems that could deny them entry into the country.

Third-class, or steerage, passengers were not so lucky. The accommodations of their crossing were substandard, located on the bottom of the ship, often in cramped quarters near the ship's supplies. The conditions in steerage were often unsanitary, crowded, and uncomfortable. Unaccompanied women were often in danger of sexual assault from the other passengers. The trials of third-class passage did not stop with the arrival of the ship to the United States. Because of the low cost of their passage, steerage passengers carried the risk of becoming a financial burden to the country. Hence, steerage passengers were sent to Ellis Island to gain entry. On Ellis Island these immigrants underwent legal and medical inspections that could last as long as five hours. Immigrants with debilitating medical conditions or significant legal problems were denied entrance.

These inspections were performed by the U.S. Public Health Service and the Bureau of Immigration, who referred to manifest logs from the ships at the time of the inspection. These manifests included personal information about the passengers such as name, date of birth, country of origin, current amount of avail-

able funds, and an address to which the person was traveling—generally that of a relative. All passengers needed a destination and could be denied entrance if they did not have a specific place to which they were going. Examiners asked questions that were used to determine the general health of immigrants, to detect chronic disease and mental health concerns, and to highlight legal problems. Those who did not possess the basic skills to work or had chronically poor health were sent back to their country of origin. Others were quarantined to prevent the spread of infectious disease. More than 3,000 immigrants died in the hospital on the island.

Once through the inspection, many of the new immigrants changed their names. Sometimes this was strictly for convenience, but often it was because both the immigrants and inspectors tended to be uneducated. Names were often spelled incorrectly, made more American, shortened, or spelled phonetically. Frequently, passengers came to Ellis Island without papers. These passengers, called “WOPs” by the examiners, were generally allowed to enter the country. Passengers traveling without papers tended to be Italian,

and the term *WOP* quickly became an epithet for all Italian immigrants.

While the immigration process was long and often frustrating, many underwent the process multiple times. Men frequently traveled back and forth between Europe and the United States as seasonal workers. Because of this, the immigration figures from Ellis Island are skewed. At the time there was no technology to accurately count people as repeat immigrants.

In 1897 a fire destroyed many of the Ellis Island facilities, causing them to close for a substantial renovation. During this time the Barge Office in Battery Park served as a temporary immigration station until the Ellis Island facilities could be reopened on December 17, 1900. After the renovation the processing of immigrants became more efficient. The facility expanded by 10 acres, and the island was capable of processing thousands of immigrants per day at a much faster pace than had been previously possible. Additionally, the facilities expanded to encompass a nearby island that included an administration building and hospital wards; 10 years later, a third island was added, housing additional hospitals for use as quarantine zones.



Ellis Island acted as the staging point for more than 12 million European immigrants to America. The island operated between the years of 1892 and 1954 and was for many the final stop on their journey between the continents.

Throughout much of its history, corruption was one of Ellis Island's biggest problems. In 1901 President THEODORE ROOSEVELT fired several high-ranking officials including the commissioner of immigration and the head of the Bureau of Immigration. Investigation found frequent instances of immigrants being pressured into bribing inspectors, with many being detained if the immigrants questioned the need for the bribe or did not (or were not able to) produce the money. Attractive young women, having survived the passage in steerage, were forced to grant sexual favors to inspectors to guarantee admittance to the country. Inspectors sold items such as lunches and railroad tickets at exorbitant prices, forcing the new immigrants to pay, with the officials and inspectors taking the additional revenue for themselves. Workers frequently lied about the exchange rate, pocketing the extra money, while other inspectors sold fake immigration citizenship certificates, giving a cut of the proceeds to ship officers. To Roosevelt's mind such corruption could not stand and needed to be stopped.

Roosevelt appointed William Williams, a New York lawyer, as commissioner in April 1902. Williams created an environment in which the immigrants were treated with respect, consideration, and kindness. Signs were posted throughout the island promoting kindness and respect and serving as a constant reminder to workers on how to conduct themselves. Williams's duty was to undo the damage caused by corruption.

Many European immigrants came to the United States during WORLD WAR I, but passage was eventually prohibited. Many immigrants stayed on Ellis Island because they could not be sent back to their home countries, and the island served as a confinement center for 1,500 German sailors and 2,200 secret agents and foreigners. Travel by ship was hazardous because of the frequency of submarine attacks, and many European nations shut down their borders. Additionally, the navy took over the island's large hospital during the war in order to care for injured naval soldiers and sailors. As a result, from 1918 to 1919 many immigrants and suspected subversives were taken off the island and sent elsewhere. During the RED SCARE immigrants suspected of involvement with radical organizations or under suspicion of fomenting revolution were deported from Ellis Island.

Such views were enhanced by the sabotage inflicted on Ellis Island on July 30, 1916. The Black Tom Wharf on the New Jersey shore was located about 300 yards from Ellis Island. Here there was a railroad yard and a place for barges to load cargo. On July 30 several railroad cars and as many as 14 barges were loaded

with dynamite, ready to have their cargoes transferred to waiting freighters. The cargoes exploded early that morning, causing extensive damage to Ellis Island and creating a blast that was felt as far away as Pennsylvania. The damage to Ellis Island was estimated at \$400,000—broken windows, jammed doors, and demolished roofs. During the chaos 125 workers transferred nearly 500 immigrants to the eastern part of the island and ferried them over to the Manhattan Barge Office. Ellis Island reopened in 1920.

Throughout the history of Ellis Island, laws and regulations were enacted to decrease the number of immigrants entering the United States. For instance, the Immigration Restriction League and other similar organizations created the Exclusion Act of 1882, prohibiting Chinese immigration for 10 years. This act continued to be reassessed and passed until 1943. In 1917 the Alien Contract Labor Law came into effect, further reducing immigration, while mandatory literacy tests in the same year allowed for the exclusion of more and more potential immigrants. While these acts did limit the number of new people entering the United States, more than half a million passed through Ellis Island in 1921 alone. In 1924 quota laws and the National Origins Act were passed through Congress; these laws allowed for limited numbers of specific ethnic groups to be given entry into the country as determined by the 1890 and 1910 censuses. Some 33 different classes of immigrants to be denied entrance were named in the legislation. In effect, the laws differentiated between northern European settlers and what were at the time immigrants from predominantly southern and eastern European countries.

Adding an additional layer of bureaucracy for potential immigrants, following World War I it became necessary to apply for visas in one's home country before being allowed to enter the United States. This increased the complexity of the immigration process, as it required a great deal of paperwork and medical inspection before arrival to the United States.

Following 1924 Ellis Island stayed in use, but as more of a quarantine and detention center than a center for the processing of immigrants. Those who stayed on Ellis Island tended to be those with complications in their medical records or those who had been displaced. Immigrants in general entered the United States through other locations. Proposals were made as early as 1924 to close down the island, but this did not occur until 1954. Before that, Ellis Island was used as a place to confine enemy foreign nationals during WORLD WAR II. In 1986 the island underwent a significant restoration

to the main building, and Ellis Island reopened in 1990 as a museum. Here visitors can access the records of family members who came to or passed through Ellis Island during its tenure as the largest entry point for immigrants into the United States.

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NICOLE DECARLO

environmentalism/ conserving nature

New conceptions of how humans should interact with the natural world put down roots in 19th-century America. Aristocratic Europe's pastoral perspective valued neatly kept farms and artfully landscaped vistas. Some Americans had different views. Mid-19th-century Massachusetts transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau studied natural processes and experimented with a new kind of natural simplicity at Walden Pond, bemoaning the noisy incursion of trains. Gaining influence after his death in 1862, Thoreau fathered what eventually became an environmental movement.

By the first half of the 20th century, a growing U.S. conservation movement had saved some of the nation's most spectacular natural landscapes. In 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant and Congress created Yellowstone National Park in Montana and Wyoming, officially described as "a pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." Grant was first in a series of presidents to protect certain lands from most kinds of human exploitation. Many individual states mounted smaller parks projects.

By 1890, when the U.S. census revealed that America's frontier—its stock of unclaimed land—had virtually disappeared, rescuing remaining natural treasures took on new urgency. California's Yosemite became a national park in 1890. Taking office in 1901, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, an outdoorsman himself, ini-

tiated conservation programs that truly reshaped the nation. During his progressive presidency, Arizona's Grand Canyon and four other national parks were established. Advised by forester Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt set aside more than 231,000 square miles of forested land and established the National Forest Service. His 1906 Antiquities Act helped to identify and preserve prehistoric and historic sites of special significance, including some Indian structures and major Civil War battlefields.

President William Howard Taft in 1910 created Montana's 1,600-square-mile Glacier National Park, long the dream of *Forest and Stream* editor George Bird Grinnell. But later that year a controversy between Taft and Pinchot over the proper use of forest set-asides led to Pinchot's firing and became a factor in Roosevelt's "Bull Moose" campaign against Taft in 1912. Their political feud revealed some of the difficulties and ironies of a nation legislating "wilderness" and scenic beauty. Especially in the American West, where the federal government owned a large percentage of the land, many interests clamored for greater commercial and personal access. Was providing seemingly untouched natural beauty to awed urban visitors really more important than a rancher, miner, or farmer making a decent living? Conservationists were often a minority in these local and regional arguments, although railroad interests often supported conservation projects that enhanced tourist travel by train.

Additionally, although this would hardly have bothered most white people at that time, many conservation, preservation, and set-aside programs effectively severed Native American tribes from their traditional uses of Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, and other new American shrines. What conservationists worshipped as "virgin land" or "wilderness" had in many cases been used by Indians for centuries as habitat and hunting and fishing grounds.

Conservation leaders like Scots-born John Muir, a founder in 1892 of the Sierra Club, and Iowa native Aldo Leopold, cofounder in 1935 of the Wilderness Society, were naturalists who were primarily interested in protecting the natural environment as much as possible from human disturbance. Although they and their many allies worked closely with government agencies, there was a constant struggle over how protected lands could be used. Mining, grazing, farming, and timbering rights in park reserves were clearly a source of tension. So too was the very purpose of a growing national parks system—to expose large numbers of human visitors to "nature."

Tourism also could, and certainly would, endanger truly wild places.

Teddy Roosevelt once spent four days in Yosemite with Muir camping and hiking, but that did not mean that conservationists always had the ear of politicians. President WOODROW WILSON, who in 1916 authorized creation of the National Park Service, had three years earlier accepted congressional approval of the Hetch-Hetchy dam that flooded part of Yosemite in order to provide San Francisco with drinking water. It was a bitter defeat for the Sierra Club and Muir's last great wilderness crusade.

In 1907 Pinchot had defined conservation as "the use of the Earth for the good of Man." By the 1930s the NEW DEAL was siting and building huge dams for travel, irrigation, and hydroelectric power across the American landscape. Especially in Appalachia, site of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and along the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest, these dams permanently reshaped ancient landscapes and affected fish and wildlife, usually for the worse. In this same era President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's young men's work initiative, the Civilian Conservation Corps, was a boon for neglected or underfunded national parks. Trails were cut, scenic overlooks created, and benches and tourist facilities provided or improved. But when the economy recovered, this meant that even more people could easily leave their own imprint on the landscape.

Starting his career with the Forest Service in 1909, Aldo Leopold came to believe that managing forested areas was not the same as protecting trees and their ecosystem. Leopold and others began to believe that nature's "rights" should and sometimes must trump human needs and desires. In his influential 1949 book, *A Sand County Almanac*, published after his death in a fire near his Wisconsin home, Leopold called for a "land ethic" that would encompass respect for "soils, waters, plants and animals." It was an early intimation of what emerged in the 1960s as a new environmental, or "Green," movement that looked beyond scenery and natural magnificence to the fundamental health of "soils, waters, plants and animals" and humans worldwide.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Espionage and Sedition Acts

On June 17, 1917, little over two months after the United States entered WORLD WAR I as an associated power of the Allies, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which criminalized the provision to any party by any party of any information when the intent was to interfere with the success of the American armed forces.

The wording of the law was general rather than enumerating specific potential instances, and a year after its passing socialist EUGENE DEBS was arrested for obstructing military recruiting with an antiwar speech delivered in Canton, Ohio. He ran for president from prison as a way to draw public attention to his fate and was pardoned by President Harding after serving a third of his sentence.

Dozens of socialist and antiwar newspapers and magazines were forced to avoid coverage of the war, suspend publication, or risk having the Postmaster General revoke their right to use the mails. The law was challenged in *Schenck v. United States*, when Charles Schenck was arrested for circulating a pamphlet calling for resistance to the draft; the Supreme Court upheld the law, and its decision introduced two common phrases of American legal language. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the author of the decision, said first that the guarantee of free speech did not protect words that presented a "clear and present danger," and that "the most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man falsely shouting fire in a theater."

In 1918 the Sedition Act extended the bounds of the Espionage Act, outlawing various instances of speech against the government. Most of the laws associated with the two acts were repealed in 1921.

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BILL KTE'PI

Estrada Cabrera, Manuel (1857–1923) *Guatemalan president*

Manuel José Estrada Cabrera was president of Guatemala from 1898 to 1920 and established a tradition of Guatemalan strongmen that was to be revived by JORGE UBICO and later presidents. Estrada Cabrera is

also credited with running the longest one-man dictatorship in Central American history.

Born on November 21, 1857, in Quezaltenango in the southwest of Guatemala, the nation's second-largest city, Estrada Cabrera was educated in Roman Catholic schools, training as a lawyer. After many years practicing in Quezaltenango and then in Guatemala City, he became a judge of the Guatemalan supreme court before entering politics. Elected to congress, he became minister of public instruction, minister of justice, and then minister of the interior during the presidency of José María Reina Barrios. On February 8, 1898, the president was assassinated, and Estrada Cabrera, who was in Costa Rica, returned to Guatemala City. He was the second in line to the presidency. Estrada Cabrera was said to have burst in on the cabinet meeting where the politicians were discussing the succession. Charging in unannounced, he walked around the cabinet ministers and then drew a revolver from his pocket. Placing it on the table, he then announced: "Gentlemen, you are looking at the new president of Guatemala."

Estrada Cabrera was sworn in as the provisional president, elected soon afterward, and officially inaugurated on October 2, 1898. During his first term in office he respected the constitution, which forbade presidents' serving more than one term. Before this first term was over Estrada Cabrera changed the constitution to allow himself to be reelected in 1904, again in 1910, and on a third occasion in 1916, remaining president until April 15, 1920. Political commentators do not credit him with any personal popularity or any plan of action or change except anything that might keep him in office.

During his time as president of the country, Estrada Cabrera certainly gave Guatemala internal peace, and this was welcomed by the landowners and the Guatemalan middle class, although the latter gradually tired of his rule. There had been a financial crisis just before he came to power, and he managed to steer the country through it. He also encouraged investment by the UNITED FRUIT COMPANY, which during his presidency started to take over the economic life of the country. Minor Keith of the United Fruit Company was also granted the rights to establish a railway across Guatemala in 1906. When it was completed, the company took ownership not only of the railway but also of 170,000 acres of agricultural land. The actions of the United Fruit Company led to increased control of the Guatemalan economy by U.S. business interests, in contrast to the situation faced by U.S. companies in

Nicaragua, where the reformist president, JOSÉ SANTOS ZELAYA, was trying to replace U.S. businesses with European ones.

In 1910 the *Chicago Tribune* sent Frederic Palmer to visit Guatemala and other parts of Central America. He found that the president was living not in the presidential palace but in a nearby building that was easier to secure. In a meeting with the president, the journalist was told that the Guatemalan army numbered 15,000 to 16,000, but that in a time of war 60,000 could be fielded, which meant that Guatemala had one of the largest, relative to its population, standing armies in the world. Certainly Estrada Cabrera used the army and, more importantly, his secret police, controlled by Justo Rufino Barrios, to ensure he had no opposition, removing any liberal moves that had been introduced just before he came to power. He also used the presidency to loot the treasury and make himself a large fortune.

Estrada Cabrera was also responsible for building a few schools; improving sanitation, especially in Guatemala City, the nation's capital; and raising the level of agricultural production. However, he kept the Indians in a terrible state, marginalizing them politically and economically. One of Estrada Cabrera's eccentricities was to establish a cult to Minerva in Guatemala, with Greek-style "Temples of Minerva" built in many cities throughout Guatemala.

In 1906 rebels supported by other governments in Central America threatened to push him from office. However, Estrada Cabrera managed to get help from neighboring dictator Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. The Mexicans later became worried by Estrada Cabrera's power, and after the MEXICAN REVOLUTION he was to face bitter political opponents on Guatemala's northern borders, although internal strife in Mexico prevented them from intervening in Guatemala.

In April 1920 an armed revolt overthrew Estrada Cabrera, and the former dictator was thrown into jail. On April 15 the congress declared Estrada Cabrera to be medically unfit to hold office. He was replaced by Carlos Herrera and then by José María Orellana. This change ushered in a period of liberal political laws and a new reform government, which recognized opposition parties. Estrada Cabrera had hoped for U.S. intervention to save him, but the U.S. president, WOODROW WILSON, decided not to intervene. In fact, the conspirators who overthrew Estrada Cabrera moved only when they had information that Wilson would not act. Manuel Estrada Cabrera died on September 24, 1924, in jail in Guatemala City.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italian aggression

In October 1935 Italian armies invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia), beginning an eight-month war and a six-year occupation. Starting purely as an Italian colonial venture to expand Italy's control as well as to impress European nations, it came to have a significance all out of proportion to its original objectives.

Italy, as a unified nation, did not come into existence until the Risorgimento of 1870. For that reason, it was very late in developing an overseas empire; most of the colonial pickings had been taken by France and Britain. Italy had managed in the closing years of the 19th century to establish itself in eastern Africa (Eritrea), although a sound beating by the Abyssinians in 1896 at the Battle of Adowa stopped their progress there. Although Adowa was to be the most severe defeat ever suffered by Europeans in Africa, Italy managed to not only keep its Eritrean possessions but gain a bit more as well. In 1908 Somalia was declared to be an Italian colony, and the border between Somalia and Ethiopia was agreed on. Additionally, in 1911–12 Italy had managed to seize the Ottoman possessions in Libya. None of this, however, managed to satisfy a nation that as part of its mythic past looked back on the Roman Empire. Compounding that sense of unfulfilled entitlement, Italy, although an ally in WORLD WAR I, had not gained the territory it believed was its due. The sense of injury and historic destiny was given an added impetus in the 1920s and 1930s with the rise of the Fascists.

In the interim several events occurred. Although Abyssinia was an independent nation, it was not altogether considered to be the equal of other nations; when it applied for membership in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, there were several delegates who were opposed to its entry. At first Italy opposed Abyssinia's application but then supported it. Abyssinia became a full member of the league in 1923. That fact would have later consequences, as membership meant that Italy could not attack Abyssinia without the threat of action of the entire league.

Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of friendship in 1928, but the Italians would maintain a very strong

military presence on their borders and on occasion send military detachments across the borders to see how far they could push without starting a war. By 1932 BENITO MUSSOLINI was committed to an eventual war of conquest in the area, and military planning began at about this time. Finally, in 1934 the Italians engineered a border incident that would eventually become the official cause of the war, which would start in October 1935.

The extent of military planning and the allocation of Italy's resources for this war would become a major effort. While in retrospect the campaign was one of tanks, aircraft, and machine guns against a primitively armed native population, there was no assumption of an easy military victory. Adowa, less than 40 years before, had been a serious and sobering defeat. Even new weapons, as the British, Spanish, and French had learned, did not guarantee victory in colonial wars. The Abyssinians, with their population of an estimated 12 million living in a rugged and wide-ranging homeland, could not be counted on to surrender at the first sight of an Italian tank or airplane.

On October 3, 1935, Italian forces attacking from Eritrea in the north and Italian Somaliland in the south invaded Abyssinia, meeting with substantial opposition from the very beginning. Mechanized and motorized forces and aircraft overpowered organized resistance. By May 5, 1936, the Italians had managed to defeat the Abyssinian army and entered the capital of Addis Ababa. Italian forces suffered about 5,000 casualties; most of these were natives serving as part of the Italian force.

With the capture of Abyssinia's capital, the Italians believed their mission accomplished and organized their African possessions into one large colony, Africa Orientale Italia (AOI), which they divided into six governorships. Occupying the territory and controlling all of it turned out to be a different matter: They never succeeded in holding more than half of the country. There was widespread opposition throughout the countryside that grew in severity. In 1937 an attempted assassination of Marshall Badoglio, the commander of the region, spurred extensive reprisals. This opposition kept up until the Italians were finally driven out in 1941 by the British.

Aside from the military aspects of the campaign, which showed how new technology could be effectively applied against native armies, the war had a political significance on an international scale. The conflict showed very quickly the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations. Further, it demonstrated both splits between

what were supposed to be solid allies and the lack of internal resolution of those allies.

On October 10, 1935, the league agreed to impose economic sanctions against Italy as punishment for its unprovoked invasion in direct defiance of the league's rules. The sanctions were not enthusiastically endorsed, although Canada suggested additional oil sanctions be applied. Part of the problem was that the league's standing did not support strong measures. Another factor was that despite the fact that Abyssinia was a member, many other members considered it to be little more than a very backward region. In their view, despite the unanimous declaration of 1923, Abyssinia should not be thought of as an independent nation. Also, sanctions were useless unless they were supported by everyone. The United States, which was not a member of the league, increased its exports of oil to Italy at this time.

There were attempts to resolve the crisis by diplomacy of individual nations, but these were not only ineffective but did not reflect well of the proposing nations. In negotiations with the Italians, the British and French offered to let Italy have large parts of the country. Britain would then donate part of British Somaliland, one of its ports, to Abyssinia. Neither HAILE SELASSIE nor any member of his government was brought into these talks. These negotiations were not looked on well by several members of the league who rightly thought it was rewarding aggression. Thus, the plan died, and Italy continued its war.

Abyssinian emperor Haile Selassie went to the League of Nations for assistance in June 1936. He got nothing for his efforts. Italian claims of atrocities partially undermined Ethiopia's case, although it was clear that the league would not have supported Ethiopia in any event.

The occupation of Abyssinia was not a quiet experience for occupiers or occupied. The Italians brought in the machinery and infrastructure of a colonial government, but nothing went exactly as it had been planned. For one thing, there was the active opposition of the natives, which never decreased from the day Addis Ababa fell until the British liberated the country. In 1935 Italians opened a concentration camp in Somalia. Eventually, more than 6,000 people from all over the AOI, but principally Abyssinia, were processed there. Its peak operating period was from the major repression of 1937 until the British arrived in 1941. In 1937 some opponents of the regime were sent to Eritrea and from there on to Italy. In a reversal, political detention camps were opened in the AOI that were used to house

Italian political dissidents. There were reported to be mass executions as well.

There were some positive developments. The Italians did bring an improvement in health care. Also, they stopped much of the intertribal fighting that had always plagued Abyssinia. These advantages must be seen, however, against the larger issue of Italy forcefully occupying a nation and repressing its people. One of the major reforms was a negative one that had to do with education. Italy feared the educated elite in Abyssinia, which they correctly saw as the backbone of opposition. The Italians repressed this elite and also ensured that there would be no schooling beyond the most basic for the general population.

Finally, the area was liberated in 1941 and administered by the British until after the war. Then Italy returned but only as a mandatory power for Eritrea and Somaliland. These countries eventually gained their independence. Abyssinia, more commonly referred to now as Ethiopia, regained its independence with the return of its emperor.

For what started as a colonial venture, the war between Italy and Abyssinia had far-reaching consequences. It demonstrated what military force could do against civilian populations and how far international bullying could go as well as improving the chances for a war in Europe.

Mussolini's popularity and political strength in Italy were improved by the war. In the minds of many, the victory and acquisition of land removed some of the perceived disgrace that came from the consequences of World War I. Mussolini, who often ruled by the creation and management of crises, mobilized a great deal of support for the prosecution of the war. In addition, the threat of league sanctions helped strengthen popular resolve because the Italian government managed to stir the population into a feeling that it was united against the league, improving the degree of political cohesion, at least for a while. Even the Catholic Church, which sometimes opposed Mussolini's policies, came down publicly in favor of the Italian effort in Africa.

Another development of great significance was the deployment of the technology of destruction. The Italians used their air force extensively in this war. Pioneers in the use of aircraft against ground targets, they had used aircraft in Libya against the Ottomans and later used them against the Libyan natives from 1921 to 1931. Now, after also leading the world in developing the theory of air power, they showed themselves to be expert practitioners. The latest in modern weaponry was used more widely and ruthlessly than ever against

not only combatants but against the civilian population. The Italians also bombed Red Cross stations, hospitals, ambulances, and civilian targets. In a way, the air attacks on the Abyssinians prefigured not only Guernica but later Warsaw, Rotterdam, and London.

On the continental scale, the war accelerated the political decisions and rivalries in Europe. It destroyed the good will that had existed between Britain and Mussolini's Fascist government. The crisis surrounding the war highlighted and increased the mutual suspicion between France and Britain. That impression was reinforced at Munich in 1938, leading ADOLF HITLER and Mussolini into assumptions that would lead them to war in 1939 and 1940. The alienation of Italy from its former allies and Europe at large brought it closer to Hitler's Germany. At the same time it deepened the contempt that Hitler and Mussolini had for the western powers, in large part because of their inability to do anything constructive.

Finally, it signaled the effective end of the League of Nations as a body capable of protecting small nations from aggression and preventing aggressive war. There had been defections from the league at least as far back as the 1920s based on smaller nations stating that the league was useless in protecting them. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the invasion of Abyssinia only demonstrated and reinforced the perceived weaknesses of the league. While the league could point to accomplishments in areas such as improving health of people in poorer nations, it could not stop a war.

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ROBERT STACY

eugenics

Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, coined the term and concept of eugenics in 1883. Eugenics,

often defined as "well-born," was an effort to apply Darwinian evolution and Gregor Mendel's recently recognized genetic discoveries to the physical, mental, and moral improvement of human beings. Eugenics gained many supporters in the progressive-era United States, Canada, and much of Europe. But the concept was riddled with class and racial biases that inflicted harm on thousands of supposedly "inferior" humans. When the excesses of ADOLF HITLER's WORLD WAR II eugenics programs became known, this effort at human engineering fell into disrepute.

Galton was a respected scientist and statistician, but his eugenics notions were based less on evolution than on Social Darwinism, a philosophy that conveniently justified growing inequities in industrializing societies. Nations could no longer wait for evolution to weed out the weak and stupid; rather, experts would facilitate the process of improving the race, by which most eugenicists meant white northern Europeans. Positive eugenics tried to encourage "superior" men and women to produce superior offspring. (The Galtons were childless.) Negative eugenics went much further. It proposed to discourage "defective" humans from reproducing at all.

Soon, eugenics agencies and research facilities were springing up. A eugenics laboratory, later named in Galton's honor, was founded at London's University College in 1904. In the United States Charles Davenport created a Eugenics Record Office on Long Island. U.S. president THEODORE ROOSEVELT, fearing "race suicide," heartily approved of this burgeoning movement to weed out the "unfit." The state of Indiana in 1907 was the first to pass a eugenics sterilization law.

Buck v. Bell, a eugenics sterilization case from Virginia, came before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1927. Speaking for eight of the nine justices, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., ruled in favor of the state. Carrie Buck, he noted, "is a feeble-minded white woman . . . the daughter of a feeble-minded mother . . . and the mother of an illegitimate feeble-minded child," adding, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." By 1933 28 states had sterilized more than 16,000 unconsenting women, men, and children.

In Canada interest in eugenics peaked among English speakers during the GREAT DEPRESSION, when the poor and sick seemed an impossible burden. The Soviet Union and many European nations also promoted fitter families while trying to minimize the "unfit." Everywhere the poor and uneducated, racial and ethnic minorities, and criminals were overwhelmingly beneficiaries of "genetic cleansing." But none took eugenics as far as NAZI

Germany, where Hitler copied many aspects of U.S. eugenics practices and passed laws in the 1930s that foreshadowed the elimination of millions of Jews, Gypsies, gays, and others considered unfit. In the wake of these atrocities, most eugenics organizations disbanded or rethought their goals. In 1942 the Supreme Court struck down involuntary sterilization of criminals; in 2001 Virginia apologized for *Buck* and other eugenics interventions.

As genetic science has expanded dramatically, the ethics of genetic improvement remains a very touchy topic. Birth control pioneers Margaret Sanger of the United States and Marie Stopes in Britain were both ardent eugenicists, leading today's abortion foes to distrust the underlying aims of family planning. New technologies raise the specter of prenatal engineering for "perfect" babies—a concept Galton did not precisely foresee but would probably have applauded.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

existentialism

Existentialism is a chiefly philosophical and literary movement that became popular after 1930 and that provides a distinctive interpretation of human existence. The question of the meaning of human existence is of supreme importance to existentialism, which advocates that people should create value for themselves through action and living each moment to its fullest.

Existentialism serves as a protest against academic philosophy and possesses an antiestablishment sensibility. It contrasts both the rationalist tradition, which defines humanity in terms of rational capacity, and positivism, which describes humanity in terms of observable behavior. Existential philosophy teaches that human beings exist in an indifferent, objective, ambiguous, and absurd context in which individual meaning is created through action and interpretation.

Although there is a diversity of thought in the movement, its thinkers agree that all individuals possess the freedom and responsibility to make the most of life. Existentialists maintain the principle that "existence

precedes essence," an observation made by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–80), atheist humanist and the only self-proclaimed "existentialist." This principle advocates that there is no predefined essence of the human being and that essence is what a human makes for itself.

Each of the existentialist thinkers, however, worked out their own interpretations of existence. Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55), a religious Danish philosopher known as the "father of existentialism," possessed a belief in the Christian God. He attacked abstract Hegelian metaphysics and the worldly complacency of the Danish Church. Kierkegaard believed that individual existence indicates being withdrawn from the world, which causes individual self-awareness. Individuals despair when confronted with the truth that their finite existence emerged detached from God. This despair, thus, gives rise to faith, despite the absurdity of that faith. Other philosophical precursors who are believed to have influenced modern existentialist philosophy include St. Thomas Aquinas (1224–74), Blaise Pascal (1623–62), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–81), and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900).

German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) believed that the starting place for philosophy should be studying the nature of the existence of the human being. In his book *Being and Time* (1962), he intended to provoke people to ask questions about the nature of human existence. He intended that such questioning would have the result of causing people to live a desirable life and "possess an authentic way of being."

Several French authors possessed existentialist beliefs. Parisian-born Gabriel Marcel (1889–1973) advocated that the purpose of philosophy was to elevate human thinking to the point of being able to accept divine revelation. He coined the term *existentialism* in order to characterize the thought of Sartre and his lifelong friend and associate Simone de Beauvoir (1908–86). De Beauvoir, a Parisian existentialist author and feminist, penned *She Came to Stay* (1943) and *The Blood of Others* (1945). These works suggested that the viewpoint of someone else is necessary for an individual to have a self or be a subject. Jean-Paul Sartre, also a Paris native, popularized existentialism in his widely known 1946 lecture "Existentialism and Humanism." The lecture set out the main tenets of the movement. Taking Sartre's lead, existentialists rejected the pursuit of happiness, as it was believed to be nothing but a fantasy of the middle class. Sartre's existential thought can best be observed in his novels *Nausea* (1938), credited as the manifesto of existentialism, and *No Exit* (1943).

Existential thought became further disseminated through Sartre's colleagues, who included Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–61) and Albert Camus (1913–60). Merleau-Ponty sought to provide a new understanding of sensory phenomena and a redefinition of the relationship between subject and object and between the self and the world. Perhaps the most influential and well-known 20th-century existential writers, Sartre and Camus, also took part in the French Resistance, having been galvanized by the atrocities of WORLD WAR II. Although the only self-professed existentialist was Sartre, the other thinkers associated with the movement are associated with it because of their similar beliefs. Camus wrote novels concerned with the existential problem of finding meaning in an otherwise meaningless world and taking responsibility for creating human meaning. He advocated that the chief virtue of humanity was the ability to rebel against the corrupt and philosophically undesirable status quo.

From the 1940s on, the movement influenced a diversity of other disciplines, including theology, and thinkers such as Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Paul Tillich (1886–1965), and Karl Barth (1886–1968), whose 1933 biblical commentary on the Epistle to the Romans inspired the “Kierkegaard revival” in theology. The principles of existentialism entered psychology through the 1965 work of Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), *General Psychopathology*, and influenced other psychologists such as Ludwig Binswanger (1881–1966), Otto Rank (1884–1939), R. D. Laing (1927–89), and Viktor Frankl (1905–97). Other writers who expressed existentialist themes included the marquis de Sade (1740–1814), Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Hermann Hesse (1877–1962), Franz Kafka (1883–1924), Samuel Beckett (1906–89), Ralph Ellison (1914–94), Marguerite Duras (1914–96), and Jack Kerouac (1922–69). The work of artists Alberto Giacometti (1901–66), Jackson Pollock (1912–56), Arshile Gorky (1904–48), and Willem de Kooning (1904–97) and filmmakers Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) and Ingmar Bergman (1918–2007) also became understood in existential terms.

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CHRISTOPHER M. COOK

expatriates, U.S.

Since the beginning of the U.S. republic, artists and writers have felt the need to study, paint, and write in Europe while maintaining their U.S. citizenship. For these artists, insecure about their young nation's rawness, Europe long represented true civilization, steeped in aristocratic traditions. Before 1850 some U.S. painters trained in Europe, but few stayed beyond their apprenticeships.

By the middle of the 19th century, some found it more advantageous to their careers to stay. John Singer Sargent and Mary Cassatt spent major parts of their painting careers in Europe; James McNeill Whistler, who left for Europe at age 21, never returned home. By 1904 the California impressionist Guy Rose observed that Giverny, where Claude Monet lived and painted, was overrun by American artists.

Affluent writers like Henry James and Edith Wharton began to establish residences in Europe during the late 19th century. By 1900 Ezra Pound had installed himself in London, and shortly afterward Gertrude and Leo Stein left Baltimore for Paris, where they became important patrons of modern art.

U.S. artists understood that they could only keep up with trends in modern art (cubism, fauvism) by going to Paris, and in 1913 two of them, Stanton Macdonald-Wright and Morgan Russell, created a movement called synchromism, which applied methods of musical composition to painting by using a color wheel. It was the only school of modern painting up to that time founded by Americans.

St. Louis-born poet T. S. Eliot made his home in London after 1914. By the 1920s artists including Man Ray and Thomas Hart Benton and musicians George Gershwin and Virgil Thompson were living in Europe for extended periods. The flow of writers accelerated greatly as politically committed writers came to Europe to assist the British in WORLD WAR I, and others, who had been too young for military service, arrived once the war ended.

Many gravitated to the salon led by Gertrude Stein, who coined the phrase *the lost generation* to describe them. This was a generation disgusted with U.S. materialism and prudery, including PROHIBITION;



Gertrude Stein was the preeminent host to expatriate American writers and artists in Paris in the 1920s.

they included Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, E.E. Cummings, Djuna Barnes, and Thornton Wilder.

Expatriates even had a meeting place in Paris at Shakespeare and Company, a bookstore run by the American Sylvia Beach. The literary critic Malcolm Cowley described expatriation during the 1920s as a rite of passage based on the idea that “the creative artist is . . . independent of all localities, nations and classes.”

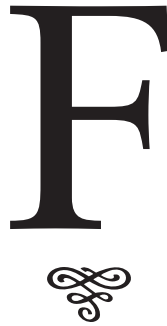
African Americans particularly found Europe to be a refuge from racial discrimination. HARLEM RENAISSANCE writers Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and Countee Cullen lived in Europe during the 1920s, as did dancer Josephine Baker. Many expatriates were forced home by the GREAT DEPRESSION; scandalous writer Henry Miller was an exception, spending the decade in France.

After WORLD WAR II writers continued to expatriate. African Americans Richard Wright and James Baldwin traveled to avoid continuing bigotry; others such as Irwin Shaw, William Styron, and several beat writers left to avoid the excesses of the U.S. RED SCARE. Writers, trying like many other Americans to avoid the military draft, sat out the Vietnam War in Canada and Europe. Now, as historian Michel Fabre notes, expatriation has come to refer to “living abroad” and has none of the characteristics of exile.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; LITERATURE.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER



fascism

Fascism was a major political belief in the early 20th century, and the word was used officially by a number of political parties, notably the Italian Fascist Party. The name itself was derived from the *fascies*, the axe in a bundle of rods that represented the power and authority of ancient Rome. In 1922 the Fascist Party came to power in Italy, and the NAZI PARTY became a part of the German government in 1933. During WORLD WAR II a large number of Fascist movements were installed either by Nazi Germany or with its support. Outside Europe and after World War II, some pseudo-Fascist groups also operated, mainly on the political fringes, with some mainstream political parties and politicians often accused of fascist tendencies by their enemies.

Fascist movements have tended to be formulated around four major ideas: totalitarianism, economic socialism, extreme nationalism, and xenophobia. Most successful fascist movements have tended to be formed around charismatic leaders who preside over a totalitarian state wherein people are indoctrinated into believing in the leader and trusting in his judgment—fascist leaders have invariably been male. On an economic level, fascist movements have tended to adopt socialist policies and have generally been both antiliberal and anticonservative in their views. On the issue of nationalism fascist movements surround themselves with symbols of national identity such as flags, badges, and the adoption of certain historical characters and events as important in the creation of national identity. The

extreme xenophobia of fascist movements has often led to racism, racist ideas, and racist violence.

Although many historians see fascism as a reaction to an existing political situation, others see it as a historical trend, possibly with its origins from the Jacobins at the time of the French Revolution. Certainly BENITO MUSSOLINI, ADOLF HITLER, and other fascists dated many of their ideas from the late 19th century. There had been a development of racist ideas by the French diplomat Joseph-Arthur, comte de Gobineau (1816–82), who is credited with the modern concept of racism. This gained greater impetus with the ideas of Social Darwinism, in which evolution made the white or Aryan the most developed form of human. This was to be an influence on Friedrich Nietzsche, composer Richard Wagner, and the early fascists in Europe.

Although certain elements of the beliefs of the Jacobins were similar to the policies of some fascists, the mainstream European fascist movement has its origins in the reaction against the events of 1789 and the revolutions in 1830 and especially 1848 as well as the fear of the spread of ideas from the Paris Commune of 1870. Some commentators felt that the people who were rising to power were not as worthy as the old aristocracy, and Darwinism was used to argue that they were at a lower stage of biological evolution. In spite of this many fascists saw themselves as “revolutionary” in a noncommunist manner. More mainstream fascism viewed the revolutionary movements as tending to have their origins in the cities, and the peasants in the countryside, viewed as more racially pure, should be the true

inheritors of the new society. By the late 19th century and the rise of anti-Semitism, it was clear that many protofascists were becoming increasingly anti-Jewish, although a few certainly rejected such ideas. These disagreements can be seen in the eventual implementation of fascist policies. Although Nazi Germany had an avowed policy of anti-Semitism, which led to THE HOLOCAUST, Fascist Italy did not introduce anti-Jewish measures until 1938, and this may have been as much to ensure an Italian-German military alliance as for ideological reasons.

FASCIST GOVERNMENTS

The first fascist party to come to power was the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista) in Italy. It was led by Benito Mussolini, who became the prime minister of Italy after his MARCH ON ROME in 1922. The actions of Mussolini inspired those of some other politicians in Europe, and during the 1920s, especially the last years of the decade, a number of mainstream political figures announced their support for Mussolini. In Germany the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, which became the Nazi Party) of Adolf Hitler began to emerge as a political force in the late 1920s. It had links with Mussolini, and Hitler usually flattered his Italian counterpart, even though he secretly had little time for him. Supporters in France were grouped in the Faisceau of Georges Valois, which operated from 1925 until 1928.

However, it was the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 that was to provide the fascist movements in Europe and elsewhere with their greatest number of recruits. The failure of mainstream political parties to deal with the social legacy of WORLD WAR I, rising unemployment, and the growing despair of many people throughout the world led to support for extremist political viewpoints, from the left and the right. This terminology persisted with right-wing politicians often denounced by their opponents as "fascists." Several political figures, worried about the rising influence of communism, sought out a fascist alternative.

On January 30, 1933, mainstream German political parties invited Hitler to become chancellor of the country. He rapidly used his position to take over the government, which was confirmed when new elections to the Reichstag on March 3 led to the Nazis' dominating the new parliament and expelling the communists. Over succeeding months the Nazis took more and more power, leading to the banning of other political parties on July 14. On December 1 the Nazi

"revolution," as it was called, saw the Nazi Party and the German state merged.

Other fascist parties were emerging at the same time. Those who came to run their countries included the Vaterländische Front (Fatherland Front) of Engelbert Dollfuss in Austria; the União Nacional (National Union) of ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA SALAZAR in Portugal; and the Elefterofronoi (Party of Free Believers) of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece. The Nasjonal Samling (National Union) of Vidkun Quisling in Norway had much support in the early 1930s, although its membership dwindled in the late 1930s. Quisling himself was to collaborate with the Germans in World War II. In Spain in 1933 the Falange (Phalanx) was founded by the young and charismatic José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Although it never came to power in its own right—indeed, Primo de Rivera was killed at the start of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR in 1936—its members did ally themselves to FRANCISCO FRANCO, and many of them served in the Spanish governments during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

OTHER EUROPEAN FASCIST MOVEMENTS

With many of the early fascist thinkers being French, there was a major fascist movement in France. Much of it centered on the writings of Charles Maurras (1868–1952). He believed that a union of the monarchy and the church could save Europe from anarchy and formed his movement, Action Française (French Action). The Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire), later renamed the Parti Social Français (French Social Party), was led by Colonel François de La Rocque and became one of the major right-wing parties in 1936–38, with a membership between 700,000 and 1.2 million. By 1939 these included 3,000 mayors, 1,000 municipal councilors, and 12 parliamentary deputies. In neighboring Belgium the Rexist Party of Léon Degrelle won 10 percent of the parliamentary seats in the 1936 elections.

In eastern Europe the violently anti-Semitic Falanga of Bolesław Piasecki in Poland was an important political party but did not manage to dislodge the government of Józef Piłsudski. In Hungary the Nyilaskeresztes Párt (Arrow Cross Party) of Ferenc Szálasi was largely ineffectual until 1944, when Szálasi was appointed puppet prime minister of Hungary by Admiral Miklós Horthy. Romania also had its own fascist movement, known as the Garda de Fier (Iron Guard), which also operated under the names the League of Christian Defense, the Legion of the Archangel Michael, and All for the Fatherland. These groups, led by Corneliu Codreanu, were disbanded in 1938, with Codreanu himself arrest-

ed in the following year. There were also fascist groups in the Baltic, with Viktor Arajs in Latvia and Vihtori Kosola, whose Lapua Movement tried to stage a coup d'état in Finland in 1932.

As well as fascist movements within countries, there were also groups that recruited from exiles. The Ustaša (Insurgence) movement was led by Ante Pavelić from Croatia, who fled Yugoslavia in 1929 and only returned after the German invasion in 1941. Similarly, there were many Russian fascist groups whose recruits were White Russian exiles. Some of these operated from China, with branches in Manchuria and in Shanghai. Others had support from Russians in the United States. The largest of these were the Russian Fascist Party (VFP) of Konstantin Rodzaevsky and the All Russian Fascist Organization (VFO) of Anastasy Vonsiatsky.

NON-EUROPEAN FASCISM

Outside Europe several fascist groups were founded in the Middle East and in South Africa. The Syrian People's Party, the Syrian National Socialist Party, the "Phalange" youth movement in Lebanon, the Futuwa movement of Iraq, and the Young Egypt movement also had fascist sympathies. In South Africa fascists found ready recruits among the Afrikaner community, which had become particularly politically active with the 100th anniversary of the Great Trek.

The military dictatorship of Admiral TOJO HIDEKI in Japan was also regarded as fascist, and many secret societies, pressure groups, and the like were fascist in their views and their organization. These included the Anti-Red Corps, the Great Japan Youth Party, the Greater Japan National Essence Association, the Imperial Way Faction, the New Japan League, and the Taisho Sincerity League. In China the Blue Shirts certainly absorbed some fascist ideas.

In the United States the KU KLUX KLAN and the Black Legion were important mass movements that attracted many fascists. There were also the supporters of Father Charles Coughlin, whose radio broadcasts attracted widespread attention throughout the country. He became increasingly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic and had the support of those members of the German communities in the United States who were members of the German-American Bund, which organized youth camps and mass rallies until 1941. In Latin America there were several indigenous fascist movements such as the Unión Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Union), which came to power when Luis Sánchez Cerro became president of Peru in 1930–31. Other groups included the Ação Integralista Brasileira (Brazilian Integralist

Action Party), which had up to 200,000 members until it was suppressed in 1938; the Nacis of Jorge González von Mareés in Chile; and the Gold Shirts of Nicolás Rodríguez in Mexico. In addition, there were people from the German community who were members of local branches of the Nazi Party.

FASCISM DURING WORLD WAR II

When the German army and its allies conquered much of Europe during the first part of World War II, there was a flourishing of fascist movements, and many prewar fascists held government positions. Quisling became prime minister of Norway in 1940, and from 1942 to 1945 his name became the byword for collaborators, although there is much evidence that Quisling himself was not averse to challenging German "orders." In France the regime of Marshal Pétain incorporated many prewar fascists, and there was also a resurgence in fascism in Belgium and the Netherlands. In Denmark a very small group of fascists formed themselves into the Danmarks Nationalsocialistiske Arbejderparti (Danish National Socialist Workers' Party). Members of the German minority in eastern Europe were prominent in their support for the Nazi Party. In Latvia Viktor Arajs gave his name to the "Arajs Commando," a militia group that had been involved in the murder of several thousand Jews.

In contrast, in Allied countries World War II saw the internment of fascists. Senior members of the British Union of Fascists were arrested when war broke out, and the movement was banned in 1940. In South Africa some members of pro-German organizations were also imprisoned. Pressure from Britain and also the United States after 1941 led to crackdowns on Nazi and fascist movements throughout South America.

After World War II fascism was largely discredited in Europe, and it was many years before neofascist groups started emerging in Britain, France, Italy, and Austria, with small gatherings of neofascists in Germany. After the collapse of communism in eastern Europe fascist groups started organizing in the former East Germany, Romania, and Russia. In Austria, France, and Italy they had electoral success, but they remained on the fringe in most other countries. Outside Europe movements such as that of Juan Perón in Argentina had obvious similarities with European fascist parties, as did the military governments in other parts of Latin America, particularly in Stroessner's Paraguay and Augusto Pinochet's Chile. Fascist groups also continued to operate in South Africa until the establishment of black majority rule in 1994.

FASCISM TRENDS

The strength of fascist movements relied heavily on unquestioning support for a specific leader. Hitler's title, "Führer," and Mussolini's title, "Duce," led to Franco's resurrecting the old Spanish title *caudillo*. This lack of internal opposition, on account of total ruthlessness in suppressing it, clearly helped them form relatively successful totalitarian regimes. Oswald Mosley led the British fascist movement unchallenged during the 1930s and again after World War II. However, when he moved to France British fascists were left without a strong leader, and their movement fragmented.

Some fascist leaders, such as José Antonio Primo de Rivera in Spain and Oswald Mosley in Britain, were aristocrats who were well connected. However, many other fascist leaders were the children of government employees. Hitler's father was a customs official, Franco's father was a naval paymaster, Himmler's father was a schoolmaster, and Ferenc Szálasi's father was a soldier. Of the self-employed, Goebbels's father was an accountant, Mussolini's father was a blacksmith, and Salazar was the only one from a very poor background.

In economic terms many fascists had conservative economic programs, getting support from small businessmen, especially small farmers and shopkeepers. However, most fascist groups introduced economic policies that tended to benefit the wealthier people rather than their working-class supporters. Their support for big businesses, many of which had supported the fascist groups before they came to power, was shown by lavish government contracts, especially war contracts, making wealthy industrialists even richer. Hitler regarded much of his economic policy as being socialist, and he practiced widespread corporatism by organizing the major sectors of the economy into corporations. By contrast, the working class was hurt often with falls in real wages and reduction in the power of trade unions.

On the issue of nationalism, Primo de Rivera wrote, "Spain is not a territory, neither is it an aggregate of men and women—Spain is, above all, an indivisible destiny." This echoes Hitler's slogan "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer." Certainly one of the major traditions in fascism involves invoking the identity of one's own country, often idolizing a particular historical period when the country in question dominated its neighbors. Fascist Italy took on much of the symbolism and indeed some of the terminology of ancient Rome. The invasion of Albania in April 1939 was, as far as many Italians were concerned, Italy taking back a territory it had controlled in ancient and indeed in medieval times, when much of it was a part of the Venetian Empire.

In Germany Hitler harked back to the power of medieval Germany, with the "Third Reich" being seen as a logical successor to the "First Reich"—the medieval Holy Roman Empire—and the "Second Reich"—the German Empire built by Bismarck. Nazi Germany adopted as its heroes men like Charlemagne, Goethe, and Frederick the Great. The nationalist symbolism adopted by French fascists tended to involve an almost cult worshipping of Joan of Arc and Bertrand du Guesclin, who both fought the English during the Hundred Years' War. It is no accident that most of the fascist heroes from history were military leaders, and most fascist groups adopted the trappings of paramilitary organizations, such as the adoption of the Blackshirt uniform in Britain. The Germans used brown shirts, and most other fascist groups adopted blue shirts. All developed a clear, simple party symbol: the fasces, the swastika, the flash of lightning, an arrow, or a variation on the standard cross.

The last characteristic of many fascist groups was xenophobia and in many cases racism. Jean Renaud from French Solidarity wanted to prevent foreign migrants' turning France into what he called "a depository for trash." Others adopted similar policies, especially against Jews and Gypsies (Roma), who were the targets of Nazis and fascists from many other countries. Nazis also regarded Slavs as racially inferior, as Croatian fascists did the Serbs. Before World War II there was organized repression by the Nazis of Jews, Gypsies, and other groups. During the war itself the Nazis began a systematic extermination of these people in the Holocaust. Nazi propaganda also made frequent derogatory mentions of African Americans, and many fascists, especially post-war ones, have been antiblack. Some of the anti-Jewish beliefs were encapsulated in the views of Christianity of the period, viewing the Jews as the murderers of Jesus. In this regard it is curious that although many fascist ideologists tended to be agnostic or atheist in their views on religion, most European fascists and the vast majority of their Latin American counterparts were Christians and appealed to Christianity to justify many of their views.

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The Federal Reserve building in Washington, D.C. Woodrow Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act into law in 1913. According to many historians the Federal Reserve became the most significant economic legislation between the Civil War and the New Deal.

Federal Reserve banking system, U.S.

The Federal Reserve is the system of banking used since 1913 in the United States. Until the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the U.S. banking system fell under the domain of the Civil War United States Banking Act. Historically, the United States used a central banking system. Federal statute legislated the First Bank of the United States in 1791 and the Second Bank in 1816. A free banking era without a central bank reigned from 1837 to 1862, followed by the 1863 National Banking Act.

The panic of 1907, however, revealed the weaknesses of the Civil War legislation and, mixed with the national impetus to improve government that came with the progressive era, a push began to organize a more appropriate institutional structure for a national bank.

The panic of 1907 illustrated the inflexibility of monetary policy under the Civil War-era structure. Monetary reserves were located in New York City and

a handful of other larger cities. The location of reserves made it difficult to mobilize and distribute funds in geographically appropriate locations. The progressive response, familiar in many other areas of governance, gained momentum in the banking system, and a demand for a more responsive and organized way of dealing with monetary issues blossomed. In 1913 Democrats and Republicans disagreed over the institutional structure necessary to address the difficulties revealed by the Panic of 1907. Republicans preferred a third national bank of the United States. The bank would be owned and run by the commercial banking community, who would issue a central currency. On the other hand, the Democratic solution emerged from the Pujo Committee. Arsène P. Pujo argued that the power of financial monopolies rested in the hidden vaults of Wall Street. Hence, Democrats called for a system that was more decentralized, privately owned, and free from the control of the bankers of Wall Street.

WOODROW WILSON signed the Federal Reserve Act into law in 1913. According to many historians, the Federal Reserve became the most significant economic legislation between the Civil War and the NEW DEAL. The Federal Reserve system that resulted carried the United States through WORLD WAR I and heralded progress of the United States toward the modern economic age. At the end of the day, however, the legislation failed in its primary purpose—preventing economic depression.

Out of the legislation of 1913 came a Federal Reserve Board. The board members were appointed by the president and oversaw a nationwide network of 12 regional reserve districts—each serviced by its own central bank: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, and San Francisco. In turn the regional banks were owned by member financial institutions. The Federal Reserve Board assured a great degree of public control over the regional centers. Finally, the Federal Reserve Act empowered the board to issue “Federal Reserve Notes” as legal tender in the United States.

The Federal Reserve (Fed) also engages in a number of responsibilities necessary for economic well-being. It supervises all member banks and creates the mechanisms needed to control monetary policy. The Fed also controls the amount of currency produced and destroyed in close partnership with the Mint and Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

An important final point with regard to the Federal Reserve is its status as an independent agency. The Second Bank of the United States, during the 1830s, evolved into a political weapon used by Jackson and his Democratic supporters against the Whig Party. The intent and result of the 1913 legislation was to make the Federal Reserve independent of the executive branch.

The decisions of the Federal Reserve are subject to the guidelines of the Freedom of Information Act, but the actions taken by the Fed need not be ratified by the president or anyone else in the executive branch. The result has been an independence that allows the chair of the Fed and the Federal Reserve Board the latitude to implement far-reaching policies instead of the knee-jerk reactions common to partisan politics. Oversight of each Federal Reserve Bank is provided by the overall Board of Governors, who are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. Members of the board are limited to one 14-year term and can only be removed by the president of the United States for cause.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Flint sit-down strike (1936–1937)

During the GREAT DEPRESSION rapid advances in industrial technology allowed employers to reduce their workforces while demanding increased production; layoffs, speed-ups, and reduced pay burdened destitute auto workers who were overworked, underpaid, harassed, and threatened with unjustified termination. At 10:00 P.M. on December 30, 1936, workers at Fisher Body Plant Number One in Flint, Michigan, noticed rail men loading machine dies into railcars, an indication that General Motors planned to move their jobs to nonunion plants.

In response the employees began a nonviolent, legal work stoppage by sitting down near valuable equipment, a relatively new organizing tactic. They then refused to leave the plant. Previously, protesters who had chosen the picket line as a means of demonstration were beaten by local police, the Black Legion, or National Guardsmen in corporate violation of NEW DEAL legislation; by remaining inside and blocking doors and windows, the strikers were assured a high degree of safety. Shortly thereafter workers shut down Plant Number Two.

On January 11, 1937, the Women’s Emergency Brigade, consisting of wives and supporters of the men locked inside Plant Number Two, delivered food to the strikers. The Flint police, at the urging of General Motors, attempted to storm the plant; tear gas and bullets were answered with a hail of auto door hinges, bolts, and streams of cold water from fire hoses. The ensuing retreat came to be known as the “Battle of Bull’s Run,” for police were commonly referred to as “bulls.”

By January 29, 1937, strike strategists floated a rumor that the union would try to take over Plant Number Six while feigning an attack on Plant Number Nine. Company spies reported this plan, but guards and security personnel were unprepared for the union’s real objective—Plant Number Four, General Motors’

largest producer of Chevrolet engines. Both diversions were successful, and on February 1, 1937, union men easily took control of Plant Number Four, paralyzing national production.

Frank Murphy, Michigan's prolabor governor, refused General Motors' request to break the strike with the intervention of National Guardsmen, and on February 11, 1937, day 44 of the sit-down, the company signed a contract with the United Auto Workers, recognizing the union as the sole bargaining agent for all members in all plants. Within two months of the "Strike Heard Around the World," the Wagner Act was passed, guaranteeing workers the right to bargain collectively.

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JOHN MAYERNIK

Flores Magón, Ricardo

(1874–1922) *Mexican journalist*

Ricardo Flores Magón was an influential Mexican anarchist writer. He was born on September 16, 1874—the 64th anniversary of the proclamation of Mexico's independence from Spain—in San Antonio Eloxochitlán, Oaxaca, Mexico. His father was Teodoro Flores, a Zapotec Indian, and his mother was Margarita Magón, half Indian and half Spanish. Teodoro was a strong believer in the communal ownership of land, and his ideas influenced his sons Ricardo, Jesús, and Enrique.

When he was nine Ricardo started attending the Escuela Nacional Primaria in Mexico City. He proceeded to the Escuela Nacional Preparatora and on May 16, 1892, took part in a large demonstration against the Mexican president, Porfirio Díaz. The crowd of 15,000 demanded the end of the Díaz dictatorship, and many were arrested, with Ricardo Flores sentenced to five months in prison for sedition.

On his release, Ricardo started working as a proof-reader for the *El Demócrata* newspaper. In April 1893 the newspaper office was raided, and although most of the staff members were arrested, Ricardo managed to escape. In hiding for three months, he emerged to complete his law degree and become a lawyer. On

August 7, 1900, he published the newspaper *Regeneración* with the support of his brother Enrique. It was an overtly anarchist newspaper and was directly critical of the Díaz dictatorship. Ricardo Flores was hugely affected by his reading of the works of the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Some of his ideas can also be traced to Karl Marx and the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen.

In 1901 Ricardo Flores got in trouble with the government by calling for the resignation of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz. Ricardo and his older brother, Jesús, were arrested on May 22 and sentenced to 12 months in prison for "insulting the president." They spent the next 11 months in jail, during which time their mother died. Both sons were refused permission to leave Belem Prison to see her before she died. *Regeneración* was still being printed while the two brothers were in prison, but publication was finally suspended in October, when Díaz threatened to shoot Ricardo if it did not.

Released on April 30, 1902, Ricardo and his younger brother, Enrique, were both arrested on September 12 and sentenced by a military tribunal to four months in prison for "insulting the army." They were released on January 23, 1903. By this time, Díaz was tired of dealing with the Flores brothers and offered Ricardo a government position. However, he declined and started running the newspaper *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, which gained a circulation of 24,000. On April 16 Ricardo was again arrested and jailed until October. On June 9 the supreme court of Mexico banned the publication of any article by Ricardo Flores.

On their release in October 1904, Ricardo and Enrique decided to move to the United States and settled in San Antonio, Texas, to avoid being arrested again. There they issued a second version of *Regeneración*, and in December 1904 a man forced his way into the Flores house and tried to stab Ricardo. Enrique saved his brother's life but was fined for assaulting the hired assassin, who was freed. Then came pressure on the local government from San Antonio businessmen, causing Flores to move to St. Louis, Missouri, where he issued a third version of the newspaper, with circulation rising to as high as 30,000. In 1905 he joined with others to form the organising junta of the Mexican Liberal Party.

Ricardo Flores had influenced many U.S. anarchists and on March 21, 1918, he was arrested under the Sedition Act for "obstructing the war effort." On August 15, after a trial held in camera, Ricardo was sentenced to 20 years in prison, and his colleague

Librado was sentenced to 15 years. They were then taken to McNeil Island Penitentiary. In the following year Ricardo was moved to Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas, with Librado also being transferred there in the following year. The 1920 U.S. federal census lists Ricardo Flores as aged 25 and eight months (rather than 45 and eight months), and his occupation is listed as “writer.” Back in Mexico the president, ALVARO OBREGÓN, had awarded the two men a pension, and in the following year the Mexican embassy in Washington, D.C., was instructed to intervene to gain the two men’s release. This led to a strike in Mexico for Ricardo’s release. On November 21, 1922, Ricardo’s dead body was found in his cell. His death was suspicious, and there were bruise marks around his throat indicating that he may well have been strangled—many anarchists claim that he was murdered.

On the following day the Mexican chamber of deputies voted to pay all the costs for his burial in Mexico. His body was buried at the Rotonda de los Hombres Ilustres in Mexico City.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Ford, Henry

(1863–1947) *automotive entrepreneur*

Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company and the man who developed modern factory assembly lines for the mass production of his cars, was born on July 30, 1863, on a farm west of Detroit, Michigan. His father, William Ford, was born in Ireland, and his mother was born in Michigan, her parents having emigrated from Belgium.

As a teenager Ford became fascinated by mechanics, and by the time he was 15 he was well known for his ability to fix watches. His father had expected him to take over the family farm, but he left home to become an apprentice machinist, later returning to the farm, to which he brought some of his new-found skills using a Westinghouse portable steam engine. He then started working for Westinghouse. In 1891 Ford began as an engineer for the Edison Illuminating Company and two years later was appointed their chief engineer. In 1896 he developed the Quadricycle, a self-propelled vehicle that he test-drove.

In 1903 Ford and 11 others incorporated the Ford Motor Company, which led to the test-driving and then the production of the Model T Ford. It first appeared on October 1, 1908, and had the entire engine and transmission enclosed, as well as having the steering wheel on the left. They were offered for sale at \$825, with the price dropping each year. Anxious to get skilled workers and retain them, he paid a wage of \$5 per day from January 5, 1914, doubling the pay of many of his workers (who had previously received \$2.34 per day). Previously, staff turnover was such that he had employed 300 men to fill 100 positions. He also reduced the working day from nine hours to eight, gaining himself great loyalty from his staff. The moving assembly belts in his factories had been introduced in the previous year, and Ford’s factories in Detroit and then gradually elsewhere were producing cars so quickly and efficiently that sales passed 250,000 in 1914. Four years later it was reported that half of all cars in the United States were Model T Fords. Although the initial cars were available in several colors, they were soon all black in color, with the black paint being the quickest to dry, thereby again reducing costs. Ford was later to write that a customer could “have a car painted any color that he wants so long as it is black.” By 1927 some 15,007,034 Model T Ford cars had been produced.

At the request of U.S. president WOODROW WILSON, in 1918 Ford contested the Senate seat for Michigan as a Democrat. He supported interventionism and proclaimed himself a strong supporter of the Ford Motor Company. Soon afterward he turned over the presidency of the Ford Motor Company to Edsel Ford, his son. However, he continued to take part in the running of the company, intervening from time to time. Ford had high moral values and frowned on heavy drinking and gambling by his workforce. He also was opposed to trade unions operating in his factories. This regularly led to battles between his private security guards and union organizers and their supporters.

With Ford’s factories at River Rouge, Detroit, forming the world’s largest industrial complex, he also started selling cars overseas and established assembly plants in the 1920s in Germany, Australia, India, and France. By 1929 there were dealerships on all six continents and even a factory constructed in the city of Gorky (modern-day Nizhny Novgorod) in the Soviet Union in 1929. The depression of the 1930s hurt the Ford Motor Company badly, but the Ford family managed to keep it going. He had a stroke in 1938, when



A row of completed “Tin Lizzies,” or Model T automobiles, comes off the Ford assembly line in Detroit, Michigan, in 1917. Henry Ford’s mass-production techniques brought about a revolution in transportation.

he once again turned the running of the company over to Edsel, and died on April 7, 1947. One of his most famous sayings was “History is bunk.”

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Franco, Francisco

(1892–1975) *Spanish dictator*

The man who led the nationalists to victory during the Spanish civil war and governed Spain until his death in 1975, Francisco Franco Bahamonde was the longest-serving dictator in Europe in the 20th century, narrowly eclipsing the record set by his neighbor, Portuguese dictator ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA SALAZAR.

Francisco Franco Bahamonde was born in 1892 in El Ferrol, near Corunna on the Atlantic coast of Spain. It was the country’s most important naval base, and his father, Nicolas, worked in the pay corps in the naval arsenal, as had his father before him. Franco’s father was

a gambler and drinker, so the upbringing of Francisco Franco and his four siblings was left to their mother, María, who raised the children as devout Roman Catholics. Franco was six when the Spanish-American War broke out, and it was not long before he saw what was left of the once-proud Spanish navy limp back into El Ferrol following the loss of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Franco's application to the naval academy was rejected, so he went to the Infantry Training College at the Alcazar in Toledo, near Madrid.

There Franco was initially the smallest boy in his class, but he completed his time there in 1910, the youngest in his graduation year. Commissioned as a lieutenant, he went to Morocco, where he served in the Regulares. This unit, a forerunner of the Spanish foreign legion, was involved in some of the toughest combat against Abd el-Krim. Promoted to major at the age of 23, Franco was badly wounded in the stomach but miraculously survived. A later account had him threatening to shoot the doctor when the medic decided not to evacuate him because his wound was regarded as too serious.

Returning to Morocco in 1921, Franco led a brilliant action near Melilla, a Spanish-held town on the Mediterranean coast, and was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and then gazetted full colonel soon afterward. In October 1923 Franco was asked by King Afonso XIII to escort him when the royal party toured Spanish Morocco. Three years later Franco was promoted by a special decree to the rank of brigadier general, making him, at the age of 33, not only the youngest general in Spain but also the youngest general in Europe since Napoleon.

In 1927 the Spanish finally announced the defeat of Abd el-Krim, and Franco was appointed to head the General Military Academy in Saragossa. The aim of the academy was to create a new Spanish army, and this enabled Franco to inspect a training school at Leipzig. Franco was courted by the politician Primo de Rivera to stage a coup against King Alfonso XIII, but Franco declined. Primo de Rivera died soon afterward, and when the king visited the academy at Saragossa he publicly embraced Franco and gave the school the right to fly the royal standard. In April 1931 he abdicated the throne, and Spain became a republic.

The first elections during the republic saw a left-wing government come to power. The new government wanted to reduce the influence of the army, and one of the leaders of the republic, Manuel Azana, ordered the closure of the Saragossa Academy. In 1932 there was a plan to stage a military coup, but it never happened. In the following year's elections, a right-wing coalition government was elected. By now Franco's brother-in-

law, Ramón Serrano Súñer, was a rising politician, and he helped Franco in his next assignment. Opposing the conservative government, 40,000 miners in Asturias in the north of Spain went on strike, and Franco was sent to put down this revolt. He used Moorish soldiers and brutally crushed the miners' revolt—over 1,000 people died, and many more were thrown into prison.

Many Spaniards were worried by the treatment of the miners and also by the rise of Fascist Italy and NAZI Germany. In February 1936 the elections saw a new left-wing government elected, and the military prepared to stage a coup to bring down this Popular Front government. The new republican government, worried about Franco, posted him to the Canary Islands. On July 18 Franco was flown to Spanish Morocco, and the army there rose to support him as the generals openly proclaimed their aim to bring down the Spanish government.

With the outbreak of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR the republicans tried to prevent Franco and his men from reaching the Spanish mainland, but an airlift was organized by the Italians and Germans. Franco then marched his men and their mainland supporters toward Madrid. By the end of July Franco's supporters, the nationalists, controlled a large swath of territory in northern Spain, a pocket around Cádiz, Seville, and Córdoba in the south, and Spanish Morocco. Franco nearly reached Madrid but diverted his attack to rescue the besieged nationalists at the Alcazar in Toledo. Although this action was highlighted as an "honorable" action in the foreign press, it did allow the republicans to reinforce Madrid and thus prolong the war for another three years.

In October 1936 Franco, by then one of the leading commanders of the rebellion, was proclaimed the supreme commander of the nationalist forces and the chief of state of a nationalist government with its capital at Burgos in northern Spain. The original leader, General Sanjurjo, had been killed in a plane crash some months earlier. Over the next three years of the war, Franco emerged as a political figure who united his forces into a unified command structure. The Falange (Spanish fascists), monarchists, Carlists, moderate Catholics, and conservatives put aside their not inconsiderable differences to face the republicans, whose divisions and factional disputes became legendary.

With support from Germany and Italy, Franco's soldiers gradually captured more and more territory from the republicans. Adopting the title *caudillo*, he portrayed the war as a crusade by which he was to save Spain from Soviet communism, anarchists, and Freemasons. Franco remained a conservative military commander and avoided taking risks. As a result, he was

accused by his own supporters of holding back from delivering a decisive military thrust to allow his men to totally destroy the republicans by attrition. On May 18, 1939, Franco issued his last communiqué of the war, and on the following day he presided over a victory parade through Madrid.

Less than four months after the end of the Spanish civil war, WORLD WAR II broke out, and with the early German victories it was expected that Franco would declare Spanish support for the Axis. Even after Italy's entering the war and the defeat of France, Spain remained neutral. On October 12, 1940, ADOLF HITLER traveled to the French-Spanish frontier to meet Franco. Franco left San Sebastian for the 30-minute train journey, which took three hours. Later Franco was to use this to illustrate his reluctance, but it seems more probable that it was to do with the dilapidated state of the railway stock. The meeting went badly. Apparently, Franco wanted control of the French North African colonies as his price for involvement in the war. Franco also opposed the Germans' establishing bases in Spain, but he did allow submarines to refuel. He also allowed Spanish volunteers to serve on the Russian front and allowed the formation of the "Blue Division," as they were known.

Franco's caution meant that he did not attack Gibraltar, which he could probably have easily captured and which the Germans wanted him to take. However, he did take control of the international city of Tangier—which was returned to international rule at the conclusion of the war. Although Franco had remained neutral in 1945, Franco's government was treated as a pariah. In December 1946 the United Nations General Assembly condemned Spain and urged its members to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid. It was not until 1955 that Spain was admitted to the United Nations, and it did not join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) until 1982.

Gradually, Franco changed the overt nature of his regime. Although Franco dominated the political scene, the Spanish economy was devastated, and unemployment and underemployment were widespread. Franco was anxious to get economic aid from the United States and softened his stance in 1947 by holding a referendum on the "Law of Succession" that established Franco as a dictator acting as a regent of the Kingdom of Spain. It was, however, the first time the Spanish people had voted in 11 years.

Franco also started courting Argentina, which was the only country that had flouted the United Nations, request to withdraw ambassadors in 1946. Argentina at that time had not had an ambassador in Madrid, but after

the UN vote it hastily filled the vacancy. Soon afterward it was announced that Juan Perón, president of Argentina, and his wife, Eva, would visit Madrid. Eventually, it was Eva who made the state visit, and this signaled the end of Spain's international isolation.

In 1969 Franco finally named his successor as Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, with the title prince of Spain. Technically, the father of Juan Carlos had a greater claim, but this also annoyed Carlists, who had supported Franco in the civil war. Four years later Franco gave up the post of head of government but remained head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. He died on November 20, 1975, and was buried behind the high altar at the basilica at the Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen), a church carved into a mountain that officially serves as a memorial for the dead of both sides of the civil war but has long symbolized the nationalist cause.

See also RIF REBELLION.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

French mandate in Syria and Lebanon

Following the defeat and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the geographic area of greater Syria came under French mandate rule as stipulated by the LEAGUE OF NATIONS in 1920. Under French rule, the mandate authority, in addition to expanding the Ottoman Wilayat of Lebanon at the expense of Syria, divided Syria into four new separate districts: Aleppo, Latikia, Damascus, and Jebel Druze. French rule in Syria faced violence, rebellions, and political opposition by the Syrians, who never accepted French domination.

The country now known as Lebanon was created on September 1, 1920, by enlarging the Ottoman Wilayat of Lebanon to include previously Syrian-held territory north and south of its borders. The entity of greater Lebanon (1920–26), as the new state was called, was fashioned after French republican ideals with a constitution and an executive president elected by a

parliament. In 1932 a census was conducted that resulted in the confirmation of 18 religious sects in the country. In an attempt to provide better representation in the government, the results of the 1932 census were incorporated in Article 95 of the constitution, establishing a confessional system.

The Kingdom of Syria (1918–20) was declared soon after the Ottoman army had been defeated in 1918. Headed by the Hashemite king Faysal (also Feisal) I, the kingdom rejected the French mandate. The opposition to French rule did not end with the demise of the Hashemite Kingdom of Syria. On the contrary, it was fortified by a strong nationalist sentiment, and rebellions periodically erupted throughout the mandate years; these culminated in the Great Arab Rebellion of 1936, which resulted in the French bombardment of Damascus.

In 1940 during WORLD WAR II, the French overseas territories were controlled by the pro-NAZI VICHY French government. In 1941 British and Free French forces overthrew the Vichy forces and granted Syria and Lebanon nominal independence. In 1942 parliamentary elections in Syria brought the nationalist National Bloc to power; it began negotiating for independence with the French government. In Lebanon the political elite agreed on a formula to distribute power under the National Pact of 1943. With U.S. and Soviet recognition, Syrian independence was granted in 1943. Lebanon was also granted independence the same year, but French troops remained stationed in both countries until 1946. Syria celebrated its independence day on April 17, 1946, while Lebanon celebrated independence day on November 22, 1943, and marked withdrawal day on April 17, 1946.

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RAMZIABOU ZEINEDDINE

French West Africa (Afrique occidentale française)

French West Africa came into being in 1895 when France decided to consolidate its African holdings. Initially, French West Africa was a temporary combination of Senegal, French Guinea (now Guinea), French

Sudan (now Mali), and Côte d'Ivoire. In 1904 it became permanent, with territories including Dahomey (now Benin), French Guinea, French Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Mauretania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). The federation was ruled by a governor-general first from Saint-Louis and then, after 1902, from Dakar, both in Senegal. The federation supported VICHY France during WORLD WAR II before accepting the Free French in November 1942.

The federation occupied an area of 4,689,000 square kilometers, most of which was desert or semi-desert in the interior of Niger, Sudan, and Mauretania. One of the largest colonial possessions in Africa, the federation reached from westernmost Africa at Cape Verde to deep within the Sahara. Population at its creation was over 10 million. When the federation dissolved, its population was about 25 million.

West Africa was not a primitive area when the Europeans arrived. Precolonial empires and states included Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Hausa. The precolonial era was also a time when Islam expanded into West Africa. The Europeans entered and disrupted a highly complex society.

The slave trade in West Africa expanded greatly beginning in the late 16th century and continued to grow into the mid-19th century. By the 18th century the slave trade was an important ingredient in the European interest in Africa, especially for providing slaves to New World plantation economies. The increasing New World demand coincided with Islamic jihads and rivalries between the precolonial states. The capture and transfer of Africans into slavery became the dominant commerce for the Portuguese, then the Dutch, then the British and French. The British, Dutch, and Portuguese controlled the major slave ports between Ghana and the Cameroons. Africans also facilitated the slave trade.

The French early on regarded their African possessions as overseas provinces. The early efforts to colonize were unsuccessful, though, and in the mid-19th century interest shifted from colonization to mercantile prospects. Trade with the savanna of the interior coincided with the race for Africa of the late 19th century.

The Berlin Act of 1885 formalized the partition of Africa, including West Africa. By 1890 the French had signed treaties with African leaders that in theory authorized their annexation of much of western Sudan. Military superiority allowed the French to acquire large territories, most of it desert or otherwise worthless. The French did not turn to commercial development until early in the 20th century.

In the early 1890s France conquered Dahomey, made Côte d'Ivoire a formal colony, and obtained territory in Upper Volta. French Africa ran from Algeria to the Gulf of Guinea. The administrative unit known as French West Africa included the coastal colonies—Senegal, French Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire—as well as the French Sudan, the large interior territory that included present-day Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. Dahomey became part of French West Africa in 1899. French Sudan became Haut Senegal-Niger in 1904. Mauretania became a protectorate in 1905. Upper Volta separated from Haut Sénégal–Niger in 1919, and the remaining Haut Sénégal–Niger became French Sudan once more. Mauretania became a colony and part of French West Africa in 1920. Niger separated from French Sudan in 1922.

Senegal was the only part of French West Africa with even token assimilation, and participation by Africans in French affairs was confined to Saint-Louis. Elsewhere in French West Africa, inhabitants were subjects, not citizens. The European French were increasingly skeptical about the ability of the Africans to become “suitable” French citizens. The assimilationist philosophy of the original exploration was gone by the time of the French West African Federation in 1895. Rather than allow local authority, the French established direct rule in the form of a governor-general taking his orders directly from the minister of colonies and the government in Paris. The governor-general relayed orders and financing to his lieutenant governors in the territories. Senegal had representative government as a residue of the original assimilationist impulse—citizens could represent the Senegalese in France.

The French effort to make the colony pay its own way led to their pushing the productivity of groundnuts and cotton where suitable. Extraction of valuable resources was also emphasized. Taxes forced the population into the cash economy. Inhabitants of areas where cash crops were impractical were encouraged to migrate to wage-earning areas. Servitude nearing slavery was tolerated in the interest of profitability. The French did provide at least a small amount of missionary effort as well as minimal educational and health services. The economic benefit accrued to the French only.

After WORLD WAR I France relaxed its rule somewhat. Occasional revolts as well as a rediscovery of African tradition encouraged the easing of the slavery and aristocratic rule that had characterized the decades from the mid-1890s until the war. Tribal leaders were more respected after France reinstated them.

Initially loyal to Vichy France during WORLD WAR II, French West Africa shifted to the Allies after the U.S. invasion of North Africa and the occupation of Dakar, Senegal, by the Allies. The Free French under General CHARLES DE GAULLE took control of French West Africa.

When World War II was over, the Europeans were worn out, unwilling politically, and unable economically to resist demands for political reform in colonies that were increasingly an intolerable financial burden. The Europeans living in Africa were an issue. Also, the colonies provided valuable resources. But the benefits were far from matching the costs. And independence came in the 1960s. France also had an ego at stake in the post-war era. Defeat and occupation were not preconditions for an easy abandonment of the empire.

After World War II France's overseas colonies in Africa became overseas territories. Their inhabitants became eligible for French citizenship. They also received the right to organize political parties and have representation in the French legislature. When given the choice of complete independence or self-governance as members of the new French Community (France and its former colonies), which was intended for common defense, foreign policy, education, and other common matters, all elected to join the community except French Guinea, which became independent Guinea in October 1958. With the establishment of the French Community, French West Africa was no more.

The autonomous states of French Sudan, Senegal, Upper Volta, and Dahomey united into the Federation of Mali, named for the ancient African Mali Empire, in 1958. Upper Volta and Dahomey withdrew before the federation became operational in January 1960. By August 1960, when Senegal withdrew, the federation was defunct.

Postwar nationalism and the example of the newly independent English colonies, led by Ghana in 1957, produced a strong impulse toward independence in French West Africa. Between August and November 1960, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Mali, and Mauretania gained their independence.

See also SENGHOR, LEOPOLD SÈDAR.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Freud, Sigmund

(1856–1939) *founder of psychoanalysis*

Freud's theories had and still have great effects on psychiatry, psychology, and related fields. For many, Freud is the most influential intellectual of his age because his theories provided a completely new interpretation of culture, society, and history.

Freud was born into a Jewish family in Freiberg (today Příbor), Moravia, in the Austrian Empire (now the Czech Republic). His large family had only limited finances but made every effort to foster his intellect, which was apparent from an early age. In 1873 Freud entered the University of Vienna as a medical student, and in 1881 he received a doctorate. Beginning in 1882, he worked as a clinical assistant at the Central Hospital of Vienna. In 1885 Freud was appointed lecturer of neuropathology. At this time he also developed an interest in the pharmaceutical benefits of cocaine, which he pursued for several years. Despite some limited successes, the general outcome of this research was disastrous and tarnished Freud's medical reputation for some time.

In late 1885 Freud left Vienna and traveled to Paris to continue his studies under the guidance of the famous neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot. Charcot's work with patients classified as hysterics confronted Freud with the possibility that some, if not all, mental disorders might be caused by psychological factors rather than by organic diseases. This insight proved to be a turning point in Freud's career. Having been confronted with the use of hypnosis in therapy, Freud returned to Vienna in February 1886 with the seed of his revolutionary method implanted.

Several months after his return, Freud married the daughter of a prominent Jewish family, Martha Bernays. She was to bear him six children, one of whom, Anna Freud, was later to become a distinguished psychoanalyst in her own right. Freud then turned to a clinical practice in neuropsychology.

Shortly after his marriage Freud entered into a fruitful partnership with his fellow physician Josef Breuer. Their main cowritten work was *Studies in Hysteria*, published in 1895. This book contains a presentation of Freud's psychoanalytical method of free association. This pioneering method of psychoanalysis—a term Freud created in 1896—allowed him to arrive at numerous insights. Freud and Breuer discovered that for many of their patients the very act of verbalization of their problems seemed to provide some relief. Such a “talking cure” resulted in an abreaction.

Freud subsequently developed a theory of the human mind and clinical techniques for helping neurotics. The goal of Freudian therapy is to bring to consciousness repressed feelings. Typically, this is achieved by encouraging the patient to talk in free association and to repeat his or her dreams. Another important element of psychoanalysis is a lack of involvement by the analyst, which is meant to encourage the patient to project emotions onto the analyst. Through this transference the patient can resolve repressed conflicts. Freud also observed the power of what he called the patient's defenses against any expression of unconscious thoughts and feelings. He looked for a method to overcome such blockages. Freud was the first one to believe that the most insistent source of resisted material was sexual.

Perhaps the most significant contribution Freud made to modern interpretations of human nature is his conception of the dynamic unconscious. He suggested that we are not entirely aware of what we think and often act for reasons that have little to do with our conscious thoughts. On the contrary, Freud proposed that there were thoughts occurring below the surface. His basic assumption was that all dreams, even nightmares manifesting apparent anxiety, are the fulfillment of imaginary wishes. One could also regard dreams to be the disguised expression of wish fulfillments. Many commentators consider *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud's masterwork because it provides a hermeneutic for the unmasking of the dream's disguise.

Crucial to the operation of the unconscious is repression. Because of the incompatibility of the unconscious with conscious thoughts, these feelings are normally hidden, forgotten, or unavailable to conscious reflection. Such thoughts and feelings cannot, Freud argued, be banished from the mind, but they can be banished from consciousness. Freud observed that the process of repression is itself a nonconscious act. He supposed that what people repressed was determined by their unconscious.

Freud sought to explain how the unconscious operates by proposing that it has a particular structure divided into three parts: id, ego, and superego. The unconscious id represents primary process thinking, our primitive need-gratification thoughts. The superego represents our socially induced conscience and counteracts the id with moral and ethical thoughts. The largely conscious ego stands in between both to balance our primitive needs and our moral beliefs. A healthy ego provides the ability to adapt to reality and interact with the outside world in a way that accommodates both id and superego. Freud was especially concerned with

the dynamic relationship between these three parts of the mind. According to Freud, the defense mechanisms are the method by which the ego can solve the conflicts between the superego and the id. The overuse of defense mechanisms can lead to either anxiety or guilt, which may result in psychological disorders.

In 1905 Freud published *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. The book established its author as a pioneer in the serious study of sexology. Sexuality, Freud concluded, is the prime mover in a great deal of human activities and behavior. Freud believed that humans were motivated by two drives, libidinal energy/Eros and the death drive/Thanatos. Freud's description of Eros/libido included all creative, life-producing drives. The death drive represented an urge inherent in all living things to return to a state of calm or of nonexistence.

According to Freud, children pass through a stage where they fixate on the parent of the opposite sex and think of the same-sexed parent as a rival. Every male child has the desire to sleep with his mother and remove his father, who is the obstacle to the realization of that wish. Turning, as he often did, to evidence from literary and mythical texts, Freud named his theory the Oedipus complex after the Greek tragedy by Sophocles.

Freud expressed highly influential and controversial views on the psychology of women. He was an early champion of both sexual freedom and education for women. Some feminists, however, have argued that Freud's views of women's sexual development set the progress of women back decades. Believing as Freud did that women are a kind of mutilated male who must learn to accept her deformity (the lack of a penis), he contributed to the vocabulary of misogyny. Terms such as *penis envy* and *castrating* discouraged women from entering any field dominated by men.

Psychoanalysis today maintains the same ambivalent relationship with medicine and academia that Freud experienced during his life. His psychological theories are still hotly disputed. Although Freud has been long regarded as a genius, psychiatry and psychology have been recast as scientific disciplines. Freud examined the rationality to be found even in material regarded as thoroughly irrational and meaningless, such as dreams, verbal slips, neurotic symptoms, and the verbal productions of psychotics. Conversely, he discovered irrationality even in material that is manifestly rational. Freud introduced a novel discursive technique in the talking cure. Psychoanalysis enables people to mitigate distress through the indirect revelation of unconscious content. The other schools of psychology have produced alternative methods of psychotherapy.

In 1909 Freud, together with Carl Gustav Jung and Sándor Ferenczi, visited the United States and lectured there. Generally, Freud had little tolerance for colleagues who diverged from his psychoanalytic doctrines. He attempted to expel those who disagreed with the movement or even refused to accept certain aspects of his theory that he considered central. The most widely noted schisms occurred with Adler in 1911 and Jung in 1913. These clashes were followed by later breaks with Ferenczi and Wilhelm Reich in the 1920s.

Freud lived and worked in Vienna for nearly 78 years, deeply inspired by the town's intellectual atmosphere. Following NAZI Germany's annexation of Austria in March 1938, Freud fled Austria with his family. On June 4, 1938, they were allowed across the border into France, and then they traveled to London. Freud died there three weeks after the first shots of WORLD WAR II had been fired.

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MARTIN MOLL

Freyre, Gilberto

(1900–1987) *Brazilian ethnologist and politician*

Gilberto de Melo Freyre was the author of many books that traced the cultural heritage of Brazilians from Indians, Portuguese, and African slaves. He was born on March 15, 1900, at Apipucos, near Recife, and after being educated at home attended the American Baptist School, the Colégio Americano Gilreath de Pernambuco. From a wealthy plantation family, he traveled to the United States to complete his education, attending Baylor University at Waco, Texas, where he graduated with a bachelor of arts. He then went to Columbia University, where he graduated with a master of arts in Latin American history in 1923. At Columbia he was greatly influenced by lecturers Franz Boas, J. H. Hayes, and Edwin R. A. Seligman. Freyre then journeyed to Europe, visiting anthropology museums in Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal.

Returning to Brazil, Freyre, who started teaching sociology, organized in 1926 the first northeastern regionalist congress to be held in Recife, which saw the publication of his “Regionalist Manifesto.” His political activity in Brazil meant that after 1930 and the collapse of the Third Republic, Freyre had to leave Brazil. He left in October, going to Bahia and then to Portugal via Portuguese Africa, which he felt was a historic opportunity to experience the Portuguese diaspora. In Lisbon Freyre studied at the National Library, and in February 1931 he was offered a position in the United States working as a visiting professor at Stanford University. This allowed him to spend time researching the nature of slavery in the United States. Freyre returned to Brazil a few years later and helped found sociology departments at the University of Rio de Janeiro and the University of São Paulo. In 1934 he was to organize the first Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies, which was held at Recife and achieved notoriety in political circles because of its emphasis on establishing the causes of Afro-Brazilian poverty as environmental.

Freyre spent most of his life studying the socioeconomic development of the area around Recife—the northeastern part of Brazil. He documented the many links between that part of Latin America and the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Portuguese Guinea (modern-day Guinea-Bissau), São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola. His studies of Portuguese colonialism made him believe that since the Portuguese had, before they found Brazil, extensive colonial experiences in Africa, they were better equipped to deal with the problems in the Americas than the Spanish were. This, in turn, Freyre argued, led to a more successful multiracial and multicultural society.

The author of many books, his best known was *Casa-grande e senzala* (The big house and the slave quarters, published in 1933), which was translated

into English as *The Masters and the Slaves*. It was a detailed sociological thesis that described the relationships between the Portuguese colonial masters and their African slaves. It also includes plans of the Noruega Plantation in Recife, which was used as the basis for a section of the book. He compares and contrasts at length the Brazilian plantation society with that in the southern United States, noting that the planters in both areas were keen on “the rocking chair, good cooking, women, horses and gambling.”

Although early detractors called Freyre a communist and a pornographer, he was socially conservative and had worked as secretary to his cousin, Estácio de Albuquerque Coimbra, who was governor of Pernambuco from 1926 to 1927 and from 1929 to 1930. In 1946, with the reintroduction of democracy to Brazil, Freyre was elected to the national constituent assembly and was a member of the chamber of deputies from 1946 until 1950. In 1949 Freyre represented Brazil at the United Nations General Assembly with the rank of ambassador. He welcomed the right-wing military government of Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco in 1964. He rapidly became closely identified as a supporter of the government, and his sociological work was increasingly criticized for its highlighting of “benign” aspects of Brazilian slavery. In 1968 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Münster, in Germany. Repeatedly nominated for the Nobel Prize, he was never invited to join the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He died on July 18, 1987, at Recife.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Galveston flood

In 1900 Galveston, located on an island in the Gulf of Mexico about 50 miles southeast of Houston, was Texas's fourth-largest city and a bustling port. On September 8 a presumed Category 4 hurricane, accompanied by ferocious tidal surges, smashed into Galveston, killing at least 6,000 of its 38,000 residents and possibly twice as many. Some 10,000 lost their homes. These fatalities make it still the worst single disaster in U.S. history.

Although the storm had wiped out Galveston's rail link to the mainland, recovery began almost immediately, spearheaded by city officials, who appointed a relief committee on September 9, and the American Red Cross, under the leadership of 78-year-old Clara Barton, who arrived September 17. Restoring water and telegraph services was the first priority. By the third week saloons and the port had reopened, even as dead bodies continued to wash up on the island for at least a month after the disaster.

Armed with federal, state, and private donations, the people of Galveston mounted a hugely expensive project to protect the low-lying 27-mile-long island from future hurricanes. A 17-foot-high seawall was built along the island's Gulf Coast. (By the 1960s its length had grown to more than 10 miles.) In 1902 Galveston launched an even more ambitious project designed to boost the island's overall elevation above sea level. In eight years some 500 city blocks were raised. Some 16 million cubic yards of sand were dredged from the Gulf

of Mexico and pumped onto the island, where workers used jacks to raise structures, including utilities, and then shoveled the sand underneath. Most of the city is now 15 feet higher than its preflood level. A major hurricane in 1915 flooded much of the city, but that time Galveston survived.

The catastrophe had mixed effects on Galveston residents as they struggled to restore their way of life. In 1901 Galveston replaced its city government with five commissioners appointed by Texas's governor. Soon known as the Galveston Plan, this progressive municipal reform was seen as a way to supplant local cronyism with expertise and was widely imitated. Although the Red Cross tried to deal fairly with African-American flood survivors, many of them homeless, bogus stories of black violence, thievery, and refusal to join in recovery efforts circulated in the smitten city. As the city recovered, Jim Crow restrictions intensified, and African-American political power was further weakened. Galveston would never again compete with archrival Houston or any other major city. Remade as a resort town, Galveston for years wooed tourists with night spots, big-name entertainment, and illegal gambling.

By 1904 the disaster at Galveston had been turned into an entertainment attraction, both at the St. Louis World's Fair and at Brooklyn's Coney Island amusement park, where paying patrons could view a simulation of the destruction. In 1960 folk musician Tom Rush published and later recorded "Wasn't It a Mighty Storm," a song that sensitively portrayed the horror of

the September day “when death come howling on the ocean/death calls, you gotta go.”

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Gandhi, Mohandas K.

(1869–1948) *Indian nationalist leader*

The Indian leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who dominated the Indian political scene for three decades, became an internationally acclaimed person for his non-violent path of struggle to achieve Indian independence from British colonial rule. Through *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (true force, nonviolent protest), he led one of the largest mass movements in world history. Gandhi dedicated his life to the quest for truth and justice. He was called the *mahatma* (noble soul). In his varied career he led the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, conducted passive resistance against the British, and dedicated his life to the uplift of millions of Indians. Gandhi had been criticized and vilified but remained true to his convictions and led a life of austerity and simplicity. He was born in Porbandar, Gujarat, India, on October 2, 1869, to Karamchand and Putlibai. Gandhi was greatly influenced by the honesty and integrity of his father, who served as prime minister in the state of Rajkot. Putlibai's religious nature created a lasting impression on Gandhi. He married at the age of 13 to Kasturbai, a noble lady of high moral character. Gandhi was also deeply moved by the saga of honesty, sacrifice, and dedication in Hindu mythology. After finishing his schooling he went to the Inner Temple in London in November 1888. He came back to India after three years and left for South Africa in 1893 to take up a legal career.

Gandhi's 20-year stay in South Africa was instrumental in the blossoming of his philosophy and his course of action against injustice. Humiliating experiences and the racial arrogance of the whites there made him determined to fight against apartheid. The official discrimination against nonwhites caused him to help the minority community of Indians. His creed was one of peaceful coexistence of all communities, regardless of color or religion.

Gandhi charted out a course of action of passive resistance against the government by demonstrations. He was deeply influenced by the Hindu scripture the Bhagavad Gita, Jainism, the teachings of Jesus Christ, and the literature of U.S. author Henry David Thoreau (1817–62), English writer John Ruskin (1819–1900), and Russian Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910). In a campaign of passive resistance, nonviolence was the driving force, and noncooperation was the action itself. Gandhi organized campaigns and demonstrations against humiliating laws applied to nonwhites. He set up the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 to redress the grievances of Indian immigrants. Gandhi became a prominent figure and was engaged in civil rights issues. He was in India twice for short visits and acquainted the editors of newspapers and INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC) leaders with the conditions in South Africa. Gandhi journeyed on trains and was appalled by the condition of common Indians.

On his return to South Africa he changed his lifestyle to one of utter simplicity and also undertook to fast. Gandhi did not see the British as the enemy and was prepared to help them in case of need. At the time of the BOER WAR, he organized the Indian ambulance corps. Gandhi was a prolific writer, and he wrote *Hind Swaraj* (Self-government of India) and published a journal, *Indian Opinion*, in 1904. He began to experiment with many novel ideas in the community firm that he set up in Phoenix. In 1910 he established another cooperative colony (Tolstoy Farm) for Indians near Durban. Gandhi organized a satyagraha against the obnoxious laws of the Transvaal government, which required the registration of Indians. Gandhi was jailed several times during the agitation. General JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS at last conceded to many of Gandhi's demands and brought about reforms. Gandhi decided to return to India.

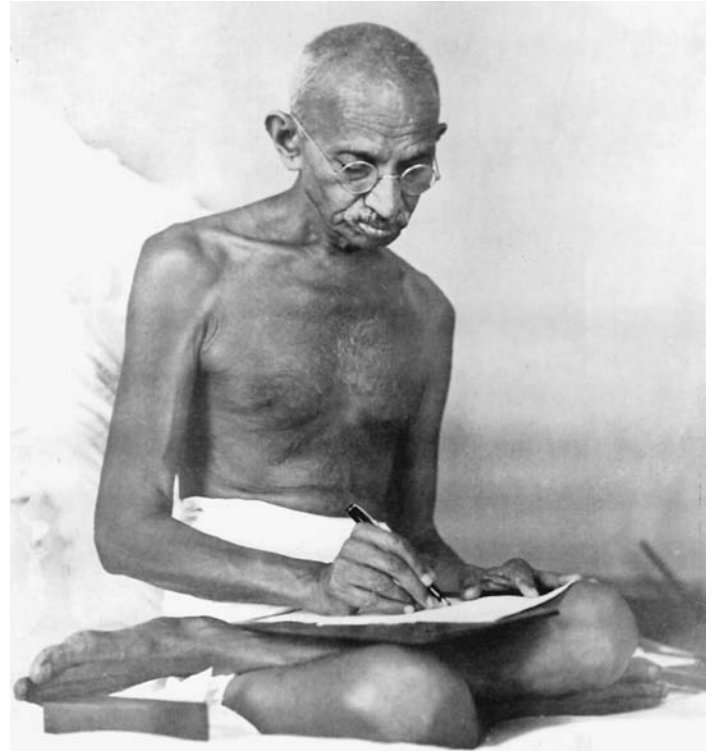
Great Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, two days before Gandhi reached London. He organized a medical corps in August 1914. After his return to India the next year, he urged the people to support the British in their time of crisis. The colonial government rewarded him with a medal, and he earned the sobriquet “recruiting agent of the government.” Gandhi traveled the length and breadth of India. He took up the cause of indigo cultivators in Champaran and workers in Ahmedabad mills. He was emerging as a mass leader and gave a new direction to the Indian freedom movement under the congress. It became an umbrella organization that drew support from all classes of the population. The Congress Party underwent a thorough revamping due to Gandhi's organizational skill. The

Gandhian era in the Indian nationalist struggle began in 1919. After the draconian Rowlatt Act, which empowered the authorities to arrest and detain without trial, was passed, Gandhi called for a general strike in April 1919. The government suppressed the agitation, and the brutality of colonial masters was evident after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre of April 13. A large number of Muslims joined the congress after Gandhi's support of the KHILAFAT MOVEMENT, which fought to preserve the authority of the Ottoman sultan.

With the noncooperation movement under Gandhi's leadership, a new phase of struggle against the British Raj began. A special session of the AICC met in Calcutta in September 1920 to start the movement with a boycott of educational institutions, law courts, elections, and legislatures. There was to be the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, along with use of homespun garments of khaddar. The goal was the attainment of *swaraj*, or self-government. The December annual session held in Nagpur endorsed the idea. A large number of students, women, peasants, and workers from different parts of the country participated. Demonstrations and strikes greeted the November 1921 visit of the prince of Wales. Non-cooperation and Khilafat went hand in hand under Gandhi, who had renounced the title of *kaiser-i-hind* that had been conferred on him by the British. Following a policy of repression, the government banned the Khilafat and congress.

After police fired on demonstrations on February 5, 1922, at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh, the police station was attacked, resulting in the death of 22 police personnel. Gandhi was stunned by this path of violence and suspended the noncooperation movement. He was steadfast in his commitment to nonviolent methods. Freedom through violence was not on his agenda. People in general and INC leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (1897–1945) were annoyed by the decision, and some congressmen, like MOTILAL NEHRU (1861–1931), launched a program of council entry through the newly formed Swaraj Party of 1923. Gandhi was arrested in March 1922 and given six years' imprisonment for treason in an Ahmedabad court.

Gandhi was not only interested in swaraj, but also in the social and economic emancipation of the people. He was a crusader for economic and social reforms. His emphasis on *swadeshi* meant the use of hand-made goods from his home country rather than foreign machine-made goods. People were mobilized to boycott foreign goods. Handicraft was emphasized



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi dominated the Indian political scene for three decades.

in education also. The hand weaving of dresses and the development of handicrafts, Gandhi hoped, would be a panacea for India's poverty, economic backwardness, and unemployment. Gandhi's economic philosophy was also part of his strategy against colonial rule, as the boycott of foreign goods would adversely affect British industry. Gandhi was not opposed to industrial revolution per se, but he desired to create a framework, keeping in mind the economic condition of India under alien rule.

Gandhi was back on the political scene in 1930 with his movement of civil disobedience. He launched the salt *satyagraha* with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. He and his followers covered a distance of 241 miles to the Arabian Sea to make salt. These civil disobedience movements witnessed participation in large numbers by tribal people, peasants, and women. Gandhi was arrested in May, but the British government agreed to negotiations. The movement was suspended by the pact signed between Gandhi and Viceroy of India Lord Irwin (1881–1959) in March 1931. He also was the INC delegate to the Second Round Table held in London, but the British government refused to grant self-government to the Indians. Gandhi was jailed again,

and the civil disobedience movement was withdrawn by him in May 1934.

Gandhi devoted himself to social and economic reconstruction work. Indian politics began to change at the time of WORLD WAR II. Gandhi had a difference of opinion with Subhas Bose, who parted from the congress. The British were not in a mood to give independence, and Gandhi launched another movement. With the call of “Do or Die,” the Quit India Movement was launched on August 8, 1942, and spread throughout the country. The British could not hold to the empire after the war due to domestic difficulties and offered India independence. India experienced unprecedented communal violence, and Gandhi toured the riot-affected area in support of Hindu-Muslim unity. The demand for the creation of Pakistan had been raised, and MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH (1876–1948) was relentless in his pursuit of the two-nation theory. Talks between Jinnah and Gandhi failed. Partition was inevitable. Gandhi’s insistence that Pakistan should get its due share of monetary assets angered Hindu fundamentalists. A fanatic named Nathuram Godse (1910–49) assassinated him on January 30, 1948, while he was on his way to evening prayers.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Garvey, Marcus

(1887–1940) Jamaican writer

The list of players involved in the 20th-century social empowerment and civil rights movements for blacks could not be complete without the story of Marcus

Garvey and the movement for separatist black nationalism started by him early in the century and known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The tenets of the UNIA as an organization and the “Garveyites” as adherents to both were a complex mixture of race, class, politics, nationalism, and ideological conflicts surrounding the issue of blacks and their position in the world. Even today Garvey’s ideologies have some black leaders praising him for raising social consciousness in the 1910s and 1920s and others condemning him as a counterproductive obstacle to efforts for civil rights.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann’s Bay, Jamaica, at a time when blacks in Jamaica were largely landless, poor, and wanting



Marcus Garvey fought for the idea of a separate, unified black culture and a sovereign black nation.

better conditions. By the time Garvey was a teenager he had become cognizant of the lines dividing blacks and whites.

Garvey supplemented his schooling with time spent reading from his father's library, fueling his own curiosities about the outside world. At 15 he began to learn the printer's trade, and in 1905 he moved to Kingston, Jamaica's capital city, where he eventually became a master printer. This knowledge of the printing business proved invaluable when he started his own newspapers and journals as a part of the organizations he founded.

By 1909 when he was 22, Garvey had learned that residents of Kingston liked to argue the sociopolitical ideas of the time. He found himself getting involved in these political and intellectual debates that dealt with the betterment of blacks in Jamaica and addressed the problems associated with imperialistic colonial rule. Seeking other work in 1910, Garvey traveled to Costa Rica to work for the giant American-owned UNITED FRUIT COMPANY. He was arrested for agitating for better working conditions, left Costa Rica, and began traveling around Latin America, noticing the generally oppressed state of black workers.

In 1912 Garvey went to England hoping to address Britain's colonial rule and its promotion of disparity between blacks and whites in the Caribbean and Central America. In London he got a job working for the *Africa Times and Orient Review*, one of the foremost Pan-African publications of the day.

Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1914 and immediately began the UNIA. His intent was to develop a separatist, nationalistic movement of international scope, meaning that it would allow the blacks of the world to eventually achieve a unified culture separate from the whites, including a separate country that would become a sovereign central nation for the world's blacks. These goals were the hallmark of "Garveyism."

Garvey came to America in 1916 to solicit the support of American blacks. In 1917 New York City's Harlem district was virtually the world's capital of black culture, and Garvey chose this as his temporary base. By 1918 Garvey was publishing *Negro World*, the internationally distributed paper that would be the voice of the UNIA, and he decided to stay in Harlem and run the UNIA headquarters from there.

Garvey's promotion of totally separate cultural spheres through his separatist ideals went so far as the conducting of (unsuccessful) negotiations between the UNIA and the African country of Liberia between

1922 and 1924 to allow establishment of settlements of black Americans. This caused considerable consternation among both blacks and whites in America and abroad.

Other prominent black-rights groups such as the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), led by the widely respected W. E. B. DuBois, increasingly criticized Garvey for hurting the cause of black unity and advancement. Garvey had his followers but was also criticized for his pursuit of racial separation, which was deemed counterproductive to the racial cooperation being sought by the NAACP.

Almost since his arrival in America, Garvey had been the object of scrutiny by governmental and corporate agencies that viewed his ideologies as subversive. Garvey was accused of fraud on several occasions because he attempted to start new businesses that would allegedly benefit the members of the UNIA but that proved to be financial fiascos. The best-known one was the 1919 venture known as the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, which involved the purchase of obsolete ships using hopeful investors' money to start international freight and passenger shipping lines.

The end of Garvey's hopes for operating his organization from America came in 1922 when he and the top officials of the Black Star Line were indicted for mail fraud concerning the Black Star Line's business practices. Garvey's trial ended with a conviction in 1923, which he appealed. The appeal was rejected in 1925, and Garvey was sent to prison in Atlanta until 1927, when his five-year sentence was commuted. Upon his release, Garvey was deported back to Jamaica.

Garvey went back to England in 1928, where he unsuccessfully attempted to revive interest in the UNIA's goals. He died in London of complications from a stroke on June 10, 1940.

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Geneva Conventions

The Geneva Conventions and their subsequent protocols are a series of four treaties regarding the fundamental rules of humanitarian concerns of soldiers and noncombatants during warfare. They were first established in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864. In addition, there are three protocols added to the Geneva Conventions that prohibit certain methods of warfare and deal with issues regarding civil wars.

The first Geneva Convention dealt exclusively with the care of wounded soldiers on the battlefield and was later amended to cover warfare at sea and prisoners of war. The Red Cross, an international philanthropic organization, was formed because of the First Geneva Convention. Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, was instrumental in campaigning for the ratification of the first Geneva Convention by the United States, which signed it in 1882.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), under the first Geneva Convention, chapter 1, article 3, was recognized as an impartial humanitarian body permitted to offer its services during conflicts, and its emblem would be recognized as a neutral organization to parties to the conflict. This was later amended to include the emblems of the International Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun humanitarian organizations.

In brief the seven fundamental rules that form the tenets of the Geneva Conventions and protocols are:

1. Civilians not taking part in the conflict are entitled to respect for their lives and their moral and physical integrity; and shall in all instances be treated humanely.
2. It is forbidden to kill or injure an enemy who surrenders.
3. The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for by the party to the conflict that has them in their power. Protection also covers medical personnel, establishments, transports, and equipment. The Red Cross and Red Crescent are two signs of such protection and must be respected.
4. Captured combatants and civilians are entitled to respect for their lives, dignity, personal rights, and convictions. They shall be protected against acts of violence and have the right to correspond with their families and to receive relief.
5. Everyone shall have the right to fundamental judicial guarantees. No one shall be subjected to physical or mental torture, corporal punishment, or cruel or degrading treatment.

6. It is prohibited to employ weapons that would produce unnecessary or extreme losses or excessive suffering.
7. Civilians shall be protected from attack and not the subject of attack. Attacks shall be directed solely against military objectives.

In 1949 each convention was revised and ratified after the horrific loss of human life in WORLD WAR II. These revisions had their basis in part in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Peace Conferences, which were initiated by Russian czar Nicholas II to discuss peace and disarmament during the Japanese-Russian conflicts. The original Hague Peace Conferences led to the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the precursor to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

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PAUL VON JANKOWSKY

Giichi Tanaka

(1863–1929) *Japanese politician*

Tanaka Giichi was a Japanese soldier, politician, and prime minister of Japan from April 20, 1927, to July 2, 1929. He was born on June 22, 1863. Tanaka served in the Japanese military in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and quickly parlayed a successful combat campaign into a rapid ascent to positions of greater power. In 1915 Tanaka took the position of subchief of Central Major State and in 1920 the rank of general. Prime Ministers Hara Takashi (1918–21) and Yamamoto Gonnohyoe (1923–24) appointed him war minister. During his tenure, Tanaka supported the Siberian Expedition, sending Japanese troops to Russia. He officially retired from military service in 1921 in order to work with and later lead the Seiyukai political party. Tanaka, like many of his contemporaries, emerged as a significant military voice after Japan's decisive victory over Russia and when Japan dealt with the fallout of its own modernization program. Thus, Tanaka in many ways symbolized the new and modern Japanese military mind.

By 1927 Giichi successfully gained the position of prime minister and served concurrently as foreign affairs minister. His foreign policy was both aggressive and interventionist. Most notably, Giichi intervened militarily in Shandong (Shantung), China, in 1927 in order to prevent CHIANG KAI-SHEK from uniting the country. Domestically, he worked to suppress opposition and has been accused of manipulating elections in order to extend his rule.

He is the reputed author of the “Tanaka Memorial”—the Imperial Conquest Plan for the taking of Manchuria, Mongolia, the whole of China, and then the Soviet Far East and Central Asia. Japan claimed the plan was a forgery. What cannot be denied, however, is that the so-called Tanaka plan reflected much of the foreign policy of Japan during the 1930s and 1940s and ultimately led to WORLD WAR II.

His fall came from within his own administration. His supporter Kaku Mori, with ties to two secret Japanese societies, the *zaibatsu* and radical groups, was able to influence him and his policies as prime minister—the implementation of interventionist policies toward both Manchuria and Mongolia. Thus, Japan backed in 1928 the successful assassination of Manchurian warlord Zhang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin) in an attempt to seize Manchuria. Due to quick Chinese response, the plotters failed to seize Manchuria until 1931 as a result of the MANCHURIAN INCIDENT. Giichi’s political career came to an end with his signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Opponents criticized him for exceeding his power and failing to take into account the sovereignty of the emperor. The failure in Manchuria and Kellogg-Briand led to his resignation and the succession of Hamaguchi Osachi as prime minister. He died on September 29, 1929.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Gold Coast (Ghana)

The modern West African nation of Ghana was called the Gold Coast until 1957. This small African country is nestled just under the continent as it juts out into the Atlantic Ocean a few miles above the equator. Ancient in its history and traditional in

its ethos, the Gold Coast garnered its name from the Portuguese in the 15th century. Calling the area “da Mina” or “El Mina,” denoting the mines, the Portuguese were astounded at the vast deposits of easily accessible gold. By 1472 the Portuguese had built a fort at El Mina to facilitate the emerging Atlantic trade system in gold, ivory, salt, slaves, and timber. Both historic and contemporary ties made Ghana a major cultural and symbolic icon in the consciousness of African Americans. Although the Gold Coast had several European nations as its primary trading partners, it is its British heritage that defines the contemporary nation.

Envious of Portugal’s success and wealth, other European nations began to explore West Africa. By 1600 the Dutch had built several forts along the coastal inlets of the Gold Coast at Komenda and Kormantsil. In 1637 the Dutch eclipsed the Portuguese as Ghana’s major trading partner when they seized Elmina Castle, and in 1642 they confirmed their regional hegemony by forcing the Portuguese to retreat from Fort St. Anthony at Axim. Dutch success gave strength to the ambitions of other European powers.

Thus, the British, Danes, and Swedes started to engage in regular trade as they built their own forts along the Gold Coast. In these areas they exchanged alcohol, cloth, guns, and ammunition for African commercial and human commodities.

Having ruled the area and exploited its wealth for almost 300 years, the Dutch ceded their position in the Gold Coast to the British in 1872. Rushing to confirm the hegemony of the British Empire, England annexed the Gold Coast as a Crown Colony in 1878. But after fighting several wars with local chiefs, the British still only controlled part of the area. Despite the superior weapons and cohesion of the British military, it was not able to conquer the Gold Coast easily. Many different groups fought the British, who attempted to exploit local ethnic and regional divisions. By allying themselves with the Fante on the coast, the British became the enemies of the Ashanti. This early and pragmatic decision cost the British thousands of lives over many decades. The Ashanti, foremost among the local groups who fought the British, proved England’s most capable foe. From the time that the British sent ambassadors to Kumasi between 1817 and 1821 to discuss peace with King Osei Bonsu (the Asantehene) to their defeat in 1900, the Ashanti rejected British claims.

The Ashanti people were victorious during the 1823–24 Ashanti-Denkyira War, despite a British-Fante

alliance that supported the Denkyiras. With superior armaments the British defeated the Ashanti at the Battle of Kantamanto near Dodowa, and in 1831 George MacLean signed a treaty with the Ashanti. Although this did not ensure the pacification of the region, by 1876 the British confirmed their mastery over the region by moving the capital to present-day Accra.

The last war in Ashanti history was led by Nana Yaa Asantewaa, the queen mother. She led an attack on the British fort in Kumasi in 1900 in response to the arrogant demand by Arnold Frederick Hodgson that the king deliver “the golden stool” to the British governor as a sign of surrender. The queen mother, having enormous power in a matrilineal society, led her people to war. Despite courageous and skillful fighting, the Ashanti were defeated; however, refusing to violate the sanctity of the customary institutions, the elders provided a fake stool to the British as they sued for peace to end the bloodshed and save their nation. The ancient golden stool, the national symbol of sovereignty and power, remained hidden and has never been occupied by a European.

As part of the British Empire, confirmed and carved up at the Conference of Berlin in 1885, Ghana began to emerge as a modern nation-state. The British sent some of the most able African students to study in the United States and Europe. In addition, participation in two world wars allowed many soldiers from the Gold Coast to experience the Western world. After WORLD WAR II African soldiers and students returned home; students, members of the privileged elite, had not been indoctrinated as the British had assumed, but returned to begin the process of decolonization.

These educated men and women rejected their comfortable and safe lives as members of the colonial bureaucracy and established a series of political organizations designed to raise the political consciousness of the people. Many realized that colonization was a form of economic exploitation and that the system was economically unfair to Africans and structured to the advantage of the British. Moreover, having been treated with dignity in Europe and America, these educated and sophisticated Africans chafed under the humiliations they often endured at the hands of local colonial administrators.

KWAME NKRUMAH

In particular, Kwame Nkrumah, who had attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and read positive messages about being black written by MARCUS GARVEY and W. E. B. DUBOIS, began to organize a nationalist

movement. He was also influenced by the speeches and rhetoric of the Pan-African Conference held in Manchester, England, in 1945. From this conference forward, Africans in particular and people of color in general began to question European notions of racial superiority, the administration of colonial justice, and the negative effects of imperial financial systems.

The agitation and anticolonial struggles in the Gold Coast forced the British to grant some local self-government. Finally, despite false imprisonment, violent repression, and the manipulation of ethnic and religious hostilities, Britain had to concede to demands for independence. In 1957 the Gold Coast became an independent nation, the first independent nation in Africa south of the Sahara.

See also PAN-AFRICANISM.

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ALPHINE W. JEFFERSON

Goldman, Emma

(1869–1940) *feminist and radical anarchist*

Emma Goldman, also known as “Red Emma,” was born to Jewish parents on June 27, 1869, in Kaunas, Lithuania (Kovno, Russia) in a climate of mounting czarist repression marked by periodic pogroms. In order to avoid such threats her family moved when she was 13 to St. Petersburg. Economic circumstances, however, ended her formal schooling and forced her to take up work as a corset maker in a factory.

In an effort to improve family prospects, Goldman and her half sister immigrated to America, where they joined another sister in Rochester, New York. There Goldman gained employment at \$2.50 a week as a seamstress in a clothing factory. Events surrounding the Chicago Haymarket Square riots of 1886 and the subsequent trial, conviction, and hanging of the accused agitators drew her into the anarchist cause. Following a short marriage to Jacob Kerschner, Goldman, now age

20, headed east, first to New Haven, Connecticut, and eventually to New York City, where she soon fell under the influence of Johann Most (1846–1906), a revolutionary editor of a German paper.

Goldman's political development also saw her embrace the anarchist teachings of Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) with their emphasis on individualism and revolution. She accepted the concept of "propaganda by deed" and supported friend, sometime lover, and fellow anarchist Alexander Berkman's 1892 plot to assassinate Carnegie Steel industrialist Henry Clay Frick. The attack only injured Frick but nevertheless brought Berkman a 22-year prison sentence. Although Goldman was not convicted, she did receive a year in New York's Blackwell Island Prison on a separate charge of encouraging the unemployed to use force to achieve their demands. A further arrest came in 1901 following Leon Czolgosz's (1873–1901) assassination of President William McKinley; however, Goldman was ultimately not charged.

In 1906 following Berkman's parole from prison, Goldman joined him and began editing the monthly journal *Mother Earth*, which ran until 1917. *Mother Earth* became a forum for her writing and anarchist-feminist political ideas. Her radical propaganda was winning her more enemies than friends, though, and in 1908 her citizenship was revoked. In 1914 she was again accused of involvement in bombing plots, this time supposedly against the oil baron J. D. Rockefeller, and in 1916 she was imprisoned for distributing birth control leaflets. Berkman at this stage had moved to San Francisco and was contributing to another anarchist journal, the *Blast*.

The coming of WORLD WAR I prompted Goldman to campaign against U.S. participation, and she, along with Berkman, led No Conscription League protests, which conflicted with the 1917 ESPIONAGE ACT. Searches of her offices produced incriminating documents and information on fellow revolutionaries. The material and correspondence would later aid investigators in their roundup of radicals. Her antiwar activities and agitation brought her further legal attention and another jail sentence, this time of two years. While in prison she developed a friendship with Gabriella Segata Antolini, a fellow anarchist and an associate of the radical anarchist editor Luigi Galleani (1861–1931).

The immediate aftermath of World War I, coming on the heels of the 1917 communist revolution in Russia, produced heightened U.S. fears of radical subversion. The U.S. attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, supported by eager federal investigative agents such as



Emma Goldman was jailed repeatedly for her views as the United States underwent a Red Scare following the Russian Revolution.

the young J. Edgar Hoover, instituted a campaign, subsequently labeled the RED SCARE of 1919–20, to deport immigrant radicals as undesirable aliens. Goldman and Berkman found themselves in this group, and on December 1, 1919, they and 247 other radicals were put on the U.S.S. *Buford* for transport to Russia. This journey took them to the heartland of the unfolding Bolshevik Revolution. Communist actions soon undercut their initial enthusiasm for this socialist experiment.

Leaving Russia in 1921, Goldman divided her time between England and France and eventually acquired a house in Saint Tropez. In 1931 while living in the south

of France, she completed her autobiographical volume, *Living My Life*. Now in possession of a British passport, she was able to travel and lecture, even returning to the United States for a lecture tour in 1934.

The rise of FASCISM in the 1920s and 1930s gave Goldman new opponents for her political campaigns, and the coming of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR in 1936 provided her with a new cause to champion. However, shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1936 she suffered the loss of her longtime companion and anarchist associate, Alexander Berkman, who after suffering from serious pain and chronic illness committed suicide. Visits to Spain in 1937 and 1938 convinced Goldman that more action was needed, and she joined with others to help the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children.

While on a visit to Toronto, Canada, Goldman suffered a stroke and died on May 14, 1940. U.S. authorities permitted her burial in what is now the Forest Home Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois, close to the burial plots of the executed Haymarket Riot anarchists.

See also ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Gómez, Juan Vicente

(c. 1857–1935) *Venezuelan dictator*

The dictator who controlled Venezuela from 1909 until 1935, Juan Vicente Gómez was officially president on four occasions, from 1909 until 1910, from 1910 until 1914, from 1922 until 1929, and from 1931 until 1935. As a result of the brutal manner in which he ran the country, he was either known as El Brujo (“the sorcerer”) or simply El Bagre (“the catfish”).

It is not known for certain when Juan Vicente Gómez was born, although it was probably on July 24, 1857. He was of Indian ancestry, and he was born at San Antonio del Táchira in the northwest of Venezuela,

close to the border with Colombia. Despite having no formal education—he was barely literate—he rose to prominence around his hometown and joined the private army of Cipriano Castro in 1899. When Castro captured Caracas in October 1899, he became president and appointed Gómez his vice president. In this capacity Gómez was able to crush attempts to oust Castro. However, on December 20, 1908, when Castro was in Europe recuperating from an illness, Gómez seized power, and in February 1909 he took the opportunity of appointing himself provisional president, becoming president when Castro was formally deposed on August 11. From then until his death, he controlled the country either directly or through “puppet” presidents.

On April 19, 1910, Gómez formally stood down as president, appointing Emilio Constantino Guerrero acting president. However, Guerrero was replaced 10 days later by Jesús Ramón Ayala, who lasted just over a month, until June 3, when Gómez became president for the second time. On April 19, 1914, he was replaced by Victorino Márquez Bustillos, who remained in office as provisional president for eight years until Gómez reassumed the presidency again on June 24, 1922. For most of that time, all important decisions were still made by Gómez from his home at Maracay. He then relinquished the position to two successive acting presidents, Juan Bautista Pérez and Pedro Itriago Chacín. On July 13, 1931, Gómez began his fourth term, which ended with his death.

During his time running Venezuela, Gómez ensured that the country achieved a degree of economic independence but with rampant corruption managed to make himself reputedly the wealthiest man in South America. Much of the wealth of the country came from oil, which in 1918 was found near Lake Maracaibo. Gómez drove a hard bargain with the British, Dutch, and U.S. oil companies, using the newly found wealth to pay off Venezuela’s national debt as well as enrich himself. By the late 1920s Venezuela was the world’s largest exporter of oil. Gómez was ruthless to political opponents, who were jailed by the thousands. Many were put in huge leg irons, crippling them for life, and others were hung by meat hooks until they were dead.

At the same time Gómez started acquiring companies, farms, and industrial concerns for himself. He had spies and agents keeping a constant watch on the population, and his army was always one of the best equipped in South America. Gómez destroyed much of the power of the local political caudillos and also the Roman Catholic Church. He protected his own herds of cattle from disease but allowed those of others to suf-

fer. Although he personally did not like coffee, he owned many coffee plantations as well as sugarcane plantations and ranches. Gómez himself lived in the governor's palace in Maracay, which was equipped with escape passages. It was said that the reason why the town had such good roads was in case he had to flee. He never drank or smoked but had affairs with many women and boasted that he had fathered between 80 and 90 children. Many of these were given jobs in the public administration, giving rise to charges of nepotism. Even when he was dying, Gómez was still searching for a woman to marry so that he might have at least one legitimate child.

He died on December 17, 1935, at Maracay and was buried in a massive mausoleum he had built some years earlier in the town's cemetery. As soon as news reached Caracas and other places, people rushed into the streets to cheer and celebrate for two days. In an orgy of pent-up rage, they looted or burned down houses of his relatives and supporters and even attacked the oil installations at Lake Maracaibo. His political opponents and some allies turned on his family. His property, valued at \$200 million at his death, was seized by the state, and most of his children were forced into exile.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Gompers, Samuel

(1850–1924) *U.S. labor leader*

Samuel Gompers, who ushered in a new era of organized labor in the United States, was born on January 27, 1850, in London. At the age of 13 he emigrated and settled on Houston Street, New York. He was interested in trade union activities and joined the local United Cigar Makers in 1864. He became the president of the Cigar Makers' International Union (CMIU) in New York City at the age of 25. Gompers was very much concerned with the plight of labor at a time when labor unions were not very strong. A man of conservative outlook, he preferred to work within the capitalist system. He was not in favor of independent political action and radicalism, was opposed to violence, advocated a moderate approach, and hesitated to call strikes. His agenda was provision of basic needs for workers: shorter work hours, more wages, safe working environments, and union protection. He became one of the founding

members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (ATLU), which was established in 1881. Gompers was the chairperson and remained the vice president for five years. In 1886 it changed its name to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and Gompers was its president for 40 years.

The governing philosophy behind the AFL was similar to that of the ATLU. Gompers was convinced that craft unions were far better organizations for extracting maximum concessions than industrial unions. The former were restricted to skilled workers in one particular trade, whereas the latter could organize workers of any skill in a particular industry. For Gompers, economic organization was essential. Persons were employed to recruit new members from nonunion shops. An emergency fund was created for the workers in case of a strike. Under the leadership of Gompers, the AFL swelled in membership. From a membership of 250,000 in 1890, the AFL increased to 1.7 million by 1904. Gompers also helped to establish the Women's Trade Union League in 1903.

Although Gompers was not aligned with any political party, under his stewardship the AFL supported prolabor candidates in elections. The AFL also was instrumental in enacting measures in the U.S. Congress and state legislatures that were favorable to labor. President WOODROW WILSON appointed Gompers a member of the advisory committee to the Council of National Defense, which was created by Wilson to outline areas of the economy vital in a time of war. Gompers was instrumental in mobilizing labor support for the war effort. He also joined the National War Labor Board, created in April 1918, which gave the workers an eight-hour day, equal pay for women doing equal work, and a minimal living standard.

Gompers was at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE after the end of WORLD WAR I as a member of the Commission on International Labor Legislation for creating an organization with international dimensions under the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. As chairperson, he was responsible in a substantial way for the creation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Gompers helped various labor federations in Latin American countries. In 1921 he attended the congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico City despite deteriorating health. He had to be taken to the hospital in San Antonio, Texas, where he died on December 13, 1924. Gompers's efforts had resulted in a definite wartime labor policy of the U.S. government, and this policy was the foundation of the labor rights stipulated in the NEW DEAL. Gompers had left a lasting impression not

only in the history of the AFL, but also on the whole of the U.S. labor moment.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Good Neighbor Policy (1933–1945)

The Good Neighbor Policy, announced by President FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (FDR) during his first inaugural address on March 4, 1933, at the height of the GREAT DEPRESSION, was a response to the powerful backlash against U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America over the previous 35 years. “In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor,” Roosevelt declared, “the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others. . . .” In effect, FDR’s policy shift amounted to a repudiation of his cousin THEODORE ROOSEVELT’s 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

From 1898 to 1933, the United States had intervened militarily, economically, and politically in Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere, creating an informal empire in its “backyard,” with the aim of creating “order” and “stability” and asserting U.S. economic and geopolitical domination of the region, to the exclusion of European powers. This openly interventionist policy had generated a firestorm of protest throughout much of Latin America and Europe.

By the late 1920s it was clear that the unintended consequences of U.S. intervention were overshadowing its intended effects. The Good Neighbor Policy has thus been interpreted as a new stage in U.S. efforts to dominate the region, in the context of the Great Depression, the rise of FASCISM in Italy and Germany, and the threat to U.S. interests in Asia posed by imperial Japan. Overall the policy proved very effective, disarming critics, dampening opposition, and garnering important allies across the hemisphere. Its most important effects argu-

ably came during WORLD WAR II, when governments throughout Latin America backed the Allies in their war against Germany and Japan.

The short-term antecedents to the policy have been traced to president-elect HERBERT HOOVER’s tour of Latin America in late 1928, following the sixth Pan-American Conference in Havana in January (at which U.S. policy came under heavy criticism), when he announced his hope that the nations of the Western Hemisphere might get along like “good neighbors.” Under FDR the Good Neighbor Policy assumed military, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Militarily, the United States withdrew its troops from Nicaragua (January 1933, an event predating formal announcement of the new policy, and in the works since late 1928) and Haiti (1934) and refused to send troops to help stabilize Cuba during the crisis of 1933–34. Also in 1934, the United States abrogated the 1901 Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution, thus forfeiting its right to intervene militarily in Cuban affairs.

Economically, the United States actively encouraged trade and investment throughout the hemisphere while also wielding the carrot and stick of U.S. economic aid, loans, and technical assistance. In 1934, emblematic of the policy shift, Congress created the Export-Import Bank to assist U.S. firms doing business overseas and passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which authorized bilateral trade agreements with individual countries. Politically, the United States affirmed its commitment to nonintervention in Latin American affairs at the 1933 Pan-American Conference in Montevideo and in 1936 at the Buenos Aires Conference.

The policy was put to a major test in the Mexican and Bolivian oil crises of 1938–39, when FDR refused to respond militarily to nationalist expropriations of U.S. property. The refusal overturned decades of U.S. policy toward its southern neighbors, in which the U.S. government’s right to protect U.S. “lives and property” was used to justify military intervention. The policy had an important cultural dimension as well, ranging from music, film, and printed texts to joint resolutions at inter-American conferences emphasizing the unity and distinctiveness of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. After World War II, the policy was subsumed under the rubric of “national security” and hemispheric security in the context of the cold war and the fight against the perceived menace of international communism. The origins, characteristics, and consequences of the Good Neighbor Policy have spawned an expansive literature.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Great Depression, worldwide

The most dramatic economic shock the world has ever known began on October 24, 1929, “Black Thursday.” After years of large-scale speculations, with millions of investors borrowing money to chase the dream of easy

riches and hundreds of banks willing to accept stocks as collateral, stock prices eventually far exceeded the companies’ actual productivity, and the bubble burst. The collapse of the New York stock exchange continued through October 29 (“Black Tuesday”), and during the following days and weeks countless investors found themselves broke, while hundreds of banks were forced to default on their loans.

By the early 1940s Dow Jones stock prices were still approximately 75 percent below the 1929 peak, a level that was only reached again in 1955. The FEDERAL RESERVE refused to provide emergency lending to help key banks to at least partially recover from their losses, so that the number of banks in operation almost halved over the next four years, driving thousands of business



New York City residents in a breadline beside the Brooklyn Bridge during the Great Depression. Rampant unemployment, the widespread failure of economic institutions, and crop failures created the greatest economic disaster in modern world history.

owners to the wall as their banks called in loans to stay afloat. Furthermore, because the banking system could no longer supply the necessary liquidity, new business enterprises could not be undertaken, and millions of workers lost their jobs with little hope of regaining them in the near future.

In 1933 and 1934 one-half of the total U.S. workforce was jobless or underemployed. To make things worse, home mortgages and loans had produced a huge amount of consumer debt, and although incomes decreased, debts did not. Predictably, consumer spending declined dramatically: Between 1929 and 1933 expenses for food and housing went down by more than 40 percent, with crop prices following the same downward path.

The crisis in the financial markets had set off a domino reaction, but U.S. president HERBERT HOOVER was a steadfast advocate of laissez-faire principles and believed that the “invisible hand” of the market and the moral fiber of the American people would ensure that everything would eventually work out. In keeping with the contemporary tendency to manage economic problems by trade measures, Hoover adopted austerity policies, and on June 17, 1930, he signed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which doubled import duties on selected goods, causing other Western countries, already burdened by war debts and reparations dating back to the Versailles Treaty of 1919, to react by raising their own import tariffs. This provoked a major disruption of world trade.

WORLD ECONOMIC DISASTER

Internationally, a combination of high external debt, falling export prices, government fiscal difficulties, and internal banking crises spelled disaster for the world economy. Latin American countries, the most dependent on selling raw materials to U.S. industries, were the first to default on their debts. Bolivia defaulted in January 1931, Peru in March of the same year, Chile in July, and Brazil and Colombia in October. Europe was hit in 1931, when several banking crises translated into foreign exchange and fiscal crises. Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece were forced to default in 1932, followed by Austria and Germany in 1933.

Austria's largest bank, Vienna's Kreditanstalt, failed in May 1931, an event that sent shockwaves across Europe. Depositors rushed to withdraw their money from banks that were perceived to be in weak financial conditions and, in so doing, they compromised the stability of the entire banking systems of several countries. By mid-June, many German banks had collapsed. The

three largest Italian banks were rescued by the Fascist regime.

One of the main consequences of this chain reaction was that trust in sovereign loans was shattered. The social and political repercussions were catastrophic. Industrial unemployment in the United States averaged 37.6 percent in 1933, while Germany reached its highest rate at 43.8 percent, the United Kingdom at 22.1, Sweden at 23.7, Denmark at 28.8, and Belgium at 20.4 percent. In western Canada more than one-fifth of the labor force remained unemployed throughout the 1930s. Meanwhile, in the United States, the penal system became increasingly punitive. More executions were carried out than in any other decade in U.S. history, and there was also a sharp rise in imprisonment. Crime rates did not significantly rise, but the mass media popularized the idea that the social order was on the verge of collapse, generating a “crime wave” frenzy among the public.

SLUMP STABILIZED

By the early 1930s, the economic slump had destabilized the international political order, the erosion of liberal values was at an advanced stage, and welfarist cost-benefit analysis had gained appeal and credibility. Prompted by the need to cut down on public spending and by the moral panic generated by the Great Depression, several governments of the most advanced democratic countries lost confidence in the effectiveness of social reforms and undertook programs for the involuntary sterilization of thousands of citizens. It was argued that under exceptional circumstances, basic rights could be withheld and that in order to reduce the burden on the public purse, social services should only be granted to those whose social usefulness and biological capability were past doubt. In the WEIMAR REPUBLIC, the country hardest hit by the depression, this ideological shift produced a radicalization of medical views on racial hygiene and “euthanasia.”

Trade protectionism, nationalism, and the growing appeal of FASCISM were among the most tragic results of the depression. Earlier enthusiasm for internationalism, cosmopolitan law, and international institutions completely disappeared, replaced by the feeling that large-scale conflicts between powers were once again inevitable.

In the Far East during the 1920s, hundreds of villages in the Chinese hinterland had seen their consumption patterns change dramatically as a consequence of the marketing campaigns of transnational corporations, which employed hundreds of thousands of Chinese

peasants. However, the progressive internationalization and connectedness of the Chinese economy meant that it became increasingly vulnerable to trade fluctuations. When the depression took place, the entire structure of Chinese agricultural production was hit with unprecedented force: The process of pauperization of the countryside population seemed unstoppable. Two major consequences ensued, the strengthening of the Communist Party and a major diaspora of Chinese emigrants seeking a better future abroad.

In Japan, a country that was heavily dependent on foreign trade, unemployment soared, and labor disputes became more and more frequent and violent, as did anti-Japanese insurgent movements in Korea and Taiwan. Rural debt forced poor tenant farmers to sell their daughters as prostitutes, and thousands of small businesses were gradually absorbed by the *zaibatsu*, huge financial combines that pushed for more authoritarian and imperialistic policies.

In the United States, Hoover's seeming idleness was interpreted by millions of U.S. voters as callousness, and the presidential candidate for the Democrats, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who evoked a more interventionist and caring state, won a landslide victory in 1932. His presidency will be forever identified with the NEW DEAL, a series of Keynesian relief, recovery, and reform measures. This program revitalized the economy by reinvigorating mass consumption through deficit spending and restored psychological confidence and people's trust in U.S. institutions and in the future by effectively reshaping their expectations. Ultimately, the U.S. economy was reinvigorated by these measures but also by the industrial demands brought about by the coming of WORLD WAR II.

Deficit spending for government-funded public works programs was successfully used to aid economic recovery in Social Democratic Sweden but also in NAZI Germany, Fascist Italy, and imperialist Japan. These countries were among the first to overcome the crisis. On the other hand, in Britain and France, two countries whose currencies were pegged to the gold standard, mostly for reasons of national pride, a genuine recovery only began when large-scale rearmament was undertaken as a reaction to the National Socialist threat. It is noteworthy that those countries that remained on the gold standard fared far worse than those that did not.

In the final analysis, the depression lasted for about a decade and was aggravated by a steadfast and self-defeating loyalty to the gold standard, as well as by increased wealth inequality and financial speculation. It was brought to an end not by the concerted effort

of fair-minded and judicious leaders committed to the cause of world prosperity and peace, but by a vast military buildup leading straight into World War II.

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STEFANO FAIT

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

The formal concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was announced at a press conference on August 1, 1940, by Japanese prime minister Matsuoaka Yosuke. It was to be an autarkic bloc of Japanese-led Asian nations free from Western influence or control. Greater East Asia included both East Asia and Southeast Asia.

Japan's imperialist leaders regarded its values and ideals as superior to those of the rest of the world, including its East Asian neighbors. They took upon themselves the right to replace what they regarded as the conservative and negative influences of China and India within its borders. Japan would "civilize" the rest of Asia. The method chosen to spread the "benefits" of Japanese civilization was the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 brought Japan back into diplomatic contact with the West. Exposure brought awareness that the West far surpassed Japan technologically. Japanese leaders realized that to avoid the humiliation of being treated as a second-class country Japan would have to modernize on the Western model. To develop a "rich economy and strong army," Japan began modernizing its political, economic, and military systems. As early as the 1880s Japanese intellectual leaders such as Fukuzawa Yukichi encouraged the idea that Japan had a manifest destiny to be Asia's leader. Imperialist groups such as the BLACK DRAGON Society and

Kita Ikki became popular forums for those who wanted to expel the foreigners.

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Japan believed it had earned its right to be as imperialistic as Western nations. As a result, Japan began subjecting its neighbors to its rule. It expanded into Hokkaido, subdued the indigenous Ainu, established treaty ports with extraterritoriality in Korea, took the Ryukyus, and fought a successful war with China. Expansion was to gain prestige, materiel, and markets, similar to the goals of imperialism of the Western nations. Indicating how successfully it had mastered the Western ways of imperialism and modernism, Japan beat Russia soundly in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.

But the Western nations still looked down on Japan, which it resented. At the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919, the Western powers rejected a Japanese demand for insertion of a racial equality clause in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS covenant. As a result, Japan felt the need to prove that it was as superior. By 1932 Japan had subjected Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria to its control. The local populations of the conquered lands were exploited for the benefit of Japan.

After nearly half a century of conquest and exploitation, Japan enunciated the concept of the Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as justification for its aggression. Anticipating a long struggle to develop the new Asia under Japan, its war planners established a multistage process to acquire resources of the region as follows: Raw materials and surplus food would come from the southern region, while Manchuria and North China would provide the resources for heavy industry. The remaining areas of the sphere and parts of Asia outside it would serve as Japan's market. Japan would oversee the whole by providing planning, tools, skills, and military control.

GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

The geographic boundaries of the sphere were fluid, varying over time and political circumstance. They encompassed the Micronesian mandates and often Melanesia and Polynesia and consistently included Hawaii. It had three concentric rings. The innermost one included Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. A second ring would include China and extend to Hawaii. A third ring would include whatever area was necessary to guarantee the total economic self-sufficiency of greater East Asia.

Areas of the sphere were divided into four categories. Some lands were to be annexed outright; they included

Guam, Mindanao, and Hawaii. Others, including Indochina and the Dutch East Indies, were to become protectorates. Some would be independent but would have unbreakable economic and defense bonds with Japan; these would be Hong Kong, Thailand, and the Philippines. The fourth group was independent states with economic ties to Japan; they would include Australia, New Zealand, and India.

Japan had economic rationale for enlarging the sphere. It felt heavy pressure to find sources to become economically self-sufficient due to a Western embargo on key resources. It needed the oil of the Dutch East Indies and the rubber of Indochina to support its industries and its military venture in China. It also justified its imperialism by a perceived need for guaranteed markets for its manufactured goods as well as space for colonization by its people.

The Japanese had to sell their exploitative venture to the exploited. Their slogan was "Asia for Asians," and their message was the imperative of freeing Asia from the Western yoke. They promised economic equity and growth. To provide cover for their conquest, they installed puppets, local people who had the power to declare independence from the Western powers but not the power to exercise independence from Japan.

On December 12, 1941, Japanese media announced that the just-begun war it had instigated by attacking the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands in Asia was the "Greater East Asia War," a crusade to rid greater East Asia of CHIANG KAI-SHEK, communism, and Westerners.

Defeat by the United States and the Allies in 1945 ended Japan's imperial dream and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR; WORLD WAR II.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

great migrations (1900–1950)

During the period 1900 until 1950, there were vast migrations of people around the world—some peo-

ples having to flee as refugees and others voluntarily migrating in order to have a better standard of living, with numbers of indentured laborers going to work in other lands, often staying there. In addition, there were large mass pilgrimages, such as those of Muslims on the Haj to Mecca, Shi'i Muslims to Karbala on the commemoration of the Day of Ashura, and Hindus to the River Benares. Mention should also be made of the Russian Orthodox pilgrims, whole villages of whom made pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the early years of the century.

WORLD WAR I

The period before WORLD WAR I saw the advent of massive ocean liners that took many tourists, but also settlers, across the Atlantic from Europe to the United States. Among the 1,317 passengers on the R.M.S. *Titanic* were large numbers of Irish seeking a better life in the Americas. At the same time many British left the British Isles to seek a new life in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa—those going to Australia being guaranteed a job under an Australian government incentive scheme. Many of these stayed in Australia, with large numbers serving in the Australian Expeditionary Force in World War I. There were also French and Italians moving to ALGERIA, where they established farms and small businesses, and significant numbers of British moving to Argentina, many to work on the railways. Political troubles during this period saw some Russians, especially after 1906, moving permanently, including numbers to Australia to work on the railways, as well as many Russian Jews leaving Russia owing to the pogroms, with many settling in the United States. There were also some Armenians and Christians leaving the Ottoman Empire before and during the BALKAN WARS.

Indentured laborers from India moved to South Africa, to Ceylon for work on tea plantations, and to Malaya to work on the rubber plantations and tin mines, with others from Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies moving to the West Indies, including numbers from the latter for Suriname. Many Chinese went to work in Transvaal, South Africa, on the goldfields, and men from Barbados and other places in the West Indies went to work on the PANAMA CANAL.

During World War I there were many migrations, especially in the Balkans, with Serbia being invaded by Austria-Hungary, and many Serbs having to flee Belgrade and other cities. In addition, there were internal migrations in Bosnia and Albania, also with Bulgars

having to evacuate Thrace. Similarly, many Armenians were forced to migrate, and the end of the war resulted in war between Greece and the Turks, with Greeks in Turkey, such as in Smyrna, fleeing the Turks.

There were other conflicts that followed World War I including the Russian Civil War, which led to the flight of many White Russians and Ukrainians, including numbers moving to Harbin and Shanghai in China, as well as major smaller migrations associated with the formation of Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania (especially in Memel/Klaipeda), and Poland. Some ethnic Hungarians from Vojvodina left for Hungary, Mennonites left for Paraguay and other places, and the Irish civil war saw many Protestants leaving the newly created Irish Free State and others fleeing the fighting and settling in Northern Ireland or on the British mainland. In Asia, large numbers of Britons continued to go to India, Malaya, China, and Hong Kong, with Chinese moving to Malaya for the tin mines and Indians continuing to go to Malaya for the rubber plantations. Large numbers of Koreans also left Japanese-occupied Korea for Manchuria.

In the United States, many people moved to northern cities like Detroit, New York, Cleveland, and Chicago with the establishment of large auto works and other industrial centers like Pittsburgh. Many of those who migrated north were African Americans looking to escape the repressive Jim Crow laws of the South. Additionally, with the halt on European immigration during World War I, African Americans were able to find work in northern factories. The scope of the migration was huge: The African-American population in Detroit swelled from 6,000 in 1910 to nearly 120,000 by the start of the GREAT DEPRESSION.

BETWEEN THE WARS

During the 1920s and 1930s, there was continued British migration to India, Malaya, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore, to Burma with the enlarging of Burma Oil, as well as others going to Africa, especially with the copper mines at Broken Hill, NORTHERN RHODESIA (modern-day Zambia), and elsewhere. Other Europeans also moved to Rhodesia and South Africa, with some Italians moving to Argentina. Lebanese and Syrian traders started to establish themselves in the Caribbean and in West Africa, with many Indian traders and professionals moving to seek greater opportunities in East Africa. The Italians encouraged many of their people to settle in Africa, with numbers moving to Libya, Italian Somaliland, Eritrea, and also, after 1936, to Abyssinia (ETHIOPIA). Most left

at the end of WORLD WAR II, although some, especially farmers, remained. In China, owing to people wanting to flee the warlords and also the subsequent civil wars, many Chinese left for Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The economic problems in Japan resulted in Japanese moving to Brazil, Peru, and Paraguay, with the harsher Japanese rule in Korea causing even more Koreans to flee to find work in Manchuria. The establishment of constitutional government in Siam (Thailand) saw the departure of some Thai royalists. The most noticeable forced migration was that of Jews leaving Germany for a new life in the United States and other places. This coincided with the depression and many countries introducing measures to stop migrants arriving, such as Australia starting to use the now discredited “dictation test” and other legal restraints. As a result, many of the Jews leaving Europe had to seek refuge in any country that would take them, with numbers moving to China and settling in the international city of Shanghai and other cities such as the northern Chinese city of Harbin, and others migrating to places like Bolivia, which welcomed migrants. Other migrations forced by the rise of ADOLF HITLER included numbers of Germans from eastern Europe moving to Germany, including many Germans from the Baltic States, and also others from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

There were also major moves during the 1920s and 1930s within countries. The great Mississippi flood of 1927 displaced hundreds of thousands of African-American farm workers, who migrated both north and west. The DUST BOWL in the United States sent large numbers from states on the Great Plains, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota primarily, to California as their farms failed. This came about because of the failure of large numbers of farms and represented a massive move. It is estimated that one out of four families was forced to leave the area. The subsequent establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority and other projects of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT’S NEW DEAL saw people moving to where work could be found. Prior to that, work on the Hoover Dam had also attracted many people to Boulder City, Nevada. Many people throughout Latin America also headed to the big cities with the emergence of massive cities such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Mexico City. Other cities in Africa and Asia also proved to be magnets to people from the countryside—Tangier, Algiers, Bone, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Salisbury,

Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar-es-Salaam are some examples.

WORLD WAR II

During World War II, the Germans, after overrunning much of Europe, caused the “migration” of many of the people in the occupied territories. Many fled the fighting and the massacres by the Germans, and there were also 10 million “foreign workers” who were forced to take up employment in Germany, the largest movement of forced laborers since the end of slavery. The Japanese victories in the Pacific also saw large-scale movement of people, with Japanese civilians and Korean laborers settling into newly captured territories, indentured laborers from the Netherlands East Indies moving to Singapore, and the “Comfort Women” being forced to work in Japanese-run brothels for their armed forces throughout their newly won lands. The fighting also saw large numbers of people fleeing places to avoid the war, including Britons to Africa, especially Kenya, and wealthy Chinese escaping from the Japanese for Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) and Australia. In the United States, African-American workers moved north, following jobs as industrial production in the North, Northeast, and West increased due to the war effort.

Major migrations took place in the Balkans, especially Yugoslavia, during and after the war, and JOSEPH STALIN in the Soviet Union deported whole nationalities during the war, including the Volga Germans and later the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Kalmyks, and Crimean Tartars. Many were relocated in Kazakhstan in Soviet Central Asia. The end of the war saw many Japanese, German, and Italian civilians being forced to return, respectively, to Japan, Germany, and Italy. Famine in Annam (central Vietnam) in 1945 also saw a large movement of people from that region.

The period from 1945 until 1950 saw many people leaving their places of residence in Europe and displaced persons camps being established to accommodate refugees, war orphans, and other stateless people—a large number of whom migrated to Australia, some working on projects such as the Snowy Mountain Scheme, which later led to the adoption of multiculturalism in Australia and other places. The end of fighting saw many eastern Europeans, including large numbers of Poles, returning to their homelands, and others such as Free Poles and anticommunists from the Baltic states being forced to establish new lives throughout the West, especially in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The Volga Germans were able



Armenian refugees on a Black Sea beach in 1920. In the years during and between the two world wars, millions of people around the world moved, either voluntarily or because of difficult conditions, causing a massive shift in world population.

to leave the Soviet Union, and the Greek Civil War (1946–49) saw many Greeks and Macedonians leave the region. Most of the Jews who survived THE HOLOCAUST left Europe. Many of these settled in Israel, Australia, the United States, and South America, especially in Argentina. There were also the “Ratlines” for NAZI war criminals and others suspected of being Nazi war criminals fleeing to South America, often with travel documents furnished by the Vatican. Many others also found a new life in Latin America, with many Spaniards and Italians encouraged to settle in Argentina by Evita Perón, while at the same time many Britons left Argentina following Juan Perón’s nationalization of the formerly British-owned railways. Britons during this period also started settling in Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the “£10 Poms,” with many assisted migrants moving to Australia. Fairbridge and other children’s settlement schemes also saw many British

boys and girls being settled in Rhodesia, Australia, and South Africa.

Similarly, the great wealth being generated in Rhodesia and South Africa saw large numbers of Africans move in search of work, although many migrant workers from Mozambique were expelled from South Africa following the introduction of apartheid. Mention should also be made of the expatriates who went to work in the emerging oil industry in the Middle East, in Abadan, Basra, and other places.

There were also movements in the Middle East, with many Palestinians leaving their lands in the wars that followed the establishment of Israel. The largest migration of this period was undoubtedly the movement that followed the partition of India in 1947, with the British and many Anglo-Indians leaving and more importantly large numbers of Hindus leaving Pakistan and many Muslims leaving India for Pakistan. Many

also moved within both India and Pakistan, especially the former, which saw Muslims from the countryside move to areas where they were in greater numbers. Within Pakistan there was also a major movement of people to Karachi, which became the capital of Pakistan. Large numbers of Indians also had to leave Burma before and after it became independent in 1948.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Haganah

The Haganah (Hebrew for “defense”) was an underground Jewish paramilitary organization created during the **BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE** in 1920. The Haganah began as a small voluntary body of men called Ha Shomer, formed to guard Jewish settlements, or kibbutzim. The Haganah consisted of soldiers who had fought for the British in **WORLD WAR I** as well as local farmers who were determined to defend their property from Arab attacks. After the Arab riots of 1920 and 1921, when Jews and their property fell under attack, the Jewish population realized that the British administrators would do nothing to guarantee their safety and that they had to learn to defend themselves.

At this time, the Haganah was poorly armed and not well coordinated. Its duties mainly consisted of guarding the borders between Arab and Jewish populations. In the Arab-Jewish clashes of 1929, the Haganah improved as a defense organization by securing their three main sectors in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa as well as in other settlements of Palestine. The Haganah became a countrywide organization including men and women of all ages from both kibbutzim and the cities. Training programs as well as officers’ training began, while a steady stream of weapons started to arrive from Europe. The underground production of weapons also began. During the Arab revolt in 1936–39, the Haganah matured and developed from a militia into a military body to successfully defend

Jewish quarters and settlements from Arab attack. The British did not officially recognize the Haganah, but in the midst of the uprising they did help to organize several special forces groups trained in different tactics to help defend British interests.

In April 1937, a revisionist splinter group of the Haganah known as Irgun Zvai Leumi, or simply Irgun, began its own operations. Irgun’s policies differed from those of the Haganah in that Irgun targeted the British as well as Arab Palestinians. The British 1939 White Paper, restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine, added to Jewish anger toward the British. The White Paper was viewed by Zionist leaders as a betrayal of British intentions stated in the **BALFOUR DECLARATION** of 1917. As a result, the Haganah began helping to guard illegal immigrant ships as they arrived along the Palestinian coast. In the process, many illegal Jewish immigrants died due to drowning and overcrowding on the tiny ships and also ended up in **NAZI** camps after being turned away by the British upon arrival. In June 1940, a splinter group of the Irgun left the organization after a disagreement on the decision to suspend its armed campaign against the British during **WORLD WAR II**. These members established a more radical group called Lehi, also known as the Stern Gang, named after its new leader.

The Haganah itself was evolving into a national and relatively nonpartisan clandestine Jewish army. At this time it wished to distance itself from the Irgun’s and Lehi’s methods. The Haganah was officially an illegal organization, too, and yet at the same time the British

cooperated with it during the Arab revolt (1936–39) and yet again during World War II. In 1941, select members of the Haganah under British training became an elite command force, the Palmah, which was created to counter an anticipated Nazi takeover of VICHY-held Lebanon and Syria. At the conclusion of World War II, it became apparent that Britain would not change its policies in Palestine, nor would it allow a mass Jewish migration into the region. The Haganah then decided to join in on the actions of the Irgun and Lehi by attacking the British in commando raids and sabotage attacks.

The Haganah membership consisted of illegal immigrants as well as over 26,000 Palestinian Jews who had served with the British in World War II. Some of the strengths of the Haganah included its bravery, its initiative, and its ability to improvise during battle. It developed an impressive military intelligence system that allowed it to spy on the British and the Palestinian Arabs. It also became very skilled in covert operation tactics such as stealing weapons from the British and hiding the many immigrants it helped smuggle into the region. Training activities and the purchase of weapons abroad were stepped up after the 1947 UN partition plan, which called for the partition of Palestine between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews.

Shortly after this, the Haganah, along with Irgun and Lehi, began concerted attacks on Palestinian Arabs in an attempt to force them out of the Jewish areas that were outlined in the UN plan. Some 300,000 Palestinian Arabs were displaced from their homes in five weeks, including an all-day attack on Deir Yasin village resulting in the deaths of over 250 men, women, and children. Days after the British mandate ended, Israel was declared an independent state, and in the 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, also known as the War of Independence, Israel held on to the territory that had been allotted to it in the partition plan and also extended its territory by approximately one-third. At the time of the Israeli declaration of independence, the new government, led by DAVID BEN-GURION, decided that the new state would not have any armed militias or partisan groups, and the Haganah dissolved into the Israeli Defense Force, or IDF.

See also ZIONISM.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Haitian massacre (1937)

For seven bloody days during October 1937, the Dominican army massacred thousands of Haitian men, women, and children living in the northwestern frontier region of the Dominican Republic. Thousands more fled for their lives across the border into Haiti. Many of the victims were Dominican-born and thus were accorded Dominican citizenship, as guaranteed by the country's constitution. Some came from families that had lived in the Dominican Republic for generations.

The country's president-dictator, RAFAEL TRUJILLO, ordered this wave of genocidal violence and justified his actions as an act of national self-preservation, declaring that an invasion of Haitians threatened the Dominican Republic. Trujillo, reflecting the view of many other Dominicans, defined Dominican national identity according to its difference from Haitians. Dominicans, especially the elite, identified themselves as a white and Hispanic nation, in stark opposition to the black and African Haiti.

The borderlands region dividing Haiti and the Dominican Republic represented a porous boundary marked by a transnational, bilingual, and bicultural community of Haitians and Dominicans, some of whom intermarried. Unlike Haitians living in the eastern regions of the Dominican Republic, the Haitians in the borderlands were mostly independent small farmers. Many Haitians had immigrated to the Dominican Republic in the second half of the 19th century in search of land in the sparsely populated western region of the country. Their descendants, although ethnically and culturally Haitian, were born on Dominican soil and considered it their home. The residents of this region did not regard the border between the two countries as a concrete boundary and frequently traveled back and forth several times a day.

The porous and transnational Haiti-Dominican border troubled Trujillo and the Dominican elite, and soon after his rise to power he worked to formalize the border. He feared that the open border provided an easy passageway for exiled revolutionaries to launch an attack on his regime. Trujillo signed a boundary treaty with Haitian president Sténio Vincent in March 1936. Trujillo and his elite Dominican officials actively engaged in a program of nation building and national identity dedicated to a strict geographic and cultural national boundary between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

When the massacre began on October 2, both Haitians and Dominicans living in the borderland region

feared for their lives, having been caught completely unaware by the killing spree. No policies or actions by the Trujillo regime prior to the massacre had foreshadowed such an event. Some Dominicans risked their own lives to help their Haitian neighbors, while others aided the army in identifying Haitians. The fluidity of culture and language in this borderlands region made it difficult to distinguish Haitian from Dominican. Soldiers employed crude methods based on racially constructed stereotypes about Haitians to determine who lived and died, such as determining a person's ethnicity based on their pronunciation of the Spanish "r." The soldiers avoided the use of firearms, preferring machetes, clubs, and bayonets, suggesting to many scholars that Trujillo hoped to characterize the killings as a popular uprising, not government-sponsored genocide.

The massacre forever changed the borderlands region by imposing a strict dichotomy between Haitian and Dominican. Word of the government-sponsored massacre spread quickly as journalists and foreigners reported the atrocities. Trujillo set about creating an atmosphere of anti-Haitian sentiment to justify his military actions. President Sténio Vincent of Haiti feared a Dominican military invasion and called on the United States, Mexico, and Cuba to act as mediators between the two countries. Trujillo refused to submit to an inquiry, claiming that the incident was not a matter of international concern. The dictator subsequently offered Haiti \$750,000 to settle the matter, and President Vincent readily accepted the money.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Hara Kei

(1856–1921) *Japanese politician*

Hara Kei (Hara Takashi) was a leading member of the Seiyukai political party in Japan in the early 20th century and the prime minister of Japan from 1918 to 1921.

Hara was born into a family of samurai background in northern Japan in 1856. After working in fields as diverse as diplomacy and journalism, Hara joined the

Seiyukai, a political party founded by Ito Hirobumi in 1900, and quickly became one of its leading members. Although political parties were the leading force in the lower house of Japan's parliamentary body, the Diet, the key posts in the Japanese cabinet, including the position of prime minister, remained dominated at the turn of the century not by party officials but rather by elder statesmen. Hara became one of the foremost champions of allying the Seiyukai with the cabinet.

In 1904, Prime Minister Katsura Taro needed Seiyukai support in the Diet for budget increases in order to fight the Russo-Japanese War. Hara and Katsura made a bargain whereby Hara delivered the necessary assistance in exchange for the future appointment of Seiyukai's president, Saionji Kinmochi, as prime minister. Saionji eventually served twice as prime minister, from 1906 to 1908 and then from 1911 to 1912. As home minister in Saionji's first cabinet, Hara worked to strengthen the party by recruiting members of the civil bureaucracy into the organization. In addition, he built support for the party beyond the ranks of officialdom by providing funds for local economic development. By increasing spending on local schools, roads, harbors, and transportation, he gained a following for the Seiyukai among the electorate.

Hara became president of the Seiyukai in 1914 and was selected to serve as prime minister of Japan in the aftermath of the well-known 1918 rice riots, marking the first time that a career party politician held that leading office in the Japanese government. Although Japan had undergone an economic boom as a result of WORLD WAR I, those on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy struggled with inflation and falling wages. Hara was in many ways the only leader with significant support in both the Diet's party-dominated lower house and its upper house, the House of Peers, still largely the preserve of nonparty elites, despite the fact that some upper-house delegates had joined political parties. His connections with nonparty elites proved vital to his accession to prime minister.

Upon becoming prime minister, Hara did not embark on a program of sweeping, wholesale changes. The tax qualification for voting was lowered in a move that doubled the size of the electorate, but most of the newly enfranchised were small landholders largely favorable to the Seiyukai. In a more overtly partisan manner, Hara's government remapped electoral boundaries to benefit the Seiyukai, and his appointments within the bureaucracy were often made with blatantly partisan motives. His government likewise supported defense spending, and Hara made significant efforts to improve relations with the military leadership.

Responding to protests against Japanese imperial rule, Hara attempted to replace the military administrations of Japan's colonial holdings with civilian officials, though the military successfully resisted those efforts in Korea. He also called for assimilation of colonial populations, representation for colonies in the Diet, and the granting of greater civil liberties to colonials.

Hara's career came to a violent conclusion when he was assassinated by a right-wing fanatic in Tokyo Station in 1921, but Hara Kei had played an immensely important role in transforming the Seiyukai into a leading force in Japanese politics in the early 20th century.

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ADAM C. STANLEY

Harlem Renaissance

The *Harlem Renaissance* is the name that was attached to the African-American literary, artistic, and intellectual movement that was centered in Harlem, a neighborhood in Upper Manhattan, New York. Many African Americans had migrated from the South to northern cities in the years after 1916 in what is known as the Great Migration, and Harlem, which had been developed as a residential area for whites, became the cultural capital of the African-American United States during the 1920s. The movement's participants knew it as "The New Negro Movement," after the title of art historian Alain Locke's book *The New Negro* (1925), in which Locke expressed the hope that the black artist would become "a collaborator and participant in American civilization."

Like any cultural movement, the Harlem Renaissance had antecedents, as the cultural life of African Americans in New York City was already well developed. Harlem, acknowledged as the black capital of the United States, was home to advocacy groups such as MARCUS GARVEY's Universal Negro Improvement Association, the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), and the National Urban League, and most nationally known African Americans, including Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, and A. Philip Randolph, lived there. The

intellectual center of Harlem was the local branch of the New York Public Library, which had the most extensive collection of material concerning African Americans in existence.

Scholars of the movement have placed its onset in 1910, when the NAACP began to publish *Crisis*, edited by W. E. B. DuBois. Others argue that it began in 1919, when black soldiers returned from WORLD WAR I and U.S. cities experienced an unprecedented amount of racial violence, or in the early 1920s, which saw the publication of James Weldon Johnson's *Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923), and the launching of the newspaper *Opportunity* (1923), edited by sociologist Charles S. Johnson for the National Urban League. Both *Crisis* and *Opportunity* published fiction and poetry and sponsored contests to encourage African-American writers.

The Harlem Renaissance is remembered as a chiefly literary movement. Poetry constituted its first literary output, but prose forms, notably fiction, replaced poetry as the dominant literary form after 1924. Although the movement included visual arts, it excluded jazz, which, although it was performed in Harlem, had other antecedents (it should be noted that the 1920s dance craze the Charleston was first performed in Harlem). As artists and writers began to speak in terms of a "New Negro," they developed a definition of African Americans as a militant, self-assertive, and urbane group of people capable of speaking for themselves. Some writers, like Langston Hughes, were at the beginning of long and distinguished careers, and some, like Jean Toomer, never wrote anything else of significance. The literary movement did not have a consistent recognizable style, as it encompassed a debate over tradition and the nature of African-American culture. Wallace Thurman, Claude McKay, Arthur Huff Fauset, and Zora Neale Hurston, among others, stressed the distinctiveness and vitality of black ethnicity, particularly among working-class African Americans, while James Weldon Johnson, Jessie Fauset, Nella Larsen, and Alain Locke were more likely to write about middle-class African-American life as a means of ensuring that it would be seen as an integral part of U.S. culture as a whole. Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen found themselves agreeing with both sides of this debate.

Hughes (1902–67) and Hurston (1891[?]-1960) are the best-known writers of the movement. Hughes, born James Langston Hughes in Joplin, Missouri, worked at a variety of jobs, traveled in the Americas and Europe, and published his first volume of poetry, *The Weary Blues*, in 1926. Seen as the prototypical

New Negro, Hughes used the rhythms and language of jazz and blues in his poems, and his essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926) stands with *The New Negro* as a principal statement of the movement's ideology. Hurston, who grew up in the all-black hamlet of Eatonville, Florida, graduated from Barnard College, where she studied with the anthropologist Franz Boas. Hurston's literary output interpreted African-American folktales she had gathered in the rural South in collections and novels published during the 1930s.

Visual artists connected with the Harlem Renaissance are less renowned. Aaron Douglas is best known for his illustrations in *The New Negro* and in James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. Palmer Hayden, who was trained in both New York and Paris, is best known for his paintings of African subjects. Other artists associated with the movement were Malvin G. Johnson and William H. Johnson. The best known sculptor is Augusta Savage, and photographers James Van Der Zee and Roy DeCarava are also associated with the movement.

The Harlem Renaissance contributed to placing black art and literature at the center of American life, but the incorporation was not entirely the work of African Americans. For African Americans, the movement was a response to calls from critics like Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks for a U.S. culture independent of European tradition. For white literary America, Harlem was exotic. When Harlem was embraced by white critics like H. L. Mencken and Carl Van Vechten, it was in part as a result of their own iconoclasm. Van Vechten's book *Nigger Heaven* (1926) "promoted" Harlem to white Americans (and caused anger and resentment among many African Americans), but Van Vechten also served as a patron to Langston Hughes and introduced other black writers to patrons such as Mrs. R. Osgood (Charlotte) Mason, Albert Barnes, Louise Bryant, the William E. Harmon Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the General Education Fund. Mencken published the work of African-American artists in the *American Mercury*.

As the GREAT DEPRESSION set in, resources available to African Americans in Harlem dwindled, making cultural activities even harder to maintain. The end of the Harlem Renaissance came in 1935, when a racially based riot convulsed Harlem. There has been a good deal of debate concerning what was seen as the failure of African American artists and writers to create and maintain independent cultural institutions, but it is generally agreed that the movement

provided subsequent African-American writers and artists with a cultural base upon which later generations could build.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Hashemite dynasty in Iraq

The SAN REMO TREATY (1920) following WORLD WAR I granted Britain control over Iraq as a mandate. Following the bloody IRAQI REBELLION against the mandate, the British decided at the 1921 CAIRO CONFERENCE, attended by Sir Percy Cox as Iraqi high commissioner among others, to provide a semblance of independence by establishing an Iraqi monarchy that would be closely tied to Britain.

A member of the respected Hashemite family, Faysal (also Feisal), Sherif Husayn's son, was approached about becoming king of Iraq. Faysal was a favorite of the British from their relationship with him during the Arab revolt, and the French had recently militarily ousted him as king of Syria. Faysal reluctantly agreed to accept the position after a plebiscite had been held to confirm his support within Iraq. The plebiscite was held under British supervision, and Faysal was elected king. Faysal was crowned in the summer of 1921 with Cox remaining as the British high commissioner. The 1922 treaty between Iraq and Britain allowed for direct British administration over defense and domestic security; British advisers also retained veto power in other ministries. Legally, Faysal ruled under the 1925 constitution, which was written by the British. The constitution provided for a two-house parliament and a cabinet with wide executive powers. Elections were effectively stage-managed by the cabinet, and martial law was periodically implemented to prevent disorder.

The new government faced major domestic and regional problems. Iraq was a complex society of ethnic and religious groups. Kurds, who were Sunni Muslims, dominated the north and had nationalist ambitions for an independent state of their own. Sunni Muslim Arabs lived mostly in the center around Baghdad, and the

population in the south and the main city of Basra was mostly Shi'i Arab. There were also small populations of Assyrian Christians (who were persecuted in the 1930s), other Christians scattered around the nation, and Jews, who resided mostly in Baghdad. The borders of the new nation were unclear, and it had difficult relations with neighboring Iran. The borders with Iran were not settled until 1937, when Iraq was given sovereignty over the Shatt al-'Arab in the south and Iran gained the port of Abadan on the Persian Gulf. Along its southern border Iraq claimed Kuwait, an impoverished territory but one that had a long coastline along the Persian Gulf, but the claims were rejected by Cox at the 'Uqayr conference of 1922, leaving Iraq practically landlocked. There were also disputes with Turkey over the northern region of Mosul, but the British intervened in Iraq's favor. The territory, with its oil reserves, remained under Iraqi—and by extension British—control. In the north the British also periodically put down secessionist movements among the Kurds and again used poison gas as they had done during the 1920 rebellion.

The preponderance of Sunnis in key government and economic positions and the underrepresentation of the large Shi'i population also posed problems. Throughout the interwar years Nuri Said, who was notably pro-British, served repeatedly as prime minister. Economically, the revenues from petroleum helped create an urban middle class and finance some irrigation projects. A pipeline from Iraq to the port of Haifa on the Mediterranean was completed in the 1930s. But the concessions between the petroleum companies and the government favored the companies, and most Iraqis felt that the country did not receive appropriate compensation for its major resource.

Mounting nationalist and anti-British sentiments in the army posed problems for both the monarchy and the British. The nationwide curriculum instituted by Sati al-Husri, a pan-Arabist, stressed Arab history and culture and encouraged the development of national loyalties. This further alienated many Kurds and Shi'i, who felt, correctly, that they were underrepresented.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1930 provided for the future full independence of Iraq but also enforced a close alliance with Britain. Under the treaty, which was the model for the 1936 treaty between Britain and Egypt, Britain retained the veto over Iraqi foreign policy and the right to station troops on Iraqi territory. With independence in 1932, Iraq was admitted into the LEAGUE OF NATIONS.



Opening of the Iraq parliament in 1942: The regent salutes with the prime minister, General Nuri as-Said, on his left.

Faysal died in 1933 and was succeeded by his son Ghazi, who was far more nationalistic and anti-British than his father had been. He increased the size of the army, which played an increasingly important role in Iraqi politics. A number of nationalist clubs and political parties were formed in the 1930s and 1940s, particularly the People's Party and the National Party, formed in the 1920s, and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), established in 1934.

Like many other Arab nationalists, Ghazi viewed relations with NAZI Germany as a possible way to decrease British control over the region. As war loomed, Britain and Nuri Said became increasingly worried about the monarch's loyalty. Consequently, when Ghazi died in an automobile crash in 1939, many Iraqis suspected foul play by the British. Because Ghazi's son was too young to rule, his openly pro-British uncle Abdul-Ilah was made regent.

Rashid Ali al-Qaylani, a judge and former cabinet member, became prime minister in the early 1940s. Al-Qaylani and key army officers, known as the Golden Square, looked to the Axis powers to counter the British in Iraq. After al-Qaylani was removed from office in a vote of no confidence, he was returned to power in a military coup d'état in the spring of 1941. The regent fled

to Jordan, which was ruled by Hashemite amir Abdullah, a close relative. To protect their interests the British promptly landed troops from India at Basra. The Iraqis surrounded the key Habbaniyya military base near Baghdad, and the British retaliated by bombing the Iraqi troops. The Iraqis held out, but with reinforcements from the Arab Legion (Jordanian forces commanded by the British), the British retook the base and ousted al-Qaylani and the Iraqi generals who had supported the coup. They were subsequently imprisoned, executed, or sent into exile. The British held Iraq, with Nuri Said often acting as prime minister, for the duration of WORLD WAR II.

After the war Iraq joined the Arab League and participated along with other Arab armies in the 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR. Their loss in that war shocked Iraqis and resulted in mass uprisings, and Jews and Jewish-owned businesses were also attacked. As pan-Arab nationalism grew in the postwar era, the power and influence of the pro-British monarchy and its supporters eroded. Nuri ignored or underestimated demands for reforms and mounting opposition, and the monarchy was overthrown in a bloody revolution led by the Iraqi army in 1958.

See also HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN (1914-1953); OIL INDUSTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Hashemite monarchy in Jordan (1914-1953)

Like many other postcolonial states in the Middle East, the Hashemite monarchy of Jordan has largely artificial boundaries drawn by European imperial powers. The European powers, particularly Britain and France, divided the territories of much of the Middle East between themselves as the previous empire of the Ottoman Turks collapsed in the wake of WORLD WAR I. As part of the SYKES-PICOT wartime agreement between Britain and France, the territory that is now Jordan came under British tutelage. In 1921, having secured the LEAGUE OF NATIONS' official mandate for the territories of Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq, the British government created the Emirate of Transjordan through an agreement with

its new ruler, Emir Abdullah (later King Abdullah I) of the Hashemite family.

The Hashemites had fought with the British in the "Great Arab Revolt" against the Ottoman Turkish Empire during World War I. But shortly after the war ended, the Hashemites were defeated and expelled from Arabia by their rival ABD AL-AZIZ IBN SAUD, who ultimately carved out the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the postwar mandate period, the British government decided to install two brothers of the House of Hashem, Abdullah and Faysal, in their mandates of Jordan and Iraq, respectively. This move was in large part intended as a reward for Hashemite support in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

Since its beginnings, Jordan has developed into a modern state that has long defied predictions of its imminent demise. What began as the British mandate of Transjordan in 1921 evolved into the Emirate of Transjordan at the time of independence from Britain in 1946, and finally into its current form as the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan beginning in 1949.

The Hashemite monarchy pointedly emphasized its Islamic lineage, especially the direct Hashemite family line descending from the prophet Muhammad. Beyond this emphasis on a religious and cultural source of legitimacy, the monarchy also established itself immediately as the premier and centralized political power in the emerging Jordanian state. It would come to dominate the economy through reliance on a large public sector and also predicate its rule on co-option of key constituencies, including ethnic and religious minorities, while also relying on the armed forces that benefited from extensive royal patronage.

Given its location, Jordan was from the outset deeply involved in the various dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. By the time of Jordanian independence in 1946, tensions were peaking in neighboring Palestine between Jews and Arabs over the issue of Zionist versus Palestinian aspirations to full statehood. When the United Nations voted to partition Palestine between the two peoples in 1947 and Israel declared its independence the following year, Jordan's Arab Legion was one of the Arab armies that attacked the new state, joining fighting that had already begun between the two communities. In what remains one of the most controversial moves in the history of modern Middle Eastern politics, King Abdullah formally annexed the West Bank to his Jordanian kingdom in 1950. The debate ever since has turned on whether Abdullah's move preserved Arab

territory from complete Israeli control or whether he foreclosed the possibility of a smaller Palestinian state by annexing the territory.

Abdullah paid for that decision with his life, when he was gunned down in East Jerusalem by a Palestinian nationalist in 1951. After a brief transitional period during which his son, Talal, was judged mentally unfit to rule, Abdullah's grandson Hussein became king in 1953.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1948).

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CURTIS R. RYAN

Hatta, Muhammad

(1902–1980) *Indonesian vice president*

The first vice president of Indonesia, Muhammad Hatta was born on August 12, 1902, in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. He had his early education in the Dutch schools of Padang and Batavia. He was in the Netherlands from 1922 to 1932, where he studied in Rotterdam and involved himself in political activities. He along with Minangkabau Sultan Sjahrir (1909–66) joined the Indische Vereeniging (Indies' Student Society) and became instrumental in changing the social club into a politically important association, the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Union), in 1922. Hatta established Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia (Indonesian Students Association), becoming its chairperson in 1926. He joined the League against Imperialism and attended the Brussels meeting in February 1927. After returning to the Netherlands, he was imprisoned by the Dutch government but was released in 1928.

Hatta came back to Indonesia in 1932 and found the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, NATIONALIST PARTY OF INDONESIA) faction-ridden after the arrest of its leader, Sukarno. Hatta believed in building up cadres who would be active in nationalist agendas. The Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education Club) was formed from a splinter group of the PNI. Sukarno tried to bring different nationalist groups together after his release into a mass organization called Partai Indonesia (Partindo, Indonesian Party). It was short lived, as the leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement were put behind bars by the reactionary

governor-general of the Dutch government, De Jonge (1931–36). Sukarno was exiled in 1933, and the following year Hatta and Sjahrir were assigned to penal camps. The nationalist struggle was effectively suppressed by the policy of repression.

The banishment of the leaders was over after the Japanese entered the country in March 1942. The Japanese desire to use the leaders in their war effort opened new avenues for the leaders. On August 17, 1945, two days after Japan surrendered to the Allies, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. Sukarno was elected president, and Hatta became the vice president. The Dutch returned, and the republic was attacked in 1947 and 1948. The archipelago was divided between republican-held territory and that being reoccupied by the Dutch. The republic's capital was captured, and most of its top leaders, including Sukarno and Hatta, were arrested and exiled. The world reaction was sharp, and the UN Security Council ordered an immediate cease-fire. Hatta presided over the delegation sent to The Hague for negotiating with the Dutch. The Hague Agreement of December 27, 1949, transferred sovereignty to the Indonesian federal government. On August 17, 1950, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was restored. Hatta was again premier in 1949 and 1950. He was vice president until 1956. He devoted the rest of his life to the development of cooperatives. The humble and much respected leader died on March 14, 1980, in Jakarta.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl

(1895–1979) *Peruvian president*

A prominent Peruvian political activist and the man who won the 1931 and 1962 Peruvian presidential elections, Haya de la Torre was the founder of the Aprista Party, which has been in the forefront of radical dissent in Peru since 1924. He wanted greater rights—political and economic—for the indigenous Indians of

Latin America and an end to the power of the Spanish oligarchies that controlled many of the countries, as well as an end to the domination of the economies of Latin American countries by foreign businesses.

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was born on February 22, 1895, at Trujillo, in the north of Peru, the son of wealthy parents descended from conquistadores. As a teenager, Haya de la Torre learned to read and speak French and German and became interested in Nietzsche. He then proceeded to the University of Trujillo, where he studied literature and became a close friend of the Peruvian poet César Vallejo. He studied at the National University of San Marcos in Lima. While at San Marcos he was involved in the University Reform Movement, which had spread from Argentina, where he had spent some time studying. This was aimed at expanding the university to allow poorer people to attend.

Haya de la Torre was instrumental in the founding of the Universidades Populares Gonzalez Prada, which were night schools for workers.

Haya de la Torre was heavily influenced by three things: a visit to Cuzco, where he saw many Indians being badly treated; his student days at the University of Córdoba in Argentina; and the MEXICAN REVOLUTION. He was a student leader and in 1923 led a protest against the dedication of Peru to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The idea had been suggested by the president, Augusto B. Leguía, and was unpopular with many people. The protests rocked Peru for three days, after which the archbishop of Lima suggested that Leguía withdraw his idea, which he did. However, Haya de la Torre had become nationally famous overnight, and he was arrested and then deported.

Haya de la Torre went into exile in Mexico City, where on May 7, 1924, he founded the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA Popular Revolutionary American Party). It advocated Latin American unity, support for the indigenous Indian population, and the nationalization of foreign-owned businesses, especially those owned by U.S., British, and European interests, a doctrine now widely known as Aprismo. When Leguía was overthrown in 1930, Haya de la Torre was in Berlin. His supporters nominated him as a candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, and when he returned to Lima he was greeted by the biggest crowd that had gathered in Peru up to that point. He won the elections, defeating Colonel Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, who had the support of the oligarchy, the church, and the army. Fraud saw Sánchez Cerro declared the winner, and in February 1932 Haya de la

Torre was arrested and thrown into jail without trial. He was held in prison for a total of 14 months. Sánchez Cerro was assassinated on April 30, 1933, and Haya de la Torre was released from prison.

From 1936 until 1945 Haya de la Torre was essentially a semifugitive, being sought by the police for various reasons. However, he was available to meet foreign journalists, and U.S. writer John Gunther had no trouble organizing three interviews with him. In 1945 APRA changed its name to the Partido del Pueblo (“People’s Party”) and declared its support for José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in the presidential elections. Bustamante won the elections with Haya de la Torre as the real power broker. It was, however, not an alliance that lasted for long. In 1947 Bustamante banned the Partido del Pueblo, which had been riven by disputes from members in Callao, and in October 1948 he imposed martial law to rule by decree. On October 28, 1948, Bustamante was overthrown in a political coup d’état, and Haya de la Torre was forced to take refuge in the Colombian embassy, where he remained until 1954.

In June 1962 another presidential election was held, and Haya de la Torre narrowly defeated Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Belaúnde claimed that the election victory had been achieved by fraud, and the military under President Pérez Godoy seized power and annulled the entire election. New elections were held in June 1963, and Belaúnde won. However, in October 1968 Belaúnde was himself overthrown. All political parties were banned until 1978, when a new constituent assembly was elected to write a new constitution. Haya de la Torre was the president of that assembly and signed the new constitution from his bed, unable to leave it owing to illness. He was then adopted as the APRA’s candidate for the 1980 presidential elections but died on August 2, 1979, in Lima.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Hirohito

(1901–1989) *emperor of Japan*

Emperor Hirohito of Japan lived in an age of contradictions, caught between ancient traditions and modern

realities. The 124th in the line of the longest dynasty the world has known, Hirohito saw the Japanese monarchy become purely ceremonial. Japan was modernized during his reign when he died after 63 years on the throne, the longest reign of modern monarchs. The Japanese emperors were said to be direct descendants of the sun goddess who founded Japan more than 2,500 years ago. After WORLD WAR II at U.S. demand, he issued a renunciation of any claims to his divinity after ruling over his country during one of its most militaristic periods.

Born on April 29, 1901, Hirohito was the first son of Crown Prince Yoshito, son of Emperor Mutsuhito (better known as the Meiji emperor). As was the custom with the royal household, while still a tiny infant Hirohito was taken from his mother to be reared by foster parents. Count Kawamura, the foster father, was already 70 years old when he took the responsibility of rearing the royal infant, and he died when the child was three years old. At that time, Hirohito was returned to the residence of his parents, Akasara Palace. Even here, however, Hirohito was isolated from other children and from his parents. He rarely saw his unemotional father and visited his mother once a week.

In 1908 the young Hirohito was sent to Peers School, founded especially for males of noble birth, where he became interested in natural history and science. This interest developed into a passion for marine biology, a field in which Hirohito became a worldwide authority and on which he published eight books.

Meiji died in 1912 and was succeeded by Hirohito's father, the Taisho emperor; Hirohito, the heir apparent, became engaged to the daughter of a nobleman, Princess Nagako, in 1918, who became his only wife, bearing him five daughters and two sons.

In 1921 Hirohito, along with an enormous retinue, made an unprecedented visit to Europe. No other Japanese crown prince had ever visited another country. He was greatly impressed with what seemed to him the informality and freedom of the rulers, especially the British royal family. Later that year Hirohito was named regent for his father, who was declining mentally. In 1923 he survived an attempted assassination by a young radical.

At the age of 25 Hirohito became emperor of Japan. He chose the name Showa (Enlightened Peace) for his reign. Hirohito's grandfather had helped bring Japan into the modern world when he had dismantled the powers of the feudal shogun. When he came to the throne, Japan, like much of the world in the 1920s, was in the midst of growth and optimism. However, in the midst of the GREAT DEPRESSION of

the 1930s, Japan became more fascist and militaristic, with many assassinations and domestic unrest, culminating in an uprising in January 1936 during which Tokyo was under the direct command of military divisions. Hirohito acted swiftly to control the insurrection and punish the leaders, but Japan's military continued to gain strength.

Japan invaded China in 1937 without Hirohito's direct approval but also without his intervention. The emperor did not like the policies of NAZI Germany and Fascist Italy, but he did not openly oppose Japan's alliance with them; he signed the declaration of war against the United States and the Allies in 1941. Hirohito's participation in events that led to and during World War II remain controversial due to the destruction of many documents immediately after Japan's surrender. Evidence shows that while he was not instrumental in Japan's aggressions beginning in the 1930s, he was fully aware of Japan's wartime goals and methods and participated in key meetings and decision making. In 1945 Hirohito made his famous radio address asking his people to surrender. It was the first time that the public had ever heard his voice.

When the United States began its occupation of Japan, Hirohito accepted full responsibility for the war and offered to abdicate his throne. However, the Allies felt Japan's stability would be better preserved if the emperor remained. As the figurehead ruler under the constitution promulgated in 1947, Hirohito had the luxury of devoting the remainder of his life to his scientific pursuits. He tried to establish a more open relationship with the people, and although he was a popular figure, he was awkward when meeting them.

Emperor Hirohito made two more foreign visits in his later years. In 1972 he traveled to Europe, and in 1975 he visited the United States. He died on January 7, 1989, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Crown Prince Akihito.

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

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Hiroshima and Nagasaki

By the summer of 1945, WORLD WAR II in the Pacific was virtually over. Since December 1941, the United States had pushed Japanese forces back until only the homeland itself remained in Japanese control. The United States prepared to launch an invasion of Japan.

While preparing for the invasion, on July 26 U.S. president HARRY S. TRUMAN and British prime minister Clement Attlee, with Nationalist Chinese president CHIANG KAI-SHEK concurring, issued the Potsdam Declaration calling for the unconditional surrender of Japan and listing additional peace terms. At this point Truman knew that the first atomic bomb test at Alamogordo, New Mexico, had been successful 10 days earlier.

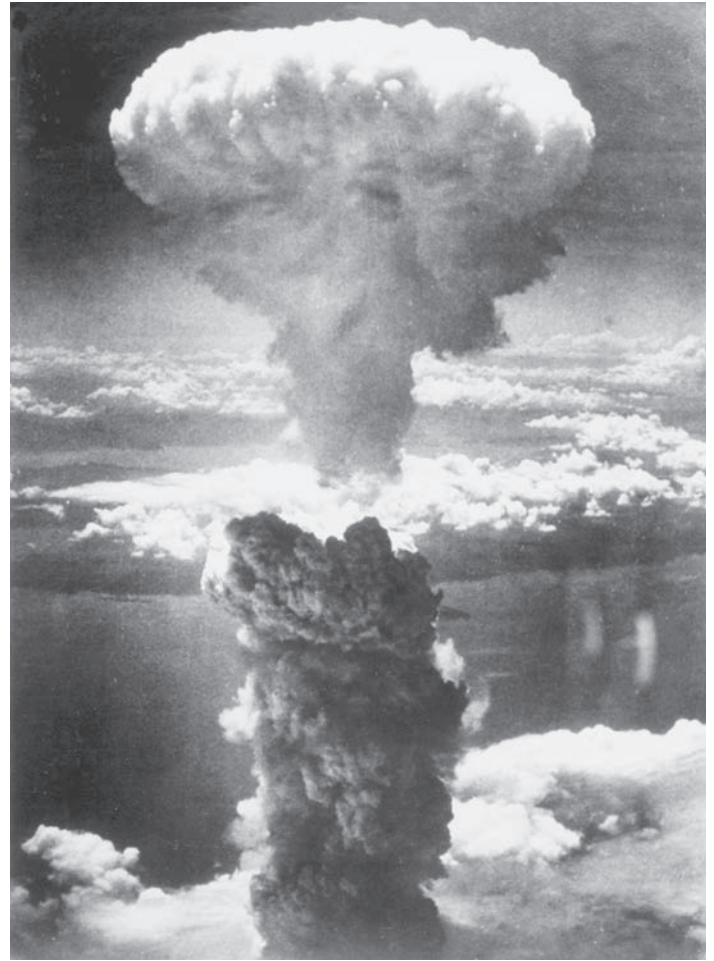
The test was the culmination of a three-year highly secret project. The first man-made atomic reactor was built in a squash court at the University of Chicago in 1942. More sophisticated reactors were built at Hanford, where the plutonium was produced. The first test of the plutonium bomb was at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945.

Although the Potsdam Declaration made it clear to the Japanese that they could anticipate severe consequences if they chose to continue the war, Japan rejected the ultimatum. Truman ordered the use of the bomb. His secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson, regarded the use of the bomb as less abhorrent than sacrificing U.S. lives. Truman's military advisers had indicated that the invasion of Japan could result in the loss of half a million U.S. soldiers plus millions of Japanese military and civilian lives. Truman wanted the war over, and he wanted the maximum possible blow in order to end the war without the invasion. The U.S. military selected Hiroshima and Kokura because the two were among the Japanese cities that had thus far escaped the destruction caused by U.S. and Allied bombs.

On August 6, 1945, at 9:15 A.M. Tokyo time, the B-29 bomber *Enola Gay*, piloted by Paul W. Tibbets, dropped a uranium atomic bomb, "Little Boy," on Hiroshima. In minutes half of Japan's seventh-largest city was gone, and thousands of people were dead. Between 60,000 and 70,000 people were dead or missing, and 140,000 were injured.

On August 6 another bomb was prepared on Tinian Island. On August 9 the B-29 *Bock's Car* prepared to bomb Kokura. Smoke over the target caused pilot Sweeney to seek his alternate target, Nagasaki.

The industrial city of Nagasaki fell to the bomb "Fat Man" at 11:02 A.M. Exploded at 1,800 feet to



The devastation caused by the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki quickly led to the end of World War II in the Pacific.

maximize the impact of the blast, Fat Man leveled buildings, destroyed electrical systems, and generated fires. The bomb destroyed 39 percent of the city, killed 42,000, and injured 40,000.

The two bombings killed 210,000 Japanese—140,000 in Hiroshima and 70,000 in Nagasaki, two-thirds of them women, children, and elderly. Deaths to military and foreign workers are unknown. What is known is that the explosion rather than the radiation was the primary cause of death. Some 24 Australian prisoners of war about 1.5 kilometers from Nagasaki ground zero survived, many to old age.

The bombs produced fires, blast pressure, and extremely high radiation levels. Both were detonated about 600 meters aboveground, so the belowground contamination was minimal from the bombs. Subsequent rainfall deposited radioactive material east of Nagasaki and west and northwest of Hiroshima, but

the great majority of the radioactive material was taken high into the atmosphere by the blasts themselves. The blasts also irradiated some stable metals—such as those found in metal roofs—for a day or two after the blast, but the damage was minimal.

In the cities victims died due to flash burns from the heat generated by the blast. People died when their homes burst into flames. Others were injured by flying debris. In Hiroshima a firestorm arose in the center of the devastation. People within 300 yards of ground zero were vaporized, leaving their shadows on the streets. Blast and heat also stripped skin off bodies, sucked out eyeballs, and burst stomachs. Radiation deaths in subsequent years totaled about 120,000.

Severe radiation produced death within days. Severe radiation injuries were suffered by all persons within a one-kilometer radius. At between one and two kilometers distance injuries were serious to moderate, and slight injury affected those within two to four kilometers.

In addition to the 103,000 killed by the bombs in the first four months, another 400 died from cancer and leukemia over the subsequent 30 years. The bombs also produced birth defects and stillbirths. The children of survivors seem to have suffered no genetic damage. As of 2004, 93,000 exposed survivors were being monitored.

On September 2, 1945, the Japanese government surrendered unconditionally. WINSTON CHURCHILL calculated that the bomb had saved the lives of 250,000 British and 1 million Americans.

Harry Truman's argument that the bomb would save half a million soldiers was unconvincing to critics, who in the years since have noted that the Japanese were prepared to ask for peace before the bombs were dropped and had already sought peace in previous months. To these critics, the real reason for the use of the bombs was Truman's desire to frighten and impress the Soviet Union, which was already moving from ally to rival. Truman wanted to end the war before the Soviets could enter the Pacific War and stake a claim to a piece of the postwar settlement.

The Hiroshima bomb used 60 kilograms of highly enriched uranium-235 to destroy about 90 percent of the city. The Nagasaki bomb used 8 kilograms of plutonium-239. The bombs were a thousand times more powerful than any exploded previously. Four years later the United States exploded the first hydrogen bomb, and it was not long before there were bombs a thousand times more powerful than the one that was dropped on Hiroshima. By the

1980s the world's arsenals included a million Hiroshima bombs.

The Soviet Union tested its atomic bomb in 1949, and quickly Great Britain, France, and China joined the atomic community.

Beginning in the 1950s the emphasis was on the use of atomic energy for electricity and medical purposes. In the early 21st century 16 percent of the world's electricity, including that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, came from atomic power.

See also EINSTEIN, ALBERT.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Hitler, Adolf

(1889–1945) *German dictator*

Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Germany, proponent of Nazism, and perpetrator of THE HOLOCAUST, was born on April 20, 1889, in the Austrian town of Braunau near the German border. His father, Alois, was a customs official, and his mother, Klara, was a gentlewoman. Hitler did not finish his secondary education and moved to Vienna at the age of 18 to study art and architecture.

He was unsuccessful in getting admission and stayed in Vienna until 1913, doing menial jobs. Hitler developed a rabid nationalism and simultaneously showed deep anti-Semitism. He was influenced by anti-Jew writer Lanz von Liebenfels (1874–1954). The right-wing Austrian politician and mayor of Vienna Karl Lueger (1844–1910), along with Georg Ritter von Schönerer (1842–1921), an advocate of pan-Germanism, also shaped Hitler's violent hatred of the Jews.

He enlisted in the German army during WORLD WAR I. Hitler returned to Munich in 1919 with five medals and the prestigious German Iron Cross (twice) for his bold service as dispatch runner. The war had rescued him from the frustration of civilian life and inculcated in his mind a strong like of discipline and

authoritarianism. He had also developed a deep hatred of left-wing politics, and it was no coincidence that his anti-Semitism developed along with his political beliefs, as many of the advocates of socialism and communism were Jews.

The army employed Hitler as a political officer, and he freely gave vent to his feelings in the charged atmosphere following the humiliating Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919. The treaty signed by the German politicians was a peace dictated by others, and German humiliation was complete. Hitler was to report the activities of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP, German Workers' Party), and he soon found that the party ideals of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism were in line with his own beliefs. With his excellent skill of delivery, Hitler impressed the members and joined the DAP. Thus, the political career of Hitler began in September 1919. He was soon placed in charge of propaganda and recruited fellow soldiers from the army who had also been disillusioned with the Treaty of Versailles.

NAZI PARTY

All the blame for Germany's woes was put on the Jews, communists, and inefficient political leadership of the Weimar Republic. Hitler made the symbol of the party the swastika (symbolizing victory for the Aryan race) with a red background (symbolizing the social idea) and enclosed in a white circle (symbolizing the national idea). Hitler changed the name of the DAP to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), NAZI for short. As chairperson of the party, Hitler was addressed as the *führer* (leader).

The WEIMAR REPUBLIC received a severe blow in January 1923, when France and Belgium occupied the Ruhr industrial area and brought the German economy to a standstill. Hitler tried to exploit the situation with the Beer Hall Putsch of November in Bavaria, but the coup failed and the *führer* was imprisoned. During his period of incarceration, he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My struggle). The memoir-cum-doctrinal Nazi guide book spelled out an agenda for an expanded Germany inhabited by a pure Aryan race and excluding Jews and other unwanted people.

Hitler was biding his time and realized that he could attain power through the ballot box. The collapse of the New York Stock Market on October 23, 1929, and the consequent worldwide GREAT DEPRESSION affected the German economy. The unemployment figure rose from 1.30 million to nearly 4 million by the end of 1930. Hitler exploited the deteriorating economic situ-

ation. He had assured the top industrialists, by issuing a pamphlet entitled *The Road to Resurgence*, that the Nazi Party was not against the wealthy. His promise of suppression of trade unionism and building up of the army was music to the ears of big industrialists. His technique of propaganda and rabble-rousing speeches appealed to the workers. The political elite began to accept him because of his emphasis on legality. In the 1932 elections Hitler's party was the strongest in Germany, with 40 percent of the votes. The Reich president, Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934), was persuaded by conservative leaders and Nazi supporters to appoint Hitler chancellor in January 1933.

Nazi political opponents were subdued by mass demonstrations in favor of Hitler and terrorized by the brown-shirted SA, the Sturmabteilung (storm troopers), and the black-uniformed SS, the Schutzstaffel (security echelon). In March an act that granted dictatorial power to Hitler was passed. After four months all political parties were banned save the Nazi Party, and the common form of greeting became "Heil Hitler" with an outstretched right arm. A ministry of propaganda was instituted under Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945). On June 30, 1934, Hitler carried out a purge in the Nazi Party by murdering his opponents in the "night of the long knives." With the death of Hindenburg in August, Hitler, with the title of *führer*, was the supreme leader of Germany. The legal system was virtually nonexistent, and the Geheime Staatspolizei (the Gestapo, the secret state police), formed by Hermann Göring (1893–1946), threw the anti-Nazis into concentration camps. A rearmament and public housing program were initiated.

The economy revived, and the unemployment figures went down. Germany became 83 percent self-sufficient in agriculture by fixing farm prices and wages, banning the sale of farms of less than 312 acres, and reclaiming uncultivated lands. Industrial recovery was achieved by the Four-Year Plans of 1933 and 1936. The ministry of economics distributed raw materials and regulated prices, imports, and exports. Hitler's popularity soared, while Germany had been transformed into an authoritarian state.

Hitler struck against the Jews, which culminated in the Nazis' sending them into gas chambers and concentration camps during WORLD WAR II. The NUREMBERG LAWS of September 1935 denied the Jews citizenship and the right to marry non-Jews. Hitler's policies led to large-scale Jewish migration to different parts of the world. The November 1938 pogrom against the Jews resulted in massacre, looting of property, the forcing of

Jews to wear yellow stars of David so that they could be identified, and resettlement in ghettos.

Hitler posed as a defender of peace and a crusader against Bolshevism. The leadership of Britain and France appeased Hitler because to them JOSEPH STALIN (1879–1953) was a greater menace. With consummate skill Hitler began to scrap the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and to follow the policy of *Lebensraum* in an eastward direction. Hitler withdrew from the Geneva Disarmament Conference as well as from the LEAGUE OF NATIONS in October 1933. He denounced the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and introduced conscription in March 1934.

The next year Germany began expanding its armed forces and its navy in flagrant violation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. In March 1936, Hitler occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. Italy and Japan, with the same agenda of ultranationalism, militarism, and aggressive foreign policy, became close allies of Germany. The three countries signed pacts for furthering their aims. The Rome-Berlin Axis was established between BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883–1945) and Hitler in October 1936, and the following month Germany signed the Anti-COMINTERN Pact with Japan, which Italy joined in 1937.

Both Hitler and Mussolini supported General FRANCISCO FRANCO (1892–1975) in the SPANISH CIVIL WAR against the republicans. Continuing his policy of lebensraum, Hitler turned his attention toward Austria, which was German in tradition and language. There had already been a putsch in 1934 for *Anschluss* (annexation). In March 1938 the Nazi army marched in and annexed Austria.

The republic of Czechoslovakia, with its minority population of 3.25 million Sudeten Germans, was next on the agenda. Great Britain and France followed a policy of APPEASEMENT toward Hitler. They thought wrongly that Hitler would remain satisfied, but it was not so. At the Munich Conference of September 29, 1938, Czechoslovakia was dismembered, and the Sudeten area was handed over to Germany. In March 1939, the country was occupied by Hitler.

Feverish diplomatic activity, signing of alliances, and mobilization of armed forces were undertaken by the European powers. Hitler in his ingenuity and deviousness began to realize his aim. He signed a military alliance, the “Pact of Steel,” with Mussolini in May 1939. Hitler’s diplomacy reached its apogee when he signed the nonaggression pact with Russia on August 23, 1939. He could then turn his attention toward Poland, notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain



Adolf Hitler reinvigorated Germany in the 1930s and led the world into its most devastating conflict: World War II.

and Poland had signed a treaty of mutual assistance on August 25, 1939.

The free city of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, dividing eastern Prussia from Germany, were seen as an affront to the Germans. World War II began on April 1, 1939, after Nazi Germany’s invasion of Poland. Two days afterward Great Britain and France declared war against Germany. Appeasement had been a failure.

For about two years, the juggernaut of Hitler’s Wehrmacht (armed forces) incorporated Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The fall of France on June 22, 1940, was another triumph for Hitler. Flushed with success, Hitler began to commit the blunder of attacking the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Four days after the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR

on December 7, 1941 (December 8 in Japan), Hitler declared war on the United States.

The balance tilted in favor of the Allied powers, and the Axis of Germany, Italy, and Japan faced defeats. Hitler had lost battles in Russia and North Africa. He helped Mussolini set up a government after the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943, but the Allied army reached Rome in June 1944. The Normandy invasion was launched on June 6. The Red Army of Russia was advancing from the east, and Hitler was ensconced in Berlin. Surrounded by the Soviet troops, Hitler committed suicide in the Führerbunker on April 30, 1945. On May 8 the German forces surrendered unconditionally at Rheims in France. The “thousand years Reich” had lasted for 12 years.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Holocaust, the

The term *holocaust*, derived from the Greek and literally meaning “a sacrifice totally consumed by fire,” refers to the NAZI incarceration and extermination of approximately 6 million European Jews and a million others, including half a million Gypsies, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Freemasons, resistants from occupied countries, and Russian prisoners of war plus miscellaneous others such as a few U.S. soldiers. The Nazi term was the “Final Solution to the Jewish Problem.” In modern German history anti-Semitism has waxed and waned, but in the 20th century before 1933 it was less acute than elsewhere in eastern Europe. However, for ADOLF HITLER anti-Semitism was a core belief.

From 1933 to 1939, Hitler imposed mounting persecution on Germany’s Jews (defined both religiously and racially), who made up less than 1 percent of its population. They were forced to wear a yellow star and progressively lost jobs, rights, and citizenship. The first concentration camp, at Dachau near Munich, opened in March 1933. Initially, inmates were political opponents: communists, socialists, liberals, and some clergy as well as prominent Jews. From 1938 on, the percentage of Jewish inmates grew. In these years, too, those deemed physically, mentally, or emotionally unfit for the “Master Race,” especially children, were registered, sterilized, and from 1938 on killed. The “euthanasia program” developed murder techniques, such as mobile killing vans and mass gas “showers,” that were later used on a large scale.

Many German Jews assumed this was simply another periodic spate of anti-Semitism. Others tried to flee. Some succeeded, but moving to western Europe proved futile in the end. Emigration to Palestine was restricted because of Jewish-Arab tension there and British need for Arab support if war came. Emigration elsewhere was limited by anti-Semitic officials and high unemployment owing to global depression.

When Hitler conquered Poland in 1939, Jews in western areas were forced into a central area not annexed by Germany. They faced random, unpredictable shooting sprees by Nazi paramilitaries. During the next year they were forced into ghettos, often the old Jewish ghettos liberated in the 19th century but now greatly overcrowded by a much-increased population. They were locked in at all times, guarded, and given starvation rations. These were supplemented by smuggling, chiefly by children, who could slither through cracks and pipes. Ghetto inmates hoped in vain that their slave labor would spare their lives.

The Nazis created a Jewish council (*Judenrat*) to administer each ghetto. To avoid riots, the Nazis assured deportees they were to be “resettled” in the east. Jewish ghetto leaders varied in quality and in approaches to their jobs, but all aimed to save or prolong lives. The ghetto system created in Poland was gradually extended through other eastern European areas Germany conquered.

After Germany conquered Norway, Denmark, the Low Countries, and France in the spring of 1940, Jewish inhabitants were registered, assigned yellow stars, and subjected to harsh measures. Many Norwegian and most Danish Jews escaped to neutral Sweden. In France and the Low Countries, however, roundups in 1942 sent most Jews to transit camps to await deportation eastward. Meanwhile, Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union

in June 1941 led to the use of mobile killing vans or, more commonly, troops in mobile killing squads who ordered Jews to line up, dig a trench, and strip; the troops then shot them so they fell into the graves they had dug.

EXTERMINATION

Plans for more systematic extermination of Europe's Jews proceeded in late 1941 and early 1942. The first death camp opened at Chelmno in December 1941. The first gassing experiments occurred in September 1941 at Auschwitz, where there were old Austrian army buildings as well as new construction. As the system developed into more than 9,000 installations, three types of camps emerged: transit camps (temporary holding pens); concentration and/or labor camps, where German firms used slave labor; and extermination camps, the last all in Poland. Though inmates died in ghettos and other camps of disease, starvation, execution, and despair, the six extermination camps were death factories whose administrators dealt with such problems as how to kill more people faster and how to dispose of bodies. Gassing with Zyklon B in mass gas chambers and burning bodies night and day in crematoria or in outdoor pits were the usual solutions.

Some camps served more than one purpose. The vast Auschwitz-Birkenau-Buna complex encompassed both a death factory and a labor camp for industrial purposes. Theresienstadt (Terezin) in Czechoslovakia was a ghetto, a supposedly "model" concentration camp twice visited by the German Red Cross and a transit station en route to Auschwitz. From 1942 into 1944 Jews were shipped across Europe to camps in the east. They were crammed standing up in freight cars without food, water, or lavatories for a trip of several days. Some died or went mad en route.

Upon arrival at a camp, if not immediately sent to die in the "showers," dazed Jews were deprived of their possessions, clothes, hair, and identity. They were issued a striped uniform with a number and a badge—yellow stars for Jews and otherwise triangles: homosexuals pink, political prisoners red, criminals green, and Gypsies brown. Existing in rough barracks on starvation rations, prisoners worked in manufacture for leading German firms or in pointless projects such as hauling boulders up steep hills to roll them down. Some were subjected to unethical medical experiments, often senseless. In time most died or were killed.

The Nazis wasted nothing from those who died or were gassed. Hair was woven into cloth, gold teeth were extracted from corpses, bones and ashes became fertilizer, and fat was used for soap or to fuel outdoor

fires. Tattooed skin was favored for lampshades; other skin became bookbindings and purses.

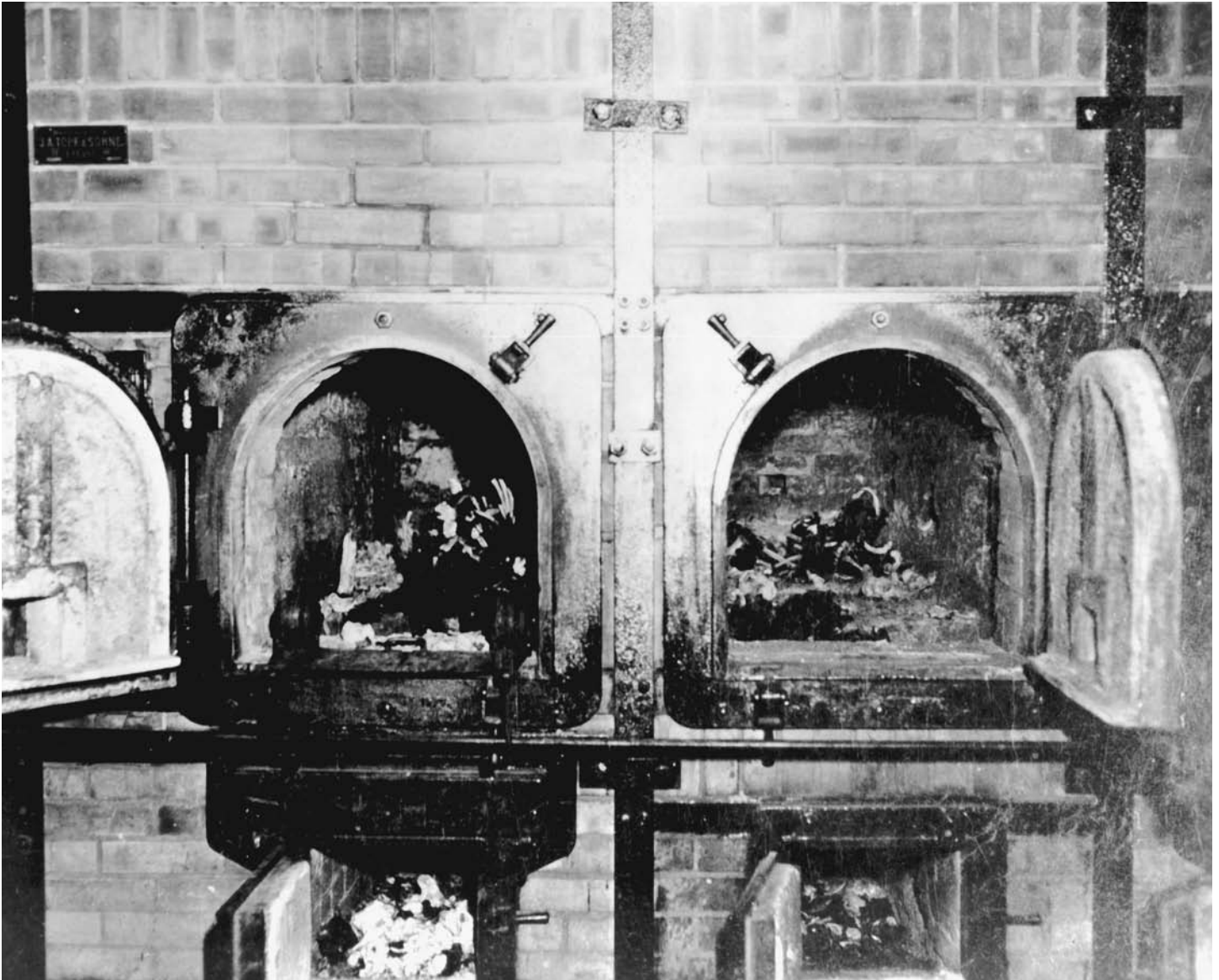
Resistance was almost impossible but occurred, nonetheless, usually when hope and dependent relatives were gone. Inmates worked slowly and badly with some sabotage. Some tried to escape, and a few succeeded. Some chose their own death on the electrified fences surrounding the camps. Most camps had an underground organization. Plans for rebellion were made in many camps and were realized in six; the prisoners succeeded in closing Sobibór and Treblinka.

In eastern Europe, Jews who had evaded initial registration and roundups fled to the forests and formed partisan bands. Usually strained relations with national underground movements meant scanty armaments, but they fought the Germans, engaged in sabotage, and provided potential havens for escapees from ghettos and camps. In the ghettos, smuggling, illegal education of children, and carefully hidden documentation of Nazi outrages were common. Though local undergrounds were reluctant to give weapons to those they considered doomed, ghetto revolts were numerous, especially in the smaller ghettos. Of the larger ghettos, Białystok fought for four days, Vilna achieved an armed breakout through the sewers into the forests, and Warsaw battled German forces from April 19 to May 10, 1942, when about 75 survivors slid forth from sewers.

FINAL SOLUTION

From mid-1942 on, Jewish leaders in Switzerland and Poland sought to inform the Allies of major aspects of the Final Solution. They succeeded, but much skepticism greeted such startling news on both sides of the Atlantic. President FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden were sympathetic, but they were preoccupied with the global struggle. Inaction prevented substantive aid. In mid-1943 an emissary of the Polish resistance saw four British cabinet members, including Eden and several top U.S. officials, and gave his own eyewitness account of conditions in the Warsaw ghetto and killing operations at Belzec. As a result, after bureaucratic delays Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board in January 1944. The British government and the State Department were hostile, but the board, with the aid of neutral states, distributed valuable neutral passports to Jews and sponsored the important rescue efforts of Swedish banker Raoul Wallenberg, among other activities. It saved perhaps 200,000 Jews.

Ordinary individuals played a role as well. In both Germany and occupied Europe, some abetted the Nazis,



Cremation ovens at Buchenwald, 1945. Despite efforts to destroy or conceal evidence of the mass murder of millions of European Jews, crematoria such as the above were discovered by Allied troops as they marched toward Berlin.

most avoided the issue, and a few helped Jews. In Germany, devout Christians, lay and clerical, Catholic and Protestant, engaged in acts of protest and resistance. There and in occupied nations, individuals hid Jews, provided false papers, and proffered food. Many a Jew with false papers in occupied Europe was vouched for to Nazi police and paramilitaries as a long-time neighbor by total strangers. Others escaped in priests' robes, although the Vatican made no overt statement. At war's end, a startling number of Jews emerged from hiding in Berlin's working-class districts.

Jewish leaders outside occupied Europe sought the bombing of Auschwitz's gas chambers. By mid-1944 this was possible, if difficult, from Italy. Churchill and Eden ordered it, but Foreign Office and Air Ministry officials delayed and obstructed. Equally, in the United States, the War Department (then home of the air force) opposed diversion of resources, though the United States bombed Auschwitz's factories repeatedly. Thus, nothing was done to prevent extermination, and Jewish representatives were told that a speedy military victory was their best hope of deliverance.

Though many lives could have been saved, the Holocaust was by then winding down. Its peak years were 1942–44, though many died later as well as earlier. By late 1944 many countries seemed largely *Judenrein* (cleansed of Jews); in late November killing at Auschwitz was ordered stopped, and the gas chambers and crematoria were destroyed to hide evidence of mass murder. The easternmost camps were emptied out, followed by others as the Soviet army approached, and those still alive were sent on difficult, wintry forced marches westward. The Red Army liberated Auschwitz in late January 1945 before its destruction was complete. In the west, Anglo-American troops similarly liberated concentration camps in the spring of 1945.

Once healthy, most survivors headed to Palestine, North America, or western Europe. The Holocaust provided the primary impetus for and the parameters of the United Nations' Genocide Convention passed in 1946. It also contributed an emotional and political pressure toward the creation of Israel in 1948. In Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Baltic states, 90 percent of the Jews had died; the percentages were somewhat lower elsewhere. In all, the Holocaust destroyed two-thirds of Europe's Jews, who amounted to one-third of the world's Jews, and wiped out a distinctive eastern European culture dating from ancient times.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1948); WORLD WAR II.

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SALLY MARKS

Hoover, Herbert

(1874–1964) U.S. president

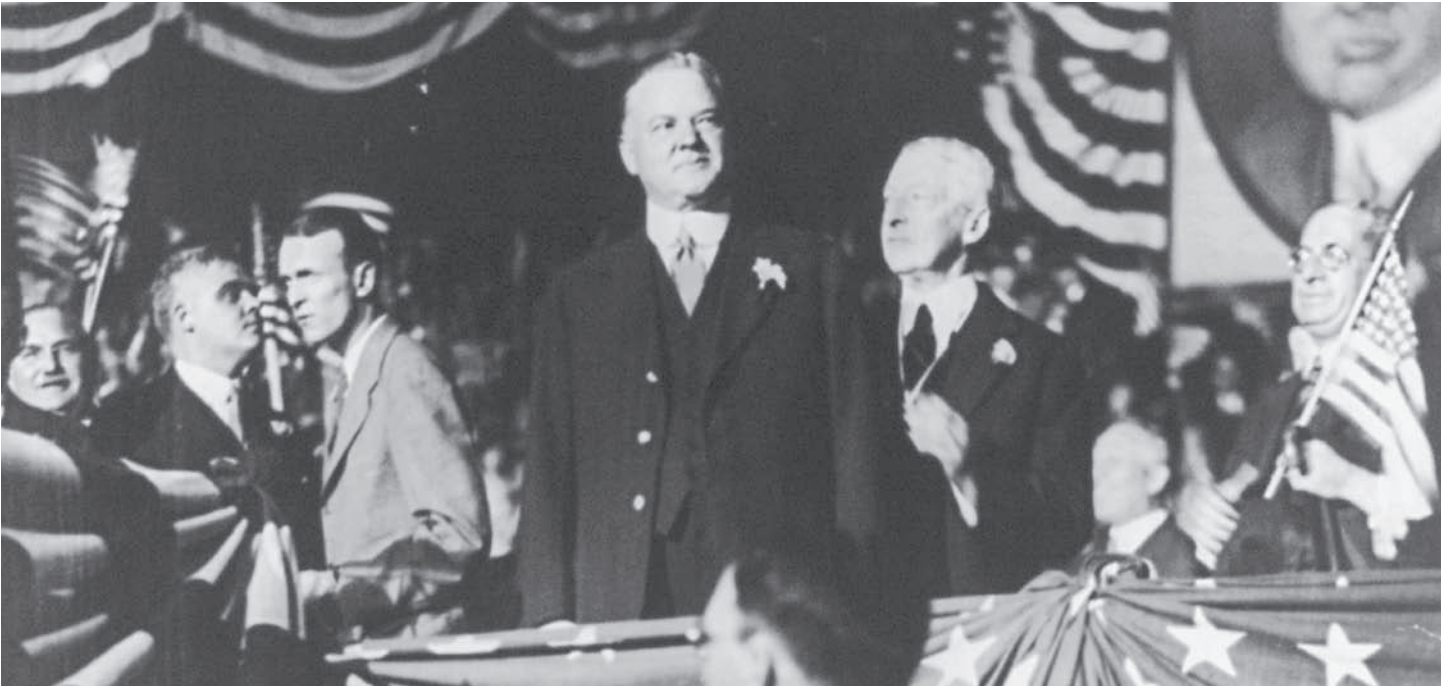
The American president in the crucial years between 1929 and 1933, Republican Herbert Clark Hoover was born on August 10, 1874, in West Branch, Iowa, to Jesse and Hulda Hoover. He received his secondary education in Newberg, Oregon, and graduated with a degree in geology from Stanford University in 1895. In 1899 he became the chief engineer for the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company. For more than a decade he worked on engineering projects in Europe and Asia,

eventually becoming a consultant for mining companies throughout the world.

When WORLD WAR I broke out, Hoover was in a unique position. His career had made him wealthy, and his position as head of the American Repatriation Committee in London had him assisting U.S. citizens in their return home to avoid the war. Hoover became dedicated to charity and helped the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which sent food to about 10 million people in war zones. Back in the U.S., he became food administrator under President WOODROW WILSON (1913–21) after the U.S. entry into the war in April 1917. The Food Administration, set up under the Lever Act in August 1917, supervised the distribution of U.S. agricultural products both inside the United States and to the Allies. He encouraged voluntary conservation with slogans like “meatless Mondays” and “wheatless Wednesdays” and encouraged the production of basic foodstuffs like wheat, the acreage of which nearly doubled between 1917 and 1919. Under the direction of Hoover, the United States tripled its exports of meat, bread, and sugar in 1918. The end of the war brought famine to Europe, and Hoover provided relief, surplus food, and clothing to about 200 million people. These relief efforts gave Hoover increased personal political power; his humanitarianism made him greatly admired.

Hoover was secretary of commerce under both Warren G. Harding (1921–23) and Calvin Coolidge (1923–29) and also served as a member of the Advisory Committee and World War Foreign Debt Commission. His dedication to charity and relief works put him in a position to aid the victims of the great Mississippi flood of 1927. Because of his popularity and reputation, he was the most suitable choice for the Republicans as the presidential candidate in the election of 1928 and was nominated by the party on the first ballot. Hoover won the election easily with the promise of increased efficiency and prosperity. At his inauguration on March 4, 1929, he spoke about building a new economic, social, and political system based on equality of opportunity for the American people.

Once in office, Hoover attempted to live up to his campaign pledge starting with the Agricultural Marketing Act in mid-1929, which set up the Federal Farm Board. The function of the board was to stabilize the prices of agricultural products, but following the stock market crash, it became a fund for emergency agricultural relief. Other legislative acts of Hoover included the establishment of a \$50.00 monthly pension for Americans over 65, the building of the San Francisco Bay Bridge, and the cancellation of private oil leases



Herbert Hoover (center) became president of the United States mere months before the onset of the Great Depression. Despite being a capable leader and organizer noted for massive relief efforts, Hoover failed to adequately deal with the crisis.

on government lands. Hoover also approved the act that made the “Star-Spangled Banner” the American national anthem. Militarily, under Hoover the United States participated in the London Naval Conference of 1930, which limited the size and number of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines allowed to the major powers. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, the response of Hoover and the United States was isolationist, a philosophy much in keeping with the times of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Hoover’s secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson (1867–1950), opposed the isolationist stance and developed the Stimson Doctrine, which stated that the United States would not recognize changes (such as Japan’s conquering of Manchuria) that had been made in violation of treaties. Maintaining his isolationist stance, Hoover believed that the doctrine would cause an economic boycott against Japan and did not endorse the policy.

Early in Hoover’s tenure as president, the October 1929 crash of Wall Street caused the most widespread and prolonged depression in world history. The depression, triggered by the October 29 crash, encompassed the prices of goods, employment, and the production of new goods. By mid-November, the average stock price had fallen to 40 percent of its previous value, while money supplies and prices of

goods fell by a third. This problem was intensified as across the country bank depositors withdrew their funds, causing widespread failure of the banking system. Across the country and the world, people lost their jobs and their savings. Businesses lost nearly 50 percent of their income.

In the face of such hardship, the optimism embodied by Hoover’s presidential campaign withered. His own dedication to voluntarism and personal cooperation instead of government programs and intervention proved to be no help in the face of economic catastrophe. In an effort to safeguard American businesses, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill in 1930, increasing the import duties on 20,000 items.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, set up by Congress in 1932, provided loans for troubled banks and businesses as well as funds for states to provide relief at the local level. Hoover also increased spending on public works, asking Congress for an additional \$400 million in the Federal Building Program. Hoover also attempted to aid relief of the depression in Europe by placing a moratorium on war debt payments, but the measure was ineffective in halting the collapse of the world economy.

On the home front, nothing Hoover tried proved effective. The Revenue Act of 1932 was passed, increasing taxes to meet the government’s expenditures. In

mid-1932, Hoover was further embarrassed by the BONUS ARMY; nearly 20,000 war veterans marched on the White House in June, demanding a bonus due in 1945. The veterans were dispersed by military action led by Army Chief of Staff DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. Thanks to the troubles of the country, Hoover's early popularity had been destroyed, and he became a symbol of U.S. failure to deal with the economic troubles. Despite this, he was nominated for a second term in the 1932 election. It surprised no one when Hoover lost in a landslide to Democrat FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (1882–1945).

Roosevelt was elected on a platform of vehement criticism of Hoover and his policies that had resulted in runaway national debt and ineffective spending. Roosevelt squarely laid the blame for the Depression on Republican policy. He did not believe, like Hoover, that it had international origin.

In retrospect, Hoover's downfall as president seems more bad luck than anything else; he became the scapegoat for economic depression that occurred eight months after the beginning of his term as president and that he almost certainly didn't cause. However, his attempted relief policies failed, for which he was rightly blamed. A great humanitarian and relief worker, Hoover's failure to provide any relief to the American people ultimately forced the end of his tenure as president. After leaving the White House, Hoover worked as a trustee of Stanford University.

He was also involved in famine relief in Europe at the time of WORLD WAR II. Hoover was the chairperson of the commission dealing with the reorganization of executive departments. He died in New York on October 20, 1964.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)

During the 1930s, members of the U.S. House of Representatives, alarmed by reports of domestic groups

that were sympathetic to NAZI Germany or the Soviet Union, sought to investigate subversive and “un-American” propaganda activities within the United States. In 1938 the House voted to create the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (often called the Dies Committee), under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, a Democrat from Texas. In 1945 this special committee became a permanent standing committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). When Republicans gained control of Congress the following year, New Jersey representative J. Parnell Thomas became the chairman. As originally conceived, the committee was intended to be nonpartisan and dedicated to gathering information about homegrown political radicalism of all stripes. But under both Dies and Thomas the committee focused primarily on leftist groups and individuals associated with President FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT's administration, becoming a powerful conservative foe of the NEW DEAL.

Among the committee's early hearings was an investigation of communist influence in the Federal Theatre and Writers Project, part of the Works Progress Administration; the resulting political pressure led Congress to defund the project in 1939. Additional investigations dealt with labor unions that were part of the CIO—a major Roosevelt political ally—and with the American Youth Congress, a group with ties to ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. Another target was Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, whom Dies attempted to have impeached after she refused to deport longshoreman's union leader Harry Bridges, a known communist. Dies did not believe that the New Deal was simply reform legislation intended to ameliorate the social and economic effects of the GREAT DEPRESSION; he thought that the New Deal was paving the way for communists to undermine America's capitalist system. In addition, he was concerned that the federal government, and particularly the executive branch, was accruing “autocratic” power.

The Dies Committee eventually accused 640 organizations, more than 430 newspapers, and almost 300 labor groups of being likely communist fronts. Their investigations were often “fishing expeditions”: If an initiative did not turn up information quickly, the committee would lose interest, and another initiative would be launched. Because the investigations made newspaper headlines, however, even an abortive effort could leave a group or individual publicly stigmatized. Dies was cavalier in how he handled his information, which was often based on inadequate research. The committee released alarmist reports that Dies claimed documented

the existence of plots to sabotage industry in the United States, but such reports were often haphazard compendiums of the theoretical writings of communist thinkers such as Karl Marx, without specifics.

Over the years many of the people investigated and accused by the committee never appeared at a hearing where they could defend themselves. If they did appear, they were not able to call supporting witnesses and could not cross-examine their accusers. When accused, individuals appealed to the U.S. courts that their civil liberties were being abused, but the courts found that the judiciary could not usurp Congress's investigatory powers. A few of the individuals exposed by the Dies Committee were committed members of the American Communist Party, which took its orders from Moscow.

Others were liberals affiliated with the party through "popular front" organizations, joining because they were concerned about the Great Depression or because they viewed communism as a vital bulwark against fascism in Europe. After the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939, many liberal sympathizers and some communists broke with the party. But the Dies Committee never considered these distinctions among suspects; all of them, in the committee's view, were "soft on communism" and therefore a threat. The committee's own anticommunist efforts were considerably complicated in 1941, when the Soviet Union became an American ally in WORLD WAR II. During the war the committee became less influential.

As the cold war heated up, HUAC undertook a series of high-profile hearings. In 1947 the committee investigated reports of communist subversion in the movie industry. Perhaps 300 Hollywood studio employees had joined the Communist Party during the 1930s and 1940s; the majority of them were screenwriters, and many had been sympathetic to a violent strike that wracked the industry in 1945. Several famous "friendly" witnesses testified about Hollywood communist activities, including studio head Jack Warner and actors Robert Taylor and Ronald Reagan, the president of the Screen Actors Guild. HUAC suspected that the screenwriters were attempting to inject procommunist messages into films, although they found little evidence to support this. A total of 10 screenwriters, including Academy Award nominee Dalton Trumbo, were subpoenaed to testify before the committee. These "unfriendly" witnesses—known as the Hollywood Ten—used the opportunity to angrily denounce HUAC, refused to answer questions about their political affiliations, and were

eventually cited for contempt and sentenced to prison terms. Worried about the negative publicity generated by the hearings, Hollywood studio executives thereafter "blacklisted" (refused to provide work for) suspected communists in the industry, a practice that continued throughout the 1950s.

In 1948 HUAC investigated prominent nuclear physicist Edward U. Condon, who had served on the MANHATTAN PROJECT and was the director of the National Bureau of Standards. Chairman Thomas stridently disagreed with Condon's view that civilians, instead of the military, should control the Atomic Energy Commission; in return Thomas labeled Condon "the weakest link" in the nation's security. The committee never found evidence of Condon's disloyalty and was publicly rebuked by President HARRY S. TRUMAN. In 1948 the committee also undertook what proved to be its most famous and successful investigation—the only one to demonstrate actual communist espionage within the government.

Whittaker Chambers, an editor for *Time* magazine and a former operative in the communist underground, appeared before HUAC and named Alger Hiss as a New Deal official who had passed classified documents to him during the 1930s. The highly accomplished Hiss, who had become president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, flatly denied that he knew Chambers in a face-to-face confrontation before the committee.

A subsequent methodical investigation by committee member Richard M. Nixon uncovered evidence that Hiss and Chambers had known each other, and Hiss was sentenced to prison in 1950 for committing perjury. The Hiss-Chambers case added fuel to national fears about communist subversion and seemed to legitimize HUAC's conspiracy theories, confrontational tactics, and disdain for individual rights. These would serve as the template for Senator Joseph McCarthy's own investigations into communism during the 1950s.

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Hu Hanmin (Hu Han-Min)

(1879–1936) *Chinese political leader*

Hu Hanmin was a close political associate of SUN YAT-SEN, founder of the Chinese Republic. The Hu family were minor civil servants who settled in Guangdong (Kwangtung) province. A brilliant scholar, Hu supported himself and a younger sister by working as a tutor after his parents' death. China's defeat in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1894–95) turned him into a revolutionary and took him to Japan, where he studied law and joined Sun's newly formed Tongmeng hui (T'ung-meng hui), or United Alliance, dedicated to overthrowing the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. He served as the organization's secretary and wrote for its official publication, the *Min Bao* (Min Pao), or *People's Journal*. One article, "The Six Principles," elaborated on Sun's ideals: nationalism, republicanism, and land nationalization, plus three items concerning immediate issues that faced the revolutionists in Japan. An eloquent writer, Hu played a major role in the pen war between advocates of Sun's ideals and those of Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei), who favored a constitutional monarchy. He also traveled widely throughout South and Southeast Asia to organize support and raise funds for the Tongmeng hui.

Hu was elected military governor of Guangdong province after the outbreak of the October 10, 1911, revolution. He and other followers of Sun were ousted from their positions in 1913 by President YUAN SHIKAI (Yuan Shih-k'ai), who quashed democracy in an attempt to make himself emperor. When Sun established a government in Canton in 1923 with the help of a local warlord and began reorganizing the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) with the assistance of the Soviet Union, Hu was again by his side, together with WANG JINGWEI (Wang Ching-wei) and a rising star, CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

Sun's death in 1925 led to a succession crisis in the Kuomintang. Wang Jingwei led the left wing, who were supported by Soviet advisers and were the immediate winners. Hu led the anticommunist wing of the party; they lost power and were forced out of Canton. Chiang Kai-shek led the center and remained in Canton, focusing on training a new army. In 1926 Chiang set out as commander in chief of the NORTHERN EXPEDITION to unify China. Military success led him to break with the left and the Soviet-dominated government under Wang Jingwei in 1927 and also led to the return to power of the anticommunist wing of the Kuomintang, including Hu. After completing the Northern Expedi-

tion in 1928, the Nationalists established a government in Nanjing (Nanking). Wang and his supporters lost power, while Hu was appointed president of the legislative Yuan (the legislature), which was charged with drafting legislation, passing the budget, and formulating new legal codes.

Chiang dominated the Nationalist government during the Nanjing era (1928–37) and faced several domestic problems. One was how to deal with the ambitions of his two senior colleagues, Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin. Chiang initially allied with Hu, but they broke in 1931 partly over interpretation of Sun's wishes on how to implement his programs. Chiang became so angry with Hu that he briefly put him under house arrest. Hu was so infuriated that he rejected all offers to rejoin the government, which forced Chiang to ally with Wang Jingwei. The power struggle between Chiang, Hu, and Wang showed the ideological and personality struggles in the Kuomintang after the death of its founder, Sun Yat-sen.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Hu Shi (Hu Shih)

(1891–1962) *Chinese liberal intellectual*

Hu Shi was the son of an official of modest means. At 13 he switched from a traditional Chinese school to a modern school in Shanghai, where he was introduced to Western learning. In 1910 he won a scholarship to study in the United States, where he was influenced by John Dewey's pragmatism and earned a doctorate in philosophy at Columbia University. While a student he became interested in Chinese language reform, writing an article titled "Some Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," that argued in favor of a new literature that used the vernacular instead of classical Chinese. The enthusiastic response from students and intellectuals led to a wide-ranging reevaluation of Chinese literary and ethical traditions that became known as the New Culture Movement.

A leading academic amid these cultural and political crosscurrents, Hu Shi spoke out on a wide range

of topics as editor and cofounder of several magazines during the 1920s and 1930s. He opposed the obsession with political ideology during the warlord era and advocated the concept of “good government.”

After 1928 he criticized the newly established Nationalist (Kuomintang) government for its authoritarianism and called for the protection of human rights and free speech. He served as ambassador to the United States between 1938 and 1942, lobbying the Roosevelt administration and the American public to eschew their isolationist policies and to aid China's war of resistance.

He was president of National Beijing (Peking) University for two years after the end of WORLD WAR II but went to the United States in 1949 when the Nationalist government lost the civil war to the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. He lived in semiretirement in New York until 1958, writing and speaking out as a loyal but critical friend of the Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC) and an adamant foe of communism. He returned to Taiwan in 1958 to preside over the Academic Sinica, the ROC's leading research institution, until his death in 1962.

Hu Shi was unquestionably the best-known Western-oriented Chinese liberal intellectual in the 20th century. During the long years of political strife in China, his optimistic faith in nationalism, moderation, and democracy was a beacon for a brighter future. Singled out for harsh criticism by the Chinese Communist government in the 1950s, his reputation has had an unparalleled rehabilitation in China since the 1980s.

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JIU-FONG L. CHANG

Huerta, Victoriano

(1845–1916) *Mexican president*

Victoriano Huerta seized power to become the second president of postrevolutionary Mexico, serving from 1913 to 1914. These two years witnessed the most violent stage of the revolution and its downward spiral into full civil war. Huerta was born in Colotlán, Jalisco, in 1845. With a limited education, he had few prospects

in life until he became the personal secretary of General Donato Guerra. Guerra used his position to smooth Huerta's admission into the National Military College, where he excelled at astronomy and mathematics. In 1877 he received his military commission and went on to lead a distinguished career putting down rebellions under the Porfirian regime. In 1901 he was promoted to brigadier general.

During the MEXICAN REVOLUTION of 1910, the besieged president Porfirio Díaz dispatched Huerta to the south to quell EMILIANO ZAPATA's revolt, but the general was called back to Mexico City before engaging the rebels in combat when Díaz fell from power. Huerta then served as the military escort for the ousted Díaz from Mexico City to Veracruz. Francisco León de la Barra, the interim president, sent Huerta south again to disarm and defeat Zapata's forces, a mission in which he failed. When FRANCISCO MADERO took office he expressed disappointment in Huerta's inability to defeat Zapata and in his connections with Bernardo Reyes, Madero's only serious political opponent in the 1911 election. In 1912 Madero grudgingly sent Huerta to suppress a revolt initiated by PASCUAL OROZCO in the north. Huerta defeated Orozco and almost put PANCHO VILLA, then serving under Huerta, before the firing squad for theft. Only Madero's intervention saved Villa, and the incident strained relations between the two men.

Stationed in Mexico City, Huerta knew of the growing conspiracy to oust Madero headed by Generals Bernardo Reyes and Félix Díaz, the nephew of the former dictator. Huerta declined to join the rebels, but as they attacked the National Palace in February 1913 and the tide of the battle increasingly pointed toward a successful rebellion, Huerta saw an opportunity for personal political gain. He made a secret deal with Félix Díaz and switched sides in exchange for the position of provisional president. On February 19, 1913, he arrested Madero and his vice president and demanded their resignations. Three days later, as the men were being transferred from the palace to a military prison, they were shot and killed, an assassination that many scholars believe Huerta ordered.

Almost immediately, domestic and foreign opponents to Huerta's presidency sprung up. Rebellions throughout Mexico erupted, and in the face of congressional criticism, Huerta disbanded the congress and arrested many of its members. He resorted to a system of mandatory military service that forced the poor, with little or no training, to fight his opponents. This forced conscription failed, as many deserted or joined the rebellions.

The United States, under the leadership of WOODROW WILSON, took offense to Huerta's violent seizure of power and attempted to convince him to hold elections and declare peace with his internal adversaries, the Constitutionalists. Huerta ignored these requests, and the United States actively assisted his opponents by supplying them with arms. The northern states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora refused to recognize Huerta's presidency, and their leader, VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, declared himself president of Mexico. At the same time ALVARO OBREGÓN, also from the north, led forces south toward Mexico City to force Huerta's surrender.

Obregón's forces engaged Huerta's troops during the summer of 1914, taking several key areas, including the city of Guadalajara. Huerta, perhaps sensing impending defeat, resigned the presidency on July 15, 1914, and fled to Europe. With the help of the German government, Huerta conspired to regain his presidency through a revolution based out of El Paso, Texas. He joined forces with his former adversary, Pascual Orozco. The two men met in Newman, New Mexico, on June 28, 1915, and federal authorities who had been monitoring Huerta were waiting for them. Huerta and Orozco were arrested, and Huerta died on January 13, 1916, while in the custody of U.S. federal authorities.

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KATHLEEN LEGG



Victoriano Huerta (center) seized power to become the second president of postrevolutionary Mexico, serving from 1913 to 1914.



Ibn Saud, Abd al-Aziz

(1880–1953) *Saudi Arabian monarch*

Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud was the first monarch of Saudi Arabia. He was born in Riyadh to Abd al-Rahman bin Faisal bin Turki al-Saud and Sara bint Ahmad al-Kabir al-Sudairi. In 1890 he and his family were exiled to Kuwait after the Rashidi tribe conquered their lands.

Upon the death of his father in 1901, the 22-year-old Ibn Saud succeeded as the leader of the Saud dynasty and took the title of the sultan of the Nejd. Ibn Saud set out to recapture his ancestral lands from the Rashidis. In 1902 Ibn Saud assassinated Ibn Rashid and recaptured Riyadh. By 1912 he had consolidated his control over the Nejd and then founded the Ikhwan, a militant religious group that he used to aid him in future conquests. At this time he also revived the traditional al-Saud alliance with Wahhabism, a puritanical Islamic movement dating from the 18th century.

In 1915 during WORLD WAR I, the British signed a treaty with Ibn Saud whereby the lands of the Saud dynasty became a British protectorate. Britain asked for Ibn Saud's support in fighting against Ibn Rashid, who supported the Ottoman Empire, which had allied with the Central powers in the war. As a consequence of this alliance, Ibn Saud received financial support from the British. By 1922 Ibn Saud had defeated the Rashidis and had doubled his territorial holdings. In 1926 he defeated another rival, Sherif Husayn of the Hashemite dynasty, and captured the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Sherif Husayn was forced into exile, and

Ibn Saud effectively became the ruler of Arabia. The British formally recognized the power of the Saud dynasty in the Treaty of Jeddah, which was signed in 1927. Under this treaty Ibn Saud's title was changed from sultan to king.

Ibn Saud consolidated the Saud family's control over the Arabian Peninsula between 1927 and 1932, when he renamed the conquered territories Saudi Arabia and proclaimed himself king of the new nation. The discovery of petroleum in 1938 gradually brought vast revenues into the previously impoverished country. Ibn Saud used the moneys to enrich both his family and the country, encouraging his nomadic subjects to settle in permanent cities and villages.

Saudi Arabia's contributions to WORLD WAR II were mostly token, but, although officially neutral, the Saudis did provide the Allies with significant oil supplies. Saudi Arabia remained on good terms with the Allies largely because of King Abd al-Aziz's personal friendship with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Ibn Saud fathered between 50 and 200 children, and into the 21st century all Saudi kings were his sons. The Saudi Basic Law of 1992 stipulated that the king of Saudi Arabia must be a son or grandson of Ibn Saud. He died in Taif in 1953 and is commemorated as the founder of modern Saudi Arabia.

See also HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN (1914–1953); OIL INDUSTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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JULIE EADEH

India Act (1935)

The first Government of India Act (1858, after the Sepoy Rising of 1857) abolished the British East India Company and put India under British government administration. A second act in 1909 introduced the concept of elected government. Still, Indian troops served in WORLD WAR I because Britain, not India, declared India at war with Germany. In 1917 Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu promised that India's government would gradually permit increased Indian participation in the administration of India, with the goal of eventual self-rule. Then the war ended. Although a third Government of India Act in 1919 gave local control of "nation building" areas such as education, it retained law and order and finance for Parliament-appointed governors and officials responsible to them. This system of power sharing was called dyarchy. Britain's harsh measures against alleged political extremists and the Punjab disturbances of 1919, including a massacre of 400 at Amritsar, led to the creation of a national Indian movement against British control. A nationalist leader, MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, rose to the fore.

Gandhi led a movement of noncooperation against Britain in 1920–22 and a civil disobedience effort in 1930–31. In 1942 he called for the British to "Quit India." He led the first negotiations for independence in 1930 at the Round Table Conferences in London. MOTILAL NEHRU, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, was also active in the movement for Indian self-government. He chaired a committee of the All Parties Conference that included Muslims. It issued the "Nehru Report" of 1928 that called for a dominion constitution for India written by Indians.

When the all-British Simon Commission visited India in 1927–28, it generated protests that the Indian police repressed violently, leading to the death of Punjabi leader Lalal Lajpat Raj and rallying a new generation of Indian nationalist leaders. Its report in 1930 rejected dyarchy and determined that local autonomy was in order. It proposed the retention of communal electorates for Muslims and Hindus until tensions calmed. The British government drafted legislation to provide the reforms. The Round Table Conferences decided that

Britain would unite the princely states with the provinces directly under its administration and eventually give the combined government of India dominion status. The congress and the Muslims split over details, leaving the decisions to the British.

The Government of India Act provided autonomy to the 11 Indian provinces it created. It separated Aden and Burma from India, increased the pool of eligible voters from 7 million to 35 million, and created two new provinces—Sind, split from Bombay, and Orissa, split from Bihar. Provincial assemblies included more elected Indian representatives. The governor, often British, retained the rights of intervention in emergencies. The first elections under the act occurred in 1937.

The act was the longest bill the British parliament ever passed. Parliament did not trust Indians, particularly Indian politicians, and wanted to be sure there was no room for interpretation or adjustment. Theoretically, it provided self-government in all areas but defense and foreign affairs. In practice, it reserved extensive powers for British intervention in Indian affairs through the British-appointed viceroy and provincial governors who were responsible to the secretary of state for India.

The act also had provisions for the formation of a federal government, but because half the states never agreed to its terms, a federation never occurred. It also failed to address the religious problem. Hindus were two-thirds of India's population, leading to concerns by the minority Muslims that they would be treated unfairly. When the Hindu-dominated Congress Party won eight of the 11 provincial elections in 1937 the Muslims led by MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH began demanding a separate state, Pakistan.

Although the British parliament thought it was realistic to federate states of widely diverging size, sophistication, and structure, it did not happen. The princes failed to recognize that they could control the federation if they united in support of it. Instead, they pursued their own interests with the result that the federation never received the requisite majority.

The act failed to attract significant support from moderates, in large part because they did not trust the British. The Hindu electorate preferred the Congress Party, and the Congress Party wanted dominion status equal to that granted to the white dominions, which included control over foreign as well as internal affairs.

The first viceroy after the act was passed was Lord Linlithgow. He was intelligent, honest, hardworking, serious, and committed to the success of the act. He was also stolid, unimaginative, legalistic, and unable to deal with people other than those in his own circle.

Under pressure he turned to administrative details while becoming rigid on strategy. He struggled unsuccessfully to deal with Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah. Compromise between the four men was impossible.

Indian provinces enjoyed self-rule after 1937 for two years, until the onset of the war. Linlithgow tried and failed to get the princes to accept the federation, but neither the British government nor the princes supported him. In 1939, when Britain and Germany declared war, India was automatically included. His failure to consult with Indian leaders, while constitutionally correct, offended Indian public opinion. The congress ministers, who were not consulted, resigned, while Muslim leaders in provinces where they had a majority cooperated with Britain in war. Thus, chances for Indian unity died.

See also AMRITSAR MASSACRE.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

India Act, Government of (1919)

WORLD WAR I was important for India's nationalist movement. Indians of all persuasions overwhelmingly supported Great Britain and the Allied cause during the war. Nearly 800,000 Indian soldiers plus 500,000 non-combatants served in Europe and the Middle East.

Communal relations between Hindus and Muslims took several turns between the passage of the INDIA COUNCILS ACT in 1909 and 1919. The reunion of Bengal in 1911 (which canceled its partition into two provinces) pleased the Hindus but antagonized the Muslims. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE began to attract younger and bolder leaders, most notably a brilliant lawyer named MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (1876–1946). Similarly MOHANDAS K. GANDHI (1869–1948) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1967) emerged as leaders of the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Many in India's Muslim minority became concerned with the ultimate fate of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, which fought in the opposing Central Powers camp. World War I also aroused both the congress and the league to demand significant constitutional reforms from Britain. In 1916 they concluded a Congress-

League Scheme of Reforms, known as the Lucknow Pact. It made wide-ranging demands for greater self-government, equality of Indians with other races throughout the British Empire and Commonwealth (in response to racial discrimination in South Africa and Canada), and greater opportunities for Indians in the armed forces of India.

In response, the new secretary of state for India, Edwin Montagu, officially announced the British government's commitment to "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India" in August 1917. He then toured India, met with Indian leaders, and together with Viceroy Lord Chelmsford drafted a Report for Indian Constitutional Reform in 1918, popularly called the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. A modified version of the report was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. It introduced partial self-government to India's nine provinces in a system called dyarchy, whereby elected representatives controlled the departments of agriculture, sanitation, education, and so on, while the British-appointed governor and his advisers retained control of finance, the police, prisons, and relief. This was intended as a step toward complete responsible government. The viceroy, however, retained control of the central government, and the role of the mostly elected bicameral legislature remained advisory. The electorate was expanded, and separate electorates (Muslims elected their own representatives) were kept in place, on Muslim insistence.

The Government of India Act was a significant advance in India's freedom movement. Others included a separate Indian delegation to the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919, in the same manner as the self-governing dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa). India also became a member of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. But these advances did not satisfy Indian nationalists, who were inflamed by the continuation of wartime laws that abridged civil freedoms, and acts of peaceful and violent resistance continued. Hindu-Muslim accord continued during the KHALIFAT MOVEMENT, when Indians supported the Ottoman emperor's religious leadership as caliph of Islam. The cooperation collapsed when MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK established a republic in Turkey and abolished the caliphate in 1923 and also due to increasing competition between the two communal groups for power in a future independent India.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

India Councils Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms)

During the late 19th century British-educated Indians began to demand a role in their government, which later developed into the independence movement. In 1885 an Englishman founded the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, although most of its members were high-caste Hindus. The congress met annually to promote the goal of greater participation of Indians in government.

By the early 20th century a radical wing had developed in the congress that was not content with the slow pace of reform. They were energized by the partition of the huge province of Bengal into two in 1905: East Bengal (including Assam) with a Muslim majority, and West Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa) with a Hindu majority. A storm of protest against the partition ensued and included an economic boycott of British goods and acts of terrorism. The congress was split over this issue, and a radical wing split off to form the New Party. The new viceroy, Lord Minto (1845–1914), on the one hand acted to repress the unrest, while on the other he worked to enact reforms with the secretary of state for India of the newly elected Liberal government in Great Britain, John (later Lord) Morley (1838–1923).

The partition of Bengal was a catalyst for Muslim political consciousness. Since the decline and fall of the Muslim Mughal dynasty, Indian Muslims had fallen behind Hindus in attaining a modern education and adjusting to new conditions. Unlike Hindus, Indian Muslims were encouraged by the formation of East Bengal. Realizing that constitutional reforms were in the works and that they would be a minority in a representative government, Western-educated Muslims led by AGA KHAN organized the ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE in 1905 and lobbied Minto for a “fair share” for the Muslim community in any representative system. Like the congress, the league also met in annual conventions to formulate goals.

In 1909 the British parliament passed the Indian Councils Act. It increased membership of legisla-

tive councils in both the central and provincial governments (all appointed up to then) to make elected members the majority in the provincial legislatures. Importantly, educated men who paid a certain sum of taxes were allowed to vote for the first time in Indian history. Some seats were reserved for Muslim candidates, and only Muslims could vote for them. Moreover, the elected members were also empowered to question officials; to debate legislation, including the budget; and to introduce laws.

However, the viceroy and the governors still had total control and could veto any laws that were passed. The first elections were held in 1910 and elected 135 Indian representatives, who took their seats at various legislatures throughout India. This act and other measures gradually restored calm to India. The act is important because it established representative responsible government as the goal for India and introduced the elective principle to a nonwhite possession of Great Britain.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Indian National Congress (1885–1947)

The Indian National Congress (INC) was a leader of the Indian freedom movement against British colonial rule. One of the success stories of the nationalist struggle in Asia, the congress was established in 1885. A political consciousness was arising in the latter part of the 19th century among Indian intelligentsia, and various people emerged to raise their voices against foreign rule. The sincere endeavor of Allan Octavian Hume (1829–1912), along with the efforts of Indian leaders, resulted in the emergence of the INC on December 25, 1885.

From its first meeting, held in the city of Bombay (now Mumbai), the INC worked relentlessly to end alien rule in India. In its initial phases the INC was very modest in its demands, such as expansion of legislative councils and an increase in governmental grants to indigenous industries. It even pledged loy-

alty to the British Empire. It increased sentiments of national unity and rose above religious, caste, and regional divisions. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917), the president of the INC in its second and ninth sessions, argued that the British government was responsible for poverty in India. The true character of the British Empire was revealed by various demands by the congress. A base also was created for the Congress Party, from which later leaders could work for the cause of Indian independence.

But a gradual disillusionment developed against the moderate leadership. A rift occurred, and the radical, or extremist, phase (1905–19) began in the history of the INC. The new generation was drawn from the lower middle class in urban areas. It was more radical in nature and sometimes took recourse to Hindu religious symbols like the Ganapati Festival, which became mass based under Bal Gangadhar Tilak's direction. The terrorist movement of Bengal invoked the name of the goddess Kali. The extremist brand of politics was aggressive in nature, and it was indigenous, with no attachment to Western ideals.

The goal of the extremists was *swaraj* (self-rule), and their efforts were imbued with *swadeshi* (indigenous) sentiment directed against foreign goods, dress, and education. The Punjab group was led by Lajpat Rai; the Bengal one was represented by Aurobindo (1872–1950) and Pal. The administration (1899–1905) of Viceroy Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (1859–1925) decided to partition the province of Bengal in October 1905, leading to the antipartition movement, which engulfed most of the country. Goods from British factories were boycotted, and the use of *swadeshi* was advocated.

A split occurred between the moderates and extremists at the Surat session of 1907, and the moderate leader, Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), did not endorse Tilak as president for the 1908 session. The split harmed the INC and the nationalist movement. There was also a rise of communalism in Indian politics and a sizable section of the Muslims did not adhere to the congress ideology. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE (AIML) was established on December 30, 1906.

The INC and the AIML would chart out separate courses, resulting in a vivisection of the country 41 years later. The congress was revived in the Lucknow session of 1916, where both the extremists and the moderates realized that the split was not serving the cause of the nationalist movement. In the same year the Lucknow Pact, which brought Hindu-Muslim rapprochement for

the time being, was signed between the congress and the league.

Meanwhile, WORLD WAR I had broken out, and Great Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914. The INC supported the British war efforts in the hope that India would be suitably rewarded in its path toward self-government. But this hope was dashed. The ideals of self-determination presented by U.S. president WOODROW WILSON at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE were not applied to colonies in Asia. MOHANDAS K. GANDHI (1869–1948) was emerging as a mass leader in India and gave a new direction to the Indian freedom movement under the INC.

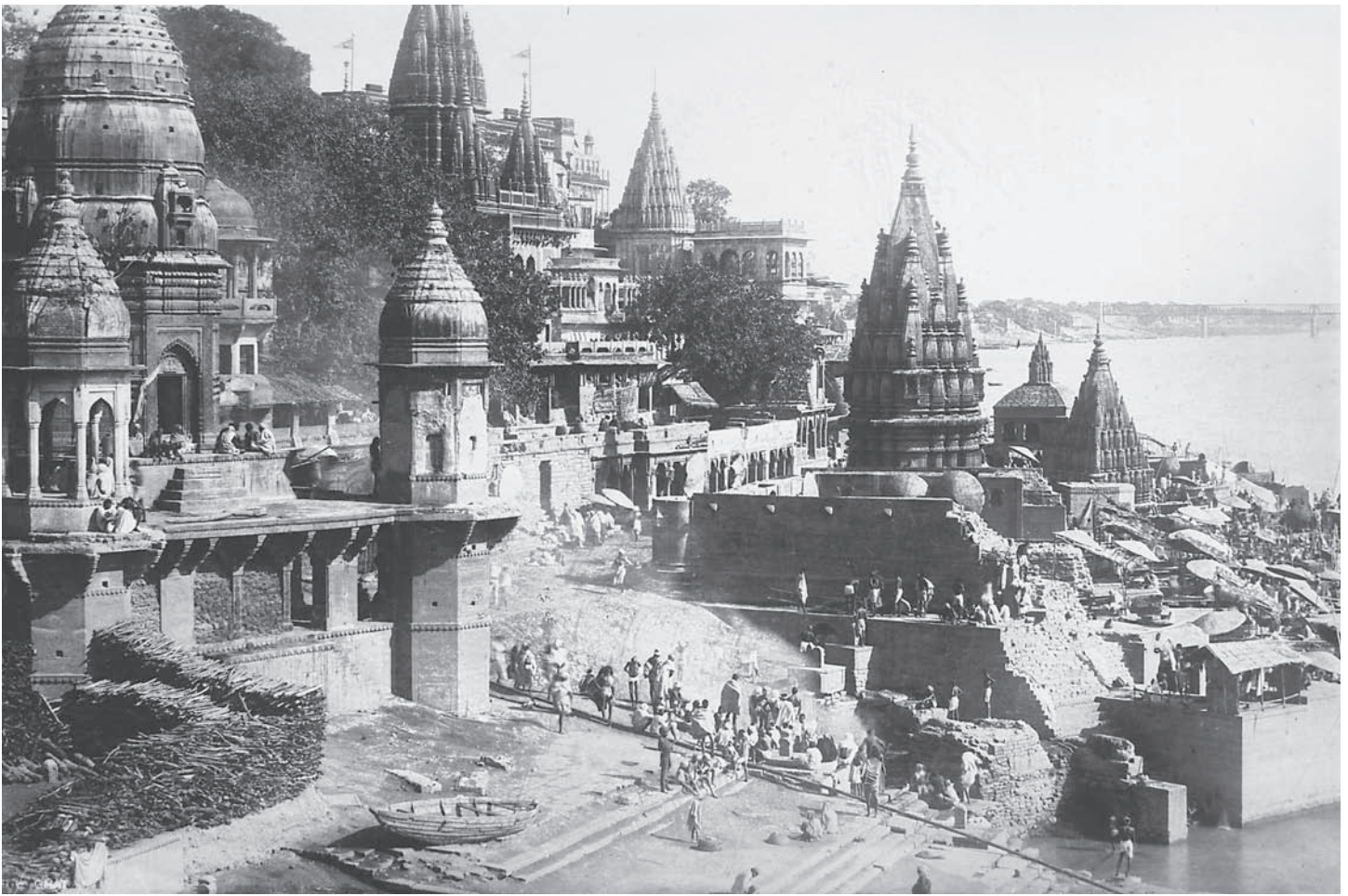
GENERAL STRIKE

Gandhi called for a general strike in April 1919, after the draconian Rowlatt Act that empowered the authorities to arrest and detain without trial, was enacted. A large numbers of Muslims began to participate in the activities of the INC.

The INC became an umbrella organization drawing support from all classes of the population. The revamping of the internal organization of the congress was retained with some modifications in independent India. The Pradesh (Provincial) Congress Committee (PCC) was formed at the state level, with 10 to 15 members belonging to the working committees. At the apex was the All-India Congress Committee (AICC), composed of state leaders from the PCC. The Congress Working Committee, consisting of senior party leaders, was in charge of important decisions.

The president of the INC was the national leader, presiding over annual sessions generally held in the month of December. These sessions spelled out the party programs and discussed measures to be taken in the ongoing struggle against British rule. Gandhi's emphasis on *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (nonviolent protest) became successful in shaking the foundation of the British Empire.

The INC entered a new phase in its struggle against the British raj between 1919 and 1922. The noncooperation movement, with its technique of non-violent struggle, was launched. At a special session of the AICC held in Calcutta in September 1920, it was decided to initiate noncooperation with the British government by boycotting educational institutions, law courts, and legislatures. The use of hand spinning for producing khadi (cloth) was emphasized. A violent mob, after a police firing on February 5, 1922, at Chauri Chaura, attacked the police station, resulting in the deaths of 22 police personnel. Gandhi was



A city view of Benares, India, in 1922. The rich cultural heritage of the Indian people, evident in the scene above, helped fuel the resolve of India to be independent of British domination and to achieve self-rule through peaceful means.

aghast at this violent path, and the Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli suspended the noncooperation movement seven days afterward. Although Congress leaders like SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) as well as a large section of the populace were stunned by the Working Committee resolution, they abided by the decision. Gandhi was arrested in March 1922 and given six years' imprisonment for treason.

The INC was opposed to the formation of the Simon Commission in 1927–28, which was constituted to look into the constitutional reforms and appointed a committee headed by MOTILAL NEHRU to prepare a constitution for a free India. Dominion status for India was the main feature of the Nehru Report. The All-Party Conference, convened in Calcutta in December 1928, did not agree with the report. MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (1876–1948), the leader of the AIML, also

was against the report because his demands were not met. The radical wing of the congress, led by Motilal's son Jawaharlal, also was opposed to the report. It was decided to launch civil disobedience for the cause of *purna swaraj* (complete independence). The congress passed the resolution for complete independence in the historic Lahore session of 1929. The following year the civil disobedience movement started when Gandhi launched the salt *satyagraha* with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. Gandhi was arrested in May, and altogether 90,000 people were put behind bars. The British realized the need for congress participation and initiated a dialogue. As a result Lord Irwin (1881–1959), the viceroy, signed a pact with Gandhi in March 1931 by which the civil disobedience movement was suspended, and the congress agreed to join the ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. In the Karachi session of the INC, talks with the British were endorsed.

The session was important as the congress passed resolutions on basic fundamental rights and launched key economic programs. The British did not accept the congress demand of complete independence, and Gandhi was arrested in January 1932 after returning to India.

The congress took part in the elections of 1937 per the provisions of the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT of 1935 and performed very well in the general constituencies. At the time of WORLD WAR II it sympathized with the victims of Nazism and fascism. The blitzkrieg by Japan in Southeast Asia had brought the war to India's doorstep. The AICC passed the famous resolution of "Quit India" on August 8, 1942, and Nehru said that it was a "fight to finish." With a motto to "do or die," the Quit India movement began and was suppressed with the utmost force. The postwar scene was marked by devastating economic consequence of the war, the spread of communalism and communal riots, Jinnah's indomitable quest for control of Pakistan, and the congress's desire for a compromise.

Great Britain finally decided to leave India, which it could not hold with diminished resources, and ordered elections to central and provincial legislatures. The congress captured all the general seats in the center and obtained a majority in all the provinces except Sind, the Punjab, and Bengal. Between 1945 and 1947 there were serious revolts by peasants and workers. The league was determined in its demand for partition of the country. In September 1946 an interim government was formed by the congress. The British prime minister, Clement Attlee (1883–1967), had declared that the British would quit India. A compromise formula was finally worked out by the viceroy Lord (Louis) Mountbatten (1900–79) in his talks with the leaders of the congress and the league. It was announced in June 1947 that India and Pakistan would be independent from British colonial rule on August 15, 1947.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Indian Reorganization Act, U.S.

This 1934 legislation, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, was a NEW DEAL program that significantly reshaped, in mostly positive ways, federal policies concerning the Native American population. Spearheaded by reformer John Collier, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) empowered tribal leaders, recognized the legitimacy of Indian customs and culture, and preserved Indian land rights. It was not, however, a final "fix" in the tortured four-century history of white and Native interaction.

By 1900, 10 years after the last battle between federal troops and Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the U.S. Native population had dwindled to 237,000. By 1934 Native land holdings had declined by two-thirds, to 7,500 square miles.

Although in 1924 all Natives had been granted U.S. citizenship, the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) continued to supervise every aspect of Natives' lives, while states with large native populations regularly imposed special restrictions on them. Efforts to separate and "civilize" Indian children continued at places like the Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, Indian Schools.

Sympathetic whites, beginning with Helen Hunt Jackson in 1881 and Charles Lummis in the 1890s, took up the Indian cause in books and articles that caused a sensation but had minimal effect on actual Natives except often to romanticize their history and plight. Lummis was able to interest his Harvard classmate THEODORE ROOSEVELT in some Indian issues. John Collier, likewise born to wealth, was educated at Columbia University and in Paris. In 1919 he first encountered the "Indian problem" while visiting artist and heiress Mabel Dodge Luhan in New Mexico. (She had married Tony Luhan, a Pueblo Indian.) Collier soon came to oppose forced Americanization programs and attacked the competence and honesty of

BIA officials. At the urging of Collier and his Indian Defense Association, a two-year study, the Meriam Report, was released in 1928. It revealed vast failures in previous federal programs, especially the assimilationist 1887 Dawes Act.

Named commissioner of Indian affairs by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1933, John Collier created a special public works program for Natives—the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps. Serving as BIA head until 1945, Collier sought out more Indian staff for his agency. The BIA instituted new health programs and encouraged Native practices, including communal living and farming practices that the Dawes Act had tried to wipe out.

Less successful were efforts to turn tribal leadership into formal constitutional governing bodies. An estimated 60 percent of tribal units chose not to create governments sanctioned by the IRA. Suspicion kept some tribes from working effectively with their members or with mixed-blood relatives who were no longer tribally affiliated. Traditional Indians did not always appreciate the involvement of “progressive” tribal members who often lived in cities or later fought in WORLD WAR II. Despite infusions of aid during the GREAT DEPRESSION, Natives, already one of the poorest groups in the United States, saw little meaningful improvement in living conditions. Sometimes other New Deal programs ignored or harmed tribal groups. One such massive project to install dams along the Northwest’s Columbia River flooded tribal hunting and fishing lands.

By 1950 the IRA, although still considered a huge improvement over previous relationships between whites and Native peoples, had seemingly reached the limits of its ability to truly improve the lives and autonomy of America’s original inhabitants.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a U.S. workers’ movement that had a significant impact on organized labor during the first two decades of

the 20th century. IWW members were commonly known as Wobblies (one story holds that this moniker came from the wobble saw used by lumberjacks). Founded in 1905, the organization was always small, with a peak membership numbering in the tens of thousands during the 1910s, but the Wobblies successfully agitated among many more workers. Influenced by European syndicalist ideas about remaking society, they sought to create “one big union” that would bring together all laborers. They offered the vision of a nation in which wages and private profits were abolished, and business-dominated government gave way to “industrial democracy.” Fierocious opponents of the American Federation of Labor, which organized only craft workers, the IWW focused on the semiskilled and unskilled: mass-production factory hands, loggers, longshoremen, migrant farm workers, and domestic servants. Their interest in organizing African Americans and newly arrived immigrants was particularly unusual in an era of racial and ethnic polarization.

Unlike other organized labor groups, the IWW rejected the idea of collective bargaining to improve wages and working conditions. They refused to sign contracts, arguing that this would impede workers’ ability to take action. They also were uninterested in traditional political activism, because many of the groups to whom they appealed were unable to vote. Instead, they wanted to foment change by creating a revolutionary proletarian culture.

Wobblies typically went out in “flying squadrons” of mobile agitators, riding the rails, sleeping in hobo “jungles” on the outskirts of towns, and preaching the IWW message to all those among whom they lived and worked. The Wobblies were known for their constant singing while they traveled or were in jail. Although they often used inflammatory rhetoric, this was paired with acts of nonviolent civil disobedience. One attention-grabbing tactic was their “free speech” fight. The point was to educate onlookers about their constitutional rights and the unjustness of authorities. A Wobbly would stand on a soapbox on a street corner, delivering a harangue. If he or she was arrested, another Wobbly would immediately take up the speech and be arrested in turn, until the local jail was flooded and the public expense became prohibitive. The IWW also taught various forms of nonviolent resistance on the job. Workers would surreptitiously slow down their pace of production, or they might deliberately feed a machine too quickly so that the wheels became clogged. The IWW pioneered the use of the sit-down strike; the

first recorded in U.S. history occurred in 1906 in Schenectady, New York, when 3,000 workers trained by Wobblies simply sat down in their factory and refused to leave.

While most labor organizations have a formal structure with elected officials, a central headquarters, and union locals, the IWW was the opposite: Members often boasted that they were all leaders and that their “locals” could be found under any traveling member’s hat. This decentralization made it possible for the Wobblies to agitate among a wide variety of laborers across the country. In 1912 they enjoyed a major success when they led a strike at textile mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts. They managed to sustain cross-ethnic solidarity among 23,000 workers during the difficult winter months, not only winning concessions on pay and work hours but also highlighting issues such as dangerous workplace conditions and child labor. In 1913 they led a similar strike in Paterson, New Jersey, which became a cause célèbre among New York City’s leftist intellectuals, culminating with a dramatic worker pageant held at Madison Square Garden. The Wobblies ultimately failed to build a long-term movement. Workers gravitated to the IWW when they wanted to fight for “bread and butter” issues, but upon attaining these immediate material goals they rarely stayed committed to the Wobbly call for revolution.

The IWW was viewed as a dangerous organization by business interests, and Wobbly agitators were sometimes subject to brutal repression. For example, in 1916 in Everett, Washington, a deputized crowd at a dock fired on a steamship full of singing Wobblies, killing or wounding several dozen. When the United States entered WORLD WAR I in 1917, the IWW had succeeded in organizing copper mines in the West to the extent that national production was threatened. In the heated wartime atmosphere, the IWW was denounced on the Senate floor as standing for “Imperial Wilhelm’s Warriors.” The WOODROW WILSON administration decided to prosecute Wobblies for espionage and “criminal syndicalism.” In September 1917 the Justice Department conducted raids on every significant IWW hall, and by the end of the year more than a hundred prominent organizers were locked up. In a mass trial in 1918, the government was unable to show that the Wobblies had committed any crimes, instead focusing on their “seditious and disloyal” teachings. Most were convicted, and over the next several years the organization expended its energies and meager financial resources fighting the convictions. Internal schisms and further legal repression left the IWW impotent by the mid-1920s.

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TOM COLLINS

influenza pandemic (1918)

The influenza pandemic of 1918 was, in terms of loss of life, the most catastrophic illness to have ever afflicted the world’s population. Nothing before or since has approached its effects in terms of the number of fatalities or in the speed with which it spread. From the latter part of the 19th century until WORLD WAR I (1914–18), many Europeans and Americans had taken comfort in the idea that technical, scientific, and medical progress had created a better world. The war shattered most of that illusion, but any comfort that might have been derived from advances in medical science were not to be found as millions died from the disease.

The influenza of 1918 was often referred to as the Spanish influenza. It struck Spain, where it was reported on in detail. Because Spain was neutral in the war, there was no press censorship, and so the reports gave many the impression that it had started there. Where it came from is still unknown.

Whatever its point of origin, the pandemic killed between 25 million and 100 million people. Even at the lower number, it was a catastrophe; total casualties resulting from World War I were 15 million. One estimate is that 500,000,000 people were infected, one-third of the world’s population in 1918. Fatality rates were generally more than 2.5 percent of those infected. In Asia and Africa any public health statistics were partial or nonexistent. All estimates have to be taken as approximate with a great variance on which numbers can be considered reliable. One estimate, for example, puts the number of deaths in India at 17 million. In the United States estimates of influenza-related deaths range from 500,000 to 675,000. Britain’s figures of dead were said to be 200,000 and France’s twice that.

Earlier recorded pandemics of influenza had occurred in 1781, 1830–32, 1847, and 1889. These had crossed from east to west, from Asia to Europe and, to a lesser extent the Western Hemisphere. Although serious, they never approached the level of destruction of



A demonstration of procedure for nurses at the Red Cross Emergency Ambulance Station in Washington, D.C., during the influenza pandemic of 1918, which killed millions of people and infected millions more.

life found in 1918. The world was a far different place in 1918 than it was earlier, even far different from 1889. The World War had caused large numbers of people to move from one country to another, from one continent to another. It is fairly certain that soldiers from Europe brought the influenza virus back to America on troop ships. That war-driven mobility caused the virus to move farther and more rapidly than had ever been the case.

Another factor was that the war had displaced large numbers of people who had to live with decreased food supplies, no sure housing, lack of medical care, and susceptibility to infections or sickness. Another factor was the soldiers themselves who were cramped in barracks that were not healthy and who, because of the stress of combat, were physically susceptible to infections.

The influenza usually struck very quickly. There are many accounts of people appearing to be perfectly healthy and suddenly, within hours, becoming completely debilitated. From that point they could die, often the next day. Those stricken would cough up blood. The coughing was so severe that bodies that were autopsied showed serious tears of internal muscles due solely to severe coughing. Pneumonia combined with the influenza, and many essentially drowned because their lungs were filled with liquid they could not be rid of.

In many cases, a blue tinge would develop at the ears and spread to the rest of the face, darkening it. Doctors and nurses in the United States mentioned that it was often difficult to tell Caucasians from African Americans, as patients of both races would become so

dramatically discolored. Doctors and nurses generally believed that the most serious cases, the ones who would die, were those that showed the discoloration. The British army's medical department, as part of its record keeping during the pandemic and in order to educate doctors and nurses what to look for, commissioned artists to draw pictures of soldiers who had been stricken. These illustrations would show the coloration to look for. Even many years after the pandemic, these portraits of ill soldiers, many of them about to die, provide an excellent idea of what they were suffering.

The time that the pandemic began has generally been agreed to have been in the spring of 1918. This was the first wave. It was reported and treated in several U.S. Army camps in the Midwest, primarily in Kansas in March. Those soldiers eventually transferred to France, where it is believed they spread the disease. In August sailors from Europe reached Boston and brought the infection to that city. From there it traveled almost immediately to an army post in central Massachusetts, Fort Devens, where it killed 100 soldiers a day.

Influenza traveled very rapidly down the East Coast, following the transportation corridor created by the railroads. Of the cities on the east coast of the United States, Philadelphia was the hardest hit. By October influenza was so serious there that 4,600 people died in one week. The second wave of the pandemic hit hardest through November 1918. Despite the efforts of doctors and nurses, there was very little that could be done.

One of the effects of the pandemic was that in many places in the world, especially the United States, the public health service was mobilized. In the end that intervention did not significantly halt or affect the spread of the disease. It did, however, lead to the practice of mobilizing all resources and taking steps by the government to try to halt the disease. Bans and quarantines were put into place. In many communities citizens were forced to wear face masks, or they would not be allowed on trolleys or might even be fined or jailed. Reporting on the incidences of disease as well as the quality of reporting changed. Influenza had never been reported as a health issue until 1918. Record keeping was more stringent and included tissue samples, some of which would be used over 70 years later to support research on the spread of influenza and reconstruct the genome of the 1918 virus.

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ROBERT STACY

International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), often referred to as the World Court, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN) and was formally established by the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 under articles 92–96. The ICJ is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) established in 1920 by the LEAGUE OF NATIONS to address the issues raised after the cessation of WORLD WAR I.

The ICJ is located at the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, and is the only body of the UN not located at UN headquarters in New York. The statute of the ICJ is similar to that of its predecessor and is the main constitutional document regulating the court. The court operates in two official languages, French and English, and all judicial activity is published in both languages. The ICJ as such has no criminal jurisdiction, and consequently it cannot try individuals charged with war crimes; these cases fall to national jurisdictions and to criminal tribunals established by the UN.

Jurisdiction is often a crucial question for the ICJ, whose key principle is consent. The issue of jurisdiction is considered in only two types of ICJ cases: those pertaining to legal disputes submitted by member states on contentious issues, which often pertain to boundary disputes, and the provision of advisory opinions on specific legal questions raised. Unlike contentious issues, an advisory opinion is an opportunity for a UN member or agency to address a question before the ICJ. The court typically seeks out useful information pertaining to questions raised and provides a forum to present such questions. A nonbinding opinion on the matter is then published to the UN member states.

Under article 93 of the UN Charter, all UN members fall under the court's statute. Non-UN members may also become parties to the court's statute under article 93(2). The court comprises 15 judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and Security

Council, with only one judge per any nationality sitting at one time on the court. Judges sitting on the court do not represent their respective countries and are free to vote against their national self-interests in pursuit of the goals of the UN Charter. Sources of law applied by the court include using international customs and procedures, current conventions and treaties, judicial decisions and teachings of highly qualified individuals, and application of general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

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PAUL VON JANKOWSKY

Iran-Soviet relations

Well before the 1920s one of Iran's greatest political obstacles was the imperial rivalry between Great Britain and Russia. Both imperial powers felt that Iran was of vital importance to their respective empires, and, spurred by economic interests, the British and the Russian czars followed by the Soviet government vied for influence and control over Iran.

During WORLD WAR I Iran declared neutrality. When Britain and Russia became allies in the war against Germany, they secretly entered into the Constantinople Agreement, by which they would divide Iranian territory between themselves. Denied representation at the Versailles Peace Conference following World War I, Iran faced postwar occupation by Britain not only in the south but also in the north after the Bolsheviks overthrew the Russian czarist monarchy and withdrew Russian military forces. Oil, protection of the route to India, and its postwar mandate over neighboring Iraq ensured Britain's continued interest in Iran. In contrast, the Soviets renounced the czar's imperialistic policies and declared the Constantinople Agreement void. The Soviet regime then recognized Iran's right to self-determination and repudiated historic concessions made by former Iranian governments.

During this period Soviet foreign policy objectives varied. Soviet officials wished to establish friendly

relations with bordering countries and to oppose Western domination in order to spread the communist revolution. To this end, Iran was of utmost importance, and the new Soviet policy effectively weakened British control over Iran. Six days before the signing of the Iran-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, a coup led by Colonel Reza Khan overthrew the Iranian government. Khan's rise to power culminated with his accession as shah in 1925 and the founding of the PAHLAVI DYNASTY. Khan's government initially instituted a wide variety of modernizing reforms. As Khan consolidated power his regime became less progressive and more dictatorial.

Relations with the Soviet Union were of considerable concern, particularly as the traditional power struggle between Great Britain and Russia had refashioned itself into a struggle between capitalism and communism. Iran had come to rely on Soviet trade, thus making it vulnerable to Soviet advances. In 1927 Khan negotiated an ad hoc agreement with the Soviets that sought a trade balance and defined terms for bilateral trade delegations. Iran's relations with the Soviet Union were also complicated by territorial disputes involving the northern region and access to the Caspian Sea. On February 20, 1926, Khan negotiated a treaty attempting to resolve the dispute; the treaty created a joint territorial commission but granted it little power to effect decisions, and the territorial issues remained. Iran also had problems with foreign interference, and on October 1, 1927, it signed a Treaty of Guarantee and Neutrality with the Soviet Union. The treaty was a nonaggression pact that assured that neither country would interfere in the other's internal operations. For the Soviet Union the treaty allayed border security fears, but it caused discontent in Iran, which saw it as a continuation of historical external encroachment on its right to sovereignty. After WORLD WAR II Iran would shift its alliance toward the United States in order to prevent Soviet expansion along the border.

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MICHELLE DONNELLY

Iraqi rebellion (1920)

The Iraqi rebellion of 1920 was a massive nationalist revolt against the British occupation of the country. In 1915 in the midst of WORLD WAR I, British and imperial troops moved into southern Iraq and then north toward Baghdad, where they were defeated by Ottoman troops. In 1917 a new British expedition took Baghdad, and by the end of the war they controlled the northern Iraqi province of Mosul as well. Mosul was of particular importance owing to its oil fields, over which the British meant to retain control.

The initial British occupation met with little Iraqi resistance, but after the SAN REMO TREATY of 1920 formalized British control under the mandate, Iraqi opposition to a prolonged occupation mounted. The full-scale war that broke out in the summer of 1920 raged throughout the country but was particularly strong in rural areas. The war united Iraqis representing a complex mix of religious and ethnic groups. Sunni Muslim Kurds in the north, who wanted the British out of Mosul, joined with Shi'i in the south in their opposition to the British. Shi'i centers around the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf were among the first to resist. Tribal confederacies also joined the struggle, as did women who collected money for the cause and served as messengers. The war raged for four months and took the British by surprise.

Arnold Wilson, the top British civilian official in Iraq, had advocated a policy of direct control and had predicted no difficulties in holding the territory, but as the violence grew and casualties mounted the British were forced to bring in reinforcements. The British smashed the rebellion with military force and even employed the Royal Air Force to bomb tribal armies with poison mustard gas. In the face of British military superiority and internal disputes that prevented a clear-cut chain of command or unified strategy, the revolt was crushed. In the course of the rebellion, over 400 British troops and 10,000 Iraqis had been killed.

The British sent Sir Percy Cox to Baghdad to help bring civilian order, and he set up an Iraqi interim government. At the CAIRO CONFERENCE of 1921 the British addressed the problems of governing Iraq. The British decided on a policy of indirect rule, whereby the façade of independence would be created through the establishment of an Arab monarchy led by Faysal, son of Sherif Husayn and a member of the respected Hashemite family, which would be closely linked to Britain. Britain thereby retained real control over the foreign affairs and economic wealth of Iraq, particularly

its oil reserves, without assuming the financial costs necessitated by a large military presence and direct rule.

See also HASHEMITE DYNASTY IN IRAQ.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Irish independence

Constitutional nationalists had long worked to pass home rule bills that would achieve Irish independence from Britain. None had achieved a lasting self-government for the Irish people. In Dublin on April 24, 1916, the Easter Uprising changed the struggle for Irish independence, not because of its military success but because of the British reaction to the Irish nationalists. With 450, mostly civilians, killed and 2,614 wounded, Britain exacted severe punishments upon the perpetrators of the rebellion. Seven men who had signed the Easter Proclamation, outlining the objectives of the rebels, were executed. The rebels quickly became martyrs in the eyes of the Irish and radicalized many who had previously been moderates.

The Irish Political Party, once dominant in English parliamentary politics, had advocated moderation and limited autonomy, but it became increasingly marginalized following the rebellion. Alternatives to the Irish Political Party emerged, and several organizations, including Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, advanced nationalist goals. To many, British domination was cultural and social as well as political. They felt that British goods, the British educational system, and the Anglican religion had erased Irish identity. Organizations such as the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association provided outlets for the expression of Irish cultural heritage based on education, language, and literature.

Sinn Féin's success in the 1918 election secured its dominance in the independence movement. The Easter Uprising had occurred when Britain had been preoccupied with WORLD WAR I, and Britain feared that a successful Irish separatist movement would spark similar revolts in its far-flung colonial holdings.



Éamon de Valera (right) was the president of Sinn Féin and later of the Dáil Éireann, the Irish parliament based in Dublin.

In 1918 Britain indicated that it would extend conscription to Ireland. The so-called conscription crisis further spurred and unified Irish nationalists. Rebels were encouraged by WOODROW WILSON's principles of self-determination, which intimated that every nation had the right to independence and sovereignty. In 1919 Irish representatives even traveled to attend the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in the hopes that Irish independence would be addressed during the postwar peace negotiations.

From 1919 to 1921 the progressive use of physical force effectively transformed the struggle into a guerilla war. Much of the fighting began during the last 12 months of the conflict, which caused over a thousand deaths. British reaction was harsh; there were frequent police raids of nationalist houses and large-scale arrests. But British retaliation only escalated the violence. The Black and Tans, former servicemen who

supported the British police, became notorious for violent tactics. Irish prisoners often went on hunger strikes as a form of political protest. On November 21, 1920, known as Bloody Sunday, 26 people were killed when nationalists attacked British intelligence agents and the British police retaliated during a Gaelic football game. Martial law was imposed on parts of the country, and an attempt was made to negotiate peace.

On July 9, 1921, the two sides agreed to a truce. ÉAMON DE VALERA, then president of Sinn Féin and later president of the Dáil Éireann (the Irish parliament based in Dublin), met with British prime minister DAVID LLOYD GEORGE several times over the summer of 1921. In these negotiations Valera insisted on a completely independent and unified state. The British delayed granting independence but did agree to an Anglo-Irish Conference. In the fall of 1921 a three-person delegation from the Dáil was chosen to represent Ireland. The resulting Anglo-Irish Treaty, signed on December 6, 1921, created a new but divided Ireland consisting of a six-county Northern Ireland linked to Britain, but with its own form of home rule. Mainly Protestant, the northern Ulster province had long opposed Irish independence. The remaining 26 counties formed a distinct Ireland with limited autonomy and ensured continued allegiance to the British monarch. With none of the major objectives met, the Irish delegation returned to angry resistance from the rest of the Dáil cabinet. Valera, who had decided not to participate in the conference, had instructed the delegation to consult with the rest of the cabinet prior to agreement on central issues and to send a draft of the treaty for review before signing it, but the delegation had not done so.

Michael Collins, representing the delegation, continued to support the treaty, while Valera remained adamantly opposed and continued to press for complete Irish independence. A bitter civil war between those opposing and those supporting the treaty ensured that the violence continued.

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isolationism, U.S.

Isolationism played a dominant role in U.S. foreign policy in the first half of the 20th century. Particularly during the 1930s, the United States sought to retreat behind its ocean borders and decrease if not eliminate its international responsibilities. After WORLD WAR II, isolationism became increasingly discredited and was replaced by cold war internationalism as the dominant U.S. foreign policy belief.

Despite increasing reliance on foreign trade as a pillar of the U.S. economy, the United States sought to limit its global responsibilities in the aftermath of WORLD WAR I. The Senate's rejection of the Versailles Treaty meant that the United States would not join the LEAGUE OF NATIONS despite the fact that it was primarily the creation of President WOODROW WILSON. Instead, the United States pursued a policy of independent internationalism during the 1920s, promoting naval disarmament at the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE in 1921–22; establishing a “reparations triangle,” which established a relationship between German reparations payments to the Allies and Allied war debt payments to the United States through the Dawes and Young Plans (1924 and 1929, respectively); and intervening in Central America and the Caribbean throughout the decade. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION began to reverse this internationalism. During the latter stages of the HOOVER administration and the most of the first two terms of the FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT administration, isolationist sentiment grew in Congress and in the country.

This desire to limit involvement in the growing conflicts found in Europe and Asia in the mid-1930s became public policy through the creation of the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937. The Neutrality Act of 1935 forbade arms sales to belligerents during a recognized state of war. The Neutrality Act of 1936 renewed the 1935 provision and added a commitment to stay out of the ongoing SPANISH CIVIL WAR while also forbidding loans by banks to belligerents. The Neutrality Act of 1937 added to the first two provisions that forbade citizens from traveling on belligerents' vessels and limited trade in nonmilitary goods with belligerents to a “cash-and-carry” basis, meaning that belligerents could purchase nonmilitary items from the United States with cash only and would have to pick up the goods from the United States in their own ships. These three acts limited presidential control of foreign policy by eliminating any distinction between aggressors and victims in a conflict, eliminating a key moral component

from U.S. policy. That these acts had very little relationship to the actual events in Europe and Asia troubled the isolationists not at all. Their goal was to keep the United States out of the growing conflicts in the rest of the world.

The Roosevelt administration's acquiescence in the creation of these acts reflected the president's emphasis on dealing with the Great Depression. The primary movers behind the Neutrality Acts tended to support the NEW DEAL. As events in Europe and Asia pushed the world once again toward war, Roosevelt began to take tentative steps toward challenging isolationist dominance. On October 5, 1937, he spoke to a nationwide audience from the isolationist stronghold of Chicago. In the speech he called for the quarantine of aggressor nations by the world's peace-loving peoples. However, when the British sought clarification on what Roosevelt intended to do to carry out this quarantine, the president responded that both U.S. public opinion and the Neutrality Acts precluded any actual preemptive actions by the president. Roosevelt all but repudiated the speech over the next several weeks.

One of the primary consequences of U.S. isolationism was the enhanced commitment of Britain and France to a policy of APPEASEMENT. If they could not count on the United States for loans, guns, or assistance, the British and French did not believe they could credibly resist Germany militarily. Hence, they were willing to trade land for peace, acquiescing in the *Anschluss* (unification) of Germany and Austria in March 1938. After a summer of crisis created by ADOLF HITLER's demand for autonomy for ethnic Germans living in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, the British and French pressured the Czech government to meet the demand. When Hitler responded by changing the demand to German annexation of the territory, the British and French at first reluctantly mobilized their militaries but then agreed to meet with Hitler and Italian dictator BENITO MUSSOLINI at Munich, where the Czechs were forced to cede the territory to Germany.

During the intervening year, Roosevelt slowly and tentatively began to challenge isolationist dominance, specifically requesting a liberalization of the Neutrality Acts' limitation on arms sales in his State of the Union message on January 4, 1939. Building on the anti-German outcry over the *Kristallnacht* attacks on German Jews on November 10, 1938, Roosevelt began to salt his discussions with congressional leaders and the press with references to the growing danger of Germany, a danger confirmed by its seizure of the remainder of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939. This aggression

ended the policy of appeasement by Britain and France and seemed to strengthen Roosevelt's hand in demanding Neutrality Act revision.

When the war began with the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, followed by the French and British declarations of war two days later, Roosevelt seized the opportunity to act. After issuing a neutrality proclamation in which he clearly was not calling for an absolutely neutral stance toward the belligerents in Europe, Roosevelt called Congress back into session to again take up the issue of revising the Neutrality Acts. Despite fierce resistance from the isolationists, the arms embargo was lifted. However, the isolationists did force a cash-and-carry provision into the act for the sale of arms and munitions.

Through 1940 and especially after the fall of France in June, isolationists hammered away at the sale of arms to the British, calling for arms to be used to defend the United States instead. Led by the organization America First, the isolationists predicted Britain's defeat and criticized Roosevelt for wasting U.S. resources on a lost cause. The most formidable spokesman for America First was aviation hero CHARLES LINDBERGH, who argued that the Germans were far superior to the British in air power and that this would inevitably lead to Britain's defeat. Nevertheless, Roosevelt not only continued to sell increasing amounts of arms to the British, he also authorized a trade of 50 U.S. destroyers to Britain in return for the right to lease nine British bases in the Western Hemisphere. The destroyers would both help the British convoy goods across the Atlantic and serve as morale-boosting evidence of the U.S. potential to assist.

Ironically, while isolationists condemned Roosevelt's behavior in the Atlantic as designed to trigger U.S. entry

into the war, it would be events in Asia that would actually bring about the end to neutrality and isolationism. U.S. economic sanctions against Japan over the seizure of French Indochina, particularly an embargo on the sale of oil, led to tense negotiations between the two sides. Ultimately, the negotiations failed because of incompatible goals; the United States demanded Japanese withdrawal from Indochina and China in return for normalizing trade, while the Japanese demanded that the United States recognize the new territorial arrangements in Asia and resume normal trade. As the talks broke down, the Japanese government implemented the plan of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto to launch a surprise attack on the American Pacific Fleet at anchor at PEARL HARBOR, Hawaii. By attacking the United States in this manner, the Japanese accomplished something Roosevelt had failed to do for the previous two years: unite the people of the United States behind intervention in the war while mortally wounding isolationism in the United States. On December 8, 1941, Congress approved a declaration of war against Japan, with only one member dissenting. Isolationism was discredited, and the United States united behind the war effort.

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RICHARD M. FILIPINK, JR.



Japan, U.S. occupation of

The U.S.-led occupation of Japan began at 8:28 A.M. on August 28, 1945, when U.S. army colonel Charles P. Tench of General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR's personal staff stepped out of a C-47 Dakota transport onto the battered runway of Atsugi Airfield outside Tokyo, becoming the first foreign conqueror of Japanese soil in its thousand-year history.

Tench and his crew were followed two days later by 4,000 men of the 11th Airborne Division. On the same day, the U.S. 6th Marine Division began landing troops at the Yokosuka Navy Base as U.S. and British ships steamed into Tokyo Bay and MacArthur himself put the seal on WORLD WAR II victory and the beginning of postwar occupation by landing in his aircraft at Atsugi saying, "Melbourne to Tokyo was a long road, but this looks like the payoff."

The occupation was planned concurrently with the invasion of the Home Islands in early 1945 by MacArthur's headquarters. The occupation plan was to demilitarize Japan so that it would never again threaten its neighbors and to create a democratic and responsible government and a strong, self-sufficient economy. Operation Blacklist was designed to bring about a sudden surrender or collapse of the Japanese government, realized with the atomic attacks on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI.

The operation called for a three-phase military occupation of Japan and Korea, with 23 divisions and supporting naval and air forces. The first prior-

ity would be to secure bases of operation, control the Japanese government, disarm its military, and liberate 36,000 Allied prisoners of war and internees who were close to death from starvation, torture, and abuse.

The Japan that surrendered in 1945 was an exhausted, stunned, and starving nation. Having never known defeat or occupation in their history, the Japanese now saw their institutions destroyed, agriculture and industry wrecked, and 2 million countrymen dead. Acres of major cities were in ruins, thousands homeless, the emperor abject, and the armed forces defeated and dishonored. It was a complete collapse.

With Japan's surrender, MacArthur was appointed supreme commander for the Allied powers in Japan under a U.S. State Department directive entitled "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan." Instead of Japan's being divided into separate nationally administered zones, as was done in Germany, the fallen empire would continue as one nation under its existing government and emperor, subject to U.S.-led direction. Above MacArthur was the 11-nation Far Eastern Commission in Washington, established in December 1945, which was to make policy for the occupation and which could discuss and approve but not rescind previous U.S. decisions. Thus, in practice, despite Soviet complaints and demands for a share in the occupation, MacArthur had supreme power over Japan.

The first U.S. move after securing operating bases was to recover and repatriate prisoners from more than 140 camps across the Home Islands, airdropping supplies and sending out medical and transport teams to

bring the survivors of Malaya and Bataan home. Nearly all of them were brought out by the end of 1945.

Meanwhile, some 250,000 occupying forces, including an Australian-led British Commonwealth occupation force of 36,000 Britons, Australians, New Zealanders, and Indians, fanned out across Japan. While the British force was assigned to southern Honshu and Shikoku Island (including Hiroshima), MacArthur banned Soviet troops from his occupation force.

With his headquarters at the Dai Ichi Building in Tokyo, MacArthur did not need to create a political structure to administer Japan. The nation's government was intact when it surrendered, so his directives were simply passed through his staff to the Japanese-established Central Liaison Office, which acted as intermediary between the occupation staff and the government ministries until the two groups developed working relationships.

After freeing the POWs, MacArthur moved to demobilize the battered Japanese war machine, whose 5.5 million soldiers, 1.5 million sailors, and 3.5 million civilian colonial overlords were still defending bypassed islands across the Pacific. The Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy were converted into the First and Second Demobilization Bureaus, respectively, and administered the repatriation, disarming, and demobilization of these men. Most of this work was done by the Japanese under close Allied supervision. Japanese warships, even the aircraft carrier *Hosho*, carried defeated troops home, making their final voyages before going to the scrap yard, where these ships were joined in destruction by tanks, kamikaze planes, mid-gut submarines, and artillery shells of the once-mighty Japanese armed forces.

The United States also moved to break down the Japanese police state, decentralizing the police, releasing political prisoners, and abolishing the Home Ministry, which had controlled Japan's secret police agency, the Kempeitai. With these changes in place, the United States was able by December 1945 to issue a Bill of Rights directive, which gave the Japanese U.S.-style civil liberties, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

The role of the emperor was also changed. Shortly after the surrender he met MacArthur, which enabled many Japanese to accept the new regime. In January 1946 Emperor HIROHITO formally renounced his divinity, ending over a thousand years of Japanese tradition. He also began making public appearances in the style of Britain's royal family.

In April 1946 MacArthur ordered general elections as a referendum on the changes he planned. Three out

of four Japanese went to the polls, including 14 million newly enfranchised women, to elect a free diet. The results supported a mildly liberal, prodemocracy government, an endorsement for his plans. Next MacArthur directed the Japanese government to draft a constitution to replace the 1867 Meiji Constitution. While issued by the government in accordance with existing rules to change the constitution, this new document was drafted by MacArthur and his staff. It went into effect in May 1947.

The "MacArthur Constitution" created a parliamentary government, the Diet, with popularly elected upper and lower houses, a cabinet that held executive power, and a decentralized regional government of elected assemblies. The constitution also guaranteed basic freedoms. Its most famous section was article nine, in which Japan forever repudiated war as a means of settling disputes and banned the maintenance of military forces. As a result, the modern Japanese armed services are called the Self-Defense Forces.

The United States also had to cope with a shattered economy. One-fourth of Japan's national wealth was lost to the war, prices had risen 20 times, and workers could barely afford to purchase what little food was for sale. Many people had to barter their possessions for fish. MacArthur imposed numerous reforms on the Japanese economy. Believing that those who till the soil should own it, he had the Diet break up vast farms held by a few landlords. These farms were expropriated and sold cheaply to the former tenants. MacArthur also worked to break up the commercial empires of the *zaibatsu*, or "money cliques," but this proved less successful. The large Japanese businesses were vital to the nation's economic rebuilding, and names like Matsushita, Mitsubishi, Nissan, Honda, and Kawasaki, powerful before the war, remained so into the 21st century. Nevertheless, Japan's economy was rebuilt with speed and power.

MacArthur also rebuilt the Japanese education system by replacing nationalist curriculums and textbooks with more liberal materials, raising the school-leaving age, decentralizing the system, and replacing political indoctrination with U.S. and British ideals that supported independent thought.

MacArthur also liberated women by ending contract marriage, concubinage, and divorce laws that favored husbands. He also made high schools coeducational and opened 25 women's universities. The Japanese responded: 14,000 women became social workers, and 2,000 became police officers. Women filled up the colleges and new assemblies.

Changes wrought by the U.S. occupation were massive: Public health programs eliminated epidemics, U.S. police officials retrained Japanese policemen, and Japan's dull official radio programs of government speeches were replaced with a combination of public affairs shows, impartial newscasts, soap operas, and popular music, all of which attracted millions of listeners.

At the same time the Anglo-American presence in Japan did much to change Japanese society. The arrival of the occupation forces sent a shiver of fear through the Home Islands, fear that the dreaded gaijin—"hairy barbarians"—would rape, loot, and pillage, as Japanese soldiers had done in lands they conquered. MacArthur gave strict orders regarding his troops' behavior but did not issue nonfraternization orders. As a result, U.S. soldiers were soon overcoming language barriers to play softball games against Japanese teams, playing tourist at Japan's many attractions, and giving out chewing gum and candy to ubiquitous Japanese children.

By 1947 the occupation had succeeded in its political and economic goals. Despite Soviet intransigence, Japanese society had been transformed. The combination of MacArthur's steely resolve, U.S. generosity, and Japanese industriousness and adaptability created the modern Japan, able to connect to both its historic roots and the Western world with its democratic values, economic systems, and advanced technology. By March 1947 MacArthur himself said that the occupation was completed and began turning over control of the nation's affairs and policies to the Japanese. In 1951 the United States and most of its allies signed a peace treaty with Japan, ending an occupation that was generally conceded to have ended five years previously.

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DAVID H. LIPPMAN

Japanese constitution (1947)

Japan surrendered unconditionally after its resounding defeat in WORLD WAR II. It was occupied by the U.S. military from 1945 to 1951 under the supervision of General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, supreme commander for the Allied Powers. MacArthur undertook fundamental reforms of Japan, one of the most important being the

enactment of a new constitution in 1947, which became the underpinning of postwar democratic Japan.

MacArthur first ordered Japanese government leaders to submit to him the draft of a new constitution, but he found it unsatisfactory. Then he ordered his general headquarters, under General Courtney Whitney, to produce a model draft that incorporated U.S. ideals, which was readied one week later, on February 13, 1946. Japanese leaders had few opportunities to make changes to it, and the final draft was published on March 6 and ratified by the Japanese legislature.

The constitution, which went into effect on May 3, 1947, was fundamentally different from the Meiji Constitution of 1889. It transferred sovereignty from the emperor to the people, making the emperor the "symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." On MacArthur's order he had already renounced his claim of personal divinity in a proclamation on January 1, 1946. The constitution also gave women suffrage for the first time and granted them legal equality with men. It essentially copied the British parliamentary system with a bicameral legislature, called the Diet: the lower or house of representatives, elected every four years, held power over the upper house of councillors, also elected (every six years), which replaced the previous House of Peers that had comprised many hereditary nobles. The government was led by a prime minister selected from the Diet by its members. An independent judiciary was created under the supreme court, which was empowered to review the constitutionality of legislation. Article 9 of the constitution renounced war as an instrument of national policy, including the right of belligerence and the maintenance of all forms of war potential. The goal of this article was to prevent Japan's reversion to its prewar militarism; 31 articles were devoted to human rights, patterned after the U.S. Bill of Rights. Two-thirds majorities in both houses were necessary to initiate changes in the constitution.

Although the United States was the catalyst for the fundamental changes embodied in the 1947 constitution, it remained unchanged after Japan regained sovereignty in 1952, indicating that the majority of Japanese were satisfied with its provisions. The only significant modification pertained to the creation of a self-defense force in 1952. This was prompted by the United States, in recognition of the need for such a force during the cold war, and warranted because article 9 did not deny Japan the right of self-defense. However, Japan's self-defense force remained small, at 235,500 troops in 1995, and likewise its defense budget, at around 1

percent of the nation's GDP. Japan relied on protection by the United States, established under the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1952.

See also JAPAN, U.S. OCCUPATION OF.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Japanese internment

After the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, pressure for control of the Japanese and Japanese Americans in their midst built among West Coast whites. Farmers who competed with Japanese Americans, politicians unwilling to take a stand against anti-Japanese sentiment, and ordinary citizens aroused by the attack on Pearl Harbor—all combined against the Japanese, over two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens. Supporting the local bias was the belief on the part of many high-ranking U.S. military officers that the Japanese might invade the West Coast. The military was still off balance after the surprise attack of December 7, 1941.

U.S. officials also feared that the Japanese Americans might spy for the Japanese. They disregarded the U.S. citizenship of the majority of Japanese Americans and the fact that over half were children. They also disregarded the fact that there had been no previous cases of Japanese-American disloyalty to the United States.

On February 19, 1942, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT signed Executive Order 9066, which ordered the evacuation of all Japanese from the West Coast. The order authorized the “appropriate Military Commander” to decide who was a military risk and to exclude those so defined from the “war zones on the Pacific Frontier,” which included all of California, half of Oregon and Washington, and a third of Arizona. In the climate of the times, those so defined included all persons of Japanese descent.

The United States relocated 120,000 of its people to 10 internment camps, officially labeled internment centers, in California, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming,

Colorado, and Arkansas. Although the camps usually took internees based on geographical location, some families were split into different camps.

The camps included Amache (Granada), Colorado; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; Tule Lake, California; Gila River, Arizona; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; and Jerome, Arkansas. In June 1944 the Japanese prisoners from Jerome were relocated to Rohwer, and Jerome housed German prisoners of war. Gila River was divided into two camps, and about 1,100 inmates from both volunteered for the army. Gila River also had accredited schools and an 8,000-acre farm.

The internees fell into two categories. There were about 11,000 resident aliens of Japanese descent who were classified as enemy aliens and interned in Department of Justice camps because they were regarded as threats to national security. Their families could stay with them on a voluntary basis. They were colocated with Italian and German enemy aliens and their families, American or other. The other 114,000 internees were those, alien and citizen, evacuated from the West Coast defense areas due to doubts about their loyalty. Technically, these people were evacuated and relocated temporarily, not interned, but as a practical matter the distinction lacked any significance.

Canada evacuated 23,000 Nikkei to camps in British Columbia (BC). Males worked on sugar beet projects or in road camps. Women and children moved to six BC towns removed from the coast.

The U.S. camps, administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), tended to be overcrowded. Living conditions were poor. The internees had only short notice—48 hours—of their evacuation and could bring only a few possessions. They had to sell their belongings at fire sale prices to the fortune hunters who preyed on them during their 48 hours. The camps were fenced with barbed wire and guarded by armed soldiers. Camp leadership was open only to U.S.-born Nisei. The Issei, the Japanese-born elders, were subject by U.S. policy to the rule of their offspring. The WRA reported in 1943 that housing consisted of tar paper-covered frame barracks without plumbing or cooking facilities. Coal was scarce, so internees slept under as many blankets as they could find. Food was kept to a cost of 48 cents a day per internee. Meals were taken at mess halls seating 250 to 300 people. Deficient medical care and a high level of emotional stress proved fatal to some internees.

Tule Lake was the camp for troublemakers. It also became home to those who refused to take the loyalty



Eight Japanese-American women pose before the camp barbershop at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in Newell, California, in 1942. The United States questioned the loyalty of Japanese-American citizens after Pearl Harbor. Similarly, ethnic Japanese were interned in Canada.

oath in 1943. It became home to 18,000 Japanese, half of whom were U.S. citizens. The loyalty test was given to all internees over age 17. It included two questions: Are you willing to fight in the U.S. armed forces (women were asked if they would volunteer for the Women's Army Corps or Army Nurse Corps), and will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States, defend it against all attack, and forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor or any other government or entity?

When the United States offered the chance to leave the camps to those who joined the army, 1,200 internees enlisted. From Tule Lake came 13,000 applications for renunciation of U.S. citizenship. When all was done, 5,766 Nisei eventually renounced U.S. citizenship. All 10 people convicted of spying for Japan during the war were Caucasian. After two and a half years, in December 1944 under Public Proclamation Number 21, Roosevelt rescinded Executive Order 9066, effective in January 1945. The camps were all closed by the end of 1945, and internees returned home, relocated within the United States, or left the country.

Not all internees took their relocation passively. Some regarded the camps as concentration camps and internment as a violation of the right to habeas corpus. The most important challenges were the cases of *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943) and *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). Fred Korematsu asked whether the government had the right to uproot citizens and intern them solely based on race.

The first attempt to atone came with the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, under which over 26,000 claims were paid, usually for small amounts. In the 1960s agitation for atonement renewed, and by 1980 Congress had held hearings that produced the 1983 report "Personal Justice Denied," which condemned the internment and stated that *Korematsu*, still the law of the land, was overruled in the court of history.

In 1988 Congress enacted legislation awarding \$20,000 to each of the 60,000 surviving internees. The government of Canada in 1968 issued a formal apology to Japanese Canadians and paid each survivor \$21,000 Canadian dollars.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Jinnah, Mohammad Ali

(1876–1948) *Pakistani leader*

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an Indian politician who helped found the country of Pakistan, which he governed as its first governor-general from 1947.

Born into a prosperous Muslim merchant family in British India, Jinnah determined early in life that he wished to be a lawyer, and he studied in Britain and at the University of Bombay to that end. In Britain he was part of the successful campaign for the election of Dadabhai Naoroji, who became the first Indian to sit in the House of Commons. Jinnah divided his time between politics and the law. He was a moderate in religion; his views were rooted in Indian nationalism and the need for independence. However, as part of an educated elite in India he did not despise British political and social institutions but respected and admired the positive aspects of these, and aimed to retain them in an independent India in the future. He first served in an elected political office as part of the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS of 1906.

By the early 20th century, political thought in India was becoming divided between Hindus and Muslims. Muslims were starting to fear domination by Hindus, who were the majority. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

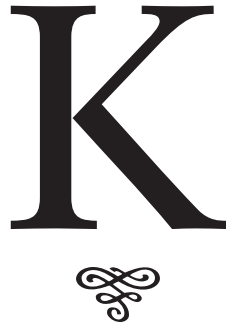
was established in 1906, but Jinnah did not join until 1913, when he had been reassured that it was dedicated to a unified struggle for independence. Jinnah established a reputation as an upholder of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was instrumental in forging the 1916 Lucknow Pact, which led to joint action by the congress and the league. However, the political rise of MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, who came to dominate Indian nationalism, led Muslim politicians to feel overshadowed. Jinnah withdrew from the congress and emerged as leader of the Muslim League. However, he committed to constitutional change at a time when Muslim-Hindu riots were starting to flare.

Jinnah spent the years between 1930 and 1935 in London but returned in 1935 when the British parliament passed the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT. He believed that the league should play an important role in a future coalition government. However, elections in 1937 were dominated by the congress, with the league winning only in provinces where Muslims were a majority. After this point relations between Hindus and Muslims broke down almost completely. Fearful of the continued violence and the possible systematic exclusion of Muslim voices from the governance of a future independent India, Jinnah endorsed an idea that had first surfaced in 1930: the concept of a Muslim homeland with its own state on the Indian subcontinent. This state was to be known as Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the father of Pakistan and was its wise helmsman. He served as the first governor of Pakistan until his death in 1948.

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JOHN WALSH



Karakhan Declaration, first and second

Immediately after the October Revolution in 1917 the Soviet government of Russia had focused its efforts on instigating revolutions in Europe, but with little success. After establishing the Third International in March 1919 in Moscow, one of whose divisions was in charge of promoting communist revolutions in Asia, China became a prime target of the world communist movement.

Leo Karakhan (1889–1937) was assistant foreign affairs commissar of the Soviet government. On July 25, 1919, he issued a declaration (which came to be known in retrospect as the first Karakhan Declaration) that offered to renounce the unequal treaties that the czarist government had forced on China and further payments by China of indemnity that resulted from the BOXER REBELLION of 1900.

This declaration sought to capitalize on widespread public anger among the Chinese about China's diplomatic defeat at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE earlier that year, blaming it on the arrogance of the Western powers and Japan. However, due to a breakdown of communications, the text of the declaration did not reach China until March 1920. Some Chinese intellectuals saw this declaration as a herald of good relations with the Soviet Union. But it had no immediate effect because Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan were hostile to the Soviets, and under their influ-

ence, China continued to recognize and support the defunct Russian provisional government. Additionally, the Chinese Eastern Railway had, since the Communist Revolution in Russia, been under the joint control of Britain, the United States, Japan, and China.

In September 1920, Karakhan made a second declaration, in which the Soviet government repeated its offers of the previous year, except that it would now negotiate joint control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. China withdrew recognition from the provisional government in September 1920. In 1921 the two governments began negotiations.

Several Soviet representatives came to China between 1921 and 1923 but failed to reach agreement, the stumbling block being control of the railway and the status of Mongolia. In July 1923, Karakhan was appointed chief Soviet negotiator to China; in May 1924, a Sino-Soviet Treaty was signed. It was based on equality: The Soviet Union renounced extraterritorial rights in China, its concessions in several Chinese cities, and its share of the Boxer indemnity, but it retained control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Mongolia had already become a Soviet satellite state and was not mentioned in the treaty.

From the first Karakhan Declaration, when the weak Soviet government offered to return the privileges its predecessor had obtained, to the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1924, Soviet foreign policy toward China had hardened. This is because by 1924 the civil war had ended in Russia, and the Soviet government was in unchallenged control. It thus did not need to

conciliate China. Leo Karakhan was executed by Stalin in the purge of 1937.

See also SUN YAT-SEN.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Kato Takaaki

(1860–1926) *Japanese politician*

Kato Takaaki (also called Kato Komei) began his career in the firm of Mitsubishi after graduation from Tokyo University. His father-in-law was Yataro Iwasaki, founder of Mitsubishi, and throughout his political career, Kato was associated with Mitsubishi and its interests. Most of his career was spent in government service, beginning with a post in 1887 as private secretary to Okuma Shigenobu, the minister of foreign affairs. He advocated strong ties between Japan and Great Britain as a step on the road to making Japan a world power and was a strong supporter of the Japanese-British Exhibition of 1910.

Takaaki held numerous posts in the Japanese government over the course of his career, including director of the banking bureau in the finance ministry and member of the house of representatives and served three times as foreign minister. In 1913, while serving as foreign minister under Prime Minister Katsura Taro, he created the Kenseikai (Constitutional Party) through a reorganization of the Riekkén Doshi-kai (Constitutional of Friends). He became chairman of the new party, which served as opposition to the Rikken Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government Party), which was more conservative. In 1915, while serving as foreign minister, Kato played a major role in securing China's approval of the TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS, in which China granted Japan a number of industrial and strategic concessions.

Kato became prime minister in 1924, leading a coalition government. The following year, his party won a majority in the diet, and he instituted a series of democratic and other reforms. These reforms were partly influenced by his admiration for the British system of government, which he had observed while serving as ambassador to that country. The most sig-

nificant reform may have been the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, which granted the right to vote to all Japanese men over age 25; this law increased the number of Japanese voters from 3 million to 13 million. Kato also reduced the size of the government bureaucracy and reduced government expenditures on the armed forces. However, not all Kato's legislation was progressive: His government also passed the Peace Preservation Act, the purpose of which was to suppress subversive activities. Takaaki died while in office in 1926.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Kenseikai, later Minseito, and Seiyukai Parties

The Seiyukai and the Kenseikai/Minseito were the two most powerful political parties in Japan in the first decades of the 20th century.

Under the Meiji Constitution of 1889, sovereignty resided with the Japanese emperor, but considerable ambiguity existed in determining from whence the officials who would run the government were to be drawn. An oligarchic group of *genro*, or elder statesmen, dominated posts in the cabinet and determined who was to occupy the office of prime minister, but by the close of the 19th century there was rising impatience with oligarchic rule. This led to a period of political maneuvering at the turn of the century that helped bring political parties to positions of greater prominence in Japan.

The base of power for the political parties was the lower house of the Diet, Japan's parliamentary institution. The role of this body was limited, but it nonetheless provided an opportunity for elected representatives to influence affairs of state, most notably in the Diet's power over the national budget. Originally, a tone of confrontation marked relations between the oligarch-dominated cabinet and the party-led Diet, but by the middle of the 1890s both sides increasingly

recognized the possible benefits of cooperation and compromise.

The Seiyukai, a political party founded in 1900 by Ito Hirobumi—himself an elder statesman and one of the architects of the Meiji state—became the leading political party of the early 20th century in Japan. Internal divisions within his party led to Ito's own resignation in 1903, and another elder statesman, Saionji Kinmochi, became the Seiyukai's new president. Yet HARA KEI was quickly becoming the leading personality in the Seiyukai. It was he who struck a deal with Prime Minister Katsura Taro in 1904 whereby the Seiyukai, in exchange for its Diet members' support for government expenditures needed to prosecute the Russo-Japanese War, gained future access to the office of prime minister. Party president Saionji served two stints as prime minister, from 1906 to 1908 and from 1911 to 1912, and the intervening non-Saionji cabinets included party representatives. It was clear that the Seiyukai had become a fixture in Japanese politics. Kai worked to strengthen the party by recruiting members of the civil bureaucracy into the organization, providing funds for local development, and seeking the support of leading industrialists. Each of these efforts was designed to further the Seiyukai's fortunes in the Diet and to lead to eventual party rule in the government.

In 1912–13 financial constraints forced a showdown between the Seiyukai and the leadership of Japan's military, the latter of whom wanted funding to add new army divisions, which the Seiyukai leadership was unwilling to provide. In December 1912, the army toppled Saionji's cabinet by ordering the war minister to resign and refusing to replace him. Katsura resumed the post of prime minister, but discontent over these machinations within the government led a number of political officials, business leaders, and journalists to form a "movement to protect constitutional government," which helped to spark mass demonstrations. Katsura resigned after just two months in an episode that illustrated the growing power of the political parties, especially the Seiyukai.

Meanwhile, Katsura created a new political party, the Doshikai—this party was renamed the Kenseikai party in 1916 and then reorganized as the Minseito in 1927—in an attempt to build a rival party that could undermine Seiyukai dominance of the Diet's lower house. Upon Katsura's death in 1913, his new party was led by KATO TAKAAKI, and in the election of 1915 the Doshikai succeeded in relegating the Seiyukai to the position of second-largest party in the Diet. The

Seiyukai, however, regained a plurality of seats in 1917 and won an absolute majority in 1920.

As prime minister, Kai tried to build support for the Seiyukai through a "positive policy" of public spending on education and developing local infrastructure. Hara's government expanded the franchise by lowering the tax qualification for voting but did not act upon calls for universal male suffrage.

Hara was assassinated in 1921, and following his death, party government was dealt a setback, as from 1922 to 1924 the post of prime minister reverted back to a series of nonparty officials. The last of these was ousted from office by another "movement to protect constitutional government," this one consisting of a Diet coalition that included both the Kenseikai (the name for the Doshikai after 1916) and the Seiyukai. Thereupon Kenseikai president Kato Takaaki, whose party had regained a plurality of seats in the lower house of the Diet, became prime minister in 1924. For the next eight years until 1932, the heads of these two major parties alternated as prime ministers.

As early as 1920 the Kenseikai had sponsored, along with a number of smaller parties, a universal male suffrage bill in the Diet. At that time the proposal was voted down by the Seiyukai. With Kato Takaaki as prime minister, however, the Kenseikai was able to achieve passage of legislation guaranteeing universal suffrage for Japanese men aged 25 and older. The Kenseikai-led government took an approach more friendly to Japanese labor than their Seiyukai counterparts did. The new government legalized workers' strikes, legislated improvements in industrial conditions, and provided for health benefits for workers. In the realm of economics, the platform of the Kenseikai/Minseito party emphasized the imperative of fiscal conservatism and balanced budgets in opposition to the spending programs of the Seiyukai, though both parties spent considerable money on pork-barrel projects.

The foreign policy approach of the Kenseikai/Minseito party in the 1920s was based on conciliation with China and cooperation with the West. Yet this policy engendered discontent in some quarters, especially among the military, who were concerned about protecting Japanese interests in Manchuria, perceived as severely threatened by the end of the decade by Chinese nationalists and the Soviet military. Economically, as much of the globe descended into the GREAT DEPRESSION. Minseito-led cabinets tried to resolve Japan's financial difficulties, such as imbalance of trade and the too-low market price of rice, which hurt Japanese farmers but could not mitigate Japan's financial situation.

The era of party government was marked by an increase in public scandals and allegations of corruption that damaged the prestige of the parties, as did the occasionally unseemly conduct of rival party representatives on the floor of the Diet, including physical assaults. Party government also came under heavy criticism from rightist elements who felt that such a parliamentary system ran fundamentally counter to traditional Japanese values. With disenchantment toward party officials now spreading on all sides, popular acceptance or toleration of the existing system was tenuous in an atmosphere of national crisis, and military officials and members of "patriotic societies" were able to undermine the role of the parties in governance.

In late 1931 the Seiyukai again gained control of the government from the Minseito, but it would prove to be a short-lived cabinet. The maneuvering of antiparty elements, culminating in May 1932 with the assassination of prime minister Inukai Tsuyoshi, resulted in the fall of the Seiyukai cabinet. The era of party rule suddenly ended, as so-called national unity governments headed by military leaders or nonparty elites eroded the influence of the parties, and party representatives in the cabinets declined. The parties continued to function in the Diet, but internal strife over how best to defend the Diet's prerogatives in the face of increasing military authority may have prevented the parties from asserting themselves more strongly. As the 1930s progressed the Minseito tended to hold to its policy of supporting the nonparty cabinets, while the Seiyukai eventually took a more oppositional stance. The parties still managed to cling to their place in the Diet and even played a vital part in the ouster of multiple cabinets in the late 1930s and into 1940. In the latter year, however, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro's government succeeded in formally dissolving Japan's political party organizations in the name of creating a wartime new order. Former party officials continued to exercise parliamentary influence and as such to play a role in political affairs, albeit a considerably limited one.

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ADAM C. STANLEY

Kerensky, Alexander Fyodorovich

(1881–1970) *Russian revolutionary leader*

Alexander Kerensky played a key role in toppling the czarist monarchy immediately before VLADIMIR LENIN's Bolsheviks seized power in 1917.

Kerensky, the son of a headmaster, was born in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), which was also Lenin's birthplace. Kerensky graduated in law from Saint Petersburg University in 1904. In 1905, Kerensky joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party and became editor of a radical newspaper. He was arrested and exiled but returned to Saint Petersburg in 1906 and worked as a lawyer, demonstrating his political sympathies by his frequent defense of accused revolutionaries. In 1912, he was elected to the duma, imperial Russia's central parliament, as a member of the Moderate Labor Party. He was nominated to the Provisional Committee as a leader of the opposition to Czar Nicholas II.

Unlike many radical socialist leaders, Kerensky supported Russia's entrance into WORLD WAR I in 1914. However, he became more and more disappointed with the czar's unsuccessful conduct of the war. Kerensky was dismayed by the weakness of the czar's command of the Russian troops. When the February Revolution broke out in 1917, Kerensky urged the removal of Nicholas II. To Kerensky's enthusiasm, he was elected vice chairman of the Saint Petersburg Soviet. When the czar abdicated on March 13, the duma formed a provisional government. Kerensky was appointed minister of justice and instituted a series of reforms, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, as well as the abolition of ethnic and religious discrimination. He made plans for the introduction of universal suffrage. He became a widely known and popular figure among the revolutionary leaders. Handed the war and navy ministry in May 1917, Kerensky was determined to ensure Russia's continued participation in the Allied war effort. He toured the front, where he made a series of inspiring speeches appealing to the demoralized troops to continue fighting. Kerensky subsequently planned a new offensive against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Encouraged by the Bolsheviks, there were mass demonstrations against Kerensky in Petrograd. The July 1 Offensive,

also named the Kerensky Offensive, was an attack on the whole Galician sector of the front. Low morale, poor supply, and the arrival of German reserves quickly brought the advance to a halt.

As a consequence of that defeat, the provisional government was compelled to reorganize. Kerensky, whose rhetoric still seemed to win him popular support, became prime minister. His essential problem was that his country was exhausted after three years of warfare. Kerensky, however, felt obliged by Russia's commitments to its allies to continue the war against the Central Powers. He also foresaw that Germany would demand vast territorial concessions as the price for peace. For those reasons, Kerensky decided to continue the war. Lenin and his Bolsheviks were promising "peace, land, and bread." There was a rapid increase in the number of deserters: By the autumn of 1917, an estimated 2 million men had left the army. Many of these soldiers used their weapons to seize land from the nobility. Kerensky was powerless to stop the redistribution of land in the countryside.

Kerensky's refusal to end Russia's engagement in the war proved his undoing. He found himself increasingly isolated between the extreme revolutionaries on the left and those on the right. He forced Lenin to flee the country following the July Days demonstration and subsequently announced a postponement of constituent assembly elections until November. Despite his efforts to unite the whole country, he alienated the moderate political factions as well as the officers' corps by dismissing the supreme commander, General Lavr Kornilov. In September, Kerensky took over his post personally.

When Kornilov started a revolt and marched on Petrograd, Kerensky was obliged to request assistance from Lenin and distribute weapons to the Petrograd workers. Most of these armed workers, however, soon sided with the Bolsheviks. Kerensky publicly declared a socialist republic on September 14 and released radical leaders from prison. Lenin was determined to overthrow Kerensky's government before it could be legitimized by elections. Kerensky's fall was triggered by his decision on November 5 to arrest the leaders of the Bolshevik committee, which resulted only in bringing about their uprising. On November 7, the Bolsheviks seized power in what became known as the October Revolution.

Kerensky escaped from Petrograd and went to Pskov, where he rallied loyal troops for an attempt to retake the capital. His troops were defeated. Kerensky lived in hiding until he could leave the country in May 1918. Kerensky, then only 36 years old, spent the remainder

of his long life in exile. He lived in Paris, engaged in the quarrels of the exiled Russian leaders. When the Germans occupied France in 1940, he escaped to the United States. In 1939 he had married the Australian journalist Lydia Tritton. In 1945, Kerensky traveled with her to Australia and lived there until her death in 1946. Thereafter, he returned to the United States and spent much of his time at Stanford University in California, where he used the Hoover Institution's archive on Russian history. He lectured at universities, wrote, and broadcast extensively on Russian politics and history as well as on his revolutionary experiences. When Kerensky died in 1970, he was the last surviving major participant in the events of 1917.

See also RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR.

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MARTIN MOLL

Khilafat movement

The institution of the *khalifa*, the leader or representative of the Muslim community after the death of the prophet Muhammad, had been associated with the Turkish Ottoman Empire since the 16th century. At the time of WORLD WAR I, the Ottoman emperor and *khalifa* headed the largest independent Islamic political entity in the world. When Great Britain declared war on the Ottoman Empire in November 1914, it promised the Muslim subjects of the British Empire in India that the conflict would not involve attacking the Muslim holy places in Arabia. In return, the British asked for the loyalty of their Muslim subjects to British war efforts. During the course of the war, it became evident that the Ottoman Empire would be dismembered. Consequently, the khilafat question came to be of increasing importance to Muslims in India. On March 20, 1919, at a public meeting of 15,000 Muslims from Bombay, a Khilafat committee was formed. By November 1919 following widespread public demonstrations in support of the Khilafat movement, an All-India Khilafat Conference assembled in Delhi. The conference protest-

ed the placing of former lands of the Ottoman Empire, such as Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, under non-Muslim mandates on the grounds that dividing the Ottoman Empire and depriving its sovereign of his spiritual and political authority was an attack on Islam. The conference also called for a Muslim boycott of European goods if the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire was unjust and jeopardized the khilafat. The efforts of the conference were supported by MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, who had at the time launched a movement of noncooperation with the British, and by the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The leaders of the Khilafat movement were Maulana Muhammad Ali and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Muhammad Ali was chosen to lead the Muslim delegation that traveled to England in 1919 to represent Muslim interests to the British, and the Ali brothers pioneered the Khilafat Manifesto, which they presented on March 17, 1920, to British prime minister LLOYD GEORGE. Meanwhile, the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published in May, whereby the Arab lands were to become independent of the Ottoman Empire. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine became French and British mandates, and the Straits were internationalized. When the Turkish government signed the treaty on August 20, 1920, the delegation was left with no option but to return to India.

However, when MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK rejected the Treaty of Sèvres and began resisting Allied occupation in Anatolia, Khilafat leaders avidly supported his cause. It was only when Mustafa Kemal wrested a new treaty of peace from the European powers in 1922, established the republic of Turkey, and himself abolished the Khilafat in 1924 that the Khilafat movement in India came to an end. While the movement did not succeed in its goal of protecting the sovereignty of the Ottoman *khalifa*, it came to represent in the history of India both a moment of Hindu-Muslim cooperation against colonial rule and the eventual articulation of a distinct Indian Muslim identity.

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TAYMIYA R. ZAMAN

Kikuyu Central Association

The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was an organization that took a central role in the Kenyan struggle for independence from the British Empire in the first half of the 20th century. The KCA was dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic people and eventually provided in Jomo Kenyatta the first prime minister and then president of independent Kenya.

The Kikuyu were a tribal agricultural people whose territory at one time extended across much of what is now modern Kenya. At the time of the arrival of expansionist European powers, Kikuyu power was declining owing to disease, particularly smallpox. Kenya was brought into the British Empire, and British and British-sponsored settlers took over much of the best land. The Kikuyu leader Mbatian died at this time, and his people were divided. It was not until the 1920s and 30s that the Kikuyu were reunited and started to organize themselves to protest against imperial control. The KCA was shaped in part by the intensely decentralized and tribal nature of the organization of the people and was largely inspired by the desire to recover the lands lost to the primarily white settlers. In the early 1920s, the East Africa Association was founded as the first expression of Kenyan independence. It was dissolved in 1925 owing to government pressure but then reconstituted as the KCA in the same year. Within a few years, the KCA came under the direction of Jomo Kenyatta, who became its general secretary.

Progress in obtaining independence was slow and hampered by the outbreak of WORLD WAR II. By the early 1950s, sentiment had hardened to the extent that the Kenyans were prepared to enter into violent struggle to ensure their independence. Those with this hard-line tendency came to be known as the Mau Mau, who were closely associated with the oaths that members of the KCA took to demonstrate their dedication to unity.

The Mau Mau Rebellion took a decade to succeed, during which time many thousands of rebels were killed by the British, and thousands more were interned in concentration camps. Mau Maus pursued a policy of sabotage and assassination, and the attempts to suppress them were severe but considered acceptable by authori-

ties in the field. The truth as to what happened during this period has only recently begun to become known widely. It was the Kikuyu people and the KCA who led the way in the Kenyan independence movement, and this enabled Kikuyus to take leading roles in the postindependence government. This led to subsequent political dissent.

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JOHN WALSH

King Crane Commission (1919)

The King-Crane Commission of 1919 was a delegation sent to the territories of the former Ottoman Empire after WORLD WAR I. A champion of self-determination, U.S. president WOODROW WILSON proposed that an Inter-Allied Commission be sent to the region to determine the aspirations of local inhabitants. Wilson proposed the commission upon the conclusion of secret and contradictory negotiations between the Allied powers that did not consider the wishes of the natives.

The agreements that most dramatically emphasized the conflicting self-interests of the British and the French for the Ottoman territories during World War I were the SHERIF HUSAYN–McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE, the SYKES-PICOT TREATY, and the BALFOUR DECLARATION. The Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence was an agreement made between the British high commissioner in Egypt, Henry McMahon, and Sherif Husayn of Mecca between 1914 and 1916. The British promised to recognize and help establish Arab independence if the Arabs agreed to fight in the war alongside the British. The Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 defined areas of British and French control in Arab lands and in Turkey. Finally, in November of 1917 the British government publicly issued the Balfour Declaration, which stated British support for the “establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.” The British negotiated the same territory on three separate occasions, making three distinctly different promises to three distinctly different groups of people.

The commission was to determine whether the region was prepared for self-determination and to ascertain what nations, if any, the indigenous population wanted to serve as mandatory powers. Wilson appointed Henry Churchill King, president of Oberlin College, and Charles R. Crane, a Chicago businessman and trustee of Robert College in Constantinople, to serve as the U.S. representatives. The King Crane Commission visited Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Anatolia between June and August 1919. The King Crane findings were first published in 1922 but not officially released by the U.S. Department of State until 1947.

The King Crane Commission began its inquiry on June 10, 1919, and traveled through Syria and Palestine for six weeks. The method of inquiry was to meet with individuals and delegations that would represent all the significant groups in the various communities to obtain the opinions and desires of the natives. The commission received 1,863 petitions with approximately 19,000 signatures and heard from representatives from over 1,500 villages. The commission concluded that if a foreign administration came to Syria, it should come not as a colonizing power but as a mandatory under the auspices of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The recommendations further emphasized the preservation of Syrian unity and recommended that Syria be placed under one mandatory power. Despite previous French ambitions, the commissioners recommended that the United States undertake the single mandate for all Syria. If such an arrangement were not possible, the Syrians desired that Great Britain assume the mandate. Syria was proclaimed an independent republic in 1944.

In Palestine, the King Crane Commission recommended serious modification of the Zionist program of unlimited immigration of Jews. King and Crane emphasized in their findings the centrality of the Holy Land as important to Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike and recommended against the creation of an entirely Jewish state. A number of factors, including President Wilson’s incapacitating stroke, prevented the findings and recommendations of the King Crane Commission from ever being implemented.

See also SAN REMO TREATY (1920).

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JULIE EADEH

Kitchener, Horatio Herbert

(1850–1916) *British general*

Herbert, first earl Kitchener of Khartoum and of Broome, was born near Listowel in County Kerry, Ireland, to English parents, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Kitchener, a retired army officer, and his first wife, Frances Anne. He attended the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, graduating in 1870 and receiving his commission in the Royal Engineers the following year. He spent his early years in the army engaged in survey work in Palestine and Cyprus before accepting an assignment in Egypt in 1882, where through hard work and dedication he earned rapid promotion. In 1898, as sirdar (commander in chief) of the Egyptian army, he completed the reconquest of the SUDAN by destroying a Mahdist army at Omdurman with a force half the size of the Mahdi's. He soon learned that a small French expedition under Major Jean-Baptiste Marchand had cut across central Africa and planted the French flag at Fashoda. Loading five gunboats with soldiers, Kitchener headed upriver and confronted Marchand, forestalling his efforts to establish French sovereignty over parts of the Sudan. Returning home, Kitchener was raised to the peerage as Baron Kitchener of Khartoum and appointed governor of the Sudan.

After a series of losses by British forces in the BOER WAR, Kitchener was sent to South Africa in 1899 to serve as the chief of staff to Lord Roberts. The following year Roberts, having defeated the main Boer armies, turned command over to Kitchener. But the war was far from over, as the Boers adopted guerrilla warfare; Kitchener responded by adopting drastic measures that wore down the Boers, who accepted peace terms in 1902.

Back in England, he was created viscount and took up the post of commander in chief of the army in India. Although bitterly disappointed that he had not been appointed viceroy of India, he accepted the post of British agent and consul general in Egypt in 1911. As virtual ruler of Egypt, Kitchener devoted himself to developing its economic resources and protecting and improving the interests of the fellaheen (peasants). For his services he earned an earldom in 1914.

When it appeared that war with Germany was imminent in August 1914, Kitchener was appointed secretary of state for war. As he was the most acclaimed soldier in the land, his cabinet colleagues stood in awe of him and in the beginning allowed him to run the war as he saw fit. Kitchener alone believed that the war would last at least three years and that to win



Posters such as the one above, featuring Lord Kitchener, encouraged young men to enlist and support the armed effort against the Central Powers.

Britain would need to place a million-man army in the field. To that end, he would need to depend on patriotic enlistment, not conscription, which would not be adopted in Britain until the spring of 1916. Aiming for 70 divisions, as compared to the six available in 1914, Kitchener's recruitment campaign, highlighted by his famous poster "Your Country Needs You," drew in nearly 2.5 million volunteers. His second great service was to prevent Sir John French, commander in chief of the British army, from quitting the battle line in September 1914, a move that would have led to the piecemeal defeat of the Allies.

The onset of trench warfare at the close of 1914 gave rise to many unprecedented problems. Exacerbating the difficulties were the politicians, who intervened repeatedly in the conduct of the war, dragging the country into three disastrous expeditions in 1915: Gallipoli, Salonika, and Mesopotamia. Coinciding with the

ill-advised sideshows were the French's badly bungled operations on the western front, with each defeat contributing to the erosion of Kitchener's once immense reputation. Though they were hardly his fault, he was held responsible as the supreme warlord when things went wrong. An influential section of the cabinet came to see his methods as the principal cause of the defeats, rather than the outcome of their own interference, and gradually stripped him of much of his authority.

Late in May 1916, Kitchener accepted an invitation to visit Russia in the hope that he could use his influence to bolster the waning enthusiasm of the Russian armies. On June 5 the cruiser HMS *Hampshire*, carrying Kitchener to Archangel, hit a mine and sank, and practically everyone aboard, including Kitchener, were lost.

Recent scholarship has refuted many myths about Kitchener that his detractors circulated after his death. That he made mistakes is undeniable; he refused to admit his cabinet colleagues into his confidence, was unable or unwilling to delegate authority, and tended to ignore the Imperial General Staff. That said, his accomplishments greatly overshadowed his errors. He not only singlehandedly kept Britain in the war when the French wanted to cut and run, but also built a formidable army, which sustained the Allies in the war, stepping into the breach left by the collapse of Russia and the exhaustion of France. When everything is said and done, it can be fairly claimed that Kitchener contributed more to the victory of the Allies than any other single individual.

See also AFRIKANERS, SOUTH AFRICA; WORLD WAR I.

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GEORGE H. CASSAR

Konoe Fumimaro

(1891–1945) *Japanese politician*

Prince Fumimaro Konoe was born into the aristocratic Fujiwara clan and studied at Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University, graduating from the law faculty of the latter institution in 1917. In his political career he was a protégé of Saionji Kinmochi, a member of the court aristocracy who served two terms as prime minister. Early in his political career Konoe attended the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE and later criticized the

conference as an attempt by Western nations to preserve their already considerable spheres of influence.

Konoe's status as a prince allowed him membership in the upper house of the Japanese Diet (house of peers), where he served as vice president and then president. He first became prime minister of Japan in June 1937 and would serve three times in that post. Konoe was a moderate like his mentor Saionji and was particularly concerned with tempering the power of the military. However, after the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT led to the outbreak of an undeclared war between China and Japan, Konoe's unsuccessful attempts to end that conflict contributed to the downfall of his cabinet in 1939. Konoe was reappointed prime minister in July 1940 and was involved in intense negotiations with the United States, hoping it could act as a mediator in the conflict between Japan and China on terms favorable to Japan. He also negotiated a nonaggression pact between Japan and the Soviet Union in 1941. Konoe resigned as prime minister in October 1941 in favor of the war minister, General HIDEKI TOJO, and was not centrally involved in the Japanese government again until the conclusion of WORLD WAR II.

After Japan's surrender in August 1945, Konoe served in the government of Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni. Konoe took his own life with potassium cyanide after it was announced by the American general DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, supreme commander of the Allied Forces and supervisor of the postwar occupation of Japan, that Konoe would be tried as a war criminal. It allowed him to evade the disgrace of conviction and execution by hanging. Konoe's grandson, Morihiro Hosokawa, served as prime minister of Japan from August 1993 to April 1994.

See also WORLD WAR I.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Ku Klux Klan

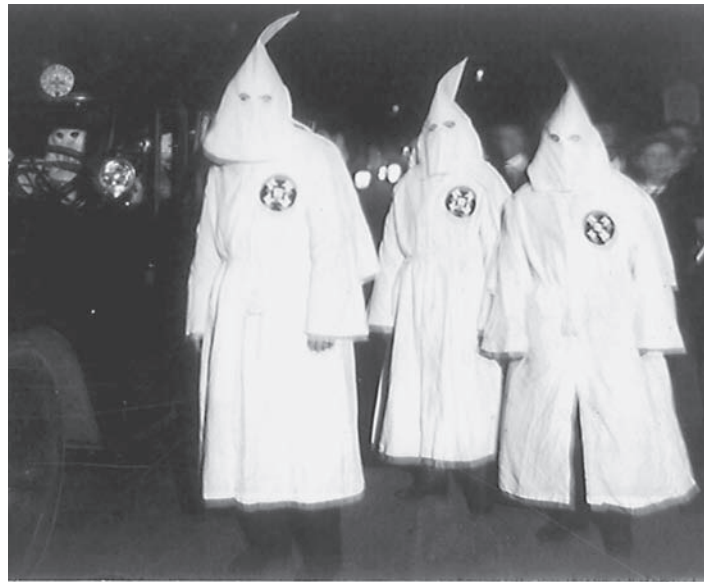
The Ku Klux Klan (KKK, or Klan) refers to two distinct organizations, separated in time by nearly half a

century. The first Klan, founded in December 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, by a handful of ex-Confederate soldiers, was only the most prominent among numerous white supremacist secret societies that formed in the U.S. South at the end of the Civil War in opposition to radical Reconstruction and dedicated to maintaining white supremacy through violence and terror. (Similar organizations included the Knights of the White Camellia, the Night Riders, the Order of the White Rose, the Pale Faces, and others.)

Wearing white sheets, conical white hats, and white masks, KKK members and officers were identified by a series of preposterous-sounding names (Grand Wizard, Grand Dragons, Hydras, Grand Titans, Furies, Grand Giants, Night Hawks, Grand Cyclops, Ghouls, and others). By the late 1860s, the Klan was active in almost every southern state and strongest in Piedmont districts where whites outnumbered blacks. Congressional investigations revealed that the organization was responsible for thousands of murders, burnings, lynchings, beatings, rapes, tar-and-featherings, and other acts of violence and terror. Weakened by the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871, the organization played an important role in maintaining white supremacy in the South and was largely defunct by the formal end of Reconstruction in 1877.

The second Klan, founded in 1915 by Alabama-born salesman and preacher William J. Simmons, had only tenuous links to the first. This resuscitated Klan was propelled into prominence in 1915 by D. W. Griffith's epic film *Birth of a Nation*, in turn based on several novels by southern writer Thomas Dixon, Jr., most notably *The Clansman*. Griffith's blatantly racist film, following Dixon, portrayed the Klan as a heroic organization devoted to redeeming the Union and saving white womanhood from savage Negro hordes bent on sowing mayhem and destruction in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Despite the film's malicious misrepresentations, it was endorsed by President WOODROW WILSON as an accurate depiction of the Klan's role in Reconstruction. In the late 1910s and early 1920s the organization grew rapidly in power and numbers. At its height in the mid-1920s, this second Klan had become a national political force, with as many as 6 million members from all walks of life and chapters in nearly every state. Women played an especially important role in organizing women's chapters and spreading the Klan's message. In practice, this meant antipathy not only toward blacks but also Catholics, Jews, immigrants, atheists, socialists, communists, gamblers, homosexuals, divor-



Klansmen in costume: The second Ku Klux Klan rose to prominence in part thanks to D. W. Griffith's epic film *Birth of a Nation*.

cees, "fornicators," those opposed to Prohibition, and anyone not identified as white, Anglo-Saxon, appropriately Protestant, and conforming to Klan-defined "traditional values." Especially strong in the Midwest and South, in the mid-1920s the Klan became a major political player, electing thousands of its members to offices.

Divided and weakened after 1925 by scandals, infighting, and public backlash—especially the murder and rape charges brought against Indiana Klan leader D. C. Stephenson—by 1930 national membership had dropped below 6,000, and the Klan ceased being a national political force. The organization survived through the 1930s and after, witnessing a resurgence with the Civil Rights movement (the "Second Reconstruction") of the 1960s. In the 1980s, various civil rights organizations, most notably the Southern Poverty Law Center, used the courts to drive the Klan into bankruptcy and effectively destroy it as a national organization. In both its first and second incarnations, the Ku Klux Klan used violence, terror, and other illegal means to advance its conservative, racist, white supremacist agenda.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Kwantung Army

Japan's military presence in and domination of Manchuria in northwestern China received a major victory with the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Under the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan was required to withdraw its troops from Manchuria proper but gained a leased territory of the Liaotung (Liaodong) Peninsula in southern Manchuria, renamed the Kwantung Leased Territory, which included the fortress and port of Port Arthur. The army unit assigned to garrison the area and the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway (SMR), as far as Changchun, was named the Kwantung Army. From this date this army became the spearhead of Japanese imperialism in China.

With the railway administration working as a colonial power, running ports, harbors, tax collection, mines, and utility companies, the SMR turned the railway zone into a semiautonomous state, and the Kwantung Army was its security and police arm.

After WORLD WAR I, Japan gained control of former German holdings at Tsingtao in China's Shandong (Shantung) Province and deployed 70,000 troops from the Kwantung Army to Siberia to support the Whites in the Russian Civil War. The Japanese sought to expand their empire in Siberia, failed to do so, and withdrew in 1922.

In 1927, when CHIANG KAI-SHEK's troops were marching on Shandong to break the power of local warlords in the NORTHERN EXPEDITION, Japanese troops were sent to Shandong (Shantung). Soon Chinese and Japanese troops were clashing. Chiang withdrew his forces from the city of Tsinan, but the Kwantung Army attacked it the next day, killing 13,000 civilians.

Chiang turned his troops away from conflict with Japan. Tokyo, however, supported the Kwantung Army, issuing warnings to Chiang and Manchurian warlord Zang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin) not to attack Japanese forces or civilians. However, the new commander of the Kwantung Army, General Chotaro Muraoka, had other ideas, moving his headquarters in May 1928 from Port Arthur to Mukden, Manchuria's main city, and preparing his troops to take control of the region.

Ready to move, Muraoka and his troops waited, firing telegrams to Tokyo asking permission to move.

When Prime Minister GIICHI TANAKA refused, the Kwantung Army's officers were stunned. Muraoka decided to kill Zang Zolin, blasting a bridge as the warlord's train crossed it on June 4, 1928. The Kwantung Army reported to Tokyo that Zang had been killed by Manchurian guerrillas. The truth came out anyway, and Tokyo could do seemingly little to control the insubordinate army and its officers, who had a lot of support in Japan.

But Tanaka was determined to punish the officers responsible for the assassination plot and recommended so to Emperor HIROHITO, who agreed. But when the army as a whole objected, Tanaka temporized. He fired Muraoka and told the public that there was no evidence the Kwantung Army had been involved in the plot. Then Tanaka resigned. The Kwantung Army's officers had defied Tokyo and gotten away with it.

As the GREAT DEPRESSION wore on, the Japanese economy continued to crumble. Many Japanese army officers, angered by the economic situation, joined secret societies like the Cherry Blossom League, and a group of officers plotted to use the Kwantung Army to seize Manchuria for its rich resources. One of the key men was Colonel Doihara Kenji, who prepared a "Plan for Acquiring Manchuria and Mongolia."

Chiang Kai-shek, meanwhile, had succeeded in unifying China under the Kuomintang, and Zhang Xue-liang (Chang Hsueh-liang), Manchuria's new warlord, supported the Nationalist, or Kuomintang, government. In 1931 clashes broke out between Korean farmers who were Japanese subjects and Chinese farmers over water rights.

Doihara went to Manchuria and determined that a Japanese attempt to seize Manchuria would result in international condemnation. An "incident" had to be manufactured to make a Japanese occupation of Manchuria seem China's fault. In 1929 the Kwantung Army began to plot an incident under their new boss, Lieutenant General Shigeru Honjo, with Doihara as mastermind.

Japan's civilian leaders did nothing to control the insubordinate Kwantung Army. The emperor, however, ordered Major General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa to bring a message from him on September 15, 1931, ordering the Kwantung Army not to take any unauthorized action. Unfortunately for Hirohito, Tatekawa's assistant, Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, was among the plotters, and he sent a message to officers of the Kwantung Army to let them know that Tatekawa was coming with imperial orders. When Tatekawa arrived in Mukden on September 17, Kwantung Army

officers took the general to a party, where he became drunk.

That night Kwantung Army officers blew up a section of track on the South Manchurian Railway 1,200 yards from a Chinese army that failed to derail the night express. Kwantung Army troops then attacked and shelled the Chinese barracks, killing many soldiers. By 10:00 A.M. on September 18, 1931, Mukden was under Japanese control, Chang's headquarters were ransacked, and his banks and government offices were occupied, as were a dozen other cities in southern Manchuria in a coordinated attack by Japanese units. Some 12 hours after their blast, Kwantung Army officers displayed to Western reporters the "proof" that the Chinese had tried to destroy the railroad, which was bodies of Chinese soldiers shot in the back lying facedown, supposedly cut down while fleeing the scene. The world was outraged by the political adventurism, and Tokyo was stunned. The emperor reminded Prime Minister Reijiro Wakatsuki that he had forbidden such action, and the foreign and finance ministers also objected. But Wakatsuki did not overrule his generals and colonels. The attack and subsequent conquest of Manchuria were accepted as a fait accompli.

From October to December 1931, the Kwantung Army, now empowered by Tokyo and advised by units of the Japanese army in Korea, expanded conquest of Manchuria, even plotting a coup in October to overthrow the civilian government in Tokyo. This attempted coup was ended when the leading plotters were secretly arrested. In December Wakatsuki resigned. Ki Inukai became the new prime minister, but General Araki, leader of the Kodo Ha faction, became war minister, effectively providing the military's endorsement to the Kwantung Army's actions. The Kwantung Army now became an occupation force in Manchuria, and its officers became heroes for all of Japan.

The Kwantung Army continued to seize Chinese territory, taking Rehe (Jehol) province in 1933 and Chahar province in 1934. Officers of the Kodo Ha movement were assigned to the Kwantung Army, strengthening its radicalism; among them was HIDEKI TOJO, who would become Japan's prime minister during WORLD WAR II.

In February 1936, the Kwantung Army showed its powerful influence when a group of Kodo Ha officers

attempted a coup d'état in Tokyo. It failed, the ringleaders were shot, and the civilian leaders regained some control over the Kwantung Army.

Leaving Chinese unity under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, the Kwantung Army set to create an "incident" between Chinese and Japanese forces on July 7, 1937, at a railway junction near Beijing (Peking) in northern China, called the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT. This led to the outbreak of the SINO-JAPANESE WAR, in which Japan committed unspeakable atrocities, such as the Rape of Nanjing. It became World War II in Asia. The Kwantung Army promised Tokyo victory in three months.

As World War II began and dragged on, the Kwantung Army remained in occupation of Manchuria, "Asia's Ruhr," against Soviet invasion. Over time, the army was stripped of most of its equipment and men, which were needed on other battlefronts.

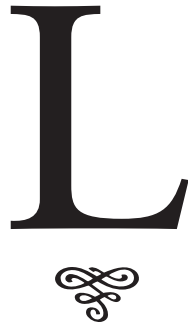
When the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, and invaded Manchuria, the Kwantung Army had 1 million men under arms equipped with 1,155 tanks, 5,360 guns, and 1,800 aircraft. On paper, this was a match for the Soviets' 1.5 million men, but the Soviets also fielded 26,000 guns, 5,500 tanks, and 3,900 planes. In addition, the Kwantung Army was short of gasoline, ammunition, and transport.

Yet some of the Kwantung Army's hotheaded leaders refused to surrender when Japan surrendered to the Allies on August 14, 1945. Commanding general Otozo Yamada refused to obey the Imperial Rescript to surrender, summoned his officers to his headquarters at Changchun, debated the news from Tokyo, and by a majority vote chose to go on fighting.

In the end, the Kwantung Army did obey an imperial command and surrendered to the Soviet Army. Several of its leaders, including Doihara and Tojo, were tried, convicted, and executed at the Tokyo International Court.

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DAVID H. LIPPMAN



LaFollette, Robert M.

(1855–1925) *U.S. progressive politician*

“Fighting Bob” LaFollette earned his sobriquet as the progressive political leader of Wisconsin, where he was elected governor and later represented his state in the U.S. Senate. A Republican, he attacked corporate privilege and worked to expand voting and consumer rights.

Born in Primrose, Wisconsin, to a farming family, LaFollette earned a law degree at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and served as district attorney of Dane County before winning three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Always controversial within his own party, he lost his House seat in 1890. He ran twice for governor before winning the first of his two-year terms in 1900.

Governor LaFollette supported “insurgents” and reformers who struggled to wrest leadership from corporate-influenced interests. By his final term he had successfully legislated an ambitious reform program called the “Wisconsin Idea.” A key target was the railroads, blamed by a desperate farming constituency for unfair rates and predatory business practices. New corporate taxes enabled Wisconsin to pay its bills, including enhanced spending on public education.

Under LaFollette, Wisconsin became the first state to replace a restrictive political caucus system with direct primary elections. The state set up a civil service system and limited lobbying activities, curtailing the power and influence of both corporations and political bosses.

Elected by Wisconsin lawmakers to the U.S. Senate in 1905, LaFollette took his fiery reformism to the national stage. He opposed the Payne-Aldrich tariff as a protectionist measure that helped wealthy eastern interests at the expense of farmers and other small producers. He fought for direct election of senators. He regularly sided with organized labor.

By 1911 LaFollette was determined to make a run for the presidency against his party’s incumbent, William Howard Taft. To his dismay, the ever-popular THEODORE ROOSEVELT reentered politics to run under the “Bull Moose” banner, forcing a resentful LaFollette out.

As a midwesterner, LaFollette tended toward isolationism and also represented a large German-American constituency. When war broke out in Europe, LaFollette was among those who feared that big business and wealthy speculators would gain riches while the common man fought in WORLD WAR I. He was widely criticized for voting against President WOODROW WILSON’s declaration of war in April 1917.

After the war, with the progressive movement fading, LaFollette worked to expose the Teapot Dome oil reserves scandal of the Warren Harding administration. In 1924, LaFollette finally ran for president as a progressive. He won almost 17 percent of the popular vote and his home state’s 13 electoral votes in a three-way race, but the campaign left him exhausted. LaFollette died in 1925 in Washington, D.C., and is buried in Madison.

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JOHN M. MAYERNIK

Lansing-Ishii Agreement (1917)

The scramble for concessions in China opened in 1898 when Germany established a sphere of influence in Shandong (Shantung) Province. In 1914 Japan joined WORLD WAR I against the Central Powers in accordance with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, conquered German-held islands in the northern Pacific, and drove the Germans out of Shandong. China remained neutral partly due to Japanese pressure. To ensure its right to Shandong, Japan presented a set of TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS to China in January 1915. They included China's agreement to the transfer of German rights in Shandong to Japan. China leaked the terms of the demands to the United States, hoping for its intervention in vain, partly because the administration of President WOODROW WILSON was preoccupied with events in Europe. Unable to resist Japanese pressure, China acceded to most of the terms of the Twenty-one demands in May 1915.

Japan subsequently negotiated secret agreements with Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy that secured its claims to Shandong in postwar peace negotiations. In November 1917 Japan sent special ambassador viscount Ishii Kikujiro to Washington, ostensibly to congratulate the United States for joining the Allied cause but also to obtain U.S. agreement with Japan's claims on Shandong. In the resulting Lansing-Ishii Agreement (negotiated with U.S. secretary of state Robert Lansing), the United States recognized that "geographic propinquity creates special relations between nations," thus tacitly acknowledging Japan's special position in China. They also signed a secret protocol in which both nations pledged not to seek special privileges in China that would infringe on the existing rights of friendly nations. While the United States believed that the agreement upheld Chinese interests and the Open Door policy, Japan took it to mean the United States had accepted Japan's "paramount interest" in China. Its future in Shandong secure, Japan then allowed China to declare war against Germany and other Central Powers. Japan further consolidated its position in Shandong in 1918 by signing a secret pact

with the warlord then in power in China whereby in exchange for a Japanese loan, that warlord agreed to additional concessions to Japan in Shandong.

Japan came to the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE after World War I as one of the Big Five powers, while China had the lowly status of an associated power. Japan also came armed with secret treaties bolstering its claim to Shandong. China pleaded for the return of Shandong based on President Wilson's support of the right of national self-determination and the fact that its declaration of war with Germany had terminated previous treaties and agreements between the two nations. Wilson's eventual acquiescence to Japan's demands on Shandong, over the objections of Secretary of State Lansing and other U.S. delegates, became an important issue when the Versailles Treaty with Germany was presented to the U.S. Senate for ratification and factored in its rejection. Thus the Lansing-Ishii Agreement further embroiled the United States in East Asian international relations.

See also SHANDONG QUESTION (1919); YUAN SHIKAI.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Lateran Treaty (1929)

Between 1924 and 1926, the Italian Fascist leader BENITO MUSSOLINI consolidated his power until he had dictatorial control over the nation of Italy and was formally designated as Il Duce, the leader. No longer did Mussolini have to answer to parliament; only the monarch, Victor Emmanuel III, could dismiss him from his post. Once Mussolini became dictator, he turned his attention to societal issues. As part of this process he began discussions with the Holy See, the political entity of the papacy and Vatican City, in order to improve relations between the two parties.

The support of the papacy was extremely important to Mussolini's continued domination over the Italian people. However, the papacy had remained estranged from outright support for the Italian government following the confiscation without compensation of the Papal States during the process of Italian unification. This estrangement had a serious impact on the

relations between the papacy and the Italian government and resulted in 1874 in the pope's calling for all Catholics to boycott the political process and to refuse to take part in elections or join political parties. This situation persisted until the end of WORLD WAR I, when the pope revoked the earlier decree. The Vatican still held tremendous power, both real and symbolic. Therefore, in August 1926 Mussolini began a dialogue between state and church to reinforce his own power and from the point of view of the Vatican to preserve some of its own.

This dialogue was largely prompted by the establishment of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB), the Fascist youth organization, and its actions to eliminate all other youth organizations and activities within Italy, including those run by the church. The church viewed these developments with alarm, since they would act to reduce its role in the formation of the character of youth. Although the government officially dissolved the Catholic Boy Scout organizations in 1927, the church, as part of the larger Lateran Treaty, did secure the continuation of Catholic youth groups. Under pressure from the ONB in the early 1930s, Mussolini toyed with the dissolution of these youth groups, which were increasingly seen as an alternative source of authority and indoctrination. However, he chose not take this step, which would have violated the terms of the Lateran Treaty.

On February 11, 1929, Mussolini, on behalf of King Victor Emmanuel III, and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, on behalf of Pope Pius XI and the Vatican, signed the Lateran Treaty, which ended 60 years of dispute between Italy and the Vatican. This document was divided into three main sections: the conciliation treaty, the financial convention, and the concordat.

The conciliation treaty essentially established official diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Italy and affirmed Catholicism as the "state religion." The financial convention stipulated that the Italian state would pay the Vatican the sum of 750 million lire in cash as well as 5 percent Consolidated Bearer Bonds of 1 trillion lire to compensate the Holy See for the loss of lands in 1870. This payment would be made in full by June 30, 1929, and would not be subject to any tariffs or taxes. The concordat gave the Vatican power over religious teaching in public schools at both the primary and secondary school levels (taught by priests); extended papal control over marriage laws and wills; reiterated the sovereignty of the Holy See over its property, its ecclesiastical members and seminarians, and its message; and preserved the organization Catholic

Action, which was a branch of the Vatican, as the only independent organization left within Fascist Italy.

The Lateran Treaty as a whole provided benefits to each party. For Mussolini, reconciliation with the church brought his government further internal stability, as it broadened the base of support for the state by eliminating the rift that had persisted for six decades. In terms of its larger, international impact, the treaty elevated Mussolini and thereby his style of government in the eyes of the world and gave both additional legitimacy. For the Vatican, its power over key societal institutions such as marriage and education were extended and reaffirmed. Its terms were incorporated into the postwar constitution and remained in effect until 1985.

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LAURA J. HILTON

Latin American cinema

Motion pictures arrived in Latin America not long after the Lumière brothers debuted their invention in Paris in 1859. Lumière agents fanned out across the globe to sell projection equipment, cameras, and film stock wherever there was a market to support it; in Latin America, this meant chiefly the large, stable economies of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

Early filmgoers in South America invariably saw European imports; Italy had become the dominant force in the fledgling film industry by 1912. During WORLD WAR I, however, American companies used the disruption of the European film industry to gain a foothold in the market, and by 1926 an estimated 95 percent of screen time in South America went to American-made films. Local filmmakers could barely compete in this monopolized marketplace. Most were restricted to newsreels and documentaries.

The situation was particularly bad in Mexico, which was dominated from the start by the nearby U.S. film machine. Promising young stars like Lupe Velez and Dolores del Río were lured to stardom in nearby Hollywood, while American directors exploited Mexican locales (and locals) for increasingly popular westerns.

During the Mexican Revolution, rebel army leader PANCHO VILLA signed with an American film company to film him in action—even going so far as to restage battles and skirmishes if cameramen had failed to get good shots during actual combat.

Appalled by being shown to world audiences as uncultured savages, early Mexican film directors like Manuel de la Bandera and Mimi Derba dedicated themselves to producing films that showed the “goodness and greatness” of their culture. Without the backing of the state, there was little they could do to counteract the endless output of American studios.

Things were only slightly better in Brazil and Argentina. Local feature films were eschewed by theater owners in favor of more profitable and American imports. However, film historian John King notes that several films produced during the period showed glimmers of what was to come. In Brazil, a 22-year-old director named Mario Peixoto created *Limite* (The boundry, 1931), chronicling the struggle for survival on a small boat after a wreck at sea. In Argentina, King identifies three films that presage the socially conscious films of the 1960s and 1970s: *El ultimo malon* (The last Indian attack, 1917), a fictionalized retelling of a turn-of-the-century uprising; *Juan sin ropa* (Juan without clothes, 1919) by the French Georges Benoît about a massacre during a contemporary strike; and Federico Valle's *El apostol* (The apostle, 1917), a political satire of the presidency of Hipolito Yrigoyen and the first full-length animated feature in film history.

Sound films arrived in Latin America in the late 1920s, but the technology was expensive and its distribution uneven. Many countries would not have “talkies” for years. Even in the few countries that had a well-developed film industry, it was a struggle to compete against the hegemony of the U.S. industry. But the period also saw the rise of Latin American musicals, including the *tanguera* in Argentina, the *chanchada* in Brazil, and the *ranchera* in Mexico, that blended indigenous songs and dance traditions of those countries with the formulas popularized by North American studios.

Thanks to wartime changes in the U.S. film industry and a decline in the powerful Argentine film industry, the 1940s became known as the “Golden Age” of Mexican cinema. The key film of the era was *Maria Candelaria* (1943), which brought together famed director Emilio “El Indio” Fernández, cinematographer Gabriel Figueroa, and actress Delores del Rio. With the end of WORLD WAR II, Mexican film slipped back into decline, where it would remain for more than a decade.

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HEATHER K. MICHON

Latin American feminism and women's suffrage

Feminism and women's suffrage in Latin America blazed a different trail than their European or U.S. counterparts, although these movements provided inspiration. Latin American feminism is marked by diversity, as the region itself spans many ethnic and cultural zones, and class differences among Latin American women are pronounced. However, common threads do exist. Many Latin American feminists held to the idea that women are as *good* as men but not the *same* as men. Rather than demanding complete equality, these women advocated strengthening their power and prestige through traditional paradigms of gender, notably motherhood. They used conventional gender norms that constructed women as morally superior to men to demand special rights and a voice in the public realm. Suffrage came over a period of 30 years, with Ecuador first in 1929, followed by Brazil in 1932, Cuba in 1934, Argentina in 1947, Mexico in 1953, and Paraguay in 1961.

The construction of women's gender roles throughout Latin America is central to understanding the Latin American women's movement. The legacy of Spanish colonialism served as the basis for men and women's roles in society and thus influenced Latin American feminism. Traditional gender roles stemming from the colonial period dictated women's place in the home and men's place in the public realm. The Virgin Mary served as the model for ideal womanhood, encouraging self-denial, piety, humility, purity, and obedience in women. Family, honor, and the home were the central tenets of the patriarchal family structure and dictated that women would remain in the home as wives and mothers. Honor was paramount to the family and impacted social standing and business ties, and women's sexual purity in particular served as a marker of that honor. This focus on women as indicators of family honor created a double standard, as men's sexual

prowess served as a marker of masculinity and did not impact family reputation. Women had no legal rights in the public realm of law and government, including rights to divorce, children, or property.

After Latin America's independence from the European colonial powers in the early 19th century, the newly created liberal states mostly adhered to the Spanish legacy of gender inequality. These new states used the patriarchal structure of the family as a basis for their power. However, the prevailing political ideology of liberalism, based on liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty, did create some new prospects for elevating the status of women in society. Motherhood in particular and its importance to rearing the next generation of liberal citizens created opportunities for women. This emphasis on women's roles as mothers did buttress the patriarchal system but simultaneously allowed women access to power.

The nationalist and state-building period, from the early to mid-20th century, promised change in Latin America, including new gender roles adapted to fit nationalist aims of industrialization and progress. Industrialization translated into a need for workers, including women, which required their entrance into the masculine public realm. The pursuit of progress and modernity to compete on a global scale required women's work, justified by both economic necessity and social utility. Increased opportunities in the public realm through work and education allowed women some gains but overall constrained their aspirations within normative frameworks of gender. The number of middle-class women in the workforce did facilitate women's organizing around suffrage, and Brazilian women in particular boasted the largest and best-organized movement in Latin America.

Brazilian feminists worked to modernize women's gender identities without drastically altering the status quo of gender roles and relations. The *Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino* (FBPF), founded by BERTHA LUTZ, advocated for a modernization of women's roles that would not be considered radical by modern standards. The FBPF did not seek to eradicate women's traditional place in the home nor the qualities they believed were inherent to the female sex. They used these things as strengths toward women's greater participation in the public realm, and women in Brazil gained the right to vote in 1932 as a result of the work of these middle-class feminists.

The Cuban Revolution in 1959 introduced the Marxist definition of womanhood into Latin America, promising change for women in terms of gender equality

and their status in society. The National Federation of Cuban Women (FCW) advocated full and equal incorporation of women into all aspects of society. Vilma Espín, a woman who fought with guerrilla forces during the revolution, headed the organization. The FCW improved education for women and boosted female numbers in the workforce. It became a model that other Latin American countries would emulate. Despite such gains, some Latin American feminists argue that Cuban women still do not enjoy complete equality and are often relegated to auxiliary roles and activities.

Latin American women in the recent past have continued to fight for women's status in society and expanded rights in the public sphere, often from their traditional base of power as mothers. By the 1980s women's concerns and feminism began to become part of the mainstream media, drawing greater attention to women's issues. Although Latin American feminism continues to be divided along class lines, with different groups of women seeking different agendas, it continues to thrive, as evidenced by the many meetings Latin American women hold every year across the region to better their lives and those of their countrywomen.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Latin American import substitution

The term *import-substitution industrialization* (ISI) refers to the economic development strategy implemented by several Latin American governments in the period between the GREAT DEPRESSION and the debt crisis of 1982. Intended to encourage the growth of domestic industry, ISI emphasized an active role for the state in subsidizing and orchestrating the production of domestically produced goods. State-owned enterprises were

formed in such large-scale industries as petrochemicals, telecommunications, aircraft, and steel. In addition, high tariff walls and trade restrictions, including import licensing requirements, were imposed in order to protect infant industries from foreign competition. At the same time, the governments of the developing Latin American countries imposed foreign exchange controls to promote the import of intermediate products deemed critical to the industrialization process while restricting the quantity of nonessential imports.

The origins of the ISI model can be traced back to the late 1920s and 1930s. Prior to that time the Latin American economy depended on exporting raw materials to—and buying manufactured products from—the more industrialized nations in Europe and North America. With the stock market crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Latin America's export markets were greatly diminished. The collapse of commodity prices undermined the export-oriented economies and led economic strategists to search for a strategy that would render Latin American countries less susceptible to the future fluctuations of the world market. Arguments for a change in policy were strengthened during WORLD WAR II, when a shift to wartime production in industrialized nations left developing countries vulnerable to shortages in consumer goods. In the years following the war, declining real prices for primary commodities further disadvantaged developing countries and led many third world leaders to search for an alternative to export-led economies.

The theoretical underpinnings for a policy of inward-looking development were articulated above all by Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch. As head of the United Nations (UN) Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Prebisch greatly influenced Latin American economic policy in the 1950s. He and other dependency theorists posited an inherently unequal relationship between the “center” (industrialized nations) and the “periphery” (developing nations) and argued that unfettered international trade would consistently work to the disadvantage of the periphery. Proponents of ISI therefore advocated an active state policy to counteract the natural tendencies of the international market. State intervention was deemed justified by the apparent failure of market forces to produce sustainable growth in Latin America during the first several decades of the 20th century. Economic nationalists, eager to reduce dependence on the international market, turned to the state as the only economic actor with sufficient resources to compete with powerful multinational corporations.

The overarching goal of ISI was to develop domestic industries capable of producing substitutes for manufactured imports. State-owned enterprises proliferated in the three decades following World War II, particularly in industries that required heavy capital outlay. In some cases, rather than full state ownership, Latin American governments offered industrial incentives in the form of direct payments or tax breaks for firms engaging in import-substitution production. In addition, states used a combination of tariffs, quotas, and import licensing requirements to facilitate the industrialization process.

The effectiveness of ISI strategies varied considerably from one country to the next within Latin America. In general, countries with larger populations and at least some degree of industrial development in place had more success with ISI. In Mexico and Brazil, for example, the economies during the ISI period experienced rapid growth and diversification. Relatively poorer countries with smaller populations, on the other hand, often lacked a sufficient domestic market to support the profitable production of certain manufactured products, such as automobiles.

Even in relatively successful cases, the ISI model carried with it a number of interrelated problems, including overvalued exchange rates, inadequate export growth, and a large foreign debt. Dependence on imported consumer goods was simply replaced with dependence on imported capital goods such as heavy machinery. Trade deficits continued and in some cases even worsened as exchange controls created disincentives for exports. In addition, the lack of competition in a protectionist climate fostered inefficient enterprises. ISI also failed to remedy unemployment, and the rapid urban growth that resulted from industrialization created additional burdens on increasingly interventionist states. When governments responded by printing more money, rampant inflation resulted. One by one, Latin American countries abandoned the inward-looking strategy of ISI in favor of “neoliberal” economic policies.

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Latin American *indigenismo*

Indigenismo refers to an artistic, literary, and political movement in Latin America that began in the late 19th century but reached its height during the nationalist period of the 1920s and 1930s. It coincided with the rise of nationalism as Latin Americans rejected European cultural superiority in favor of seeking out a unique Latin American identity that corresponded with the region's cultural and racial diversity. *Indigenismo* functioned as a rallying point for nationalism, especially in Mexico and Peru, nations home to large and diverse Indian populations. It glorified aspects of indigenous culture considered positive as symbols of national roots while simultaneously working to assimilate native peoples into a cultural mainstream often centered on a *mestizaje* identity, a social and biological designation meaning mixed race.

Latin America's colonial legacy lumped indigenous peoples together as a monolithic primitive group distinctly separate from mestizo culture. Spanish colonizers literally divided the population into two, creating a republic of Spaniards and a republic of Indians. The broad movement of *indigenismo* hoped to erase this divide to create homogenized social bodies. However, the movement suffered from the racist paradigm set by the colonizers by continuing to view indigenous peoples as an undifferentiated mass. Many *indigenistas* were elite white and mestizo individuals, and they imposed the ideology of *indigenismo* on Indian peoples without any prompting by such groups to do so. As a result, *indigenismo* was unable to escape Latin America's colonial legacy of social hierarchies predicated on race, and consequently *indigenismo* policies functioned with unintended paternalism and racism.

Mexico embraced *indigenismo* and thus serves as an important case study. The Mexican constitution of 1917 enshrined *indigenismo* as an official ideology by demanding an end to the exploitation of Indians by landowners and priests while encouraging their assimilation into the social body. The postrevolutionary Mexican state sought to create a new national identity, and indigenous groups would have to be united with the rest of Mexican society to achieve that goal. José Vasconcelos, the first minister of culture after the revolution, initiated the government effort to form a Mexican national culture by bringing the Indian and the mestizo together. During the 1920s, Vasconcelos hired artists such as Diego Rivera to paint murals in public areas and on government buildings that glorified Mexico's indigenous roots and depicted the darker side

of European conquest and colonization. Elements of indigenous culture, such as music, dance, folk art, and myth became celebrated aspects of Mexican nationalism. Vasconcelos believed that Mexico's future lay in the creation of a "cosmic race," a fusion of racial and ethnic groups. The cosmic race combined positive elements of different cultures to create a unique "Mexican" identity. *Indigenismo* and the idea of a cosmic race represent early attempts in Mexico to overcome the deep racial divides of the nation. The postrevolutionary government believed Mexico could not move forward without a unified social body and that if Indian peoples remained separate from the rest of society, the entire country would be negatively affected. Separate Indian nations or enclaves like the Native American reservations in the United States would work against unifying the Mexican nation, and as such, Indians were encouraged to become mestizo.

"THE INDIAN QUESTION"

The postrevolutionary Mexican state implemented a range of policies influenced by *indigenismo*. Although policy makers held a wide range of opinions on the "Indian question," they agreed that Mexico's indigenous populations needed to be integrated into the national mainstream respectfully and without coercion. The Instituto Nacional Indigenista was a government ministry created specifically to implement *indigenista* policies aimed at assimilation. Rural schools functioned as one of the key elements in bringing Indian peoples into mestizo culture. These schools trained bilingual Indian teachers and served as sites to indoctrinate postrevolutionary nationalism.

Despite the declarations of a noncoercive and respectful approach to assimilation, subtle racism pervaded *indigenismo* policies. *Indigenismo* tended to invert the very racist paradigms the movement sought to eradicate. In attempting to break away from colonial models that degraded everything Indian, *indigenismo* instead glorified indigenous cultures to a point that bordered on exoticism. *Indigenismo* often characterized Mexico's pre-Columbian past as a simpler, more pure way of life. This racism disseminated the idea that Indian cultures were innately superior to European and mestizo civilization. Such thinking depended on ideologies about race that attributed innate qualities to different races rather than breaking away from deterministic models as the movement hoped to do. Furthermore, *indigenismo* as an artistic, literary, and political movement lay in stark contrast to the social reality of Mexico's (and other Latin American) indigenous groups. Racism and



Pueblo perform a snake dance in northern Mexico in 1900. Indigenous cultures in Latin America were threatened throughout the 20th century, and European-based culture continues to dominate the region today.

prejudice against Indians in daily life continued, and the “whitening” of Latin America persists to the modern day as evidenced by Latin American film, television, and advertising.

In Peru, a stark division exists between the country’s indigenous groups in the highlands and the white, black, and mestizo population of the coastal region. Peruvian Indians literally existed outside the national community. The middle-class *indigenismo* movement of Peru advanced national solidarity by calling for the integration of these two distinct populations. Men such as VÍCTOR RAÚL HAYA DE LA TORRE took the ideas of *indigenismo* and created a political movement based on the belief that true national values came from Peru’s indigenous cultures. Haya de la Torre and others rejected European culture in favor of building a national iden-

tity from the cultural heritage of Peru’s Indian peoples. In addition, Peru’s constitution, promulgated on January 18, 1920, recognized the legal existence of Indian communities and protected these groups through special laws aimed at indigenous development and culture. The creation of the Indian Affairs Department in the Ministry of Development was charged with supervising the implementation of the constitutional measures designed to protect the rights of Indian peoples.

Despite such seeming advances in Indian legal rights, reality painted a different picture. Change was very slow, and many of the constitution’s laws designed to protect Indians were delayed or only partially enforced.

Although the adherents of *indigenismo* likely felt they acted with the best intentions, *indigenismo* in Latin America existed as a construction of the white

and mestizo elite, an ideology imposed on indigenous groups tinged with subtle racism. By envisioning Latin America's Indian peoples as monolithic groups with homogenized experiences, *indigenismo* followed a philosophy that certain Indian traits were good and others bad. However, the state's institution of these values would later provide Indian peoples with the tools to appropriate the movement for themselves. By the 1970s *neindigenismo* became the new creed, with indigenous peoples at the helm rather than a white and mestizo elite.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Latin American modernism

Modernism in Latin America was a literary and cultural movement developed at the end of the 19th century. In Latin America, the word was adopted at the end of the 19th century to identify a cultural proposal intended to respond to the demands and requirements of modern times. Modernism represented a complex concept at the time, since it recovered the aesthetics and ideology of romanticism but aimed to connect Latin American culture with major traditions of the Westernized world. The modernization, democratization, and industrialization of Latin American capitals created a new public realm in which culture diversified and reached a new audience. Its main representatives were Rubén Darío (1867–1916), Manuel Gutiérrez Najera (1859–95), José Martí (1853–95), Ramón López Velarde (1888–1921), and José Asunción Silva (1865–96).

Octavio Paz (d. 1974) characterized modernity as a philosophical concept as well as a condition that had its beginning in the romanticism of the late 19th century. Modernity is founded in the construction of the notion of progress and human-generated change, which envisions a better future. The idea of moder-

nity in Latin America was inherited from 19th-century Europe, particularly France.

There is little doubt that Baron Haussmann in Paris had huge success as an urban strategist in Latin America. The baron's spectacular interventions in Paris were soon embraced as urban savoir faire and strengthened French predominance not only in social and political thought but also in the fine arts and city design. Latin American elites worshipped Haussmann's Paris as the ultimate model to follow in order to join the capitalist circuit of world cities. Urban reforms in general and urban renovation in particular were part of a package to modernize urban structures.

Urban planning in Latin America has been legitimized by ideological frameworks that nevertheless have been used to manipulate and enhance power structures over time. The idea of planning became part of the political agenda at the end of the 19th century, when national caudillos (dictators) ruled their countries following enlightened and hygienist models from Europe in order to "modernize" the countries.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 20th century, a more European model started when residential *colonias* (residential districts) around public spaces and modern infrastructures and services emerged. The districts were developed by private international investors, who profited from the government provision of licenses and tax benefits to enhance real estate developments. Under different dictatorships and with a stable economy, the cities aspired to access world-class circuits, even when income disparities and social inequalities were developing and strengthening a dual socioeconomic system. Planning had been characterized by hierarchical decision making, the legitimization of plans by groups of "experts," and international businessmen taking a leading role.

However, at the time, Mexico City and San Salvador were the only cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, which showed the limited diversity of economic development they had achieved when mining became no longer profitable. At the end of the 19th century, French urbanism was very influential all over the continent, especially after Baron Haussmann's interventions in Paris, which were considered compelling high-profile urban operations to transform capital cities, such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Caracas, into world-class cities. Later in the 20th century the continent experienced considerable economic expansion, the modernization of infrastructures, and a process of urbanization without precedent. Even when a rapid process of adaptation and assimilation of modernity occurred, leading to cultural integration

of different societal groups, it is also true that this could only be achieved through a certain amount of alienation and displacement of the local culture and traditional society. The history of modernity has been the quest for progress, which represents a long-sought aim and a recurrent framework that is never to be achieved in its totality.

In the late 19th century science and industrialization were considered the foundations of progress, embodying a rational, objective, and unquestionable tool of production and human knowledge. Modernity represented an ideal image of progress and the idea of an advanced model of living according to the economic, political, and intellectual elite. As reality was demonstrated to be far more complex, the idea of modernity became a supreme metaphor for a homogeneous and harmonic reality. Along with this cultural movement, positivism provided the philosophical grounds to maintain the idea of progress through the actions of the elites as representatives of a Darwinian natural selection. This philosophical approach also provided a general plan of government with the slogan “liberty, order and progress,” where liberty would be the means, order the general framework, and progress the ultimate end.

See also LATIN AMERICAN NATIONALISM; PORFIRIATO.

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ALFONSO VALENZUELA AGUILERA

Latin American nationalism

Latin America's nationalism emerged as a reaction to the injuries inflicted during the colonial period and later with the wars of independence, revolution, and expansionism that—not surprisingly—generated a defensive stance toward the outside world. After independence, nationalism embraced modernity as a major state-related historical movement toward economic progress, technological innovation, and political liberty. This nationalism tended to be radical yet double ended, since while aiming to vindicate the historical

past it also embraced a political project for the future that would solve the modernization imperative.

The origins of nationalism in Latin America can be traced to two key periods: independence and modernization. After independence from the European powers in the 19th century, the need to define a new identity started to shape an image that responded to a sovereign national identity. The colonial period in the Americas extended from the 16th to the early 19th century, a period of nearly 300 years during which different developmental stages followed. It is not necessary to credit the Spaniards for introducing urbanization to America since the Aztec capital already featured monumental architecture, advanced infrastructure networks, highly specialized manufacturing, and a sophisticated administrative urban structure. However, a European city planning framework was implemented following Spanish regulations and building codes (*Leyes de las Indias* and the *Ordenanzas*), which dictated basic land, use zoning, streets' orientation and width, and various forms of land tenure.

Latin American countries gained their independence in the 1800s, when cities were already consolidated as socioeconomic and political centers on the continent. Likewise, at different stages in Latin America, the drive to become “modern” emerged as a requirement to accessing the world-class circuits and financial markets. However, in both cases the creation of national representation responded to the interaction among the networks of power. The glorification of the past is usually framed to convey sentiments and references that sustain a specific power structure. In most cases, the creation of a national image in each country was constructed by the people within the power circle (political, economic, or cultural), who, after considering several national images, identified the desired pattern of modernity. However, it is also clear that popular traditions, beliefs, and aspirations were also included in the construction of the national concept, even when choices were made among the different ways to frame the historical background of the country.

In various Latin American countries at the end of the colonial period in the 19th century, as well as during the industrial drive of the early 20th century, nationalism was modeled after a collage envisioned by the economic and military elites, which centered their aims within the transformation of the capital cities. These images served as a global outlining force that provided coherence and unity to the changing conditions of the territory. The creation of national images at the turn of the 20th century pursued the model of urban

cosmopolitanism and modern nationalism epitomized by France. In this sense, the nation represented a Westernized, homogeneous construction oriented toward international markets and ruled and organized by scientific means. However, Latin American nations were also shaped according to the reorganization, invention, and reinterpretation of their past, following the national rhetoric that originated in colonial times. Nationalism had political uses, such as obtaining international acceptance, achieving internal cohesion, and concentrating and consolidating the new political elites. It is also ironic that the search for a flagship identity led individuals to explore their national heritage and history but also opened new means of expressing their identity through new images of modernity. For instance, Latin American countries embraced modern architecture in order to express their cosmopolitan modernity through novel design and avant-garde construction technologies. However, the reaction to recent aesthetic and cultural values was often hatred directed against cultural memories associated with past regimes more than against foreign ideas, recreating the new national identity in this way.

An important element in the construction of modern nationalism was the transformation of capitals into world-class cities. Since modernity demanded infrastructures, communication, and compelling urban environments, cities became the materialization of the national aims themselves. Following Baron Haussmann's transformation of Paris at the end of the 19th century, Buenos Aires expanded its parks and green areas, Mexico City built its Paseo de la Reforma Boulevard, Santiago created its Santa Lucia and Forestal parks, and Montevideo defined the Prado's grounds as the next Bois de Boulogne. In most capital cities, Haussmann's ideas were used selectively and limited to specific solutions and projects. However, a strong French influence was always present in the Latin American imagination, also present in education (most Latin American schools were modeled after the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris) and through professional consultancies (Fores-tier, Rotival, etc.).

Later in the 20th century the continent experienced considerable economic expansion, the modernization of infrastructures, and a process of urbanization without precedent. In the 1930s the industrialization of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Brazil took place and increased right after WORLD WAR II, when national policies to substitute imports fostered development. The economic centralization of power was to overtly favor national capitals as

engines of growth. With World War II, industrialization policies in Latin American cities followed the North American urban model of introducing industrialized construction technology as well as automobile-oriented urban schemes that epitomized the ultimate instruments of modernity.

In the 20th century U.S. intervention in Latin American countries expanded, such as in the case of the PANAMA CANAL, the Cuban missile crisis, and the assassination of the democratically elected Salvador Allende in Chile. As a consequence of the growing awareness of interdependence, the Bogotá Conference of 1948 produced the Organization of American States (OAS) to promote hemispheric unity. In short, the biggest challenge that postcolonial states in Latin America have had to face has been their fragility. Right after their independence, the new governments had to substitute the prenatal links with a sense of identity and a national commitment to the emerging nation. However, and in order to protect the nation's vulnerable condition, the states often favored a centralized administration, emphasizing the integration of the territory and stressing the need for political governance despite the different degrees of cohesion. It is not surprising that economic development represented the preeminent way to legitimize diverging loyalties in the territory and transfer them to the new state. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, industrialization led the way to modernity, which for a premature state meant more than a challenge; it was an imperative. In Latin American countries, the governments designed political projects that integrated a common past with a long-desired future, creating a sense of continuity in which the transcendent character of the nation would be revealed.

See also LATIN AMERICAN MODERNISM; PORFIRIATO.

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Latin American populism

Populist movements flourished in many Latin American nations from roughly 1920 until the mid-1960s. Populist regimes took a variety of forms in diverse national contexts, even within Latin America. Variations within populism were particularly pronounced because populist movements were based on ad hoc responses to circumstances rather than on any coherent or consistent ideology. Nevertheless, populist movements within Latin America did share several defining features. Overwhelmingly urban based, Latin American populist movements were characterized by multiclass, nonrevolutionary coalitions that aimed at the development of domestic industry, the redress of popular grievances, and the peaceful integration of the urban masses into a political arena hitherto controlled almost exclusively by elites. Populism in the Latin context had preconditions of both rapid urbanization and the rise of welfare states, both of which contributed to new understandings of the state's role in addressing social issues. In most cases the leaders of populist movements were charismatic figures who employed a personalist style of leadership to garner support. Examples of populist leaders include Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina, GETÚLIO VARGAS in Brazil, LÁZARO CÁRDENAS in Mexico, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Colombia, VÍCTOR RAÚL HAYA DE LA TORRE in Peru, and José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador.

Unlike its rural counterpart in North America, populism in the Latin American context was predominantly urban based. Occasionally, as was the case in Peru, plantation workers might be included in the movement if they worked in close proximity to the towns. Populism was largely a reaction to the phenomenal growth of cities between 1880 and 1930 and the social dislocation that resulted from this so-called metropolitan revolution. Although these factors were not sufficient to ensure a populist response, they did create an environment favorable to the proliferation of populist movements. Significant agrarian reforms occurred in Mexico under the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40). Cárdenas's agrarian policies were atypical of populist leaders, however; much more typical was his support for organized industrial labor in Mexico's cities.

The meteoric rise to power of Argentinian populist leader Juan D. Perón was due in large part to the charisma of Péron and his second wife, Eva Duarte de Perón, both of whom made extensive personal contact with workers throughout Argentina. Populist leaders frequently took advantage of advances in media technology in order to deliver their message to the popu-

lace. Pedro Ernesto, mayor of Rio de Janeiro and leader of Brazil's first populist movement, was among the first to explore the political potential of the radio as a means of mobilizing large segments of the population, as was Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Colombia. In addition to making use of the airwaves to reach his followers, Gaitán also produced his own newspaper. In later years the Brazilian Department of Press and Publicity became a major source of propaganda on behalf of Getúlio Vargas, who embraced populist politics in the final decade of his career. José María Velasco Ibarra, five-time president of Ecuador, used various forms of propaganda to project a populist image throughout his lengthy career.

SOCIAL BASE

Another defining characteristic of Latin American populism was its multiclass social base. Although many of the movement's objectives appealed primarily to the working classes, supporters were recruited from all levels of society. Unlike socialism, which aimed at the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, populism sought the political integration of the masses without fundamental change to the social structure. Particularly in the early years of populism, known as the reformist or consensual era, members of the middle and elite classes often supported populist movements as an effective means to curb lower-class agitation. In many cases the middle classes stood to benefit materially from populist reform as well. The expansion of social services, for example, created thousands of professional jobs, while policies aimed at promoting industrial growth appealed to a broad spectrum of society. Peru's Aprista movement, founded by Haya de la Torre in 1924, exemplifies the type of multiclass coalition that characterized Latin American populism.

Populism became especially prevalent in Latin America during the 1930s and 1940s, in the wake of the stock market crash and the global GREAT DEPRESSION that followed. The virtual collapse of several Latin American export economies during the Great Depression prompted policy makers to impose high tariffs and consider methods of diversifying the Latin American economy, thus reducing dependence on the international market.

Although populism followed no consistent ideology, Latin American populist movements tended to include the expansion of state activism in order to promote accelerated industrialization. Several populist leaders, including Perón in Argentina and Vargas in Brazil, established state-owned enterprises in areas formally controlled by the private sector. In the case of Argentina, the Fabricaciones Militares was founded in 1943

to manufacture military equipment but quickly expanded to include such nonmilitary enterprises as mining and real estate. The Peronist regime also pursued the nationalization of crucial sectors of the economy such as public utilities, transportation, and foreign trade. Vargas for his part attempted to lay the foundations for industrial growth by infusing capital into projects to improve the nation's infrastructure and by organizing state marketing systems, in addition to developing state-owned petroleum and steel enterprises.

Although specific policies were not without their critics, the populist desire to strengthen domestic industry was certainly shared by a broad spectrum of society. The labor movement typically supported a protectionist policy, while middle-class industrialists as well as the military championed economic nationalism and domestic industrial development. As long as the economies continued to expand—as, for example, during the wartime and immediate postwar export boom in 1940s Argentina—such support was relatively easy to maintain.

ZERO-SUM GAME

Populist governments were able to dispense benefits to certain segments of society without reducing the incomes of other sectors. A much different picture emerged in the later phases of growth, when populist regimes faced a zero-sum game: Without an absolute rise in national income, policy makers were forced to decide whether to become genuinely redistributive. To do so was to risk alienating the middle classes, while failure to do so meant the loss of the working-class support on which populist regimes likewise depended. Either way, a broad-based coalition became increasingly difficult to maintain in the later years of the movement.

The results of economic stagnation, growing inflation, and increased social tensions were disastrous for Latin American populist leaders. Gaitán, who was widely expected to accede to the Colombian presidency in 1950, was murdered in downtown Bogotá before he could take office. Velasco, who had dominated Ecuadorian politics for nearly five decades, was forced into exile at the end of his fifth and final term. Perón also went into exile after he was ousted by a military coup in 1955. He spent the next 17 years in exile before returning to Argentina in 1972.

Perón was elected to a third presidential term the following year but was rendered nearly powerless by out-of-control inflation and factional violence; he died in 1974. Cárdenas's presidency ended amid dissent and controversy, and Vargas concluded his second term (1951–54)

by committing suicide. By the late 1960s the armed forces had outlawed populism in most of Latin America and established military regimes instead.

Several factors can be adduced to help explain populism's failure to live up to its initial promise. Above all, the changed economic circumstances following WORLD WAR II rendered the policies difficult, if not impossible, to sustain. Several Latin American countries faced economic crises in the early 1950s due to rising inflation and lagging economic growth. Promises of continually expanding social benefits could not be met in a period of relative economic stagnation, at least not without exacerbating the already rampant inflation.

At the same time, the very nature of populism as an expansionist movement and a great mobilizing force contributed to mounting instability as a larger and more confident working-class electorate pressed the populist regimes for more increasingly radical redistributive policies. In some cases the regime's capitulation to such radical demands prompted the middle classes to withdraw their support from what was formerly a multiclass coalition. Elsewhere the fear of widespread uprisings, particularly in the aftermath of the Cuban revolution, provided the armed services with a pretext for launching military coups to oust populist leaders.

Although the prevalent instability in several Latin American nations can be regarded as the unfortunate legacy of populism in that region, the movement had positive repercussions as well. Above all, the populist era ushered in mass participation in the electoral process on an unprecedented scale. The vote was extended to lower- and working-class citizens as well as to women, and these formerly marginalized groups were drawn into the realm of public discourse and debate.

Additionally, the effort to integrate and unite various classes through an inclusive national identity fostered a revived interest in native culture that has continued to the present day.

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Latin American U.S. interventions

On September 20, 2006, the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, addressed the United Nations General Assembly and spoke of the “hegemonic pretensions of the American empire.” In a speech that also referred to the president of the United States as a devil, Chavez gave voice to what many Latin Americans may have felt at one time or another in the nearly 200 years of U.S.-Latin American relations. Those relations have been characterized by the dynamic of a much stronger nation imposing its will on a collection of states that, in most instances, had no choice but to comply. Making the situation more complex, American intervention, while frequent and used to gain political, military, and economic benefits for itself, has also been frequently mixed with an honest desire to improve life for Latin Americans.

Latin America, including South America and the Caribbean, which have Spanish, Portuguese, and French as their native languages, achieved its independence from Europe a generation after the United States. By the 1820s, most of these nations were independent, but that was in jeopardy when a group of European powers styling themselves as the Holy Alliance embarked on a program of undermining U.S. influence and exploiting the newly independent nations of Latin America. The American response was issued in 1823 in a statement by the American president in what has since been referred to as the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine, which stated that European powers were not to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, was the point at which the United States began to exert a sometimes indirect, sometimes interventionist, policy of exercising control over the economics and politics of Latin America. Through the years the imperative behind America's action as well as the corollaries or interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine have changed, but the willingness of the United States to intervene in Latin American affairs has been a constant.

MEXICO

Mexico, “so far from God, so close to the United States,” was the first Latin American nation to be fully affected by American diplomacy and military action. After winning its independence from Spain, Mexico took possession of a large portion of what would become the southwestern part of the United States. In order to secure its northern border from the Indians, Mexico in the 1820s invited American settlers to come to Texas. The results of that policy finally resulted, in 1836, with the loss of that part of Mexico when Texas

seceded and became an independent republic. Mexico could tolerate, though just barely, this independent entity on its border, but the likelihood of Texas becoming part of the United States was unacceptable.

Texas did become a state in 1845, and a border clash between Mexican and U.S. troops sent to guard the border in 1846 began the Mexican-American War. The American army, by a series of brilliant campaigns, won that conflict and as a result took approximately one-third of Mexico's territory. While the victory was total, it was not without difficulty, and the victory of the United States had not been a foregone conclusion. The war demonstrated that the very high technical and tactical proficiency of the Americans and their ability to project their forces over great distances made them the most significant force in the Western Hemisphere.

In the last part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, Mexico remained fairly stable until a revolution in 1914. To keep Europeans from intervening on the side of the Huerta government, President WOODROW WILSON sent military forces to capture the port city of Veracruz. This was done, and when American troops left they turned warehouses with arms over to the Carranzista, anti-Huerta forces. In 1916, the Mexican leader PANCHO VILLA attacked the American town of Columbus, New Mexico. This attack met with the response of an American expeditionary force unsuccessfully attempting to capture Villa. The expeditionary force stayed until January 1917. Just prior to WORLD WAR I, Germany offered Mexico the opportunity to retake the land it had lost in the 1840s if it would assist Germany against the United States. This offer, known as the Zimmermann Telegram, alienated U.S. relations with Germany, helping lead to America's entry into the war.

In the years after the war, Mexican and American relations were brittle until FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT's GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY of 1934 was tested by the Mexicans. In 1938, the Mexican government took possession of all private petroleum company holdings. Franklin Roosevelt did not intervene militarily or diplomatically to retrieve American assets that had been nationalized. The significance of this action, so different from prior American actions, raised the credibility of Roosevelt's policy in Latin America as well as improving America's image in the region.

CUBA

America's expressed interest can be dated to at least as far back as the 1850s. The Ostend Manifesto, a document

drawn up by three American diplomats in 1854, was a plan to either purchase Cuba or take it from Spain. The plan never came to fruition because, among other reasons, the assumption underlying its annexation was that it would become a slave state. American interest waned in the following years but by the 1880s and 1890s had revived.

Many members of Congress were on record as desiring to go to war with Spain to take Cuba. The president at that time, Grover Cleveland, stated that if Congress declared war nothing would happen because he would not mobilize troops to gain Cuba, an interesting and rare instance of deliberately not seeking to influence a Latin American region. By the William McKinley administration, however, popular opinion in America, encouraged by the prowar "Yellow Press," was in support of just such a venture. All that was needed was a pretext, and when the U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor, Americans had their war.

In the end, Cuba received its freedom, but the United States exercised considerable control for the first third of the 20th century. A written statement known as the PLATT AMENDMENT to the Cuban constitution gave the United States financial control as well as the right to intervene in Cuba's affairs. In 1934, as part of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, the Platt Amendment was revoked. Until that time, however, U.S. control was exercised on a number of occasions to include the deployment of American troops from 1906 to 1909 and again in 1912 and 1917.

Cuba operated as a dictatorship through the 1920s through 1950s, but toward the end of this period there started to be serious opposition. Fidel Castro, a Cuban revolutionary who had been imprisoned earlier and then left for exile in Mexico, returned to Cuba in 1956 and by January 1, 1959 had established control over the government.

HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean is the location of two nations that have seen U.S. interventions on many occasions: the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Haiti was originally a French colony on the western part of the island that won its independence from France in 1804. The Dominican Republic won its independence in 1844, returned voluntarily to Spanish rule for two years in the 1860s, and reestablished its independence in 1865. Both nations are highly agricultural and since the 19th century have been of great interest to the United States. In the 1870s, there was some interest on the part of the United States in annexing the Dominican

Republic, an idea that died when faced by the prospect of integrating an area with a Spanish culture into the U.S. political system.

The United States maintained a high degree of economic interest and sent troops to keep order in 1904, 1905, 1912, 1914, and 1917 through 1924. From 1917 to 1922, the U.S. military used aircraft for the first time to support counterinsurgency operations. Stability was maintained with the rise of RAFAEL TRUJILLO, who ruled from 1931 until his assassination by the CIA in 1960.

Haiti's liberation was led by a former slave named Toussaint Louverture. In the 19th century the government was not stable, but the unrest was sufficiently low in intensity to allow substantial foreign investment. A combination of wishing to safeguard investments and curbing European influence led the United States to intervene in 1915. In that year the president of Haiti was overthrown and killed. Woodrow Wilson sent in both ships and ground troops to keep order. Through 1918, the marines were very busy in stabilizing operations and managed to impose a degree of stability, although they remained in that country until 1934. U.S. troops departed the country, but the United States would control the country's finances until 1947.

PANAMA

What is now the nation of Panama was originally part of Colombia. The U.S. interest in this region dated back to the time of the California gold rush, which had commenced in 1849. With the flood of Americans traveling to find gold, crossing through Panama (or Nicaragua) became one of the main ways to get to the West. By 1855, the United States signed a 20-year agreement with Colombia to allow Americans to cross without paying fees. There was soon a railroad running from Panama's east coast, where passengers would leave ships to cross the isthmus and then embark on ships docked on the west coast to continue the journey.

Nicaragua had also been a transportation link, but Panama was where the first attempts at a canal were made. An attempt to dig a canal in Panama in the late 19th century added to this interest. In 1903, the United States encouraged a revolt and assisted by sending 10 warships to the area. The effect was to keep the Colombians from sending help to their army fighting the rebels. The canal itself was bounded on each side by land under U.S. administration and known as the Canal Zone. There were also forts in the area to safeguard the canal from internal or external attack and as bases for counterinsurgency operations.

NICARAGUA

Nicaragua, the focus of so much U.S. attention and intervention in the 1980s, was also an area of American political and economic interest in the 19th century. Like Panama, crossing Nicaragua was relatively easy and served as a way for gold seekers on their way to California to reach the gold fields without taking the long and dangerous journey around Cape Horn. William Walker briefly set up a government there and tried to get Nicaragua admitted to the union. Nicaragua, while it never entered the union, was treated as an area in which Americans could do as they wished. On one occasion in 1853, an American gunboat commander, having a disagreement with a village on the coast, fired upon it on his own authority. His action was approved by Franklin Pierce, the president of the United States at the time.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the stability of Nicaragua, particularly as an area of American investments and other economic activity (such as the UNITED FRUIT COMPANY) justified intervention in the minds of Americans. American troops were sent into Nicaragua in 1909–10, 1912–25, and 1926–33. In the latter intervention, the United States assisted the Nicaraguan government against the rebel leader AUGUSTO SANDINO, who would become the namesake not only of his contemporary rebels but also of a later generation of foes to American policy in the 1980s.

In the 1930s, the U.S. government supported the SOMOZA family (who had executed Sandino in 1934), which ultimately ruled Nicaragua from 1936 until the late 1970s.

CONCLUSION

The economic interests and dollar diplomacy were replaced after WORLD WAR II by the concern that Latin America could come under control of the Soviet Union. That cold war imperative has since become dominated by concerns with terrorism, illegal immigration, and the drug cartels. Based on past history, it may be safe to assume that any relations between the United States and Latin America will not be a meeting of equals.

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ROBERT STACY

Laurier, Wilfrid

(1841–1919) *Canadian prime minister*

Wilfrid Laurier, a political child of the 19th century, led his Liberal Party into the 20th century as Canada's first French-Canadian prime minister. Equally adept both in his native French and in English, Laurier promoted growth in prairie provinces and predicted a golden century for Canada. But his leadership foundered on trade and military issues related to U.S. economic power and British imperialism.

Laurier became politically active while at Montreal's McGill University. As a young lawyer he joined the Parti Rouge, Québec's homegrown liberal organization. He spoke eloquently against the 1867 British North America Act, which created a confederated Canada. Months before it became law he wrote, "Confederation is the second stage on the road to 'anglification.' ... We are being handed over to the English majority..."

His embrace of French-Canadian separatism proved a passing phase. Winning election to Québec's provincial parliament, Laurier worked to make Canada's new federal system advantageous to fellow French speakers. He also began to develop a new kind of politics, similar to that of Britain's Whigs, and cofounded the Parti National to attract like-minded politicians.

When a railway scandal brought down John A. Macdonald's Liberal-Conservative government in 1873, Laurier won a seat in parliament. By 1877 the young Liberal headed the internal revenue ministry and had been chosen to lead his party. Although the Liberals were soon swept out of power by a resurgent Macdonald, Laurier remained as leader and was well positioned to take advantage of Conservative fatigue after Macdonald's death in 1891. Laurier became prime minister in 1896.

Among Laurier's goals during his 15-year tenure were trade reciprocity with the United States and robust western immigration and agricultural development. Like THEODORE ROOSEVELT, his counterpart to the south, Laurier sought to safeguard Canada's environment. He reached out to labor interests while cautiously reining in corporate abuses. To foster western growth, Laurier proposed a second transcontinental railway. It

was, like its predecessor, beset by competing interests, but Laurier crafted a compromise that made the Canadian National Railway a reality. In 1905 he overcame tough opposition to create the western provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Although knighted during Queen Victoria's 1897 Jubilee, Laurier encountered difficulties with Britain that were only partly due to his continuing French-Canadian attachments. The British Empire was at its pre-WORLD WAR I zenith. Laurier's compliance with British demands for Canadian soldiers in the 1899 BOER WAR outraged nationalists, especially in Quebec. His 1909 proposal to create a semiautonomous Canadian navy deeply alarmed Britain and many Anglo-Canadians, showing that Canada, for all its growth, remained dependent.

The United States also disappointed Laurier and helped bring an end to his government. An Alaskan boundary dispute, made urgent by the 1897 gold rush in Canada's neighboring Yukon Territory, ended with most Canadian claims denied. In 1911 Laurier negotiated an agreement that would have been the first comprehensive trade measure between the two nations since 1866. But Conservatives, joined by many of Laurier's Liberals, attacked the reciprocity pact as a sell-out that portended Canada's annexation. Within weeks it and Laurier's government had failed.

Laurier remained party leader until his death of a cerebral hemorrhage but never again held power. Thousands accompanied his funeral bier to Notre-Dame Cemetery in Ottawa, where he had spent the best and worst years of his life.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Lawrence, T. E.

(1888–1935) *British officer and writer*

Thomas Edward Lawrence, the second of five sons of his unmarried parents, was born on August 16, 1888, in Tremadoc, Wales, and died on May 19, 1935, in Dorset, England. From 1896 to 1907 he attended the Oxford High School for Boys, where he made rapid academic progress. His major interests included military archaeology, brass rubbing, and coin collecting. Owing to these

interests he became friends with D. G. Hogarth, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. From 1907 to 1910 Lawrence studied at Oxford, where his mentor, Hogarth, encouraged his interest in the Arabic language and the Near East. After graduation Lawrence worked for three years under Hogarth and C. Leonard Woolley at a dig at the ancient Hittite city of Carchemish in Mesopotamia. Early in 1914 Lawrence was involved in a survey of the desert that was actually a cover for British intelligence spying on the Turkish defenses in southern Palestine.

In WORLD WAR I Lawrence served as a captain in the British military intelligence service operating out of Cairo, where he made maps and had contact with spies. In 1916 he was transferred to the Arab Bureau, a branch of the intelligence service concerned exclusively with Arab affairs, particularly with the revolt of Sherif Husayn of Mecca against the Ottoman Empire. Prince Faysal, son of Sherif Husayn, was chosen by Lawrence to lead the revolt with British backing. During the revolt, Lawrence donned Arab dress and was given the nickname "Lawrence of Arabia." His preferred method of warfare included railway attacks and guerrilla warfare instead of more conventional methods of war. With the help of Auda abu Tayi, the Homeric Bedouin desert fighter, Lawrence devised a brilliant plan of attack on Aqaba against the Turks. He gradually progressed from being an adviser and observer to being one of the principal participants in the revolt. In the midst of the revolt, Lawrence was captured at Deraa after a failed raid on the bridges over the Yarmuk River. During his capture he was tortured and sexually abused by the Turks.

In January 1919 Lawrence began writing the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, which he continued revising until 1926. The book was an account of his time spent during the Arab revolt, included essays on military strategy, and also served as a vehicle for expressing his bitterness toward the political outcome in the Arab provinces. His bitterness stemmed in part from his position as Faysal's adviser during the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE of 1919, in which he watched France gain control over Syria despite promises made to Faysal by Lawrence and the British government. In January 1921 Lawrence became an adviser to WINSTON CHURCHILL in the Colonial Office. He resigned in 1922, declaring that he was satisfied that Britain had fulfilled its promises to the Arabs by placing Faysal in control of Iraq and by installing Abdullah on the throne of Transjordan.

In August 1922 Lawrence, under the name John Hume Ross, joined the Royal Air Force. In January 1923 he was discharged after reporters discovered his

real identity. A month after being dismissed by the air force, Lawrence reenlisted in the Tank Corps under the name T. E. Shaw. He stayed until 1925, when he succeeded in getting himself retransferred to the Royal Air Force serving in India. In January 1929 he was ordered back to England, where he remained in the Royal Air Force until shortly before his death. On May 13, 1935, T. E. Lawrence was fatally injured while speeding on his Brough Superior motorcycle in Dorset, and six days later he died.

See also HASHEMITE DYNASTY IN IRAQ; HASHEMITE MONARCHY IN JORDAN; SHERIF HUSAYN-McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

League of Nations

Founded on idealism and championed by U.S. president WOODROW WILSON as part of his Fourteen Points plan for international peace, the League of Nations founded on the geopolitical realities of the interwar period. Designed to prevent war as a means of resolving disputes between countries, the league proved unable to halt the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, or NAZI Germany's rearmament. Yet even given its failures the League of Nations inspired leaders to rethink traditional diplomatic practices and embodied the pacific, cooperative ideals that another generation would try to realize through the United Nations.

Prior to the league's creation, international relations had been the province of ambassadors exchanged between governments who then lived in the country to which they had been posted. Although these diplomatic procedures did not disappear, the league sought to build on another, more recent development in diplomacy: the international conference. Institutions such as the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague had lacked the power to halt the slide into WORLD WAR I. Nevertheless, international conferences of the later 19th and early 20th centuries had established rules for war, standard time, and policies on matters of common interest. The league's creators drew upon such precedents, though the great powers themselves did not abandon the more traditional modes of secret diplomacy.

The idea for the league came originally from Woodrow Wilson, who wished to create a real and lasting peace. The creation of the league was an integral part of his Fourteen Points and was the only point to be approved by the Allies. At home, a group of senators and representatives headed by Henry Cabot Lodge opposed U.S. membership in the league and effectively prevented the country from joining. In Wilson's vision, the League of Nations would act as a force to prevent the outbreak of war and create stability on the global stage.

The covenant upon which negotiators agreed in 1919 included article 10, in which league members undertook collectively to defend "the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members." Actual practice departed from this principle, in part because article 5 required binding resolutions to receive unanimous consent and in part because the league had no army in its service nor any other means to impose its will on an aggressor. When the U.S. Senate rejected the treaty and refused membership in the League of Nations, the institution experienced a significant setback in its efforts to acquire legitimacy and real power to pursue its peaceful agenda.

The League of Nations was composed of a secretariat, a council, and an assembly. Sir Eric Drummond, formerly of the British Foreign Office, served as secretary-general for the first 14 years (1919–33) and helped to attract 675 men and women to work as an international civil service. The council met at least annually. At its foundation the body included France, Britain, and Italy as permanent members, along with other smaller powers. The council grew to 10 in 1922 and to 14 in 1926, when the additional members were supposed to counterbalance Germany's admission to the council. The membership of the assembly was largely European and South American, as most African and many Asian countries remained under European rule until after WORLD WAR II.

Although best known for its failures in the area of collective security, the league began its existence with several successes. The league council prevented war between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Islands (1920), between Germany and Poland over Upper Silesia (1921), and between Greece and Bulgaria over the exact location of their shared border (1925). This raised some questions about whether the league would be able to deal with disputes that touched the interests of a country such as Britain or France. In fact, the great powers continued to pursue old-fashioned diplomacy and treaties, such as the LOCARNO AGREEMENTS.

Britain would not accept measures to reinforce the league's powers to react against aggression. The league-sponsored Disarmament Conference met during the late 1920s and early 1930s until HITLER withdrew Germany from the conference and from the league in 1933.

The weaknesses of the league became especially apparent in 1931. During its meeting in Geneva, the assembly learned that Japan had begun to attack the Chinese in Manchuria. As the days passed news grew worse, and the Chinese representative called upon the league council to authorize a response. After vacillating and accepting disingenuous assurances from the Japanese representative about his country's intentions, the league sent a commission of inquiry under Lord Lytton that arrived in April 1932. The Japanese army already exercised effective control over much of "Manchukuo." The LYTTON COMMISSION submitted a 100,000-word report on September 4, 1932. The assembly accepted its conclusion that the Japanese had violated the league covenant. It condemned the aggression against China but did nothing further. Japan simply withdrew from the league in March 1933.

Similar instances of impotence occurred after Italy invaded league member Ethiopia in 1935. Pierre Laval, the French foreign minister, and Sir Samuel Hoare, his British counterpart, went outside of the league framework to seek ways to appease BENITO MUSSOLINI, to serve their own interests, and to avoid war. These secret negotiations later became public knowledge, much to the chagrin of the participants, but the unwillingness of Britain and France to support the league did not change. The league first attempted conciliation and then studied the crisis. The assembly agreed that blame fell upon Italy, yet it could do nothing more than impose economic sanctions. The completion of Italian conquest indicated the failure of the sanctions, so the British pressed for them to be lifted in 1935. League members quietly accepted Italy's annexation of Ethiopia.

The League of Nations continued to meet in the late 1930s. It dissolved in 1946, when the United Nations came into existence. Founders of the United Nations attempted to learn from the supposed shortcomings of the league, especially with regard to collective security and the composition of the council.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Lebanese independence and the Confessional System

The Lebanese Confessional System refers to the political and legal structuring of the Republic of Lebanon according to religious affiliations. The Lebanese government acknowledges over 17 different religious sects, but the main divide is between Christians and Muslims. The Confessional System was introduced prior to Lebanon's independence during the years of the FRENCH MANDATE (1917–1943). The French colonial authorities distributed governmental posts based on the population count in the 1932 census, which favored Christians over Muslims in a 6 to 5 ratio. There was not another census for the rest of the century. By the time Lebanon gained independence in 1943, the Lebanese population had become further polarized and identified along confessional lines.

In 1943, the independent Lebanese state enacted the National Pact (Al-Mithaq al-Watani), reinforcing the sectarian system of government by distributing the three top political positions along confessional lines. The national pact is an unwritten agreement and the result of numerous meetings between Lebanon's first president, Bishara al-Khoury (a Maronite Christian), and the first prime minister, Riyad Al-Solh (a Sunni Muslim). Khoury and Solh allocated government posts in a confessional manner in an attempt to please all religious communities and guarantee their participation in the newborn state.

The prime position of president was reserved for Christian Maronites, the post of prime minister was allocated to a Sunni Muslim, the position of speaker of the parliament was allocated to Shi'i Muslims, and the titles of deputy speaker of the house and deputy prime minister went to Greek Orthodox Christians.

The core of the national pact aimed to address the Christians' fear of being overwhelmed by the Muslim communities in Lebanon and the surrounding Arab countries, Syria in particular, and the Muslims' fear of Western hegemony. In return for the Christian promise not to seek foreign—specifically French—protection and to accept Lebanon's "Arab face," the Muslim side agreed to recognize the independence and legitimacy

of the Lebanese state in the 1920 boundaries and to renounce aspirations for union with Syria.

In addition to the national pact, the parliamentary electoral law equally enforced the sectarian system. The representatives in the parliament were divided equally between Christians and Muslims by the Taif Accord, with each sect occupying seats in proportion to the population percentage.

The religious communities represented in parliament, with the number of seats each occupies, is as follows: Maronite Christians (34), Sunni Muslims (27), Shi'i Muslims (27), Greek Orthodox (14), Greek Catholics (8), Druze (8), Armenian Orthodox (5), Alawites (2), Armenian Catholics (1), Protestants (1), and other Christian groups (1).

The confessional system outlined in the national pact was a pragmatic interim to override philosophical divisions between Christian and Muslim leaders at the time of the French withdrawal and independence. However, the frequent political disputes in recent history, the 1958 civil war, and the far bloodier 1975 civil war are testaments to the failure of the national pact to achieve the anticipated social and political integration.

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RAMZI ABOU ZEINEDDINE

Lenin, Vladimir

(1870–1924) *Russian revolutionary leader*

Among the savviest and most single-minded politicians of the 20th century, Vladimir Lenin capitalized on the chaos in Russia caused by WORLD WAR I and the resentments spawned by the advent of industrial capitalism. By imposing discipline and a radical agenda on his Bolshevik Party and by providing a clear alternative to the repressive autocracy that had acquiesced before, if not abetted, Russian economic and social backwardness, Lenin acquired the power to lead his country toward socialism.

The Soviet regime established after the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION in 1917 did not meet Lenin's ideals, but he continued to strive to enact the reforms he deemed necessary for modernizing Russian culture, the econ-

omy, and society. Ruthless yet compassionate, pragmatic yet idealistic, Lenin was a paradox who knew how to recognize the opportunity for revolution when others did not.

Vladimir Ilych Ulyanov grew up in Simbirsk, on the Volga, where his father was a school inspector. Born on April 22, 1870, he had two brothers and three sisters with whom he had a close relationship. Along with others of similar education and professional attainments, Lenin's father hoped for major reforms to the Russian political, economic, and social systems. Yet Lenin's revolutionary aspirations and Marxist principles, which were avidly supported by his sisters, far transcended the reformist goals of his father.

Around 1886 Lenin began to develop his political thought and committed to revolution as a means of bringing about substantive, profound change in Russia. His brother Alexander was arrested in that year for having plotted to assassinate Czar Alexander III; his execution marked the young Vladimir and made him more politically conscious. He yearned for an end to crass materialism, the sexual double standard, and the corrupt values of late 19th-century Russia. Perhaps as a consequence of his brother's experience, Vladimir opted against terrorism and assassination; instead he cultivated the persona of a self-conscious, professional revolutionary.

As a consequence of his brother's conviction, Lenin endured police surveillance. Although he was among the best students in Russia, he could not obtain a place at any of the major universities; he settled for the local university in Kazan. He was soon expelled, however, along with all "risky" students. He later studied law by correspondence at the University of Saint Petersburg, but conventional careers were clearly closed to him.

As he began his sporadic work as a legal assistant in late 1893, Lenin continued his voracious reading. He delved even further and more deeply into the works of intellectuals such as George Plekhanov, the founding father of Russian social democracy, and Karl Marx. In 1889 he translated the *Communist Manifesto*.

While Lenin continued to mourn the loss of his much-loved sister Olga, who died in 1891, he met the woman who would become his longtime companion and wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya. Together they studied Marx, contemplated social democratic strategy, and started to practice the tactics required of political subversives in czarist Russia. Around the same time Lenin appeared in police surveillance records on his own account, having defended Marxist views in a debate

with a populist in 1894. He also wrote his first pamphlets and articles around this time.

Lenin made his first trip outside Russia in 1895, when he met with social democrats such as Wilhelm Liebknecht in Germany and Paul Laforgue in France. Upon his return to Russia, he cofounded a social democratic group and established a newspaper. These activities attracted police attention, and Lenin was arrested in December along with many of his colleagues. He spent about a year in Saint Petersburg, where he was interrogated four times, before being sentenced to three years in Siberia. Krupskaya was arrested while Lenin was in jail, and she received permission to join him in exile. Lenin spent the years in Siberia (1897–1900) reading, writing, and giving legal advice to local peasants. He began to develop his own interpretations of Marxism and to interpret Russian conditions in that light. Lenin and other Russian social democrats rejected the populist argument that peasants were proto-communists.

Lenin rigorously opposed the notion that socialism would “just happen” or even come about as a consequence of a series of incremental reforms to capitalism. He maintained that both dramatic political change and dramatic socioeconomic change would have to occur; social democrats had to fight for them all simultaneously. Lenin’s perspective was influenced by the ideas of Russian revolutionary and anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, who had focused criticism on the state and the church as the major sources of oppression in Russia. Lenin shared Bakunin’s antipathy toward religion and the Russian Orthodox Church, though he thought that the state could be captured and directed to serve the working class.

STRONG EXECUTIVE

When Lenin finished his period of exile in Siberia, he settled briefly in Pskov, where he worked in the Bureau of Statistics. He visited Nuremberg, Munich, Vienna, London, and other European cities. After he and Krupskaya settled in Geneva, they became central to the project of building an effective, disciplined Russian social democratic party.

Although Lenin occasionally sought reconciliation, the 1903 split between his Bolsheviks and the more reformist Mensheviks became permanent. Lenin averred that Russian social democracy most needed a tightly disciplined party with a strong executive. As events showed, his organizational model proved valid.

The RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1905 disappointed Russian radicals and revolutionaries, though they did find their way back into the country for a few years.

Lenin saw the beginnings of a bourgeois revolution, though the ephemeral character of constitutional reforms granted by the czar indicated that Russians had much revolutionary ground yet to travel. After returning to exile in Europe, where he would remain for the decade prior to 1917, Lenin resumed his efforts to push Russia out of its czarist rut.

The International Socialist Bureau did not recognize Lenin as sole leader of the Russian socialists, though he did gain control over the key newspapers of the group. In the years prior to WORLD WAR I, Lenin organized, read, and wrote. He published articles on party organization, socialism, religion (in which he recommended that the party oppose religion, even as a private affair), and socialism in Asia.

The outbreak of World War I found Lenin and Krupskaya in Kraków, Poland. Lenin had taken an interest in the implications of foreign affairs for social democracy in Russia since the turn of the century, and he reservedly predicted that the war would hasten the advent of socialism in Europe. Although unafraid of class, civil, or revolutionary wars if they would promote socialism, Lenin could not abide imperialist, bourgeois international wars. Lenin envisioned a Socialist International that would recognize national cultures as equal and sovereign while emphasizing the shared character of the socialist struggle. Lenin continued and further elaborated his thought on wars and the overall international situation in *Imperialism* (published in 1917) and *State and Revolution*.

When the revolutionary year of 1917 dawned, Lenin seemed a rather marginal figure on the Russian political stage. Having been out of Russia for decades and with only a relatively small group of ardent supporters, Lenin returned to Petrograd in April with apparently little prospect of acquiring power. He surprised even his allies, many of whom had greeted him upon his arrival at Finland Station, with his April Theses; the party did not fall into line with his radical demands until three weeks of debate had passed. Lenin’s refusal to endorse participation in the provisional government contravened the desire of many Bolsheviks (including JOSEPH STALIN) to exercise influence in any way they could. He advocated an immediate end to Russian participation in World War I.

GRADUAL SOCIALISM

He encouraged Bolsheviks to cultivate close relations with the soviets that had formed in the cities and the countryside. Lenin wanted to destroy the state institutions that were oppressing Russians, though he did not



Revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin addresses the Second Soviet Congress in Smolny Palace, St. Petersburg, October 25–26, 1917. Lenin called not only for the end of czarist rule in Russia but also more ambitiously, he envisioned worldwide worker revolution.

state that he aimed to eliminate the police, the bureaucracy, and the army for good. Lenin further recommended the confiscation and redistribution of landed estates; he hoped to prevent small peasant farms from replacing them by immediately nationalizing the land. He planned to introduce socialism gradually, first by giving control over production and distribution to the soviets of workers' deputies.

As the days and months of 1917 passed, Lenin became an increasingly important leader, even after the provisional government began to hound the Bolsheviks. His decisive moves to capitalize on the weakness of that government enabled his party to seize power in October, even though the Bolsheviks had not yet converted even a minority of Russians to their ideology. The Bolsheviks did not have control over the countryside in 1917 or immediately thereafter, with the result that peasants had proceeded to form smallholdings; some of them had already begun to amass considerable acreage. Hence, collectivization could not occur as Lenin had hoped. The Ukraine and other provinces under the control of the Russian government experienced a revival of nationalist sentiment. The economy remained in shambles.

World War I had already demonstrated the incapacity of Russian infrastructure and industry to provide for the people, but Russia's gross national product suffered even further after the Bolsheviks gave control of factories to workers who had no training in management and little real knowledge of the overall production process. Lastly, the party abandoned real democracy; Lenin declared that the Bolsheviks had to direct the government and the economy until such time as the Russian people had experience with the new system and had enough education to appreciate the communist ideal. The Bolsheviks enacted legislation that gave equal rights to women, though the people had not pushed for such changes.

Lenin suffered a debilitating stroke in 1923 after having previously suffered two less harmful attacks. By that time the Communist government had yielded to political and economic pressure as well as the reality of food shortages and lack of industrial supplies, by enacting the NEW ECONOMIC POLICY. Lenin and his supporters intended for such reforms to ease nationalization, collectivization, and the end of private enterprise, though they allowed for the latter and for small family farms in the short term as a means to generate

the national wealth needed to effect the transition to communism.

Before Lenin died he had already surrendered real, everyday control over the government. He had not appointed a successor; his close associates LEON TROTSKY and Joseph Stalin each viewed themselves as such, along with several other aspirants. When he died in 1924, Lenin had effected a revolution that had radically changed perceptions of Russia and its prospects for the future. Whether his successors could realize the potential of the revolution and the promise of communism remained unknown.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Lewis, John L.

(1880–1969) *American labor leader*

John L. Lewis, longtime president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and cofounder of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), was the United States' most powerful labor leader during the GREAT DEPRESSION. In 1933 he played a central role in the development of NEW DEAL legislation that affected workers. He successfully lobbied the administration of FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT to include a provision, section 7a, in the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) that guaranteed workers the right to organize their own unions and to undertake collective bargaining with their employers. Lewis used the NIRA as a springboard to organize more than 95 percent of the nation's bituminous miners.

As one of the founders of the CIO in 1935, Lewis sought to organize workers in a wide variety of occupations, ranging from longshoremen to actors. He focused particularly on mass-production workers in U.S. heavy industries. This defied the agenda of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which traditionally organized only skilled craft workers. Lewis gained vital federal and state support for the militant auto workers in Michigan who undertook a daring sit-down strike against General Motors in 1937. As a result of the strike, the automobile industry was forced to recognize the legitimacy of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). The same

year Lewis negotiated employer recognition of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), in a steel industry that was notoriously hostile to union activity. By the end of 1937, approximately one of every four U.S. nonagricultural workers belonged to a union.

Lewis's influence waned during the late 1930s, when he was an ardent isolationist. He correctly foresaw that if the United States became involved in WORLD WAR II, the Roosevelt administration would neglect its progressive domestic agenda in favor of building consensus support for the war effort. Lewis considered this to be a betrayal of the New Deal, and he shocked many of his cohorts when he endorsed Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie in 1940. In 1942 he withdrew the UMWA from the CIO because he felt that CIO leaders had lost their autonomy by supporting the administration. As a result, Lewis and the UMWA became isolated from much of the labor movement. Throughout the 1940s, he led a series of widely unpopular strikes, cementing his reputation as an adversary of federal power. Much hated by HARRY S. TRUMAN, in 1946 he defied a federal injunction to end a nationwide coal strike, for which he received enormous fines.

Historians find significant contradictions in Lewis's career. After successfully collaborating with the Roosevelt administration to win unprecedented legitimacy for unions, he became a vehement critic of government-labor alliances. Although he helped to empower millions of workers, he ran the UMWA with autocratic authority.

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TOM COLLINS

Lindbergh, Charles

(1902–1974) *aviator*

The best-known pilot in the world both in his lifetime and in the annals of history, Charles Lindbergh started out as a barnstormer in a WORLD WAR I surplus biplane he bought while working as an airline mechanic in

Montana. The postwar years saw a great deal of public fascination with flight and with pilots, as the war had put the airplane in the spotlight. Lindbergh came to fame in 1927 when he won the \$25,000 prize offered eight years earlier by French businessman Raymond Orteig for making the first nonstop flight from New York City to Paris, a 34-hour flight without rest.

Lindbergh was received as a hero, bringing still more respect and attention to aviation while demonstrating the spirit of individualism of which Americans were so enamored. In an age of celebrity, when writers like F. Scott Fitzgerald spent much of their time on magazine covers, Lindbergh was a star, which made his 20-month-old son Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., a prime target for kidnapping. For two months and 10 days, the world followed the course of the investigation: The baby disappeared sometime between nine and 10 at night, and a note demanding \$50,000 in small bills was found outside the nursery window. Four colonels participated in the investigation, liaisons were appointed to speak to the leaders of organized crime, and President HERBERT HOOVER himself was notified within hours of the kidnapping. Eventually, a baby's body was found five miles from the Lindbergh home; two years later German immigrant Bruno Hauptmann was found with some of the marked ransom money, arrested, and eventually executed. To this day, the evidence convicting Hauptmann of murder remains scant, and there is no forensic evidence that the baby was Charles, Jr.; though Lindbergh identified the remains, animals had left so little recognizable that medical examiners were unable to even determine the child's sex.

The Lindberghs became more reclusive following the kidnapping, avoiding the public eye. Lindbergh supported isolationism in the years leading up to WORLD WAR II and was widely suspected of NAZI sympathies, which led President FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT to ban him from military service. Nevertheless, though Lindbergh believed in the superiority of some races over others, he condemned the Nazis' treatment of Jews and spoke in support of African-American rights. Lindbergh died in Hawaii in 1974 after a quiet retirement. The *Spirit of Saint Louis*, the custom-built Ryan aircraft he used for his famous transatlantic flight, was donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1928 and remains on display in the National Air and Space Museum in the main atrium—a position of honor shared by the first supersonic craft and the first privately funded spacecraft.

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BILL KTE'PI

literature

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The 19th century saw the birth of science fiction and the detective novel, the heavy use of American dialects and the vernacular by such authors as Mark Twain and George Washington Cable, and the psychologically complex novels of writers like Henry James. The 20th century continued these trends. For instance, the regional interest of the Southwest humorists and the local color school gave way to Edith Wharton's examination of the eastern seaboard, F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels of New York and American expatriates, and William Faulkner's stories of Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. Faulkner often wrote not only in dialect that could at times be nearly impenetrable, he used the rambling stream of consciousness approach employed previously by James Joyce. In 1949 he won the Nobel Prize in literature for his contributions not only to American literature but to the world of letters. Two of his novels were awarded the Pulitzer Prize: *A Fable* and *The Reivers*, both of which are now considered minor works compared to *The Sound and the Fury*; *Absalom, Absalom!*; and *As I Lay Dying*.

Social concerns became prominent in American literature in the early 20th century, with Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*—an attack on meat packing and on the ills of capitalism—an obvious example. Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, John Steinbeck, Nathanael West, and Sinclair Lewis were deeply invested in their portraits of American life and American character. Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here* warned against the possibility of a fascist regime in the United States.

Gertrude Stein, meanwhile, coined the term *the lost generation* to refer to the American authors expatriated to Europe between WORLD WAR I and the GREAT DEPRESSION. The Lost Generation included Stein, Hemingway, Anderson, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, and the poets Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, among others. Many of these authors drew not only on their European experiences but on nonliterary movements for inspiration in their work: Stein herself was fascinated by cubism, while Pound and Eliot were as influ-

enced by painting, sculpture, and music as they were by other authors.

The detective stories of Edgar Allan Poe and Britain's Arthur Conan Doyle in the 19th century led to a boom in mysteries in the 20th century, which in the United States particularly included the "hard-boiled" genre epitomized by Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler. Other detective stories showed up in the pulps—cheap magazines and short novels, successors to the dime novels—alongside science fiction, horror (including H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu Mythos stories), sword and sorcery such as Robert E. Howard's Conan series, and adventure stories featuring jungle explorers, pilots, and crime fighters. The pulps, along with the newspaper comic strips now being nationally distributed, were a major influence on the comic books of the 1930s and 1940s, which saw the birth of Superman, Batman, Captain America, and others.

The 1930s also saw the emergence of the golden age of science fiction. The first all science fiction magazine—*Amazing Stories*—had been founded in 1926, but it was in the late 1930s, when John Campbell became editor of *Astounding Science Fiction*, that many of the greats of the genre came to prominence: Isaac Asimov, James Blish, and Robert Heinlein, among others. Campbellian science fiction emphasized the wonder and ingenuity of scientific achievement rather than acting as cautionary tales or allegories.

INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

With the advent of the new century, a number of annual literary prizes were created: the Nobel in 1901, the Prix Goncourt in 1903, and the Pulitzer Prize in 1917. Those who won were largely European or North American, with the Nobel Prize having a heavy weighting to northern Europe.

In Britain there was a proliferation of literature that had backgrounds set during war, especially WORLD WAR I and then WORLD WAR II. Stories set in parts of the British Empire, both true and fictional, were very popular. One of the most prolific writers during this period was Rudyard Kipling, and he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1907 for his work. War stories were also popular in many other countries, with Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire* (1917), R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End* (1928), Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), and Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Schweik* (1939) all being translated into many languages. The reduction in the cost of printing, as well as increased literacy, saw a huge demand for adventure stories for



William Faulkner won the 1949 Nobel Prize in literature for his contribution to the world of letters.

children. These helped introduce young people to other parts of the world and historical periods, and they were matched by an increase in historical fiction, with the Napoleonic era and the Roman Empire proving popular with novelists from Britain, France, Germany, and many other countries. By the 1940s many books were decorated by elaborate dust wrappers. In 1935 Allen Lane started Penguin Books, publishing works in cheaper paperback editions, a move quickly followed by many other publishers all around the world.

The period from 1900 until 1950 also saw an increase in the production of plays by British and European playwrights, often leading to films of the works. Some of the more popular plays were by writers such as George Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy, both British Nobel laureates. There were also several new genres such as H. G. Wells's *The Time Machine* (1895). Then there were those warning about the future such as Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and George Orwell's *1984* (1948). There were also some fantasy writers with

J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (1937) becoming popular in the 1940s and C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950), leading, respectively, to further books on Middle Earth and Narnia. Lewis was a prominent writer on theology, and Bertrand Russell wrote philosophy, as did other writers such as Romain Rolland. There were also a few non-European writers who rose to prominence, the most famous probably being Rabindranath Tagore from India, who won the Nobel Prize in 1913.

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BILL KTE'PI

Lloyd George, David

(1863–1945) *British politician*

David Lloyd George was the most dominant figure in British politics in the first quarter of the 20th century. Although Welsh on both sides of his family, he was actually born in Manchester, England, in 1863. His father, William George, then a headmaster of an elementary school in Manchester, died 17 months later, leaving his pregnant widow to raise the children. His mother, Elizabeth, took her family back to her home village of Llanystumdwy in north Wales to live with her bachelor brother, Richard Lloyd, a shoemaker and copastor of a little Baptist chapel. A Welsh nationalist and deeply religious, Richard Lloyd played an active role in the upbringing of young David, imbuing him with many of his formative beliefs. At the age of 14, David was apprenticed to one of the leading firms of solicitors in Portsmouth, passing his final examinations in 1884. During the early years of his practice, he met and married Margaret Owen, who bore him two sons and three daughters.

Bitten by the political bug while in his late teens, Lloyd George associated himself with the Liberal Party. In 1890 he was elected to Parliament for the Caernarfon Boroughs, a seat that he would retain for the next 55 years. A gifted speaker, audacious, and industrious, he soon became a leading spokesman for the radical wing of the party. As a pacifist he inveighed against the immo-

rality of the BOER WAR in South Africa and expressed sympathy for the Boer farmers.

When the Liberals returned to power in 1905, Lloyd George was appointed president of the Board of Trade, a position he held for three years, during which he sponsored much important legislation. He took over as chancellor of the Exchequer at a time when the government needed to find new sources of revenue to pay for the cost of social programs and additional battleships to keep ahead of the ambitious German naval program. Accordingly, his "peoples budget" in 1909 called for a heavy tax on unearned income such as inheritance, increased value of land, and investments. The House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, vetoed the budget, defying the House of Commons' traditional control of taxation. This provoked a constitutional crisis, forced two general elections, and ended in 1911 with the passage of the Parliament Act, which severely curtailed the powers of the House of Lords.

When the question of Britain's entry into the war was debated in the cabinet in the opening days of August 1914, Lloyd George sat on the fence until Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium provided him with a face-saving formula to join the ranks of the interventionists. Just as he had preached pacifism prior to 1914, he pursued his new course with vigor and determination.

At the Exchequer he handled the financial problems posed by the war, and when a coalition government was established in May 1915, Asquith appointed Lloyd George to head the new Ministry of Munitions. Here he applied the same energy to stimulate the production of munitions as well as push for the manufacture of bigger and more efficient guns. In the summer of 1916, he became secretary for war, succeeding HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER, who drowned when the ship on which he was traveling to Russia struck a mine and sank. As the year wore on, Lloyd George grew increasingly disenchanted with Asquith's lack of drive, and on December 1, with the backing of the Conservatives, he proposed that a small committee should be created to run the war with himself in charge. The king asked Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, to form a government, but he declined. Lloyd George was left as the logical alternative, and, when invited to serve as prime minister, he willingly accepted the challenge. He formed a coalition made up of Conservatives and Liberals. His intrigue against Asquith split the Liberal Party between a faction loyal to him and another loyal to the former prime minister. The breach became permanent and finished the Liberal Party as a major political force.

Lloyd George made institutional changes at the outset, creating new ministries and substituting a small war

cabinet, whose members were free from departmental responsibilities, for the unwieldy body that had hitherto conducted affairs. The prime minister's central concern was to change the direction of the war. Instead of concentrating on the western front, Lloyd George favored attacking Germany's allies, where progress was expected to be easier and the cost substantially less. As an amateur strategist, he never understood that the war could only be won by defeating the German army. Even if Douglas Haig had employed more imaginative tactics early on, the price of victory would have been tragically high. In the winter of 1917–18, Lloyd George tried his best to thwart Commander in Chief Haig's plans for an offensive by denying him the troops that he had requested. It was a misguided action that almost spelled defeat for the Allies when the Germans attacked the British sector in force in the spring of 1918.

The crisis led to the establishment of a unified Allied command under General Foch, in which military effectiveness was improved, and by May the situation had stabilized. Haig's series of victories in the summer and fall were instrumental in inducing the German government to ask for an armistice, but it was Lloyd George who represented himself as "the man who won the war." In truth, his legacy does not rest on his management of the war, where he did more harm than good. It was on the home front that he left his mark: safeguarding shipping and maintaining food supply, increasing war production, mobilizing manpower, and providing an unflagging display of optimism and resolve when things looked bleak.

His popularity at an all-time high, Lloyd George, popularly known as the "fighting Welshman," won an easy electoral victory in December 1918, which allowed him to continue the coalition. He played a leading part at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, steering a middle course between WOODROW WILSON's idealism and GEORGES CLEMENCEAU's demands. It is to his credit that the final terms were not as severe on Germany as they would have been. His failure to rebuild the economy; a personal scandal in which he traded peerages and other honors for campaign contributions; the granting of independence to Ireland, which cost him Conservative support; and a reckless foreign policy that almost led to an unnecessary war with Turkey spelled his downfall in October 1922. He never regained power and died in March 1945 at the age of 82.

See also WORLD WAR I.

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GEORGE H. CASSAR

Locarno agreements (1925)

The Pact of Locarno, negotiated on October 16, 1925, symbolized the atmosphere of goodwill between erstwhile enemies who had fought a global war 11 years before. The delegates from Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia met in the city of Locarno, Switzerland.

The preceding months had eased the tension in western Europe. In November 1924 the French had ended the Ruhr occupation. The financial condition of France was not good, and occupation of the Ruhr had become costly. The attitude of France changed after the coming of a new government with foreign minister Aristide Briand (1862–1932). Briand had softened his earlier stand and had become a "pilgrim for peace." Gustav Stresemann (1879–1929), the foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, was in favor of reconciliation with France. In January 1925, Stresemann proposed a Rhineland Pact, which would guarantee the Franco-German border.

The German acceptance of a demilitarized Rhineland guaranteed the western frontier of France as well as Germany's acceptance of a part of the peace dictated at Versailles. Great Britain was interested in a general peace in Europe for the sake of its commercial and financial interests. The United States had been persuaded by Great Britain to overhaul reparations, and the consequent Dawes Plan gradually stabilized the German economy.

The Locarno Conference began on October 5, 1925. The German delegation was headed by Hans Luther (1879–1962), the chancellor, but most of the work was done by Stresemann. The British foreign secretary, Austen Chamberlain (1863–1937), played an important part in the deliberations at Locarno. Briand was the delegate from France. Emile Vandervelde (1866–1938), Vittorio Scialoja (1856–1933), Eduard Beneš (1884–1948), and Alexander Skrynski (1882–1931) were delegates of Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, respectively. The conference continued for 11 days. The diplomats patiently discussed the security of their frontiers in official meetings and

informal conversations. Seven treaties came out of the deliberations in an environment of cordiality and cooperation.

The Locarno agreements signaled high hopes immediately. It seemed to erase the bitter memory of WORLD WAR I. Paving the way for Germany's admission to the LEAGUE OF NATIONS in September 1926, it gave Germany its due place on the committee of nations. There was rapprochement between France and Germany. In 1926 Chamberlain, Briand, and Stresemann were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It was perceived in 1925 that the Locarno Pact would bring peace in Europe, and there would not be another world war. But beginning in the 1930s a series of events took place that ultimately led to another conflagration.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Long, Huey

(1893–1935) U.S. politician

Both populist and demagogue, Huey Long, nicknamed “Kingfish,” controlled his state of Louisiana as governor and U.S. senator and founded a political dynasty. During the GREAT DEPRESSION Long’s popular “Share Our Wealth” scheme made him a credible challenger to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (FDR). That possibility abruptly ended in 1935 with Long’s assassination.

Long was born in rural northern Louisiana. Although his family was comfortable, as a lawyer he specialized in representing underdogs fighting powerful organizations. Elected to Louisiana’s Public Service Commission, he took on Standard Oil and telephone and railway companies. After an unsuccessful 1923 campaign for governor, Long won in 1927 using the slogan “Every Man a King, But No One Wears a Crown.”

Long ruthlessly consolidated power through patronage, threats, and guile, creating a powerful political

machine. He also gained popular support with initiatives to improve Louisiana’s wretched schools, expand its inadequate highway system, finance hospitals, and improve Louisiana State University. Unlike most southern leaders of his era, Long rarely used race-baiting tactics, although most Louisiana blacks remained poor and disenfranchised.

Usually surrounded by bodyguards, the flamboyant “Kingfish” used radio and sound trucks to bring voters his message unmediated by a mostly hostile press. Surviving impeachment in 1929 and term-limited by the state constitution, Long aspired to the Senate. But he declined to relinquish his grip on Louisiana, where he and his machine were collecting millions in kickbacks from those beholden to him for jobs or favorable legislation.

Long decisively won his Senate seat in 1930, staying in Baton Rouge until an obedient ally assumed the governorship. Loud, even buffoonish, in his clothing and manner, Long was fodder for a fascinated national press and soon attracted a host of enemies. In 1932, at first grudgingly, he supported Roosevelt’s candidacy, playing a key convention role to assure FDR’s nomination.

The “honeymoon” between Long and the new president was soon over. Long sharply criticized FDR’s emergency bank holiday of March 1933 and opposed other key NEW DEAL legislation. By late 1933 FDR had written Long off, cutting off his patronage opportunities and ordering federal officials to investigate his finances.

Long focused on his “Share Our Wealth” plan, developing support across the nation for his proposal to limit how much wealth rich Americans could accumulate. The surplus, Long argued, would guarantee ordinary Americans a minimum annual income. Meanwhile, Long regularly used Senate filibusters to annoy the Democratic leadership and promote his political agenda. In June 1935 Long spoke for almost 16 hours—the longest filibuster to that time.

That September Long returned to Baton Rouge, where he was still effectively governor. Leaving the House chamber on the evening of September 8, Long was shot by physician Carl Austin Weiss, son-in-law of a powerful judge who was Long’s bitter enemy. Incompetently treated, the “Kingfish” died two days later. A hundred thousand mourners attended the funeral on the capitol grounds where he was buried.

Rose McConnell Long completed her husband’s Senate term. His brother Earl became a controversial Louisiana governor. His brother George and cousins Gillis and Speedy Long served in the U.S. House. Russell Long, Huey’s son, won a Senate seat in 1948, rising to chairman-

ship of the Finance Committee before retiring in 1987. Years later Long was still popular despite ample proof of corrupt and despotic practices. Robert Penn Warren's best-selling 1946 novel, *All the King's Men*, a thinly veiled Long portrait, spawned several movie versions. A statue of Long stands in the U.S. Capitol's Statuary Hall.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Long March

By late summer of 1934, the fifth encirclement campaign, led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK, had convincingly defeated the Chinese Communist Soviet and reduced it to a six-county area in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province. On October 15 the Communist government abandoned its capital, Ruijin (Juichin), with 85,000 soldiers, 15,000 party and government officials, and 35 women (wives of the high officials). They began the Long March, which would last for one year and cover about 6,000 miles (called the 25,000 *li* Long March in Chinese).

The Communists were able to break out of the eastern sector of the Nationalist encirclement because it was guarded by army units under dissident generals whom Chiang did not control and whose leaders feared that the elimination of the Communists would hurt them. The fleeing Communists were allowed to escape through a narrow corridor on the border of Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwangsi) (ruled by Nationalist generals who were opponents of Chiang) and entered Guizhou (Kueichow). Guizhou province, the domain of a corrupt warlord who grew rich from opium, was unable to prevent the Communist incursion.

In January 1935 the communists held a conference at Zunyi (Tsungyi) in Guizhou where MAO ZEDONG (Mao Tse-tung) and his allies Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), and ZHU DE (Chu Teh) emerged victorious, blaming the previous defeats on their opponents in the party. They then decided to head for northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province, where a Communist base already existed. Chased out of Guizhou by Chiang's pursuing forces, the Communists headed for Yunnan, Sichuan (Szechuan), Sikang, and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces and were evicted from each in succession. Mao and 8,000 survivors reached northern Sha'anxi in October 1935; others who arrived later

boosted the total to 30,000. They established themselves in Yanan (Yenan), which would remain their headquarters until 1949.

The Long March was an epic of survival for the Chinese Communists: They survived terrible terrain and their pursuers. Although severely reduced in numbers, the leadership emerged intact. Mao became the clear leader of both the party and the military after the Zunyi Conference and would continue to dominate both until his death in 1975. Although Chiang Kai-shek could not eliminate the Communists the encirclement campaigns and the Long March also clearly strengthened both Chiang and the central government of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). Ending the Chinese Communist rebellion in Jiangxi consolidated government power in southeastern China.

Importantly, the inability of the autonomous warlords in Guizhou, Yunnan, Sichuan, Sikang, Gansu, and Sha'anxi Provinces to prevent the Communists from invading their domains led to central government troops entering these areas. After expelling the Communist invaders the government units remained and imposed many reforms and changes, which reduced the warlords to semiobedience to the national government. This was crucial for China's survival when Japan invaded in 1937 and seized the coastal regions, enabling the Chinese government to continue resisting Japan for eight years from its new base in Sichuan and the other provinces it had gained control of as a result of the Long March.

See also ANTI-COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT CAMPAIGNS IN CHINA (1930-1934).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Lugard, Frederick, baron of Abinger (1858-1945) *British soldier*

Baron Lugard directed the conquest and administration of Nigeria as well as serving as a soldier elsewhere in British West Africa and as a governor in Hong Kong. His military career indicates the opportunities available to aspiring young officers who served the British Empire at its height. As an administrator, he theorized about the

responsibilities of the British to themselves and to the inhabitants of the conquered territories.

Born in Madras (Chennai) in British-controlled India to an Anglican minister, Lugard went to England early in his childhood. He received a solid education as a youth before entering the British Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Upon graduating he joined the army in 1878. He served in the Afghan War (1879–80), the British campaign in the Sudan (1884–85), and Burma (1886–87). He returned to Africa in 1888, where he was wounded in combat against Arab slave traders in NYASALAND.

In the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, Lugard led a team of explorers in the region of the Sabaki River before heading to Uganda in 1890. After ensuring British control of the area and ending unrest, he earned the title of military administrator of Uganda. While in that capacity, he continued his explorations of Africa. He resigned his position in May 1892 and returned to London, where he convinced the government of Prime Minister Gladstone to remain in Uganda.

When Lugard returned to Africa in 1894, he worked for the Royal Niger Company. He pursued negotiations with various kings and chiefs so as to gain recognition of the company's power in the region and, by extension, that of the British over other European rivals. While conducting an expedition to Lake Ngami in 1897 for the British West Charterland Company, Lugard was recalled by the British government so that he could organize a force of native Africans to defend British interests against the French in Lagos and Nigeria. His West African Frontier Force remained under Lugard's command until December 1899.

From 1900 until 1906, Lugard served as high commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Various local potentates, such as the sultan of Sukoto, refused to accept the provisions of treaties that they had signed. In 1903 Lugard triumphed over this opposition through a combination of diplomacy and military force. Before he left in 1906, Lugard had secured British control over all of Nigeria, though the military still confronted uprisings. His efforts also resulted in an improvement in British commerce; newly laid rail lines carried tin, peanuts, and cotton to the coast.

Lugard favored indirect rule; by defeating indigenous rulers, he could control their peoples on behalf of the British. He accepted emirs who no longer traded slaves, acknowledged British authority, and introduced the measures that the British desired. These emirs retained their titles but took their orders from district officers; emirs could lose their positions if the

British high commissioner found them uncooperative. Thus, the British could reduce the number of colonial officers needed to supervise the territory. Lugard preserved Muslim control over education and medicine in Northern Nigeria, while Christian missionaries provided social services in the south. This resulted in an inequality between the two protectorates as conditions in the south improved.

Lugard spent the next few years in Hong Kong, where he held the position of governor until March 1912. He schemed to gain perpetual control over the rented New Territories, perhaps opening the way for permanent British control of Hong Kong, but his plans did not come to fruition. He also created the basis for the University of Hong Kong in 1911.

He returned to Nigeria as governor in 1912, when he focused on ending the existing system of two protectorates in favor of a single colony. Many intellectuals and the press in Lagos opposed the plan, but the citizenry as a whole did not react. Lugard became governor-general of the colony of Nigeria from 1914 to 1919. As governor he attempted to prevent the importation or consumption of alcoholic beverages; he also tried to end slavery in the colony.

Lugard published numerous works in which he traced the genesis of the British Empire in Africa and rationalized its rule over Africans. In *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (1893) he emphasized the economic motives that compelled the British to seek new markets and to secure sources of raw materials; he justified the initial costs of conquest and anticipated the enormous financial benefits to come.

He further contended that the British had inherited the duty to expand the empire from their ancestors, who had shown considerable initiative in exploring and settling North America and Australia. For Lugard, Britain's contributions to the welfare of Africans—the introduction of Christianity, the abolition of slavery, the spread of better medical treatments, and the improvement of education—would accompany its exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources for its own economic benefit.

Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922) presented a justification for his application of indirect rule in Nigeria, as well as continuing to elaborate a rationale for British rule in Africa. He perceived black Africans as different from white Europeans and believed that they needed training before they could control their own affairs entirely. By co-opting native elites, who spoke the local language and practiced the local customs, as administrators under

a British supervisor, Lugard believed that the British could increase cooperation on the part of natives.

After his decades of service to the British Empire, the aging Lugard settled down to live in England. He died in 1945, after having been appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1920 and being raised to the peerage in 1928.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Lutz, Bertha

(1894–1976) *Brazilian scientist and feminist*

A zoologist and scientist, Bertha (or “Berta,” as her name is sometimes recorded) Maria Júlia Lutz was a prominent Brazilian feminist and campaigner for women’s rights in Brazil, as well as an important naturalist. Born on August 2, 1894, in São Paulo, her father was Adolfo Lutz (1855–1940), an important physician and epidemiologist, as well as a pioneer of tropical medicine. In 1881 he had moved to Brazil and settled in São Paulo, where he became a microbiologist specializing in the link between sanitation and epidemics, especially the plague, malaria, and yellow fever.

Bertha Lutz was educated in São Paulo and then went to France, where she studied at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). She specialized in natural sciences, biology, and zoology and returned to Brazil to follow up on her interests in amphibians. Her major scientific discovery was a type of frog, to which she gave her name: *Paratelmatobius lutzii* (“Lutz Rapids Frog”). In 1919 Bertha Lutz started work at the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil, which made her stand out at an early age, as public service jobs were officially supposed to be taken by men.

In Paris Bertha Lutz had been hugely influenced by feminist ideas from France and Britain and had made contact with many French women suffragettes. When she returned to Brazil in 1918, she started agitating for the establishment of a feminist movement there. Only a year after her return, Lutz formed the *Federacao Feminista Progresso Brasileira* (“Brazilian Federation of Feminine Progress”). In 1922 she attended the Pan-

American Conference on Women and gained much useful advice from Paulina Luisi and Carrie Chapman Catt. She was also elected vice president of the conference. After the conference Lutz returned to Brazil and spent much of her time working for the women’s movement. She had seen the advances made by women in Europe and the United States and wanted to get the same rights recognized in Brazil, especially the right of women to work, the abolition of child labor, equal pay for equal work for women, and the right to maternity leave.

In 1932, owing to agitation by Lutz and others, women in Brazil were enfranchised and allowed to vote in elections, an act confirmed by the Brazilian president GETÚLIO VARGAS in amendments to the Brazilian constitution. Lutz made two unsuccessful attempts to be elected to the parliament on behalf of the Independent Electoral League. However, the death of one of the deputies, Candido Pereira, led to a casual vacancy, which was filled by Lutz, who became a deputy in 1934. In parliament she argued for women’s rights, three months’ maternity leave, and a reduction in the hours in the working day for both men and women. She also campaigned for young men to be able to get exemptions from national service.

On October 6, 1940, Adolfo Lutz died, and his daughter not only ensured that his papers were sent to the National Archives of Brazil but also that she cataloged them meticulously, a task that took her the next 30 years. The papers are still regularly studied by many scholars from all around the world and have been hugely augmented by her own collection of papers and books, which she also donated to the archives. Lutz remained in charge of botany at the National Museum for much of the rest of her life.

Her main work in English, *British Naturalists in Brazil*, was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1941. In 1948 Bertha Lutz was one of the four women who signed the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the others being Minerva Bernardino from the Dominican Republic, Virginia Gildersleeves from the United States, and Wu Yi-tang from the Republic of China. In the 1930s Lutz had written a number of technical papers published in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1968 she completed three papers that were all published by the Texas Memorial Museum in Austin: “Geographic Variation in Brazilian Species of *Hyla*” (1968), “Taxonomy of the Neotropical Hylidae” (1968), and “New Brazilian Forms of *Hyla*” (1968, republished in Rio de Janeiro in 1973). She also wrote a substantial book, *Brazilian Species of Hyla*, written with Gualter

A. Lutz and with a foreword by W. Frank Blair, which was also published in Austin, Texas, in 1973. In 1975 Lutz represented Brazil at the first International Congress of Women at Mexico City, organized by the United Nations. Bertha Lutz died on September 16, 1976, in Rio de Janeiro. The Bertha Lutz Foundation was established in her honor; its symbol is a green butterfly.

See also LATIN AMERICAN FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Luxemburg, Rosa

(1871–1919) *socialist revolutionary*

Rosa Luxemburg, the Marxist revolutionary, activist, and author, was born to Jewish parents, Eduard and Line Luxemburg, in the Polish Russian town of Zamosac on March 5, 1871. Politics was her main interest from her early days at school. She arrived in Zurich in 1889 to study law and political economy at the university there. Luxemburg found herself among some of the leading revolutionaries of the period, including George Plekhanov (1857–1918) and Leo Jogiches (1867–1919). Her association with the latter became lifelong, and both men helped to establish a new party, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland, which became the Socialist Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL).

She was in Paris for a while, where she edited the party's mouthpiece, *Sprawa Robotnicza* (Workers' cause). She shifted to Berlin in 1898 and was associated with German socialism for the next 20 years. After getting her German citizenship, she settled in Berlin and became a member of the German Social Democratic Party. Luxemburg was the editor of the party organ *Vorwärts* (Forward) from 1905 onward.

Luxemburg developed many of her concepts of revolution during this period. For her, the Moscow uprising of December 1905 was due to mass action. Revolution was a long-term phenomenon. Moreover, it could happen in a comparatively underdeveloped country like Russia. She began to write profusely, emphasizing mass

strikes. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had different revolutionary strategies, and Luxemburg believed in the former's slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. However, she criticized the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution broke out. Luxemburg was imprisoned in Polish Russia in 1906 and later released. She continued with her political activities and was jailed for two months in June and July 1907. Luxemburg taught Marxism and economics at the Social Democratic Party School in Berlin between 1907 and 1914.

WORLD WAR I broke out on July 28, 1914, and the Bureau of the Socialist International met in Brussels the next day. Luxemburg, as a representative of the SDKPiL, advocated for mass demonstrations against the war. But SPD members voted in favor of the Reichstag's declaration of war on August 4. In September Luxemburg, along with her colleague Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) and others, formed the International Group from her flat and decided to oppose the war. The group was converted to the Spartakusbund on January 1, 1916. Luxemburg was imprisoned many times during the war. She was released on November 8, 1919, from prison and went on to establish the German Communist Party (KPD) with the help of Liebknecht and socialist groups. Luxemburg organized the Spartakusbund uprising in January 1919 in Berlin but was captured along with Liebknecht. Both were killed on January 15.

Luxemburg's contributions to socialist theory and practice were immense. She was the most vocal spokesperson of the German labor movement. Luxemburg was not an armchair revolutionary like many of the Marxists but believed in action. She ultimately became a martyr for her beliefs, which never wavered from a strong basis of humanitarianism.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Lyautey, Louis-Hubert

(1854–1934) *French colonial official*

Louis-Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey was born in Nancy, France, on November 17, 1854. He was brought up

in the aristocratic and intellectual society of Nancy as well as in the simplicity of country life. When Lyautey was only 18 months old he fell from a balcony of the family house, which resulted in a spinal injury. Until the age of six he endured a long period of enforced inactivity, passing the time by reading.

In his teens he attended several schools, and at age 18 in 1873 he entered the French military academy, Saint-Cyr. In 1876 he enrolled in the military staff school and joined a cavalry regiment that was posted in Orleansville, ALGERIA. For the next two years Lyautey learned about Islam, North Africa, and colonial administration; he also began studying Arabic. Lyautey was promoted to the rank of captain in 1882 and was then ordered to join the IV regiment of the Chasseurs Legers at Epinal.

When Lyautey was about 33 he published an article on military reforms that ultimately changed his career. He was considered one of those rare men who enjoyed both the sword and the pen. As a reprimand for his article, Lyautey was transferred to Indochina; however, this turned out to be a blessing in disguise. He arrived in Saigon in 1894 and met with Colonel Joseph Gallieni, who became his inspiration; Gallieni also promoted him to chief of staff. While under Gallieni, Lyautey learned a core lesson in colonization, namely, not to offend local traditions nor to change customs, and to use the elite class to the benefit of the empire. Lyautey also learned tactics involving taking, securing, administering, and developing areas that were in enemy hands or subject to enemy attack. His principles concentrated on the well-being of the indigenous population, providing them with security in everyday life and administering their affairs with understanding, respect, and generosity.

In 1897 Lyautey followed Gallieni to Madagascar, where he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and had the opportunity to construct a city how he saw fit. By 1900 he was promoted to full colonel, and by 1903 he returned to Algeria as brigadier general. After the French took several cities in Morocco in an attempt to quell resistance to their occupation in neighboring Algeria, the Treaty of Fez, establishing a French protectorate over Morocco, was signed on March 30, 1912. Lyautey was then appointed the first resident general of Morocco. One of Lyautey's greatest qualities was his ability to adapt to new situations, and he did not adopt a specific or rigid formula in his administration of Morocco. He had qualities that appealed to Moroccans, Berbers, and Arabs alike, as he was a man of decision, integrity, and justice. In contrast to many of

his peers, Lyautey did not believe it was the mission of Europeans to force their civilization and religion on the peoples of colonized countries. He believed it was important that the French understand Islam and the values of the Muslim world. He also believed that a mass migration of European colonists into Morocco would cause problems (as it had in Algeria) but did not object if the colonies were willing to contribute to the country.

As resident general, Lyautey maintained local customs and architecture and established so-called flying columns of soldiers to move quickly from one location to another in order to put down any local rebellions. The establishment of local health clinics in remote areas helped to encourage Moroccan support of the French administration. Lyautey also modernized and enlarged ports, especially in Casablanca, and supported economic development projects in mining and trade. With the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, he managed to control Morocco with very few troops.

In 1916, in the midst of World War I, Lyautey was offered the post of minister of war. After some reluctance he accepted the post but soon clashed with other high-ranking military officers. He opposed Commander in Chief Robert Nivelle's plan for a new offensive against the Germans, but the plan was implemented over Lyautey's objections. Just as Lyautey had foreseen, the offensive failed and resulted in massive numbers of French casualties. Furious, Lyautey tendered his resignation and was asked to return to Morocco to resume his old post as resident general, which he happily accepted. After the war in 1921, Lyautey was promoted to the nation's highest military rank of marshal. He was 66 years old.

Lyautey was plagued by liver attacks that affected him for years that would force him to stay in bed for several weeks and for which he had to endure several operations. During the 1920s, plagued with ill health, Lyautey attempted to resign from the residency, but he was constantly persuaded to remain in Morocco.

During the early 1920s the successes of the RIF REBELLION under Abd el Krim against the Spanish enclaves in the north of Morocco threatened French rule in the rest of the nation. By 1925 Lyautey was reluctantly engulfed in military operations against Abd el Krim and his army. In the midst of the struggle, Lyautey was removed from the military command of Morocco, and Marshal Philippe Pétain, with whom he had previously clashed, replaced him. On September 24, 1925, the colonial veteran, now 70 years old, asked to be relieved of the supreme command in Morocco. His resignation was accepted, and

in October Lyautey left Morocco for France. As he left Rabat, a large crowd gathered to see him off. To the surprise of many, it was the British, not the French, who honored Lyautey with a naval escort of two destroyers through the Strait of Gibraltar. Lyautey spent most of his remaining years at Thorey, in his beloved Lorraine, preparing a few volumes of letters for publication.

Some of the developments in Morocco that Lyautey can be credited with are construction of roads, cities, hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and railways. Hubert Lyautey died in 1934, and his ashes were conveyed by a French naval squadron, accompanied by 14 ships of the British Second Battle Cruiser Squadron, to his mausoleum in Rabat, Morocco.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Lytton Commission and report

On the night of September 18, 1931, the Japanese KWANTUNG ARMY stationed in Manchuria, China's northeastern provinces, staged a minor bomb explosion on the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway outside Mukden, the administrative capital of Manchuria. Claiming that it was Chinese sabotage, the Japanese military swung into action, simultaneously attacking over a dozen Chinese cities in the region. Japanese units from its colony Korea invaded to broaden the attack. This was known as the MANCHURIAN INCIDENT, or Mukden incident.

The Chinese army was no match for superior Japanese forces. Therefore, China decided not to resist militarily and appealed to the LEAGUE OF NATIONS for support. It also appealed to the United States as signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 and the Washington Treaty of 1922. International support for China was expectedly lukewarm.

However, the league assembly passed two resolutions, on September 30 and October 24, enjoining Japan

to withdraw its forces, which the Japanese government promised to honor, but they had no effect on its military. On December 10 the league decided to dispatch a commission of investigation under British diplomat Lord Lytton, which spent six weeks in Manchuria plus some time in Japan and China.

Japan conquered Manchuria in five months, then established a puppet state called Manchukuo (state of the Manchus) on March 9, 1932. Next Colonel Doihara Kenji, intelligence chief of the Kwantung Army, enticed the last Qing (Ch'ing) emperor, Pu-i (P'u-yi), to Manchuria, installing him as chief executive (later as "emperor") in a regime totally controlled by the Japanese.

The Lytton Report, submitted to the league on October 1, 1932, refuted Japan's claim that Manchukuo had local support, condemned Japan for aggression, and recommended the restoration of Manchuria to Chinese sovereignty. It also recommended the maintenance of the OPEN DOOR POLICY in Manchuria and special consideration for Japanese and Soviet commercial interests in the region. China signaled total acceptance of the report's recommendations, as did the league assembly on February 14, 1933, with one dissenting vote—Japan's. On March 27 Japan announced its resignation from the league.

The failure of the League of Nations to halt Japanese aggression against China in the Manchurian incident signaled its impotence and doomed the international organization. The United States had on January 7, 1932, announced its Non-Recognition Doctrine (or Stimson Doctrine after Secretary of State Henry Stimson), stating that it would not recognize any situation created as a result of war in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Japanese militarists, encouraged by their success, would ignore both the league and the United States to pursue aggression.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR



MacArthur, Douglas (1880–1964) *U.S. general*

General Douglas MacArthur was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, on January 26, 1880, the son of Arthur MacArthur, a Civil War hero and military officer, and Mary Pinkney Hardy MacArthur. His early years were spent in military postings throughout the western part of the United States, but he eventually settled in Washington, D.C., following his father's move to the War Department. There he built a strong relationship with his grandfather, Arthur MacArthur, an influential judge who had access to important Washington contacts.

MacArthur's education was fairly transient and lackluster until his father enrolled him in the West Texas Military Academy, where he started to reveal talents that would take him to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1898. At West Point he established a considerable reputation, emerging as first in his class in 1903. After graduation his first service was in the Philippines, where he established a lifelong love for the country. Following the death of his father in 1912, he took up a valuable posting in the War Department, where he came to the attention of Army Chief of Staff General Leonard Wood. In 1915 MacArthur was promoted to major, and within the year he became the army's first public relations officer, a post that helped him sell preparations for war to the U.S. public in the form of the Selective Service Act of 1917.

WORLD WAR I established MacArthur's reputation as a striking leader of dash and courage. He was

appointed brigadier general in August 1918 and became the youngest divisional commander in France, leading the 42nd Division. He was awarded 13 decorations and was cited for bravery seven times. Following military demobilization, MacArthur maintained his rank and became the youngest superintendent in the history of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He modernized the curriculum and doubled the size of the academy. In 1922 he married Henrietta Louise Cromwell Brooks, a marriage that led to divorce in 1929.

In the interwar years from 1922 until 1930, MacArthur served two tours in the Philippines, where he built a strong friendship with Philippine leader MANUEL QUEZON and commanded the army's Philippine department from 1928 until 1930. He became chief of staff of the U.S. Army in 1930, when the GREAT DEPRESSION was in full swing. Army strength was severely affected by cutbacks, and political protests drew MacArthur, along with George Patton and Dwight D. Eisenhower, to the unsavory task of suppressing the BONUS ARMY of 1932. This campaign by World War I veterans was met by tanks and cavalry, and the action was in some quarters deemed an excessive use of force.

In 1935 MacArthur returned to the Philippines at the request of President Quezon to head the U.S. military mission and help prepare the Philippines for full independence in 1946. It was at this time that he also met and married Jean Marie Faircloth, who would make MacArthur a father at age 58. After retirement from the army in 1937, MacArthur remained in the Philippines as a military adviser. Yet when negotiations



General Douglas MacArthur was charged with the task of reclaiming the Philippines from the Japanese in World War II.

with the Japanese broke down in 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT recalled MacArthur to service with the rank of major general, and he was charged with the task of mobilizing the Philippine defenses. He built up his forces in Luzon and Mindanao and was confident in his ability to resist a Japanese attack, a fact that he reported to General George Marshall in Washington.

Immediately following PEARL HARBOR, the Japanese launched widespread attacks on the Philippines, where they quickly overcame MacArthur's defenses and destroyed his air force, much of it caught on the ground. Although previously encouraged to do so, MacArthur failed to attack the Japanese air bases in Taiwan; the Japanese invasion met little effective resistance. Luzon fell, as did Manila, and MacArthur retreated to the Bataan Peninsula and the fortress at Corregidor. In late February 1942 he was ordered to withdraw to Australia, leaving his surrounded army of 11,000 men under the command of General Jonath-

an Wainwright to face the Japanese. Their surrender would lead to the infamous Bataan Death March, which incensed all Americans and increased their desire for revenge. MacArthur's daring escape with his wife, son, and a small group of advisers was initially by patrol boat before connecting with an aircraft that got him to AUSTRALIA's Northern Territory by March 17. It was at Terowie, South Australia, that he made his now famous "I Shall Return" speech.

MacArthur now became supreme commander of the Allied forces in the southwest Pacific area, working with Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet, and Admiral Ernest King, commander in chief of the U.S. Navy. From offices in Brisbane, Australia, MacArthur developed an island-hopping strategy to counter the Japanese and stop their advance across the Pacific. By 1943, because of MacArthur's expert use of navy support and army and marine amphibious landings, as well as the benefits of major victories at Midway and at Guadalcanal, the tide turned. Importantly, New Guinea fell to the Allies in 1944, allowing MacArthur to plan the retaking of the Philippines. The destruction of the Japanese navy at Leyte was the largest naval battle in history and made the successful landings possible while ending all hope that the Japanese could counter. U.S. troops advanced across the Philippines and moved on to attack Luzon in January 1945. Manila was taken after brutal resistance by Japanese troops under the command of General Yamashita on March 4, 1945.

From headquarters now established in Manila, MacArthur planned the final attacks upon Japan, including a 1,300-ship invasion of Okinawa, which was but 350 miles from mainland Japan, on April 1, 1945. The struggle for Okinawa was extremely costly, resulting in 12,520 U.S. and 110,000 Japanese killed and the introduction of major kamikaze suicide raids on U.S. shipping. The heavy cost extracted from this invasion made an invasion of the Japanese main islands a daunting prospect. The atomic bomb strategy was introduced to quicken the end of the war and deliver Japan's unconditional surrender. On August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb was dropped on HIROSHIMA, which did not produce the desired capitulation. On August 9 a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. The Japanese accepted terms on August 10. Their surrender ended WORLD WAR II in the Pacific.

MacArthur received the formal surrender onboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945, and President HARRY S. TRUMAN appointed him head of the Allied occupation of Japan. Japan was a defeated and dev-

astated country, and MacArthur worked to salvage and reconstruct the country, including the creation of a democratic constitution that would ensure a peaceful Japan. MacArthur turned over authority in 1949 to a new Japanese government, which preserved the emperor but in a symbolic role. MacArthur remained in Japan until relieved by President Truman in April 1951.

The North Korean attack on South Korea in 1950 changed the course of Korean history, as it did MacArthur's own. MacArthur assumed command of a United Nations-sanctioned coalition of Allies authorized to drive out the North Koreans. He saved a desperate situation by organizing a brilliant rearguard amphibious landing at Inchon, which outflanked and destroyed much of the North Korean army, whose remnants hastily retreated back across the 38th parallel and then toward the Chinese border. The Chinese warned that they would become involved if their border was threatened. From his position of strength, MacArthur was dismissive of the Chinese threat until on October 25, 1950, the Chinese crossed the Yalu River and drove the Allies back. MacArthur wanted to now attack the Chinese with overwhelming force, including nuclear weapons, but President Truman feared this would involve the Soviet Union and create the framework for a new world war. MacArthur's relations with Truman broke down. By March 1951 the prewar boundary position along the 38th parallel was established. This development encouraged Truman to ask for a cease-fire and negotiations to end the conflict. While Truman tried to secure such talks, MacArthur continued to threaten the Chinese and undercut Truman's position as commander in chief. The president responded on April 11, 1951, by relieving MacArthur of his command.

Truman's decision, because of MacArthur's extreme popularity and influence, was not well received by many Americans, particularly those desiring a stronger cold war response to aggressive communist expansion. Upon his return to the United States, his first time on the mainland in 11 years, MacArthur was invited to address Congress. It was here that he gave a powerful performance, where he emotionally and famously ended his speech with the declaration, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away."

MacArthur's considerable popular acclaim led to the belief that he would be a 1952 Republican challenger for the presidency, or at least be the vice presidential candidate on a Robert Taft ticket. His political views and a Senate investigation of his dismissal helped cool some of this enthusiasm. The successful emergence of

General Dwight David Eisenhower as the Republican presidential candidate ended MacArthur's involvement in national politics.

After leaving the army, MacArthur lived in New York and became chairman of the board at the Remington Rand Corporation. He did offer military advice to presidents, if requested, and did so for John F. Kennedy, when his advice was critical of the Pentagon policies of the day. He also managed a return visit in 1961 to the Philippines, where he received further accolades, including the naming of the Pan-Philippine Highway as MacArthur Highway in his honor.

General Douglas MacArthur was one of the most highly decorated soldiers in U.S. history, holding numerous citations as well as the highest award, the Medal of Honor. He died at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington on April 5, 1964.

See also JAPANESE CONSTITUTION (1947).

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Macaulay, Herbert

(1864–1945) *Nigerian politician*

Herbert Macaulay was a Nigerian political leader, civil engineer, journalist, and musician. He was among the first Nigerians to oppose British rule in the African nation.

Macaulay's grandfather, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, was the first African bishop in Nigeria. Macaulay's father, Thomas Babington Macaulay, was also a minister and an educator. Herbert was born and educated in Lagos, one of the 12 states in present-day Nigeria. In 1881 he became a clerk for the public works department in Lagos. His abilities soon won him the respect of the government, and he was offered a scholarship to study civil engineering in England.

Returning from England three years later, Macaulay was named surveyor of the Crown lands for the

colony of Lagos. Soon, however, he became embittered by the racial inequities he saw in civil service. In 1898 Macaulay resigned his post and began his own surveying company.

Macaulay's dissatisfaction with colonial rule in Africa led him to express himself, contributing a number of articles to the Lagos *Daily Times*. Lagos and the entire Nigerian region were under the Lugard system called indirect rule. Britain established its power using extant administrative systems rather than imposing entirely new governmental institutions. Although the governments and officials were often Africans, they had no real power. British governors and primarily white legislatures made all the decisions. As a result, the leaders lost standing among their people, the people distrusted the British even more, and protests were common.

In an effort to compromise, the British marginally increased African representation. This action was partly the result of Macaulay's 1921 trip to London as a representative of the king of Lagos. Macaulay used the opportunity to denounce British rule for usurping the power of the king, or *eleko*, who Macaulay asserted was recognized by all Nigerians as their rightful ruler. In 1922 Lagos and Calabar were able to send African representatives to the legislature, but they remained in the minority. Macaulay then established the first Nigerian political party, which was able to win three seats in the legislative council in 1923.

The Nigerian National Democratic Party sought self-government for Lagos and all Nigeria, universal primary education, the building of schools, and more representation of Africans in government and civil service positions. Macaulay continued to work for these causes and in 1944 was instrumental in the formation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Macaulay was elected president of the NCNC. The council brought together more than 40 different factions that represented many geographical, cultural, age, and ethnic groups.

Although he is often called the father of Nigerian nationalism, Herbert Macaulay did not see Nigerian independence. He became ill in 1945 while on a speaking tour promoting the NCNC agenda. He returned to Lagos, where he died the same year. Nigeria was granted independence from Britain on October 1, 1960.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Madero, Francisco

(1873–1913) Mexican president

The president of Mexico from 1911 until 1913, Francisco Indalecio Madero González was a prominent revolutionary who was from one of the richest families in Mexico. He was born on October 30, 1873, at Parras de la Fuente, Coahuila, in northeastern Mexico. His grandfather Evaristo Madero (1828–1911), of Portuguese ancestry, had established massive plantations in the region, becoming fabulously rich and also donating large sums to fund schools and orphanages in the area.

Francisco Madero went to school in Baltimore, Maryland, and then studied in Paris, where he attended the École des Hautes Études Commerciales before studying agriculture at the University of California, Berkeley. Madero came to respect both systems of democracy and was intent on going into politics.

In 1904 Madero organized the Benito Juárez Democratic Club, with himself as the president, and they managed to get a candidate elected in the local municipal elections. In 1905 they decided to contest the next election for governor when the incumbent illegally stood for reelection and protests did not succeed in getting him ousted.

In 1908 the Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz announced that he would not stand for reelection. He later decided that he would stand, which was unconstitutional. In 1909 Madero wrote *The Presidential Succession of 1910*, in which he argued for free and fair elections and that rules to stop incumbents from standing for reelection should be enforced. This led to the formation of the Mexican Anti-Reelectionist Center, with Madero as cofounder. This movement rapidly gained support, and Madero's enemies decided to preempt the result by having him arrested. Madero was charged with stealing a *guayule* (a crop used in rubber cultivation). He evaded the police and managed to make it to the convention of the Anti-Reelectionists, where he was chosen as their candidate for the elections. On the eve of the election, Madero was arrested, as were 6,000 other Anti-Reelectionists. Porfirio Díaz was reelected with 196 votes in the electoral college.

As soon as the elections had ended, after being released on a large bail posted by his father, Madero started a campaign against the reelection of Porfirio Díaz. On October 4, 1910, Madero fled to Laredo, Texas. On November 20, 1910, he managed to persuade the people to take up arms and topple Díaz, who, Madero claimed, had subverted the constitution. Madero also declared that the elections were null and void. He was a better political speaker than a revolutionary leader, and the small force that he brought with him from the United States into Mexico was routed. His supporters, mainly drawn from the middle class and upper-class elite, were easily rounded up. This meant that Madero had to get help from many other people, some of whom had been traditional supporters of rebellion against the government, including the men who served FRANCISCO "PANCHO" VILLA. At one battle Madero held back from sending his men to attack government soldiers at the border town of Ciudad Juárez, and it was left to Pancho Villa and PASCUAL OROZCO to order an assault. At the subsequent Treaty of Ciudad Juárez, signed on May 17, the president's representatives agreed that he would stand down and so end the civil war.

Díaz stood down on May 25, 1911, and Francisco León de la Barra became interim president. In October 1911 a presidential election was held, with Madero standing as presidential candidate. His former vice-presidential running mate, Francisco Vázquez Gómez, did not like Madero's plans to stand down the revolutionary forces, and José María Pino Suárez became the new running mate. Madero easily won the elections, and on November 6, 1911, he became president.

As president, Madero introduced many reforms, including the freeing of all political prisoners and the abolition of the death penalty. He also lifted censorship of the press, although this did result in the various factions of his party managing to increase their hostility to each other. Madero allowed trade unions to organize railway workers, ending the system of giving preference to U.S. workers, and also, through a new department of labor, reduced the workday to a maximum of 10 hours and introduced regulations for the employment of women and children. His most far-reaching change in the political system was the ending of the *jefaturas políticas*, party bosses who had controlled various regions, towns, and provinces. They were replaced by nonpolitical municipal authorities who had the tasks of demobilizing the revolutionary soldiers, settling them back into the community, maintaining law and order, and overseeing local and national elections.

In October 1911 Félix Díaz, the nephew of Porfirio Díaz, staged a revolt to overthrow Madero. In November 1911 Madero became the subject of another rebellion when EMILIANO ZAPATA wanted a considerably more far-reaching agrarian reform program. In addition, some revolutionary soldiers felt that Madero had let them down and had not done enough for his former supporters. The economy began to stumble, and foreign companies and powerful Mexican business interests began to move against Madero. General Bernardo Reyes staged a third rebellion in December 1911, and Pascual Orozco led a rebellion in January 1912.

Finally, Madero was overthrown in February 1913 when troops led by General VICTORIANO HUERTA fought in the streets for 10 days. Madero was telephoned with the news that his opponents had seized the National Palace and had deposed him, believed to be the first time that a head of state was telephoned to be told of his overthrow. Madero resigned on February 18, 1913, and was executed four days later. He was only 39.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Magenot line

There was never unanimous consensus among military men about the lessons of WORLD WAR I. When the adversaries of 1914–18 fought again in 1940, the Germans interpreted their experience as one that taught the need for a rapid and forceful offense. Interpreting that same conflict quite differently, France planned to fight almost purely defensively in the first stages. It would then attack the Germans, who they believed would have worn themselves out assaulting the centerpiece of French strategy, the Maginot line.

Planned in the 1920s and essentially completed by 1935, the Maginot line (named after a French minister of war) was a network of fortifications on the border between Germany, Luxembourg, and Italy. The line was designed and built to serve several purposes. First, the Maginot line would protect French industry in the Alsace-Lorraine region. Second, a strong defensive line would help the French make the

most of their available forces while mobilizing their remaining reserves. Finally, it was envisioned that the Germans would go directly for the line, allowing the French to hold them off and inflict heavy casualties. The relatively fresh French would then launch an assault of their own and defeat the Germans on their own territory.

The Maginot line was not an uninterrupted line like the trench system of World War I. Instead, it was a network of steel and concrete fortifications facing the Germans to the east and the Italians to the southeast. Each fort (commonly designated as an *ouvrage*, or work) was an independent structure; in all there were over 100 of these with additional minor fortifications. Using guns in a variety of calibers, each fort was within the range of another so they not only could fire on assaulting troops but could also cover other forts in the immediate area. To add further support, there were permanent garrisons of “interval troops,” infantry units that would provide support in the areas between forts.

The forts were among the most advanced technical structures of the day. Each had large storage areas for ammunition, facilities for food supplies, command centers, fire control centers, miles of tunnels, small railroads, air-conditioning, electrical power plants, and water supplies. In addition, the guns were mounted in turrets that used a series of complex, highly advanced mechanical devices to change elevation or direction.

The line was strong, it reflected state-of-the-art technologies for the 1930s, and it even made a high degree of military sense. There were, however, drawbacks. Perhaps the most significant of these was that the line did not go all the way to the North Sea. France did not extend the line for several reasons: the expense, the unsuitability of the terrain, and the appearance that France was abandoning Belgium. In fact, the French believed that while the Maginot line was holding, the newly mobilized French forces would join with the Belgians to contain the German advance. Together, probably with British assistance, they would then advance through Belgium and eventually invade Germany. At the same time, the French made an assumption that the very northern end of the Maginot line, which stopped near the Ardennes, would be safe, as the Germans would never launch a major offensive through the rough terrain there.

Although war was declared in September 1939, there was no significant action by either side on the western front until May 1940. This period, known as the phony war, allowed the British and the French to mobilize and bring their troops to hold positions

without interference by the Germans. On the morning of May 10, over 100 German divisions attacked the French, British, Belgians, and Dutch. The main German attack went through the Ardennes forests and mountains in Luxembourg, south of Liege, exactly where the French had assumed it would never take place.

Thus, the German tanks and motorized forces went around the extreme left flank of the Maginot line and straight into France. They bypassed the line and did not attack it directly until after the British evacuation from Dunkirk and the surrender of the French government. The Maginot line forts surrendered only when their mobile interval troops had retreated and they were completely surrounded.

The Germans occupied the Maginot forts but did not maintain them. They used them only briefly when the United States attacked some nearby French cities in 1944 and 1945. After the war the French army reoccupied them and used them. In the years of the cold war, they provided headquarters and communications centers that would have provided significant protection in the case of a nuclear war.

In the years between the world wars, the French were not alone in seeing the usefulness of fortifications. Although they would rely upon a highly mobile and powerful offensive, the Germans maintained two lines, one facing Poland (the East Wall) and one facing France (the West Wall, better known as the Siegfried line, which would be used in 1944 against the United States). In addition, Czechoslovakia constructed a line of defenses built with French assistance. Finally, Switzerland had built a complex of fortifications. Although not as extensive as the Maginot or German lines, it was well placed, using the mountainous terrain and command of the few lines of communications through the passes.

The Maginot line has become a symbol. On one level it represents a defense that deluded its builders into thinking they need not do anything else but rely upon what seemed to be an impenetrable defense. It has also become a symbol or a shorthand expression for all of the reasons for France’s defeat in 1940.

The irony is that had it been used properly, that is, supplemented with an acute understanding of what the enemy might do and not what the French wanted them to do, it might have been a symbol of victory. As designed, the Maginot line worked. It was the rest of France’s strategy that failed.

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ROBERT N. STACY

Manchurian incident and Manchukuo

The Manchurian, or Mukden, incident occurred on September 18, 1931. It was a Japanese attack against China and resulted in the establishment of a Japanese puppet state, Manchukuo. This incident was, in fact, the opening of Japan's quest to conquer China that culminated in WORLD WAR II in Asia.

Japan had sought to control China's northeastern provinces (Manchuria) since the SINO-JAPANESE WAR of 1894–95. As a result of its victory in that war, Japan had established a sphere of influence in southern Manchuria. It had built the Southern Manchurian Railway (SMR), which linked Mukden (or Shenyang), the administrative capital of the region, with Port Arthur, a port leased to Japan at the southern tip of the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula in Manchuria. Capitalizing on China's weakness during the dying years of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty and the early republic, Japan had obtained extensive additional mining and other rights throughout southern Manchuria.

After 1912 this resource-rich region, which is larger than Germany and France combined, had been ruled by a Chinese bandit turned warlord named Zhang Zholin (Chang Tso-lin) and his allies, who survived by complying with Japan's demands. In 1928 Zhang Zholin, known as the Old Marshal, was assassinated by Japanese officers of the KWANTUNG ARMY stationed in Manchuria, who hoped to seize the provinces in the ensuing chaos. However, astute actions of Zhang's supporters ensured a smooth transition of power to his son Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), known as the Young Marshal. The Young Marshal sponsored Chinese immigration to his sparsely populated land (approximately 30 million inhabitants in 1930) and undertook economic development projects. He also threw in his lot with the newly established Nationalist government at Nanjing (Nanking) led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK. In 1930

Zhang led about 200,000 of his best troops to help Chiang defeat rebel warlords and remained in Beijing (Peking) to ensure stability in northern China.

Meanwhile, economic depression had discredited the civilian governments in Japan and swayed many people toward support for the growing rightist, ultranationalist movement centered among ambitious junior military officers. They formed the Society of the Cherry, the BLACK DRAGON Society, the National Foundation Society, and others that advocated war and expansion as an answer to Japan's problems and saw conquest of Manchuria as the first step toward eventual control of all China and other Asian lands. These Japanese imperialists feared growing Chinese nationalism and the emergence of a strong and unified China and moved to prevent it.

On September 18, 1931, field grade officers of the Kwantung Army staged a minor bombing incident along the railway track of the SMR line just outside Mukden. In a well-coordinated and well-planned act, the Kwantung Army simultaneously attacked over a dozen cities in Manchuria. Other units from Japan's colony Korea soon joined the action. Too weak to resist militarily, China appealed to the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and the United States under the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Emergency sessions of the league repeatedly demanded that both sides cease military action. Both the Chinese and Japanese governments signaled compliance, but the Kwantung Army ignored orders and continued its conquest, to popular acclaim in Japan, forcing the cabinet to fall in December 1931. Japan then set up a puppet government in Manchuria, calling it Manchukuo, meaning "country of the Manchu," and enticed the last Qing emperor, Pu-i (P'u-yi), to become its chief executive and emperor in 1934.

The league dispatched an investigative mission under British diplomat Lord Lytton to Manchuria. Its report, submitted to the league in September 1932, refuted Japanese claims that its actions in Manchuria were motivated by self-defense, branded Manchukuo a puppet state that was completely controlled by Japanese military and civilian leaders, and recommended its restoration to China. The report was endorsed by the league assembly, with one dissenting vote: Japan's. Japan then resigned from the league, signaling its failure as an effective international body. In 1933 Japanese forces added another Chinese province, Rehe (Jehol), which adjoined Manchuria, to its puppet state. The United States refused to recognize Manchukuo but took no other action.

Japan's government developed Manchuria with a network of modern industries designed to furnish raw

materials and finished products to the Japanese economy. They included coal mining, iron and steel works, and manufacturing. Roads and railways were also expanded to improve the infrastructure and facilitate the transport of goods and products to Japan. Japanese immigration was encouraged, and Japanese were granted privileged status, while the Chinese were strictly and brutally controlled. Manchuria became an arsenal and a granary for Japan. War with the United States after 1941 resulted in a reduction of the flow of equipment and financing from Japan to Manchuria, causing factory production in the area gradually to grind to a halt. In defeat the Japanese overlords abandoned Pu-i and other Chinese puppets. Soviet troops poured into Manchuria as World War II ended, stripped equipment and facilities worth over 1 billion 1945 U.S. dollars, and shipped them to the Soviet Union. Japanese arms captured by the Red Army in Manchuria were later transferred to the Chinese Communist army.

See also LYTTON COMMISSION AND REPORT; YALTA CONFERENCE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Manhattan Project

The Manhattan Project was a secret U.S. weapons program that applied nuclear technology to create the first atomic bombs. Although other nations, including Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan, had modest nuclear research programs during WORLD WAR II, only the United States had the scientific talent, industrial capability, and financial resources to successfully create, test, and eventually use the world's most powerful weapon of the time.

In December 1938 German scientists Otto Hahn, Fritz Strassmann, and Lise Meitner discovered that bombarding an atom of radioactive uranium with neutrons caused its nucleus to split, thereby releasing an enormous burst of energy. This process would come to be called nuclear fission.

The development opened up the possibility for further research into harnessing this energy to be new sources of power as well as the possibility of new, more destructive types of weapons. In the 1930s the scientific community involved in nuclear research was international in character and included contributions from both Europe and North America. By 1939 political tensions in Europe caused many scientists to congregate in the United States and Britain, including many émigrés from Germany and Italy.

Work on using nuclear fission for military applications began in Germany on April 29, 1939, when the Reich Ministry of Education convened a secret conference and created a new research program. Germany also banned the export of uranium, an essential and rare element needed for this research.

In 1939 Leo Szilard, a Hungarian émigré physicist, understood the military potential of nuclear fission and the danger if Germany harnessed this power. Szilard went to the United States to enlist the help of ALBERT EINSTEIN, at that time the most famous scientist in the world. In August 1939 Einstein wrote a letter to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT warning that a weapon based on nuclear fission was possible and that Germany could be in the process of constructing such a weapon. Einstein further urged the president to begin a project to develop an atomic bomb. Roosevelt responded by creating a committee to study the military implications of nuclear physics.

In December 1941, after the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, the United States went to war with Germany, Japan, and Italy. During the war the fundamental military strategy of the United States was to achieve complete victory at the lowest cost to U.S. lives. U.S. officials believed that an atomic bomb could shorten the war and reduce the number of U.S. casualties.

By early 1942 British scientists concluded that a uranium weapon was feasible. Based on these reports the secret weapons program was put under the auspices of the U.S. War Department and was code-named the Manhattan Engineer District, more commonly known as the Manhattan Project, because it originally was to be headquartered in New York City. In September 1942 army general Leslie Groves was named director. Groves soon appointed J. Robert Oppenheimer, a theoretical physicist from the University of California at Berkeley, scientific director.

The project soon encompassed a crew of over 100,000 people, involving 37 installations in 13 states, and more than a dozen university laboratories. Secrecy

was considered to be of the utmost importance. In fact, many of the scientists and engineers were given only information that immediately affected their work, and they therefore were unaware of the larger implications of their research.

On December 2, 1942, a team led by Enrico Fermi, a Nobel Prize-winning physicist émigré from Italy, created the first controlled, self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction at the University of Chicago. This proved that an atomic bomb many times more powerful than conventional weapons was possible.

The project focused on two main tasks. The first was the design of the bomb. Most of this work was done at the Los Alamos weapons lab in New Mexico under the direct supervision of Oppenheimer, who supervised the actual design and construction of the bomb. The other task, the production of nuclear fuel, was undertaken at a site in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, that focused on isolating uranium isotopes.

Although the Manhattan Project had originally been conceived to combat a potential German nuclear weapon, work on the bomb would continue after Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945. U.S. officials were determined to use the bomb against Japan in order to end the war at the earliest possible moment with the fewest casualties.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson told President HARRY S. TRUMAN that the bomb could create problems for the United States because it could not maintain a monopoly on the technology. Stimson requested that Truman convene a special committee to consider the implications of the new weapon.

Truman agreed, and the Interim Committee, made up of high-level advisers, held five meetings between May 9 and June 1, 1945. The committee debated the most effective use of the bomb in order to expedite a Japanese surrender. The committee determined that the weapon should be employed without prior warning, which would increase its psychological impact. The committee suggested that the purpose of the bomb should be to impede the Japanese capacity to wage war and to shock the Japanese with the overwhelming destructive power of the bomb.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The committee also debated the effects of the bomb on postwar international relations. Although the Soviet Union remained aligned with the United States and Great Britain, tensions between the Allies continued to grow, especially over Soviet control of Eastern Europe. The committee fully realized that the bomb could

increase the already tense relationship with the Soviet Union.

The committee discussed two ways of handling the issue. The first would be to offer general information to the Soviets about the bomb in order to increase cooperation between the two allies. The other approach would be to use the bomb to gain diplomatic advantages in U.S. dealings with the Soviets, at least for the short term. The committee was opposed to even providing general information on the bomb to the Soviets and determined that the United States should work to ensure that it stayed ahead of the Soviet Union in the research and production of nuclear weapons.

Truman accepted the committee's findings. For several months Truman had delayed a conference with JOSEPH STALIN and WINSTON CHURCHILL until after a successful test of the plutonium bomb, planned for July, believing that a successful test would improve his bargaining position. On July 16, 1945, the United States successfully exploded the first nuclear bomb in a test code-named Trinity at Alamogordo, New Mexico. The force of the bomb equaled 18,600 tons of TNT, approximately 2,000 times more powerful than the British "Grand Slam," the largest conventional bomb used in World War II.

ULTIMATUM

At the end of the conference the Allies presented an ultimatum to Japan in what is known as the Potsdam Declaration. The declaration called on Japan to unconditionally surrender to the Allies or face "prompt and utter destruction." The United States elected not to specifically refer to the atomic bomb by name.

After Japan refused to surrender, Truman made the decision to drop atomic bombs on the Japanese home islands. The Manhattan Project instituted Project Alberta, which involved the wartime delivery of the completed bomb. Research groups were sent to Tinian, an island in the Pacific, which was the base from which the planes carrying the atomic weapons would ultimately depart.

On August 6 at 8:15 A.M., the *Enola Gay*, piloted by Brigadier General Paul W. Tibbets, released a 15-kiloton uranium bomb nicknamed Little Boy 31,060 feet over the city of HIROSHIMA, Japan; 43 seconds later the bomb exploded 1,900 feet above the city. Witnesses reported seeing a searing flash of light, hearing a deafening roar, and feeling a massive rush of air. The 4.4 square miles surrounding the point of detonation were completely destroyed. Estimates suggest that over

60,000 people died immediately, while possibly 70,000 more were to die over the next few years, many from acute exposure to radiation.

Three days later, on August 9, *Bock's Car*, piloted by Major Charles Sweeny, dropped a 21-kiloton bomb nicknamed Fat Man on Nagasaki. Originally, the mission had been to bomb the Japanese city of Kokura, but the crew was unable to do so because of a heavy haze. Instead, the plane went to its secondary target. Estimates suggest that 38,000 were killed immediately, with an estimated 35,000 additional fatalities as a result of injuries sustained during the bombing.

In the aftermath of the bombings and the Soviet invasion of the Japanese colony of Manchuria, Emperor HIROHITO broke a deadlock in the Supreme Council to accept the Potsdam Declaration as the basis for the Japanese surrender. The sole Japanese condition was that the emperor be allowed to retain his throne as titular ruler of the people. The Japanese government accepted the terms of surrender on August 15 and formally surrendered to General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR in Tokyo Bay aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* on September 2.

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MICHAEL A. RIDGE, JR.

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)

(1893–1976) *Chinese Communist leader*

Mao Zedong was the son of a prosperous farmer from the Hunan Province in central China. After graduating from normal school he worked as a library assistant at National Beijing (Peking) University, where he came under the influence of intellectuals disillusioned with Western democracies and turned to Marxism, hailing the success of the communist revolution in Russia.



A Chinese soldier guards in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, in front of a portrait of Mao. Mao held unlimited power in post-1949 China.

Mao joined a Marxist study club organized by faculty leaders of Beijing University Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tushiu) and Li Dazhao (Li Ta-chao). In July 1921 he was one of 12 men who formed the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) in Shanghai; Chen was elected general secretary of the party.

In January 1923 the father of the Chinese republic, SUN YAT-SEN, formed a (First) UNITED FRONT with Soviet representative Adolf Joffe under which the Soviet Union gave advice and aid to Sun's Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) in return for admission of members of the CCP to the KMT. As a result, Mao was elected a reserve member of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT and made head of the farmers' organization in the United Front government in Canton. Mao participated in the NORTHERN EXPEDITION led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK against the warlords and helped rouse the peasants in Hunan

against the warlord regime and economic inequities. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek purged the CCP from areas under his control. Mao escaped to the hills of Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province in central China.

Between 1927 and 1933 Mao and other Communists who fled the Nationalist dragnet established a Chinese Soviet Republic in the hills of Jiangxi, where they implemented violent land reforms while their Red Army, under commander ZHU DE (Chu Teh), fought off KMT armies sent against them. However, decisive defeats by an army personally led by Chiang forced the battered CCP to flee in the LONG MARCH, which lasted a year (1934–35). Mao consolidated his power in a conference at Zungyi (Tsongyi) during the flight and maintained it throughout the subsequent Yanan (Yenan) period of the CCP. Although Yanan's location in remote northwestern China bought the CCP time, the outbreak of the SINO-JAPANESE WAR ensured its survival because it forced the KMT to call off its anti-Communist campaign and form a Second United Front. The CCP grew explosively during the eight-year war (1937–45). Mao wrote extensively during the war and mapped out strategies for future victory against the KMT.

Civil war broke out almost immediately after the defeat of Japan. After the United States failed to mediate a cease-fire, it withdrew support from the KMT government. A combination of many factors led to the KMT's defeat in 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which Mao led as chairman of both the CCP and the government. China became allied with the Soviet Union, received Soviet aid, and followed its model of land collectivization and industrialization. Impatient to surpass the Soviet Union, Mao inaugurated in 1958 the Great Leap Forward, which dragooned the people into communes and wrecked the economy with wildly unrealistic programs. As a result, about 30 million people died in a Mao-made famine, the greatest in human history. Mao's pragmatic colleagues then forced him to give up his chairmanship of the government in 1959 and began repairing the catastrophically broken economy.

Mao fumed in impotence between 1959 and 1966, then formed a coalition with his wife, Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing), young students, and army leader Lin Biao (Lin Piao) and launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. The student Red Guards ousted the pragmatists, wreaked havoc throughout the land, and returned Mao to power in a cult of personality that rivaled Soviet leader JOSEPH

STALIN's. China did not begin recovery from the disastrous Cultural Revolution until the increasingly sick and senile Mao died in 1976.

See also ANTI-COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT CAMPAIGNS, CHINA (1930–1934); MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT/INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

March on Rome

The October 1922 March on Rome entered into the mythology of BENITO MUSSOLINI's National Fascist Party as the moment when the Fascists conclusively demonstrated their power over the Italian government and people. In fact, they had already displayed their collective ability to destroy law and order, to undermine parliamentary rule, and to attract the support of Italians fearful either of falling out of the lower middle class or of losing their extensive property holdings pending a socialist revolution. Thus, the march symbolized the transfer of power and authority that had already occurred when the king had refused to proclaim martial law against the Fascists and had then invited Mussolini to become prime minister.

Immediately after WORLD WAR I, Italians received universal suffrage. Electoral politics acquired a new tone as peasants and workers began to vote. The failure of the Popular Party and the Italian Socialists (PSI) to cooperate in the chamber of deputies, despite their shared concern for Italy's poor and working class, created an opportunity for Mussolini and fatally weakened parliamentary democracy in the country.

In the elections of 1920, the PSI had acquired control over Milan, Bologna, 25 provincial councils, and 2,200 district councils. These victories dislodged and irritated traditional elites. Some smaller landed proprietors also sympathized with the Fascist efforts to eviscerate the PSI, as many had managed to secure land only in recent years and feared that they would have it taken away. Given the notable labor strife and class conflict in urban, industrialized areas, Mussolini attracted the support of major industrialists, including Alberto Pirelli and Giovanni Agnelli (Fiat).

Meanwhile, nationalists continued to harbor bitter feelings about the government that had accepted the Treaty of Versailles, which had awarded Italy almost none of the territory that it had expected to gain upon allying with the Triple Entente during World War I. They wanted to erase memories of the snubs suffered by Italy at the hands of her erstwhile war partners. A large number of veterans and lower-ranking soldiers undertook paramilitary activities on behalf of the Fascists as well as appearing in Fascist rallies.

By late 1920 the Fascists had control over life in much of northern Italy. Local Fascist leaders such as Italo Balbo used intimidation to wrest control of cities and towns from elected socialist governments. By mid-1921 the Fascist militias were often assistants to the official police forces. Conservatives and government officials generally ignored the Fascist contributions to public violence; indeed, many appreciated the militancy and virility of the Fascists as crucial to the restoration of Italian national honor.

Mussolini adeptly shifted his rhetoric and program in the interests of retaining his new group of supporters. He virtually eliminated references to class conflict and social revolution, replacing them with evocations of the need for discipline and strong leadership in Italy. The queen mother and the duke of Aosta avidly supported the Fascist movement. He also placated the Roman Catholic Church by avoiding anticlerical rhetoric and by cultivating good relations with the new pope, Pius XI (elected in 1922), who worried about communism far more than any possible threat from the Fascists.

Having amassed such support among propertied and influential Italians, Mussolini could contemplate seizing power. This proved unnecessary, however, since the existing government had already lost control over the country. While heading to Naples for the Fascist Party Congress in late October 1922, Mussolini threatened that the Fascists would seize power following a mass march to Rome if they did not receive at least five ministerial posts. Prime Minister Facta asked the king

to declare martial law in order to prevent such a march, but the king refused. Instead, he suggested a coalition government. Mussolini rejected the proposal, anticipating a complete victory if he was patient. This expectation was fulfilled on October 29, 1922, when King Victor Emmanuel asked him to form a government.

The March on Rome of approximately 30,000 Fascists thus served little practical purpose except as a celebration of having achieved power. Mussolini himself reached the outskirts of Rome by rail. Wearing a suit and walking into Rome at the head of his ill-clad band of Fascists, Mussolini looked every inch the bourgeois politician on whom the traditional elites of Italy could rely.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Marco Polo Bridge incident

See SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

Mariátegui, José Carlos

(1894–1930) *Peruvian journalist and political activist*

José Carlos Mariátegui was the founder of the Socialist Party of Peru, which was later transformed into the Communist Party of Peru. He was also one of the more influential social theorists in Latin America. José Carlos Mariátegui was born on June 14, 1894, at Moquegua, a dry, dusty town on the outskirts of the Atacama Desert, close to Peru's southern border with Chile. It was 11 years after Peru's disastrous war with its southern neighbor.

His father was Francisco Javier Mariátegui Requejo, a grandson of Francisco Javier Mariátegui (1793–1884), one of the original signatories of Peru's declaration of independence in 1821. When José Carlos Mariátegui was a young boy, his father abandoned the family and left his mother, María Amalia La Chira Ballejos, to look after the three children. They moved to Lima and then to the town of Huacho, north of Lima, close to where San Martín had proclaimed Peru's independence. When he was eight José Mariátegui suffered a bad injury to

his left leg and spent four years in a hospital in Lima. When he was 14 he started working for the newspaper *La Prensa*, initially running errands, then becoming a linotypist, and ending up as a journalist. He also found work with the magazine *Mundo Limeno*. In 1916 Mariátegui decided to leave *La Prensa* to join a new slightly left-wing daily newspaper called *El Tiempo*. By this time he had been heavily influenced by the Spanish socialist Luis Araquistán. After two years Mariátegui had sufficient confidence to leave *El Tiempo* and try to establish his own magazine but had trouble getting anybody to agree to print it. He then decided to establish his own paper, *La Razón*, which was the first avowedly socialist paper in Peru.

In May 1919 *La Razón* supported a strike held to try to get legislation restricting work to an eight-hour day. It also wanted price controls for basic goods. This rapidly began to annoy the president, Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo, who decided to defuse the matter by forcing Mariátegui to take a government scholarship to study in Europe. As a result, Mariátegui left to go to Europe in 1920. After a brief time in France, Germany, and Austria, he moved to Italy and there married Ana Chaippe, returning to Peru in 1923.

Very soon Mariátegui was becoming well known as a Marxist and also a friend of VÍCTOR RAÚL HAYA DE LA TORRE, who led the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance. Together they worked on *Claridad*, a Marxist magazine, and when Haya de la Torre was deported Mariátegui remained as editor, dedicating its fifth issue, in March 1924, to Lenin. Personal tragedy was to strike soon afterward when he had to have his left leg amputated. However, he struggled on and in the following year, 1925, wrote *La escena contemporánea* (The contemporary scene), a collection of essays on the problems facing the world at the time. In the next year he was running the magazine *Amauta*, which projected his ideas of socialism and Latin American culture throughout South and Central America. He was arrested in 1927 and placed under house arrest by Leguía.

Initially, Mariátegui planned to move to Buenos Aires or Montevideo but in the end he decided to stay in Lima, where he established the Socialist Party of Peru in October 1928, with himself as general secretary. This political party later became the Communist Party of Peru. As he was formalizing his ideas, also in 1928, Mariátegui wrote *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, which covered the social history of Peru from a Marxist standpoint. In 1928 and 1929 Mariátegui founded and edited the journal *Labor*, about the labor movement in Peru.

Mariátegui helped in the founding of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers in 1929, and this body was represented at the subsequent Constituent Congress of the Latin American Trade Union Conference, which was held at Montevideo. Mariátegui died on April 16, 1930, from complications that resulted from his injury to his leg. He was 35 years old.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Marshall in China (1945–1947)

George Marshall (1880–1959) was one of the architects of the Allied WORLD WAR II victory in Europe. In an attempt to prevent civil war in China after victory over Japan, U.S. president HARRY S. TRUMAN appointed Marshall special ambassador to China in November 1945. He was charged with helping the Nationalist, or Kuomintang (KMT), government reestablish its authority in areas that had been controlled by Japan during the war, including Manchuria, but without involving the United States in direct military intervention. He was also to urge Nationalist leader CHIANG KAI-SHEK to convene a national conference to establish a united democratic government, making U.S. aid to his government contingent on achieving that goal.

Marshall arrived in China's wartime capital, Chongqing (Chungking), in December 1945 and obtained agreement by both the KMT and the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) to appoint a representative each to a committee under his chairmanship that would work out the terms of cooperation. On January 10, 1946, both sides agreed to commence an immediate cease-fire, to convene a Political Consultative Conference that would work on the terms for forming a coalition government, and to work toward the integration of KMT and CCP military units into a national army. Happy with his success, Marshall returned to the United States in March, and President Truman announced the establishment of a U.S. military mission to China to help it train a national army.

Because of a history of bitter relations, the KMT and the CCP mistrusted each other, nor did either party trust Marshall, but they paid him lip service because he

represented the powerful United States. Civil war resumed in April 1946 and initially went well for the Nationalists, who announced the convening of a national assembly in November 1946 to write a constitution for the nation. The CCP immediately announced that it would boycott the national assembly. Realizing that the United States had totally failed to mediate an end to the CHINESE CIVIL WAR, Truman recalled Marshall in January 1947 and stopped most aid to China. Marshall issued a farewell message before leaving China in which he blamed both Chinese parties for the failure of his mediation. On the other hand, each Chinese party accused Marshall of partiality toward the other. The Nationalist government felt abandoned by the United States. Marshall was appointed secretary of state upon his return. He ignored the report of a fact-finding mission led by General Albert Wedemeyer concerning a continued U.S. role in China and decided on a hands-off policy in Chinese affairs. The CCP won the civil war in 1949.

See also MAO ZEDONG.

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JIU-HWA LO UPISHUR

Martí, Agustín Farabundo

(1893–1932) *El Salvadoran revolutionary leader*

Martí was born on May 5, 1893, in Teotepeque, El Salvador, a small town in the region of La Libertad. He was the sixth of 14 children born to wealthy landholding parents. His family estate consisted of two haciendas and five square miles of land. He was educated at the academy of the Silesian Fathers, excelling in both studies and sports. He graduated around 1913 and entered the National University. However, he immediately got into trouble over differences of philosophy with his professors and even challenged one of them to a duel.

Martí was exiled from the country more than once because of his radical beliefs. Some sources have Martí

taking part in the Mexican Revolution as a member of the “Red Guards,” but this seems to be part of the myth surrounding him. He most likely lived in Honduras and Guatemala. In 1925 he became a charter member of the organization that began communist activity in Guatemala. However, the organization’s president did not want foreign leftists, so Martí was forced out.

In 1927 the government of El Salvador began to persecute Martí. While imprisoned he went on a hunger strike, and many university students rallied around him. Because of this pressure, he was released, and he went to New York in 1928. He was picked up in a police raid and decided to return to El Salvador. He returned via Nicaragua and came into contact with SANDINO’s anti-American campaign. During the year he was associated with Sandino and his movement, Martí tried to convert him, unsuccessfully, to communism.

After leaving the Sandino forces, Martí went to Mexico City to visit his mother. At one point he was arrested and jailed for allegedly taking part in the coup of Daniel Flores. In 1930 Martí was in Guatemala and then returned to El Salvador in May. He was arrested and put on an enforced ocean voyage. He returned in February 1931, determined to stir up trouble. Conditions were horrible in El Salvador, and Martí took advantage to lead uprisings. He led a march on the president’s house and was arrested on April 9.

After being released from jail in 1931, Martí continued his activities. He was arrested again in 1932 during an attempted major uprising. Many bombs had been found throughout the capital city, and Martí said there were many more. Because of this he was tried, found guilty, and executed by firing squad on February 1, 1932. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front was named after him.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue

(1850–1937) *Czechoslovakian president*

Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (Thomas Masaryk in English) was a leading campaigner for Czech independence from

Austria-Hungary both prior to and during WORLD WAR I and the first president of Czechoslovakia in 1918.

Masaryk was born in Moravia on March 7, 1850, the son of a Slovak coachman. Educated to become a teacher, Masaryk worked as a locksmith for a short time. He subsequently entered the German College at Brünn/Brno (Moravia) in 1865 and continued his studies at the University of Vienna, where he obtained a doctorate in philosophy in 1876. When studying in Leipzig for a year, he met an American student, Charlotte Garrigue, whom he married in 1878 and from whom he took his middle name. The following year Masaryk was appointed lecturer in philosophy at Vienna University. In 1882 he became a professor of philosophy at the Czech University of Prague.

Early in the same year the Austrian government had been forced to divide the former common university into a German and a Czech section, thereby offering career opportunities for Czech scholars like Masaryk.

As a philosopher, Masaryk was strongly influenced by neo-Kantianism, the British Puritan ethics, and the teachings of the Czech Hussites. Simultaneously, Masaryk showed a lifelong critical interest in the frictions of modern capitalism. His first major works were devoted to suicide in modern civilization as well as to the Czech Reformation and the Czech national revival of the first half of the 19th century.

Masaryk founded two scientific periodicals, one of which he transformed into a political review in 1889. This was the beginning of his political career. In this early phase his attention was devoted to the Slovaks in the Kingdom of Hungary. By criticizing the outdated policy of many Slovak politicians, he became the idol of the younger progressives in Slovakia. Deeply impressed by contemporary ideas of full democracy, Masaryk became increasingly estranged from the conservative and Catholic concept of the so-called Old Czech Party. He distanced himself from this party's deep loyalty toward the Habsburg monarchy and sided with the liberal Young Czech Party.

As a member of the Austrian parliament, the Reichsrat, Masaryk represented first the radical Young Czechs, but he soon disagreed with their emotional nationalism and resigned his seat in 1893, only two years after his election. In the spring of 1900, he founded his own moderate Realist Party. Both parties, however, were determined to achieve the creation of an independent Czech state. After his reelection to the Reichsrat, Masaryk became the outstanding figure of the Slav opposition to the government of Emperor Franz

Josef. Masaryk, as a parliamentarian, made himself a name as a sharp opponent of Austria-Hungary's alliance with imperial Germany. He defended the rights of the Croats and Serbs, who had come under heavy pressure after Austria-Hungary had formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908.

With the outbreak of WORLD WAR I in August 1914, Masaryk fled to Geneva, Switzerland, in December 1914 and then onward to London the following March. In western Europe Masaryk was recognized as the spokesman and representative of what he called the underground Czech liberation movement. He worked tirelessly to encourage and then commit Allied support for the creation of a Czech state following the war. While staying in London, he cofounded the Czechoslovak National Council, located in Paris. Masaryk's private and scientific acquaintances in France and Great Britain helped him to get in contact with leading Allied politicians. With their assistance Masaryk was able to propagate the Czech war aims: the restitution of Bohemia's historical independence, which the Habsburgs had curtailed after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); the establishment of a union between the Czechs and the Slovaks; and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in favor of new states to be created according to ethnic principles.

Throughout the war Masaryk worked closely with fellow Czech independence campaigner Eduard Beneš. The latter attended to political negotiations among the Allies, while Masaryk functioned in a more ambassadorial capacity. After the breakdown of the czarist monarchy in Russia in the spring of 1917, Masaryk transferred his headquarters to Russia. Shortly after the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION Masaryk set out for the United States.

Czech and Slovak groups of emigrants there welcomed him as the recognized negotiator of Czechoslovak future independence. Negotiations with President WOODROW WILSON and his secretary of state, Robert Lansing, were successful, resulting in the Lansing Declaration of May 1918. This declaration expressed the sympathy of the Wilson government with the Czechoslovak freedom movement and supported the formation of an independent Czech state after the conclusion of the war.

ALLIED POWER

On June 3, 1918, the Allied governments recognized the Czechoslovak state as an Allied power. The frontiers of this future state were demarcated according to Masaryk's proposals. Masaryk concluded the so-called

Pittsburgh Convention with the Slovak associations existing in the United States. This agreement promised the Slovaks a large measure of home rule and played a decisive role in the Czech-Slovak union in 1918–19.

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in late October 1918 led to a firm commitment from the Allied governments to the immediate creation of a new state, Czechoslovakia, in mid-November. Masaryk was elected the new country's first president on November 14, 1918. He was reelected in 1920, 1927, and 1934. During the war Masaryk had promised that the new state would respect the minority rights of its numerous Hungarian and German ethnic groups.

Masaryk was one of the first leading European politicians to publicly express his anxiety over the future of Europe after ADOLF HITLER came to power in Germany in January 1933. Aged 85, Masaryk resigned his post as president of the republic in December 1935 and died nearly two years later, on September 14, 1937. He was succeeded by Beneš. Masaryk's son Jan served as foreign minister in the Czechoslovak government in exile (1940–1945) and in the governments of 1945 to 1948.

Although deeply involved in political fighting during the last 45 years of his life, Masaryk also wrote two monumental books before World War I. In a study on Marxism published in 1898, he dealt with the contradictions of both socialism and capitalism. In a book titled *Russia and Europe* he provided a survey of Russia's crises with respect to social, intellectual, and religious problems. Masaryk opposed racial prejudice, as shown by his publicly defending a Jew falsely accused of ritual murder. During the 1930s Masaryk's Czechoslovakia was one of the few European countries that accepted refugees of various political orientations. A huge number of refugees from Germany, Austria, and the Soviet Union found shelter in Czechoslovakia, especially in the capital, Prague.

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MARTIN MOLL

May Fourth Movement/ intellectual revolution

In 1919 a student-led protest movement became the catalyst for an intellectual revolution in China. On May 4th, 1919, thousands of university students in the Chinese capital city, Beijing (Peking), gathered outside Tiananmen (Gate of Heavenly Peace) to protest the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that would transfer Germany's sphere of influence in Shandong (Shantung) province to Japan. They targeted the perfidy of the great powers and burned down the residence of a leading Chinese official, accusing the corrupt warlord-dominated government of selling out China's interests. The arrest of some students led to a brief boycott of classes. News of the incident spread to 200 other cities where students organized into unions and rallied local merchants, workers, and citizens to join a general strike and boycott of Japanese goods. The ensuing unrest led to widespread confrontations with police and mass arrests but resulted in the resignation of pro-Japanese cabinet ministers and China's refusal to sign the peace treaty with Germany. The immediate goals of the May Fourth protests were thus achieved.

The term *May Fourth Movement* first appeared in an article by Luo Jialun (Lo Chia-luen), a student leader at the National Beijing University, published in a journal named *The Weekly Review*. In Luo's words the movement "represented the spirit of sacrifice on the part of the students, ... and the spirit of self-determination on the part of the Chinese nation." As the first mass patriotic demonstration organized and led by youthful students, it was a landmark event in 20th-century Chinese history.

During the following decades the May Fourth Movement came to denote a broader phenomenon in China's response to the challenges of the modern world. The political chaos and diplomatic weakness that followed the republican revolution of 1911 and growing Japanese imperialism exhibited in its TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS in 1915 that aimed at making China a Japanese protectorate had created a deep sense of urgency among modern educated young Chinese. In 1917 Cai Yuanpei (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), a distinguished scholar who had attained the highest Chinese degree and also studied in Germany, was appointed president of National Beijing University. Cai insisted on academic freedom and built up a strong and diverse faculty that attracted China's brightest students who became leaders of the intellectual revolution.

The faculty journal *New Youth* and student journal *New Tide* became the beacons of new thought and intel-



The Forbidden City in Beijing (Peking), China, in the early 20th century: Central government policy has been at odds with the values of the May Fourth Movement, which have survived to the present.

lectual debate that included such subjects as Social Darwinism and Marxism, the writings of John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, and the importance of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. They attacked outmoded traditions rooted in Confucianism and advocated language and other reforms in Chinese society, including the status of women. The broadened quest for reforms that lasted into the 1920s was also called the New Culture Movement, the Chinese Renaissance, or the Chinese Enlightenment.

The most visible success of this movement was the replacement of the stilted classical written style with vernacular Chinese that was led by Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), who later was a founder of the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, and HU SHI (Hu Shih), who remained committed to Western liberalism. The language reforms helped to spread literacy and mass education and the development of new literary genres that brought China into the mainstream of modern world literature. The intellectual revolution brought about the introduction of Western methodologies of critical reasoning to the social and natural sciences. It also advocated individual freedoms and the democratic values of the West.

A parting of ways took place among the activists after the tumultuous events of 1919 subsided. While many of the Western-oriented liberal intellectuals

resumed their academic pursuits, the radicals turned toward Marxism and the model of Russia's Bolshevik Revolution. With the encouragement of representatives of the Comintern (Third Communist International), several faculty members of National Beijing University and some students and their allies formed the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Other patriotic youths turned to Dr. SUN YAT-SEN, founder of the Chinese Republic, who responded to the changes by reorganizing his Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang. The Nationalist and Communist Parties would first coalesce and then split in 1927 to become locked in a life-and-death struggle for control of China that would last throughout the 20th century.

During the 20th century efforts to implement the goals of the May Fourth Movement met countless obstacles. In China after 1949, supporters of its goals suffered grievously during numerous campaigns launched by the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the values it expounded have survived to the present, and its memories have been selectively invoked during the commemorations of the movement to the present in both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression (1937–45), May 4th was celebrated as National Youth Day; it is still designated as Youth Day

in the People's Republic of China. On its 70th anniversary in 1989, students gathered at Tiananmen Square in Beijing and hoisted the twin banners "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Democracy," slogans first raised by Chen Duxiu in 1918. Since the 1980s there has been growing interest in the study of Hu Shi, the preeminent liberal thinker of the May Fourth era; Hu had earlier been harshly criticized by the regime of the People's Republic. Ironically, Confucius, once the target of attacks by radicals among the May Fourth intellectuals and later consigned to "the dustbin of history" by Maoist extremists during the Cultural Revolution, is once again honored as China seeks to remake its image in the 21st century.

See also SHANDONG QUESTION (1919).

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JIU-FONG L. CHANG

Mexican constitution (1917)

To many modern Mexicans the Mexican constitution of 1917 is an important document in their history, one that embodies the values of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION. It was the fourth constitution written for Mexico, and its inception occurred under the leadership of VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, president of Mexico from 1917 to 1920. It established sweeping reforms in regard to land distribution and labor, severely curtailed the power and autonomy of the Catholic Church, guaranteed the rights of Mexican citizens, and sanctioned a federal system and balance of powers. Since 1917 the constitution has been ignored, changed, and reinterpreted many times depending on the leadership and political climate, with a total of 350 amendments added to it.

Carranza initiated the creation of the 1917 constitution to bolster his claims that he would transform the ideals of the revolution into actual practice. In January

1915 Carranza embarked on a campaign to prepare Mexico for a new constitution. In his capacity as first chief during the preconstitutional period (1915 and 1916), he decreed in September 1916 that elections would be held the following month in every Mexican city and town to elect delegates to the constituent congress, which would draft the constitution. Many regional leaders and revolutionaries loyal to Carranza but dedicated to implementing the ideology of the revolution to the point of radicalism were elected to the congress.

The constituent congress convened in November 1916 in the town of Querétaro, the location of Emperor Maximilian's execution in June 1867. Given only two months to draft the document, the delegates quickly focused on the task at hand. The moderate liberals of the delegation found themselves head to head with many of the revolution's military leaders. These men attacked the Catholic Church first, focusing on its role in education and proposing article 3, which barred the church from primary education and secularized private institutions. After a spirited debate coupled with powerful speeches, the radicals passed article 3, alarming Carranza. He sent General ALVARO OBREGÓN to the congress in hopes that he would moderate the leftists. Instead, Obregón threw his powerful military and political weight behind Múgica and the other reformers.

The delegates went on to propose several articles to the constitution characterized by sweeping social and economic reform. Article 27 proposed radical new land policies that reversed Díaz's policy of encouraging foreign investment and land ownership. Article 27 attempted to restore national sovereignty by making these restrictions retroactive, allowing the president to seize land and property held by foreign owners. This opened the door for peasant communities to petition for the return of lands lost to large estates.

The relationship between the church and the state was the subject of more than one article of the Constitution of 1917. Besides article 3, which excluded the church from education, articles 27 and 130 stripped the church of much of its power in Mexico. Barred from holding or administering property, the church lost a significant portion of its revenues used to support charitable works. Clergy members could no longer vote, hold political office, or assemble for political purposes. Múgica and his supporters introduced article 130 at the very end of the constituent congress when delegates were weary of debate. Some scholars cite fatigue in the passing of the severe anticlerical provisions, as the vote was taken at 2:00 A.M. on the final meeting day of the congress.

Labor also took center stage on the radical agenda for the new constitution. Article 5 ended the system of debt peonage, the misery of many poor Mexican workers. Article 123 organized labor by authorizing labor unions and the right to strike. It also put in place several regulations to protect workers, especially women and children. It established an eight-hour day with one day of rest per week. Women and children were barred from working after 10:00 p.m., children less than six years old were forbidden to work, and those under 16 could only work six-hour days. Wages had to be paid in cash, and a minimum wage was set.

The constitution of 1917 set up a framework for radical change in Mexico. However, it also granted the president great power, and Carranza ignored many of its reforms. The provisions set forth by the constituent congress would take almost the entire 20th century to be implemented, and some would never be fully realized. The administration of LÁZARO CÁRDENAS, from 1934 to 1940, did the most work on realizing the ideals of the constitution, especially in regard to land reform, labor, and education. After 1940 some articles were deemphasized, such as article 27, which discouraged foreign investments. Despite such permutations of the constitution of 1917, it remains an important document in Mexico's modern history that cleared the way for considerable social and economic reform.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Mexican Revolution (1910–1920)

In one of the most violent, chaotic, and consequential events in modern Latin American history, from 1910 to 1920 Mexico was convulsed in a massive social revolution and civil war. The first major social revolu-

tion in postcolonial Latin America, the Mexican Revolution arose from complex origins and bequeathed an equally complex legacy. The origins of the revolution can be traced to two major trends from the late 19th century, both set in motion under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (the PORFIRIATO, 1876–1910) that transformed the country's economy and society in far-reaching ways. Both trends resulted from rapid capitalist development combined with the oligarchic nature of Porfirian politics. These two trends gave the revolution its dual character as both a middle-class revolt and a mass popular uprising.

The first trend was the process by which capitalist development fostered the formation of an emergent middle and professional class that was systematically shut out of the nation's political life by the Porfirian oligarchy. Thus, the revolution began in 1910 as a middle-class revolt against the corrupt Díaz dictatorship, led by the wealthy landowner FRANCISCO MADERO under the slogan "no reelection." In essence, this emergent middle and professional class, represented by Madero and other reformers, sought a greater political voice and an opening up of the political system, in keeping with classical liberal democratic principles. The second trend had its roots in the countryside, where the great majority of Mexicans (around 90 percent) resided. This was the process of land concentration and related forms of rural oppression, which resulted in growing landlessness, poverty, hunger, and destitution among the rural majority. Thus, when Madero launched his revolt against Díaz in 1910, it opened up an opportunity for the rural poor to press their claims and vent their accumulated grievances, principally the return of the lands that had been taken from them in the previous decades and the exaction of retribution against abusive local powerholders. These were the origins of the revolution's popular, agrarian impulse, epitomized in the figure of EMILIANO ZAPATA and his slogan "Land and Liberty." These twin engines of revolution—a middle- and professional-class reformist impulse and a lower-class, agrarian, social-revolutionary impulse—combined to make the Mexican Revolution both a political revolt from above and a social revolution from below. The complex sequence of events from 1910 to 1920 reflects these dual and often contradictory impulses.

The most important of these events can only be summarized in capsule form here. The rigged elections of June 21, 1910, swept the 79-year-old Porfirio Díaz into his final term in office. On October 5 in San Antonio, Texas, Francisco Madero, recently released from jail, proclaimed himself in revolt against Díaz in his

Plan of San Luis Potosí, a reformist document calling for a return to the principles of the 1857 constitution. In May 1911 the combined forces of Madero, PASCUAL OROZCO, and PANCHO VILLA defeated Díaz's federal troops in the border city of Ciudad Juárez. In accord with the provisions of the Treaty of Ciudad Juárez, Díaz resigned; his foreign secretary, Francisco León de la Barra, became interim president (May–November 1911). On October 1, 1911, Madero was elected president. He served for 15 months (November 1911–February 1913). His presidency was largely a failure, his moderate reforms placating neither hardline Porfiristas nor agrarian radicals like Zapata and Orozco. On February 18, 1913, Madero was overthrown by one of his leading generals, the conservative VICTORIANO HUERTA, following the the Decena Trágica (Tragic Ten Days), a destructive battle in Mexico City between Porfiristas and Maderistas—an overthrow made possible by the “Pact of the Embassy” between Huerta and U.S. ambassador Henry Lane Wilson. Huerta, reputed for his cruelty and hard drinking, ruled for the next 17 months (February 1913–July 1914). His regime, whose policies garnered the animosity of the United States, was overthrown by the constitutionalists under VENUSTIANO CARRANZA following the U.S. occupation of the port city of Veracruz, which had begun on April 21, 1914.

The three years following Huerta's ouster were the most chaotic of the revolution, with several major and scores of minor armies wreaking havoc across the country. The most prominent figures included Pancho Villa and Pascual Orozco in the north; Zapata in the south; and the constitutionalists Carranza, PLUTARCO CALLES, and ALVARO OBREGÓN. In December 1914 Villa and Zapata briefly occupied Mexico City. Five months later—in April 1915—came the most famous military engagement of the war: the Battles of Celaya (in the state of Querétaro, April 6–7 and 13–15), in which Villa's cavalry, estimated at more than 25,000 strong, was nearly destroyed by Obregón's entrenched forces (Obregón was a keen student of European trench warfare). The battles' outcome heralded the rising fortunes of Carranza and the constitutionalists. Villa, his army severely weakened, retreated northward. After the United States recognized Carranza as Mexico's legitimate head of state in October 1915, Villa staged a series of anti-U.S. reprisals, most famously his raid of Columbus, New Mexico, on March 9, 1916, in which his forces killed 18 U.S. citizens and looted and burned the town. The United States responded with Pershing's Punitive Expedition, in which General John J. Pershing led some 6,000 U.S. troops into the northern Mexi-

can deserts in pursuit of Villa. The expedition, which cost \$130 million, failed and withdrew from Mexico in January 1917. Meanwhile, in the south the Zapatistas continued their guerrilla campaign against the Carranza government, which had not endorsed Zapata's Plan of Ayala demanding agrarian reform.

In November 1916 Carranza and the constitutionalists, entrenched in Mexico City, convened a constitutional convention in the city of Querétaro. Excluding Villistas, Zapatistas, Huertistas, and others, the meetings eventually produced the constitution of 1917, which governs Mexico to the present day. In March 1917 Carranza was elected president of Mexico, an office he assumed on May 1. Several months earlier, in January 1917, Carranza had been approached by the German ambassador with a proposal to ally with Germany in a war against the United States (following his instructions in the famous Zimmermann Telegram, sent January 16, 1917, by the German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann). Carranza refused the offer, but the telegram, intercepted by the British, is often cited as hastening U.S. entry into WORLD WAR I.

With the formation of a constitutional, U.S.-recognized government in Mexico City, the most violent years of the revolution were drawing to a close. While fighting still raged across much of the country, by this time many Mexicans had wearied of the violence. In the south the Zapatistas put up a stiff resistance against Carrancista forces sent down to suppress their armies. In early 1919 Carranza dispatched a hit squad to Morelos to assassinate Zapata, which it did on April 10. A year later, on May 21, 1920, Carranza himself fell to an assassin's bullet, leaving the presidency open to Obregón, one of whose allies had pulled the trigger.

When the revolution began in 1910, Mexico was home to an estimated 15 million people; 10 years later that number had dropped to an estimated 14 million. In other words, between 1 and 2 million Mexicans died during this “age of violence,” while an additional quarter million or more migrated north to the United States—marking the origins of many Mexican-American communities in major U.S. cities like Detroit, Chicago, and others. After 1917 the revolutionary regime, dominated by elites from the northern state of Sonora (especially Obregón, Calles, and Adolfo de la Huerta), entrenched itself in power. Through the 1920s the revolutionary state became increasingly institutionalized and its policies increasingly conservative. It retained power despite frequent flare-ups of violence, most notably the Cristero Revolt of 1926–29, sparked by the Catholic Church's disgruntlement with the

constitution's anticlerical provisions, in which an estimated 80,000 people died.

The revolution bequeathed a complex legacy, not only in Mexico but across the hemisphere. Radicalizing an entire generation of politicians, intellectuals, labor leaders, and activists, it also helped to create a new narrative of Mexican history that put Indians and mestizos at the center of the nation's past (as seen most graphically in the public murals of Diego Rivera), while contributing to the erosion of traditional bonds of deference and relations of domination-subordination that had been so central to the country's postconquest history. It also largely failed to deliver on the promise of agrarian reform, at least in the short term. Of the revolution's twin engines of a politically disenfranchised rising middle class and an impoverished agrarian sector, the former essentially triumphed—expressed most concretely in the dominance of the Sonorans and the formation in 1929 of the predecessor to the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), a political party that was (and remains) “revolutionary” in name only, that dominated the country's politics in a “one-party democracy” for most of the 20th century. It was not until the presidency of LÁZARO CÁRDENAS (1934–40) that popular demands for agrarian reform were largely met.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Mitsui and Mitsubishi, Houses of

Before the conclusion of WORLD WAR II, Mitsui and Mitsubishi were two of the four major *zaibatsu* (family-centered banking and industrial combines) in Japan; the others were Sumitomo and Yasuda. The term *zaibatsu* refers to a particular economic and social arrangement characteristic of large capitalist enterprises in Japan in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Each *zaibatsu* was controlled by a single family that owned companies in many different spheres of economic activity, including banking and industry. The *zaibatsu* developed after the Meiji restoration in 1868, when the government wanted

to encourage industrial development. The *zaibatsu* were a very strong economic and political force in early 20th-century Japan. For instance, in 1937 most heavy industry and one-third of all bank deposits in Japan were directly controlled by the four major *zaibatsu*. After Japan's surrender in World War II, the Allied occupation authorities ordered the *zaibatsu* dissolved. This meant that officially individual companies were freed from the control of their parent companies. However, many reformed their ties later in a less-formal arrangement, so some aspects of the control and coordination of the *zaibatsu* lived on in reality if not in law.

MITSUI

Mitsui is one of the largest publicly traded companies in contemporary Japan. The origins of Mitsui date back to the House of Mitsui, a merchant house of the Tokugawa



The House of Mitsui began with Mitsui Takatoshi, who opened a number of successful textile shops in Edo, Japan, depicted above.

period (1603–1867). Mitsui is thus the oldest of the four leading *zaibatsu* of early 20th-century Japan. The history of the House of Mitsui begins with the enterprises of Mitsui Takatoshi (1622–94), who opened a number of successful textile shops in Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto.

He later expanded his enterprises into financial services, including moneylending. In 1691 members of the Mitsui family were granted the status of *gyo shonin* (chartered merchants) by the shogunate, which gave them considerable influence within the government. The Mitsui family drew up a “constitution” in 1694, detailing matters such as the duties of the family council and the amount of property due each branch of the family; these arrangements remained in force into the 20th century. In 1876 the Mitsui bank became the first private bank in Japan. Minomura Rizaemon (1821–77), an orphan who worked his way up to the top position in the Mitsui exchange brokerage, became president of the Mitsui bank and helped launch Mitsui into other enterprises that allowed it to succeed in the changing financial world of modern Japan.

The Mitsui family owned more than 270 companies by the end of World War II. Although the Mitsui *zaibatsu* was officially broken up in 1946, many of the companies involved formed themselves into *keiretsu* in the 1950s. The name *Mitsui* means “three wells,” and the three wells are represented in the company logo.

MITSUBISHI

The Mitsubishi group's origins lie with Yataro Iwasaki (1835–85), who founded the shipping firm the Mitsubishi Commercial Company in 1873. This company grew to be Japan's largest shipping firm, partly due to financial assistance from the Meiji government. The second and third heads of Mitsubishi were family members: Yataro was succeeded by his brother, then by his son. The family expanded into many industries, including coal mining, shipbuilding, banking, insurance, paper, steel, oil, and real estate. In 1893 the holding company Mitsubishi, Ltd., was created to organize these diverse business interests. The principal arms of the company in the early 20th century were (1) Mitsubishi Bank, founded in 1919 and currently part of Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group, the largest bank in Japan; (2) Mitsubishi Corporation, founded in 1893, which provides internal financing; and (3) Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, which includes the photographic equipment company Nikon and the Mitsubishi Motor Corporation. Mitsubishi was an important military contractor during World War II, building warships and the Zero aircraft used in the attack on PEARL HARBOR in 1941.

After the *zaibatsu* were required to disband in 1946, the companies forming the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu* became independent entities. However, some voluntarily recombined after the outbreak of the Korean War and formed a *keiretsu* known as the Mitsubishi group.

The name *Mitsubishi* means “three diamonds” and is not a family name. Rather, it refers to the three stacked diamonds of Yataro Iwasaki's family crest, which appear in the Mitsubishi trademark.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Mongolian People's Republic

During the Q'ing (Ching) dynasty in China (1644–1911) Mongolia had been a part of the Chinese Empire under a theocratic government, with the ruler, the Jebtzun Damba (Living Buddha), acknowledged as the Bogd Khan (Holy King). During the Chinese revolution of 1911, the status of Mongolia was briefly in doubt until in May 1915 the Treaty of Kyakhta, signed by Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian officials, granted Mongolia limited autonomy.

During the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION in October 1917 and the subsequent Russian Civil War, Xu Shucheng (Hsü Shu-Cheng), a Chinese warlord, sent his soldiers into the area and captured Urga (modern-day Ulan Bator) in 1919. Two years later the White Russians were decisively defeated in western Russia, retreated to Siberia, and took over Mongolia, occupying Urga on February 4. Seeing the White Russians as a potential long-term army of occupation, some Mongolians contacted the Bolsheviks. This allowed the Mongolians under Damdin Sükhbaatar to take over Urga with

the aid of Russian Communists. Soon afterward the White Russian leader, Baron von Ungern-Sternberg, who claimed to be a reincarnation of Genghis Khan, was shot, and Sükhbaatar helped form the Mongolian People's Party, the first political party in the country, with Soliyn Danzan as the first chairman of the party's central committee. Sükhbaatar met VLADIMIR LENIN in November 1921, and in January 1922 serfdom was abolished throughout Mongolia. These moves gave great impetus to the proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic on November 26, 1924, making it the second Communist nation in the world. The capital was then renamed Ulan Bator (Red Hero).

After the death of Lenin, JOSEPH STALIN was initially more anxious to assert his control over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, allowing Mongolia some independence. However, by the late 1920s Stalin began to assert some control over the country through the renamed Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Stalin eventually found a willing ally in Khorloogiin Choibalsan (or Choybalsan). Born in 1895 at Tsetsenkhan Aimak, a village near a town that bears his name, Choibalsan was a monk who turned to politics. He had been a leader in a pro-Communist Mongolian revolutionary group as early as October 1919 and had supported Sükhbaatar's formation of the Mongolian People's Party. When the Bogd Khan died in May 1924, Choibalsan did not allow the discovery of his new reincarnation to take place. In that year Choibalsan became commander in chief of the Mongolian army, a post he held until 1928, and he was appointed chairman of the presidium of the state little hural (the parliament) in January 1929. In 1930 Choibalsan became the minister of foreign affairs. Choibalsan helped introduce land reform, and land seized from landlords was handed over to peasants or turned into cooperatives.

On December 27, 1933, the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo officially claimed sovereignty over Mongolia. The Japanese were anxious to expand their control in the region, and several Mongolian princes had been persuaded to move to Japan many years earlier. One of them, Prince Kanjurab, had been married to Yoshiko Kawashima, a member of the Qing (Ch'ing) imperial family and a Japanese agent who was rapidly emerging as one of the most powerful people in Manchukuo.

In November 1934 the chairman of the council of people's commissars, Peljidiyn Genden, negotiated a military alliance between Mongolia and the Soviet Union. Soon afterward Genden was executed, suspected of being a Japanese spy. Choibalsan became marshal in 1936 and in 1939 took Genden's position as

the chairman of the council of people's commissars, which became the council of ministers in 1946. In 1939 Choibalsan signed a Soviet-Mongolian mutual assistance treaty, sending Mongolian soldiers to help the Red Army when they faced the Japanese in several engagements along the Soviet Union's border with Japanese-occupied China. It was the stiff resistance that the Japanese faced at the Battle of Halhyn-gol that convinced the Japanese high command not to attack the Soviet Union but to proceed with plans to invade Southeast Asia.

In 1944 the small autonomous state of Tannu Tuva decided to officially become a part of the Soviet Union. Most of its people were Mongolian. Salchack Toka, the nominal leader of Tannu Tuva, met Choibalsan to try to persuade him to bring Mongolia into the Soviet Union. However, Choibalsan refused. He even sent 80,000 Mongolian soldiers into Inner Mongolia hoping to exploit the Japanese military weaknesses toward the end of the Pacific war but was forced to withdraw them after demands from the Soviet Union on behalf of its Chinese Communist allies.

At Yalta in February 1945, the United States and Great Britain agreed that Mongolia should belong to the Soviet sphere of influence—in the previous year U.S. vice president Henry Wallace had visited Ulan Bator. A plebiscite was held on October 20, 1946, in which nearly all the people voted for Mongolian "independence." Nationalist China was forced to waive any claims to Mongolia and recognized the Mongolian People's Republic on January 5, 1946. Choibalsan died on January 26, 1952. Choibalsan is commemorated by a town in eastern Mongolia built during his rule in his honor, and also Choibalsan State University, founded in Ulan Bator in 1942.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Moroccan crises

There were two major crises involving France and Germany over the control of Morocco prior to WORLD WAR I. France's interest in Morocco steadily increased after it took over neighboring ALGERIA in 1830. Having not unified until 1870, Germany came late to the

imperial game and had to content itself with attempting to secure territories that had not already been taken by other European imperial powers, particularly Britain and France. By the turn of the century, Morocco was one of the few African nations that had not been taken over by European powers, and the Germans were therefore interested in it. Although it purported to be neutral on the Moroccan issue, Britain had secretly agreed to French expansion into the area during negotiations resulting in the beginning of the Entente Cordial in 1904.

The Tangier Crisis was the first clash between France and Germany. In 1905 Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Tangier, where he proclaimed his support for an independent Morocco. This provocation irritated the French government and raised public anger toward Germany. The Moroccan sultan of the Alawi dynasty, seeking to prolong his rule, announced his support for an international conference that he hoped would result in Morocco's maintaining its independence. In 1906 13 nations, including the United States, gathered at the Algeiras Conference in southern Spain. The Spanish already had small holdings in northern Morocco around the city of Ceuta. The Spanish and French subsequently agreed to separate spheres of influence in Morocco. After protracted negotiations France was granted special status in Morocco, although it pledged to respect German interests. Secretly, Britain, fearing Germany's growing naval strength, reiterated its support for the French in Morocco. Sultan Abd al-Hafid (r. 1908–13) objected, but France continued to expand its control over Morocco's finances.

A small crisis, the so-called Casablanca Affair, broke out in 1908 when the French captured three German deserters from the French foreign legion while they were in the custody of the German consul, in violation of conventional international law. Germany protested, and the matter was referred to the Hague Tribunal. Under the following Franco-German accord, Germany briefly accepted the special position of France but gained some economic concessions.

In 1911 France moved troops deep into Morocco and took the major city of Meknes. A second major crisis erupted when the Germans reacted by deploying a gunboat, the *Panther*, off the coast of the port city of Agadir in southern Morocco. The British government publicly stated its support for France and even threatened Germany with possible war. Subsequent negotiations resulted in Germany's gaining a small piece of territory in French Equatorial Africa (in the present-day Republic of the Congo) and France's keeping its favored

position in Morocco, by far the more important of the two territories.

France established a full protectorate over Morocco in the Treaty of Fez in 1912. The sultan was forced to sign the French terms, and Marshal LOUIS HUBERT LYAUTEY was appointed the first French resident general of Morocco. France retained control until it granted Moroccan independence in 1956. The French and German rivalry over Morocco added to the mounting tensions among European nations and was a contributing factor to the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

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JANICE J. TERRY

motion picture industry

The motion picture industry can be traced back to the 1890s, when Kennedy Laurie Dickson, the chief engineer at the Edison Laboratories, was credited with making celluloid strips containing a sequence of images that, when projected, would show movement. Thomas Edison himself developed this further, and in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair he introduced the Kinetograph, the first moving picture camera, and the Kinetoscope, which used a continuous loop of Dickson's film. The Kinetoscope spread successfully around the United States and Europe. British and European inventors did work on similar systems. Work in Britain was pioneered by Robert William Paul and his partner Birt Acres. In France Auguste and Louis Lumière invented the cinematographe—a portable motion picture camera, film processing unit, and projector all in one piece of equipment—which quickly became one of the most manufactured items in France.

Until the late 1920s the producers were unable to capture sound and synchronize it with the film, so the early films were known as silent movies, whereby the film was played and sometimes live musicians and live sound effects were used, including human voices off stage. The words of the film appeared on screen, being part of the film itself.

Georges Méliès, a Paris stage magician, started shooting and exhibiting films from 1896, many of his works being science fiction, with *A Trip to the Moon* (1902) the first film to portray space travel. Gradually, there were films lasting up to 15 minutes, with Edwin

S. Porter becoming an early director for *Life of an American Fireman* (1903) and the first “western” movie, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). The first full-length movie was *The Story of the Kelly Gang* (1906), which was made in Australia and ran for 80 minutes. Filmed mostly at Rosanna, on the outskirts of Melbourne, Australia, it told the story of the Australian bushranger Ned Kelly and was made by the Tait brothers, costing them £400 to make and netting them over £25,000. It was shown all over Australia to packed audiences and was also shown in some places overseas. As with many films, it tells the story of an event, although on many occasions it is not a reliable account of the actual historical event. Very little of the film has survived, although a large number of “stills” were released at the time, which, together with newspaper reviews, allow historians to analyze the film in considerable detail. It was later reissued as *Ned Kelly and His Gang* with some extra scenes included.

The next major films came out in Europe with *Queen Elizabeth*, produced in France in 1912, *Quo Vadis?* in Italy in 1913, and *Cabiria* in Italy in 1914. Soon longer films started to be produced in the United States with *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), both directed by D. W. Griffith (1875–1948). In 1907 the Laffite brothers launched the *films d'art* (“art films”), which were aimed at introducing wealthier people to the cinema, many of them at the time regarding films for the working class and the theater for the higher social classes.

EARLY FILM STARS

The outbreak of WORLD WAR I held up feature film production, but it did result in newsreel films being made. These were shown in movie theaters—by 1908 it was estimated that there were 10,000 of these theaters in the United States alone. After World War I Hollywood in California became the center of much of the world’s film production, with an average output of up to 800 feature films each year making up 82 percent of the total world output during the 1920s. By this time many actors and actresses were becoming famous around the world, with Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), Buster Keaton (1895–1966), Lon Chaney (1883–1930), Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), Clara Bow (1905–65), Gloria Swanson (1897–1983), and Rudolf Valentino (1895–1926) all being important early film stars. Valentino became well known through films such as *The Sheik* (1921), *Blood and Sand* (1922), and *Son of the Sheik* (1926), and was the heartthrob of girls throughout the 1920s, with his death at the height of his popularity causing a mass outpouring of grief.

Other famous actors of the silent era were Tom Mix (1880–1940), who entered the film industry in 1918, joining the Selig Company, and was said to be earning up to \$30,000 per week—appearing in 270 films from *The Trimming of Paradise Gulch* (1910) until *The Miracle Rider* (1935); and Joan Crawford (1906–77), who continued through the silent era into sound films. Some of these films were controversial, with the British 1928 film *Dawn*, about Edith Cavell, evoking a storm of protest in Germany. A later film, *Nurse Edith Cavell*, was produced in 1939. Another early silent film was *Ben Hur* (1925), remade by M.G.M. in the 1959, and others that became well known were Victor Hugo’s *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1924) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925). Hollywood, near Los Angeles, was the base for American-produced films, the main companies including Columbia, M.G.M., Paramount, R.K.O., Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers. Other famous studio locations were in Britain at Ealing, in France, in Italy, and in Germany. Indian films were largely produced in Bombay.

SOVIET AND INDIAN FILM

In the Soviet Union the early directors included Yakov Protazanov, whose films included *Father Sergius* (1917–18) and *Aelita* (1924). Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) perfected a technique that became known as the dialectical or intellectual montage, whereby nonlinear and often clashing scenes provoke different emotional reactions in the audience. His films included *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925), *Strike* (1925), *October* (1928), *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), and *Ivan the Terrible* (1944 and 1946).

The Indian film industry also started early, with Dadasaheb Phalke, considered by many as the “Father of Indian Cinema,” producing many feature length silent films, with *Raja Harishchandra* (1913) being the most famous early Indian film. In Japan the earliest film was *The Cuckoo* (1909), produced by Shisetsu Iwafuji, with an early well-known one being *Souls on the Road* (1921). Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973) appeared with his wife in *The Typhoon* (1914) and as the villain in Cecil B. De Mille’s *The Cheat* (1915), acting in *Tokyo Joe* (1949) alongside Humphrey Bogart and then playing other major roles in the 1950s.

With the ability to introduce accurate synchronization of sound and sufficient amplification for it to be heard in cinemas, the Hollywood studio Warner Brothers introduced Vitaphone in 1926, and in 1927 their *The Jazz Singer* had the first piece of synchronized dialogue and singing in a feature-length film. *The Lights of New*

York (1928) was the first all-synchronized sound feature film, again produced by Warner Brothers. Quickly other studios started to produce these films, with Alfred Hitchcock's detective story *Blackmail* (1929) being the first sound feature in Britain. *The Broadway Melody* (1929) was the first classic-style Hollywood musical, with French director René Clair producing *Under the Roofs of Paris* (1920) and *Le Million* (1931). Paramount produced the first film version of Somerset Maugham's *The Letter* in 1929, and the story was produced again by Warner Brothers in 1940.

Production increased with the gangster film *Little Caesar* (1931) and others on a similar theme such as *The Public Enemy* (1931) and *Scarface* (1932), based on the life of Al Capone. Other Hollywood films of this period included A. E. W. Mason's *The Four Feathers* (1929), Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), Vicki Baum's *Grand Hotel* (1932), Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1932), *King Kong* (1933), Cecil B. de Mille's *Cleopatra* (1934), Charles Dickens's *The Tale of Two Cities* (1936), Pearl S. Buck's *The Good Earth* (1937), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), Alexandre Dumas's *The Man in the Iron Mask* (1939), and Rudyard Kipling's *The Light That Failed* (1939). There were 28 Sherlock Holmes films starting with *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* in 1929, with the most famous probably being Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1939) starring Basil Rathbone.

SEQUELS

There were also a number of other films that were followed by many sequels: the Charlie Chan films from 1929 that continued until 1981; *The Mysterious Fu Manchu* (1929), *The Return of Fu Manchu* (1931), *The Daughter of Fu Manchu* (1931), *The Mask of Fu Manchu* (1932), and eight more films ending in 1980; Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932) and many other Tarzan films to the 1960s; and "The Saint" films from *The Saint in New York* (1938), which continued up until 1959 when a French-language film *Le Saint mene la danse* was released.

Perhaps the film that had the most versions made was Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, which was first produced in Britain in 1917 but saw American versions made in 1919, 1933, and in 1949. The height of the U.S. film industry was probably in 1939 with *The Wizard of Oz* and Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*. In the latter Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh starred in the romantic film about life in Atlanta before, during, and after the American Civil War.



Charlie Chaplin in *A Dog's Life*, with Edna Purviance. Chaplin was one of the most recognizable faces of the early days of movies.

During World War II there were a large number of war films and ones on related spy themes, including *Went the Day Well?* (1942), *The Way Ahead* (1944), and *In Which We Serve* (1942), which starred Noel Coward and was directed by David Lean. Other British films of the prewar and early wartime period include Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1934); R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* (1935); John Buchan's *The 39 Steps* (1935), starring Peggy Ashcroft (1907–91); Baroness Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934), directed by Alexander Korda; *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962) as Captain Bligh and Clark Gable as Fletcher Christian; *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936); Ryder Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1938); *Marie Antoinette* (1938); George Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara* (1940), starring Rex Harrison (1908–90); Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* (1940); Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1941); and Jane Austen's *Jane Eyre* (1943).

In the United States films on war themes included *Desperate Journey* (1942), pitting Errol Flynn against

the Germans; *Casablanca* (1942), starring Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman (1915–82), and Claude Rains; *Mrs Miniver* (1942); *Forever and a Day* (1943); *Objective Burma* (1944); and *Going My Way* (1944), starring Bing Crosby. There were also a number of other great successes, including John Huston's *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), starring Humphrey Bogart, Mary Astor (1906–87), and Sidney Greenstreet (1879–1954); *Citizen Kane* (1941), directed by Orson Welles (1915–85); A. J. Cronin's *The Keys of the Kingdom* (1944); and Howard Spring's *Fame Is the Spur* (1947). Mention should also be made of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1942), which starred Sabu (Sabu Dastagir, 1924–63). The impact of Walt Disney on the movie industry began with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Pinocchio* (1940), and *Bambi* (1941).

In Europe film production during the 1920s and 1930s saw large numbers of films produced, although not on the level being produced in Hollywood. In France there were many French-language films, with actors Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972) and Jacques Tati (1908–82) being the best known abroad. Others include Jean-Louis Barrault (1910–94), who appeared in *Les Enfants du Paradis* (1944); Charles Boyer (1897–1978); Danielle Darrieux (b. 1917), who appeared in *La Ronde* (1950); and Michèle Morgan (b. 1920), who starred in *La Symphonie Pastorale* (1946). Of the many German film producers and directors of the period, Leni Riefenstahl became the most famous with her *Triumph of the Will* (1936).

Elisabeth Berner (1898–1986) was born in Poland and trained in Vienna, becoming the favorite actress of the German stage director Max Reinhardt and appearing in his first film, *Der Evangelist* (1923). Another German film star was Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), who was born in Potsdam and after also acting at Max Reinhardt's theater, starred in silent films such as *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919), *The Student of Prague* (1926), and *The Hands of Orlac* (1926). When the Nazis rose to power he wanted to leave Germany because of his Jewish wife. Eventually, he was allowed to move to Britain, where he became a British citizen, playing German roles in *Nazi Agent* (1942) and *Casablanca* (1942).

Mention should also be made of Vienna-born Luise Rainer (b. 1910), who played a key part in *The Good Earth* along with Paul Muni; and Anton Walbrook (1900–67), also from Vienna, who starred in *Gaslight* (1940). Also from Europe were Swedish actress Greta Garbo (1905–90) and German singer and actress Marlene Dietrich (1901–92).

In Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore the Shaw brothers dominated the film industry, and the Cathay Film Company was also formed covering British Malaya and Singapore. Mention should also be made of two film actresses who rose to important political positions, both by marriage.

In 1937 a film actress, Jiang Qing, left the Chinese city of Shanghai to join the Chinese Communist Party, marrying its leader, MAO ZEDONG, in the following year. In Buenos Aires actress Evita Duarte (later Evita Perón) starred in a number of films before meeting and then marrying Juan Perón, who went on to become president of Argentina.

After World War II the British at Ealing Studios produced a number of important films, including *Whisky Galore!* (1948), *Passport to Pimlico* (1949), *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949), and Graham Greene's *The Third Man* (1949). Mention should also be made of Italian films, one about the wartime resistance to the Germans in Rome in *Open City* (1945), directed by Roberto Rossellini (1906–77), who married Ingrid Bergman; and *Bicycle Thieves* (1948), directed by Umberto Scarparelli.

A number of Italian actors found work overseas, with Paul Henreid (1908–92), from Trieste (then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), going to Hollywood, where he starred in *Casablanca*.

In the United States some important films were produced in the late 1940s, but it was not long before the House Committee on Un-American Activities turned its attention to Hollywood resulting in many actors, writers, and directors leaving for Europe, including Charlie Chaplin, Morris Carnovsky (1897–1992), and Dalton Trumbo (1905–76), and many more unable to get work. It also saw others like Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), president of Screen Actors Guild, and later president of the United States, rise to prominence.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

muckraking

During the early 20th-century heyday of America's progressive movement, many journalists published slashing articles that revealed problems and faults in U.S. business, government, and social conditions. Their exposés, most published in nationally circulated magazines, often helped to spark important reforms but arguably failed to change society in fundamental ways. Investigative journalism is still often called "muckraking."

Although this style of journalism began in the late 19th century, when author-photographer Jacob Riis showed "how the other half lived" in New York's urban slums, the term was popularized in 1906 by President THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Infuriated by a series of articles denouncing the U.S. Senate, Roosevelt publicly berated author David Graham Phillips for seeing only the bad and the corrupt in U.S. life. Like the man obsessively raking muck in John Bunyan's 17th-century religious tract *Pilgrim's Progress*, such critics, said the president, failed to acknowledge beauty and social advancement.

There was plenty of raking to do. Ida Tarbell was foremost among muckrakers who focused on the misdeeds of business and laissez-faire capitalism. Born in Pennsylvania oil country, Tarbell saw her oil refiner father lose his livelihood to an oil scheme put together by John D. Rockefeller and others.

Nevertheless, she became the first woman to graduate from Pennsylvania's Allegheny College. Between 1902 and 1904 her exhaustively researched book, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, was serialized in *McClure's* magazine, and it was later published in book form. Her work has been credited with helping to instigate a 1911 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that broke up the Standard Oil trust.

McClure's in 1902 also began serializing Lincoln Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities*. Visiting St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York, Steffens found ample evidence of graft, kickbacks from public utilities, unofficially sanctioned prostitution, and manipulation of police forces, all in the cause of enriching corrupt municipal officials. He also found honest workers who helped him reveal these

practices and earnest efforts at good government. Collected into a book, *Shame* created a stronger push by progressives, including JANE ADDAMS, for local government reforms.

Charles Edward Russell, the son of Iowa abolitionists, was a muckraking jack-of-all-trades, writing primarily about business misdeeds in such industries as meat packing, railroads, and housing. A declared socialist, Russell nevertheless supported WOODROW WILSON's preparations for WORLD WAR I. His investigation of the Beef Trust inspired Upton Sinclair's 1906 muckraking novel *The Jungle*, an exposé of danger and filth in Chicago's slaughterhouses and mistreatment of a largely immigrant workforce.

In 1909 Russell was a founding member, with black sociologist W. E. B. DuBois, of the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), but muckrakers, most of them white, paid little attention to the plight of African Americans as the nation grew more segregated.

Ida B. Wells, another NAACP cofounder, fled her Memphis home in 1892 after a white mob destroyed her newspaper office. From Chicago she continued investigating and publicizing lynching, the extralegal system of "justice" used in the South and elsewhere mainly to terrorize and control African Americans. Her *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* and many other writings and personal appearances also brought news of U.S. racial injustice to Britain and other European nations.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Mukhtar, Omar

(1862–1931) *Libyan politician*

Many successive empires ruled present-day Libya until the Ottoman Turks conquered it in 1551. Libya remained under Ottoman control until the 1911 Italian invasion; the Italians desired it mainly as a strategic location. British colonial forces had control of Egypt, and the French had made claims in North Africa as well. The Ottomans, whose last North African territory was Libya, were extremely weak owing to a recent

revolution and were unable to defend against the Italian invasion. Faced with bombardment by the Italian fleet under Admiral Farafelli, the Ottoman Turks abandoned Tripolitania, which the Italians easily captured. The Italian presence was made official after a Turkish-Italian treaty was signed in October 1912 giving Italy control of Libya.

After WORLD WAR I ended in 1918, Italy expressed its desire to construct a “Second Roman Empire” that encompassed Libya. This idea was propagated under BENITO MUSSOLINI and included the resettling of Italians in the agricultural areas of Libya along the coast as well as the construction of roads, communication lines, and military facilities throughout the country. In 1929 the Italians used the term “Libya” officially, and in 1939 they made Libya an Italian colony.

The Italian occupation was immensely unpopular in Libya. Immediately after the Italian conquest in 1911, resistance groups formed to push the Italians out. One group, the Sanusiya movement, under the direction of Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, mounted resistance to the Italian occupation. Omar Mukhtar led the most famous resistance movement.

Omar Mukhtar was born in 1862 in the town of Zawia Janzour. He was from the Mnifa tribe and a Qur’anic teacher by profession. After the Italians took over in 1911, he initiated and led a campaign against the occupation that lasted for 20 years. He fought a guerrilla war against the Italians, using his extensive knowledge of the Libyan terrain to successfully attack and harass them. Mukhtar had a strong following among Libyans, receiving food, supplies, and fighting men from the local population.

Since the Italians could not capture Mukhtar, they decided to cripple his support base by incarcerating the Libyan population in concentration camps. These horrific camps interred an estimated 125,000 Libyans, of which two-thirds perished because of the appalling conditions. The resistance continued despite the concentration camps, which only served to increase anger among the Libyans. When Omar Mukhtar was around 70 years old, he was wounded in battle and captured by the Italians. He was interrogated, tortured, and hanged on September 16, 1931.

Omar Mukhtar is a hero to the Libyans and is still revered in the 21st century. After Mukhtar’s execution the Italians were able temporarily to subdue Libya until it became a battleground in WORLD WAR II, during which Libya was the scene of massive desert battles between the German-Italian armies and the British-French armies.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Munich Pact

See APPEASEMENT ERA.

Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood, or the Society of the Muslim Brothers (also known as the Ikhwan), was established in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna in 1928. The new organization stressed community, games, and healthful pursuits. Although al-Banna denied it, some alleged that the brotherhood was patterned on the YMCA, which had opened branches in several Arab countries, including Egypt.

Born in 1906 in a lower-middle-class family, al-Banna was influenced by Sufi orders and took an active role in school activities. He attended school at Dar al ‘Ulum and taught at a government school in Ismailia, where the brotherhood began. A good speaker, al-Banna visited mosques and began to attract youthful members to his new organization. The organization, divided into cells with an individual leader, had a gradation of members who advanced by passing examinations.

Periodically, leaders would convene at congresses to coordinate programs. Women’s sub-branches were also established. During the 1930s and 1940s, like other political forces in Egypt, such as the WAFD PARTY with its Blue Shirts and the fascist Young Egypt with its Green Shirts, the Brotherhood also had a secret paramilitary force.

The Ikhwan sought to eradicate all foreign influences. It had pan-Islamic aims and ultimately gained a following outside Egypt, especially among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, and in Syria and Jordan. The brotherhood advocated the unification of Egypt and Islamic nations on Qur’anic principles. The organization’s aims broadened over the years. Al-Banna sought to use science to increase national wealth and to establish social welfare programs including pension plans. The Ikhwan also considered reviving the caliphate. Initially, many observers underestimated the potential of the organization, which emphasized

the rejuvenation of the Egyptian nation through a return to Islamic principles.

In 1933 al-Banna transferred the headquarters of the brotherhood to Cairo, where he used radio broadcasts to popularize his program. He also sent letters to politicians and began to increase the brotherhood's commercial activities, including ownership of printing presses. These were used to produce a magazine, pamphlets, and various other publications.

From 1939 to 1945 the brotherhood took an active role in Egyptian politics and became a major political force. The brotherhood attracted young members who had become disenchanted with the Wafd, the major political party of the era. Generally eager for immediate results, students were dismayed and angry over the Wafd's compromises and alliances with the British. The brotherhood was also periodically courted by the palace in order to discredit and undermine the Wafd. In 1948 then prime minister Mahmud Nuqrashi arrested and imprisoned al-Banna. A member of the brotherhood took revenge by assassinating Nuqrashi in 1949. But in 1949 al-Banna was in turn killed, probably with the complicity of both the palace and the government.

Al-Banna and the brotherhood strongly supported the Palestinian cause, and many members volunteered to fight for the Palestinians in the 1930s and in the 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR. By the late 1940s the brotherhood probably had close to half a million members.

After al-Banna's death, Ismail al-Hudaybi became the leader, or director general. A lawyer, Hudaybi was not as charismatic as al-Banna, but he doggedly pursued the programs of the organization. The Ikhwan quietly supported the 1952 revolution led by Gamal Abdul Nasser, but when the new regime refused to institute an Islamic state, the brotherhood became disenchanted.

After the brotherhood attempted to assassinate Nasser in 1954, its members were persecuted, imprisoned, or went into exile to other African or Arab nations. Many of the exiles became teachers and subsequently converted students to the cause.

The Muslim Brotherhood fostered an Islamic revival that had major consequences for the 20th and 21st centuries. Many contemporary Islamist movements are offshoots or were influenced by the tenets and approaches of the Muslim Brotherhood. However, many present-day Islamist leaders, believing that the policies and approaches of the brotherhood are too moderate, have adopted more radical programs and strategies to force the establishment of regimes operat-

ing in accordance with their narrow interpretations of Islamic law and tradition.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Mussolini, Benito

(1883–1945) *Italian dictator*

Il Duce, "the leader," was born in Predappio, in northern Italy, on July 29, 1883. His father was a socialist blacksmith and his mother a schoolteacher. A brilliant but unruly student, he qualified for teaching in elementary schools in 1901 and soon afterward fled to Switzerland to avoid military service, where he was arrested for vagrancy and then expelled. He had repeated confrontations with the police.

Mussolini's Marxism was greatly influenced by Nietzsche's reactionary modernism and Social Darwinism, Spengler's anthropological and historical pessimism, and Sorel's revolutionary syndicalism. However, before WORLD WAR I he had remained true to the socialist commitment to pacifism, so much so that during the war between Italy and Turkey (1912) he was apprehended for pacifist propaganda.

He eventually broke away from the party in 1914, following the outbreak of World War I. The Italian government had temporarily opted for neutrality and tested the waters to see which side would offer a better deal for an Italian military intervention. The Socialist Party condemned the war, arguing that it was a carnage that would only benefit big industrialists. Initially inclined to stick to the party line, within a few weeks Mussolini made a sudden about-face and joined the prowar side.

His inextinguishable ambition, moralistic intransigence, and aggressive temperament led to his resignation from the editorship of *Avanti* and from the party.

In November 1914 he founded *Il Popolo d'Italia*, the would-be Fascist official newspaper. When Italy joined the war on the side of the Entente, Mussolini was conscripted and attained the rank of corporal. In 1917 he was wounded during grenade practice and returned to Milan, where he launched his own political party in 1919. Badly defeated at the first general elections, held in the same year, Mussolini resolved that fighting workers' militancy would earn him the respect of

the middle and upper middle classes. Consequently, he organized the rank-and-file members of the party, who were mostly war veterans, in armed squads (*squadrace*) and instructed them on how to intimidate Catholic and Socialist political activists.

When three liberal governments in a row failed to restore order, King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form a new government in October 1922. The famous MARCH ON ROME was rather a triumphal parade of the winning side. Liberal deputies, more concerned with the unrest of the working classes than with liberal safeguards, did not object to the imposition of strict censorship and to an electoral reform that clearly favored the Fascist Party.

As a result, between 1925 and 1926, following the murder of the Socialist leader, Giacomo Matteotti, Mussolini transformed his government into a dictatorship and Italy into a police state by abolishing all other parties; controlling the press, trade unions, and youth education; centralizing the economy; and having his opponents silenced by the secret police and the Fascist Party militia.

He then propagated through the mass media the main tenets of the Fascist ideology, which was described as the third way between socialism and the market ethos. Mussolini dismissed liberal democracy as decadent and unable to stir the souls of the masses and imposed his ostensibly antimaterialistic, antipositivistic, ruralist, and at once militarist and technocratic worldview, intending to offset universalist and cosmopolitan trends as well as bourgeois hedonism and its obsession with rights to the detriment of duties. Mussolini preached the inequality of individuals, human groups, and nations and portrayed citizens as mere corpuscles immersed in the eternal stream of history and of the internal dynamics of the organic Fascist state.

Mussolini also advocated absorption of private conscience into the collective conscience of the body social, which entailed the subordination of individual welfare to the needs of communal welfare and the abolition of individual rights. Mussolini's economic policies involved autarchic neoprotectionism, centralized control of the national economy, a meticulous division of labor, large industrial cartels, and the coordination of transnational economic blocs. Mussolini's conception of totalitarian demography privileged quantity over quality, and he offered prizes for the most prolific mothers. His ruralist bent arose from his fear that industrial cities exerted devastating effects on people's health, which was intolerable for a country that was bound to revive the glories of the



Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini joined forces with Germany and Japan to form the Axis powers in World War II.

Roman Empire and therefore needed as many able-bodied men as possible.

In 1929, with the LATERAN TREATY, Mussolini made several important concessions to the pope in exchange for his recognition of the Italian state. This allowed il Duce to reach the height of his popularity and power.

However, fascism could not exist without the prospect of an approaching victorious war. From the start,

Mussolini had toyed with the idea of reconquering the Mediterranean basin, and this explains his decision to bombard Corfu in 1923, to exterminate the seminomadic Libyan Bedouins who refused to surrender, and to invade Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935–36 and subdue it by means of mustard gas, phosgene, flamethrowers, the slaughter of civilians, forced labor camps, and scorched-earth tactics. He also bombed Red Cross encampments in Ethiopia as a retaliation for their denunciations of the Fascist atrocities.

The ensuing international sanctions drove Mussolini out of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and into a deadly alliance with ADOLF HITLER, which was sealed by the NAZI-Fascist intervention in the 1936–39 SPANISH CIVIL WAR on the side of the future Spanish dictator, general FRANCISCO FRANCO.

A pact of mutual defense, the Pact of Steel, which paved the way to WORLD WAR II, was finally signed by Mussolini and Hitler in May 1939. After the proclamation of the empire (May 1936), he adopted segregationist and anti-Semitic legislation more extensive and stricter than that of Nazi Germany.

The German attack against Poland in September 1939 took Mussolini by surprise. In spite of Mussolini's militaristic rhetoric, the Italian army had demonstrated in Spain that it was not prepared for a full-scale conflict with the world's major powers. However, completely blinded by the prospect of a quick defeat of France, he declared war in June 1940, only to be bitterly disappointed when the United Kingdom refused to give up the fight and defeated the Italians in Egypt and Libya, and the Greeks not only halted the Italian invasion of

northern Greece but also forced the Italian army into an inglorious retreat at the end of 1940. From then on Mussolini's fate was in the hands of Germany.

Thus, the king ordered that Mussolini be placed under arrest. The former Duce was rescued by German paratroops a few months later and proclaimed the Italian Social Republic, nothing but a puppet state in German-occupied northern Italy. To prove his loyalty to Hitler, Mussolini had his son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, executed on the charge of treason.

By the end of 1944, approximately 16 free partisan republics had been formed in various valleys of northern Italy, and the Social Republic was quickly sliding into an all-out civil war and was being carpet bombed by the Allies. In April 1945 the German army was retreating, thousands of partisans were streaming from the valleys into the cities, and Mussolini once again attempted to seek refuge in Switzerland. He was recognized and arrested by the partisans and summarily executed along with his mistress Claretta Petacci in a village on Lake Como.

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STEFANO FAIT



NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

Founded in 1909, the NAACP is an organization whose purpose is to use the legal system of the United States to force the government to provide civil rights equitably to U.S. blacks. It came into being in reaction to the violent racism that plagued the United States at the time.

After the end of Reconstruction allowed the imposition of de facto and then de jure segregation, African Americans lost many of the legal protections established by laws and amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Violence against blacks became common as lynching reached epidemic proportions. Economic and social discrimination increased. Blacks found themselves second-class citizens or worse in white America. Black leaders were in a quandary over how their people should handle the deteriorated situation.

In 1895 educator Booker T. Washington, the most prominent black of his time, proposed that African Americans should accommodate. They should allow segregation to continue while they used self-help to develop their own society and to improve their economic condition. Washington hoped that U.S. society would notice the gradual improvement and come to accept black participation in the white political and social systems. Washington established the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama as a segregated vocational school to teach blacks practical skills they needed for everyday life.

Not all black leaders agreed with Washington's accommodationism. Some looked at the increase in poverty and the backwardness of a Jim Crow system as separate and blatantly unequal. They also noted the outrageousness of hundreds of lynchings a year. They regarded Washington as a tool of the white system. Among the critics who engaged Washington in a long debate was the intellectual W. E. B. DuBois.

For over a decade the debate continued as black Americans suffered. Then in 1905 DuBois and William Monroe Trotter called a meeting at Niagara Falls, Canada. The meeting led to the formation of the Niagara movement, which rejected Washington's gradualist accommodationism and called for vigilance and protest. The Niagara movement was premature. Washington was too powerful. By 1908 the movement was history. Its message, however, lingered: There would be no more appeasement of white racism by black Americans.

The NAACP came into being in 1909, formed by DuBois and other blacks and whites dedicated to legal resistance of Jim Crow discrimination and segregation. Among the founders was Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the *New York Evening Post* and grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. A charter member was Mary Church Terrell, the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. Also among the founders were the lawyer Clarence Darrow and JANE ADDAMS, social worker, peace activist, and founder of Hull-House.

The NAACP campaign against the decades-old plague of lynching set the approach it would take—long,

deliberate, and difficult campaigns that would entail first bringing attention to the problem through its newspaper, *The Crisis*, then issuing lengthy and detailed reports and lobbying Congress for changes in the laws. The U.S. House of Representatives passed federal antilynching laws in 1922, 1937, and 1940, but each time the legislation died in the Senate, falling victim to actual or threatened filibusters. The NAACP persisted, but the federal government never passed such legislation.

The NAACP did not spend all of its time on the antilynching effort. It also investigated other civil rights abuses and litigated discrimination cases in areas including the segregation of streetcars and railroad trains, residential restrictive covenants, segregated schools, and general abuses of civil rights and liberties including the ban on blacks on juries and the denial of voting rights. Civil rights action through the mid-1930s included work on behalf of accused criminals who rarely enjoyed juries of their (black) peers. The NAACP was also active in working to get equal salaries for black public school teachers. Sometimes it won. Often it lost. Always it kept the issues in the public awareness.

FAIR TRIALS

On the matter of fair trials, a significant success occurred in 1919 in Arkansas. That year black farmers tried to form a union. In retaliation, a white mob killed more than 200 black men, women, and children. Local authorities arrested 79 black sharecroppers and charged them with murder.

The trial featured coerced testimony and a defense that called no witnesses. A white mob threatened during the trial to lynch any found not guilty. After a single hour of deliberation, the jury declared 12 of the defendants to be guilty of crimes warranting a sentence of death. Others received long prison terms. The NAACP appealed the case for four years before the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. In *Moore v. Dempsey* the court overturned the convictions.

The NAACP attempted to fight restrictions on the black vote. In *Guinn v. United States* the NAACP successfully convinced the Supreme Court to overturn Oklahoma's grandfather clause, which allowed the vote to only those persons whose grandfathers had voted and effectively excluded all but a handful of blacks. Southern states found new methods of disenfranchising blacks.

A popular choice was defining political parties as private and allowing them to select their members, which meant that the parties and their primaries would be white only. In the one-party South the primary was

the election, so the white primary denied blacks access to the ballot. Decades later, in 1945, *Smith v. Wright*, brought by the NAACP, eliminated the white primary.

The NAACP had early on developed a somewhat schizophrenic character, with DuBois, as editor of *The Crisis*, stressing publicity and lobbying, and the legal staff continuing the slow and tedious work of litigation. DuBois became more radical as he aged. He was more concerned with civil liberties and the working class across race lines, and he thought that the NAACP's preoccupation with segregation was excessive.

He also thought that the NAACP was becoming increasingly conservative, moving toward Washington's accommodationism. When the NAACP shifted its focus from *The Crisis* to the courts in the 1930s as it took up segregation as its major target, it completed the split. In 1934 DuBois left the NAACP and established the National Negro Congress, a union of 600 black organizations with a focus on economic justice.

LITIGATION

With DuBois and the economic radicals out of the picture, the NAACP under president Walter White used the resources of the NAACP legal department, especially Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall. For two decades the NAACP focused strongly on ending school segregation, lynching, and the Jim Crow system. The process entailed litigating against one city, state, or county at a time, forcing the party sued to show that it was complying with *Plessey v. Ferguson*. The NAACP forced those it sued to either upgrade their black facilities to the white standard or abandon the separate but equal myth of *Plessey*. In the 1930s and 1940s the NAACP began eroding the legal basis for segregated educational systems, and in 1954 it won its most important victory in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which ruled that separate was inherently unequal and opened the door to the civil rights revolution of the 1960s.

The "Second Reconstruction" occurred thanks to, but largely without, the NAACP. After white backlash and timid enforcement of the laws by the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, black Americans began forcing the battle in the early 1960s with sit-ins, freedom rides, and other methods of peaceful confrontation.

The NAACP was hamstrung by state efforts such as one that occurred in Alabama. There the state used anticommunist legislation to demand the membership rolls of the NAACP. Because the NAACP was a locally based rather than a national organization, the release of its membership rolls would have proved fatal. But the

case kept it in court and unable to be an effective part of the Civil Rights movement.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Naidu, Sarojini

(1879–1949) *Indian nationalist leader*

Sarojini Naidu was born on February 13, 1879, to Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Varada Sundari in the city of Hyderabad, India. She began studying at the King's College of England in 1895. Her childhood love for poetry resulted in the publication of collections of poems including *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Birds of Time* (1912), and *The Broken Wing* (1917), written in English but with an Indian ethos. Her poetry earned her the name of "India's Nightingale." A strong believer in the philosophy of Brahmo Samaj, Sarojini took the bold step of getting married to Govindarajulu Naidu outside her caste at the age of 19 per the Brahmo Marriage Act (1872). A powerful orator, she gave speeches on themes like the emancipation of women, youth welfare, and nationalism.

Sarojini Naidu plunged into the nationalist movement in 1903 and came into contact with leaders who were fighting for an India free of British colonial rule. MOHANDAS K. GANDHI and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915) influenced her political career. At the behest of Gokhale she devoted herself to the cause of Indian nationalism. Naidu met Gandhi in 1914 and became his disciple. During her tour to Great Britain with Gandhi, she criticized colonial rule openly among the British intelligentsia.

Naidu and Gandhi opposed the British government's Rowlatt Act, enacted in March 1919 to counter Indian protests. She also supported the Indian Home Rule League. Naidu also worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. She became influential in the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC) and was elected its delegate to the East African Indian Congress in January 1924. She was elected president of the INC in the Kanpur session of

1925 and was the first woman to become its president. She went to the United States in October 1928 as an emissary of Gandhi, preaching his doctrine of nonviolence. Naidu joined the second civil disobedience movement that had begun in March 1930. She was arrested and released in January of the next year. She went to London along with Gandhi to participate in the ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. During the Quit India movement of August 1942 she was imprisoned for 21 months.

After India's independence on August 15, 1947, Naidu was appointed the governor of Uttar Pradesh. She died on March 2, 1949.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

National Congress of British West Africa

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) displayed the relatively moderate, reformist spirit of many black African professionals and intellectuals of the interwar period. Without challenging British control over their territories, the congress pressed for an increase in African representation in advisory councils, the creation of a West African university, and a respect for traditional forms of land ownership. The group's leaders, particularly JOSEPH EPHRAIM CASELY HAYFORD, promulgated a Pan-African ideology and attempted to build a sense of shared interests among the inhabitants—or at least the native-born black political leaders—of the four British colonies in West Africa: Nigeria, GOLD COAST (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. The congress achieved a few of its goals, as it encountered opposition from the majority of traditional elites, from radicals in and outside the NCBWA, and from the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society, which the congress sought to supersede.

From the perspective of Casely Hayford and other future leaders of the NCBWA, the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society had failed to capitalize upon its success in

convincing the British not to impose the proposed Lands Bill in 1897. Further, its leadership remained ensconced in Cape Coast and constrained the development of branches in other areas of the Gold Coast. In 1912 Casely Hayford began to broach the notion of a West African Congress with contacts in Nigeria. This scheme attracted support, especially as delegations sent to London from Nigeria and from the Gold Coast had each failed to convince the colonial secretary either to grant Africans greater influence over administration or to include some democratically selected members on governing councils. Advocates of the NCBWA hoped that the concerted efforts of representatives from all four colonies would prove more fruitful. The Aboriginal Rights Protection Society refused Casely Hayford's 1918 request that it endorse such an organization, so the NCBWA formed under its own auspices and developed its own agenda, including PAN-AFRICANISM.

PRIMARY GOALS

The 1919 petition presented to the governor general in Accra by 11 representatives of the general committee of the Protected West African Conference offered an indication of the NCBWA's primary goals. The document was signed by Casely Hayford and presented by the Nigerian leader. After congratulating the British on Germany's defeat in WORLD WAR I and the latter's removal from the ranks of colonial powers, the petitioners requested that the British ask West Africans for their opinions on matters relevant to their governance; the people of the colonies would choose those West African councillors through free elections. They also encouraged the British to respect traditional land rights and to prohibit the importation of alcohol. The Nigerian governor-general transmitted the petition to London; the colonial secretary did not respond.

The NCBWA met for the first time from March 11 through March 29, 1920, in Accra, Nigeria. Representatives from the Gambia (1), Sierra Leone (3), Nigeria (6), and Gold Coast (42) chose Hutton-Mills as their president and Casely Hayford as vice president. They also agreed upon 83 resolutions pertaining to local governance, judicial reform, commerce, and colonial policy. They suggested that the British alter the composition of West African legislative councils to include equal parts Crown nominees and democratically elected representatives. They wanted the creation of municipal institutions, a West African university, and a West African appellate court. They advocated new medical and sanitary efforts, the end of racial segregation in housing, and the establishment of a West African press union

to promote national development throughout the four colonies. Further, they rejected the Franco-British decision to partition Togoland and the British handover of Cameroon to the French, which had occurred without any consultation with its inhabitants.

In 1920 a delegation from the new NCBWA led by Casely Hayford traveled to London and demanded elective representation for the four colonies. Unfortunately for them, the governors-general of Nigeria and Gold Coast resisted such an erosion of British control. Many of the traditional kings and chiefs in Gold Coast disliked the plan because it would diminish their status and the scope of their authority. Another three years passed before the British granted a new constitution, which included a provision for the election of representatives, to Nigeria. Soon thereafter, they granted a similar constitution to Sierra Leone and to Gold Coast. The acquisition of these new constitutions represents the most concrete achievement of the NCBWA.

The NCBWA met several more times: in Freetown in 1923, in Bathurst (now Banjul) in winter 1925–26, and in Lagos in 1930. The congress ratified its constitution at the Freetown meeting. Each meeting generated a list of resolutions, most of which the group never realized. At Bathurst the delegates discussed the possibility of a British West African Federation under a single governor-general. They pondered the establishment of schools across their territories, agricultural banks and cooperatives, and overall commercial and economic independence for West Africa. The congress never achieved any of these items.

The NCBWA remained hampered by its inability to appeal to traditional elites, a rural constituency, or radicals who wanted far more than reform. The colonial office and governors-general regarded the opinions of the congress's members as unrepresentative of African attitudes. The NCBWA's limitations were also caused by internal dissent and an overall antipathy toward tactics any more radical than petitions or newspapers. Ironically, the institution of the new, partially elective bodies that the NCBWA had so fervently advocated ultimately served to divide congress members politically; they found themselves running campaigns against each other and supporting divergent policies. When Casely Hayford died in 1930, the NCBWA disappeared too.

Despite its relative lack of concrete achievements, the NCBWA did help West African leaders in British colonies to understand the region better and to perceive the commonality of their interests. The vibrant civil society and journalism typical of British West African cities, something that did not really exist in

French West African colonies, might testify to the success of agitation by local committees of the NCBWA. The education in activism and the increased political consciousness also facilitated the rise of the next generation of Pan-Africanists and independence leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Nationalist Party of Indonesia

The Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Union), an important colonial-period party, was established on July 4, 1927, by Achmad Sukarno and Djipto Kusumey. The members of the Indonesian Union, after coming home from the Netherlands, were not satisfied with political progress in their country. Political activity in Indonesia remained at a minimum after the failure of the communist movement that had been organized by the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party). The students involved in the movement were joined by Sukarno, who had graduated from the technical college at Bandung. Among these students, Sukarno came into contact with members of the Algemene Studies Club (General Study Club).

The PNI was formed with an agenda of noncooperation with the Dutch colonial government, mass mobilization, and complete freedom for Indonesia. The red and white flag, the national anthem *Indonesia Raya* (Greater Indonesia), and *bhasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) became the symbols of Indonesian nationalism. The organization changed its name from Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia to Partai Nasional Indonesia (Nationalist Party of Indonesia) in May 1928.

The PNI fought aggressively for Indonesian nationalism, and within two years its membership swelled to 10,000. Sukarno proved to be an excellent orator, and in his position as chairman of the PNI, he pushed a popular agenda that combined elements of nationalism, Marxism, and Islam. As the symbol of the movement, he chose the *marhaen*, or farmer, who he believed bore the brunt of colonial oppression. He visualized a society free from the control of foreign

capital with emphasis on *gatong rajong* (group spirit). The Dutch government realized the growing strength of the PNI, warning members in August 1929 to cease their activities. Sukarno and other leaders were arrested in December 1929 and charged with jeopardizing public order; Sukarno was given a sentence of four years in prison. The party was also declared illegal. Sukarno's sentence was commuted after two years, and he was released, then rearrested on similar charges. The PNI was dissolved in April 1931.

After the demise of the PNI, small political organizations began to flourish throughout Indonesia. These groups were met by the reactionary policy of Dutch governor-general De Jonge (1931–36), who arrested and exiled Indonesian political leaders. The Minangkabau Sutan Sjahrir (1909–66) and MUHAMMAD HATTA (1902–80), who had come back after finishing his education in the Netherlands, joined a splinter group of the PNI named Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education Club).

After his release Sukarno amalgamated the splinter groups into a mass organization known as Partindo (Indonesian Party). The purpose of this new group was to fight for complete independence for Indonesia. It, too, became leaderless after Sukarno's exile to Flores in 1933. Hatta and Sjahrir also were arrested and sent to Boven Digul. After the independence of Indonesia, the PNI continued as a political party. It was one of the major parties in the 1955 elections aligning with the PKI. The PNI was merged into the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI, Indonesian Democratic Party) in 1973 under General Suharto (1967–98).

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PATIT PABAN MISHRAA

nativism, U.S.

Nativism is antiforeign, anti-immigrant sentiment, and it has been common throughout U.S. history. Nativism is cyclical in U.S. history. Generally, when the United States is expanding and optimistic, then immigrants

are welcome. When the country is stagnating and cynical, then it turns on immigrants. U.S. nativism is more about Americans than it is about foreigners.

Benjamin Franklin was nativist when he wondered whether the Pennsylvania Germans of his time were capable of becoming assimilated. The Federalist Party of 1798 was nativist in trying to preserve an antidemocratic property-protecting system from immigrant editors and pamphleteers. The Alien and Sedition Acts were nativist as well as political. The anti-Catholicism of the 1830s was nativist. The run-up to the Civil War distracted from nativism, and the resurgence came after the war when anti-Asian sentiment, which originated on the West Coast in the 1850s, resulted in national legislation, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Anti-Asian laws would continue to pass until the 1920s, as would anti-European laws, directed against the different and impossible-to-assimilate new immigrants of the late 19th century who were seen as a threat to an American way already under pressure from the capitalism and industrialism that destroyed the traditional agrarian United States during the Gilded Age.

Organized labor, the American Protective Association, and EUGENICS groups sought immigration restrictions, English literacy laws, and restrictions on parochial schools. They outlawed the teaching of foreign languages in schools. Foreign was seen as undesirable.

RED SCARE

WORLD WAR I stimulated the nativist desire for restriction. Anti-Germanism became antiforeignism, which became antiradicalism, which culminated in the RED SCARE of 1919 and 1920 and the revival of the KU KLUX KLAN, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anticommunist, and antiforeign on top of its historical antiblack prejudice. The Klan drew 5 million members. Again, organized labor asked for restriction of immigrants because they worked for substandard wages and brought the wages of natives down. Another reason for restriction was that the war had produced millions of refugees who might swamp American prosperity if left unchecked. Congress passed a temporary immigration restriction law in 1921 and followed it with the National Origins Act of 1924, which established immigration quotas based on the population profile of the United States in 1890. The law also effectively excluded all Asians.

Immigration control was not sufficient to quell the nativist urge. In the 1920s the Klan enjoyed a national presence. Although born in the South and based on racism, it took on a broader appeal. The Klan resurgence began after D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* recalled

the 19th-century Klan as heroic. In Georgia William Simmons, a former Methodist minister, reawoke the Klan. It was powerful in Indiana, Oklahoma, and Oregon, and it had a presence in other western states such as Utah. The Klan of the 1920s was opposed to the new morality, the lack of enforcement of Prohibition, and the increase in crime. It was a backlash by a segment of the United States that was losing the battle to modernity. Those who were bypassed by the changing economy, the shift to the cities, and the new ideas of modern art, psychology, and modernism lacked the means to change what was happening to them.

Anti-Semitism was strong in the first half of the 20th century, before and after the Klan. Its practitioners included HENRY FORD, whose *Dearborn Independent* had a readership of about 700,000. The *Independent* featured articles on Jewish gamblers, mobsters, and the dissipation of Jewish music. The Klan literature featured comparable complaints about Jewish jazz and short skirts. Most of all, the anti-Semites blamed Jews for communism. They accepted that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* announced a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, and they believed that international Jewry, wealthy and powerful, had bought the Bolsheviks and influenced allied armies to leave Russia during the civil war, thus allowing the Bolsheviks to prevail.

Anti-Semitic nativism also arose in the Military Intelligence Division, which carefully tracked Jews in the military for Bolshevik, then communist, tendencies, an activity that did not wane until the 1950s and 1960s. Nativist anti-Semites feared that the Jews were conspiring against their Christian nation.

Also active in the 1920s were the race theorists Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, who feared the denordicizing of the people of the United States due to the mingling of what they regarded as superior northern Europeans with the "lesser races." White supremacist groups emerged in the 1930s and 1940s, emulating ADOLF HITLER and BENITO MUSSOLINI. Silver Shirts, Khaki Shirts, and Brown Shirts marched and made a display but failed to attract a large following. The mood of the United States in the 1920s and 1930s was isolationist. Rather than "over there," the slogans were "America First" and "Fortress America." Immigration exclusion fit the mood, even when the persecution of Jews turned fatal. The United States failed to lift immigration restrictions to help those it did not want on its shores.

Nativism became quiet after the Exclusion Law of 1924 because immigration slowed during the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. Even without factoring in the deportation of half a million Mexican migrant

workers and their families (many of them U.S. citizens) in the 1930s, immigration was negative. More left than came in. World War II opened the door slightly, too much for holdover nativists from the 1930s such as Gerald L. K. Smith, who moved from HUEY LONG's Share the Wealth, through America First, to radical right Christian anticommunism in the 1950s.

Even the immigration reform of the 1950s maintained restrictions, allowing time for the southern and eastern European immigrants to assimilate and providing only token access for Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and other Asians. The major change came with the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which sought to renew immigration by the old European immigrants. The act almost absentmindedly brought the third world to the United States. Demographic, linguistic, and cultural diversity generated a new feeling by some U.S.-born citizens that the country was getting away from them. The economy was in crisis due to the 1970s energy crisis and the Vietnam War, which brought about "stagflation" as well as massive increases in the foreign population. The newcomers—Vietnamese, Cubans, and South Americans—were scapegoated. The problem was bilingualism, and in the early 1980s the nativists began agitating for English-only in government and sometimes in the private sector. Some U.S. citizens thought that English-only was a tool for forcing assimilation on immigrants (for their own good), but others used English-only as an excuse to terminate bilingual access to essential services.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers' Party)

The NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter partei), typically called the Nazi Party in English, was a political party in Germany from 1920 to 1945. The party was founded in Munich under a slightly different

name in early 1919, one of many political organizations formed in the wake of Germany's defeat in WORLD WAR I. In September 1919 ADOLF HITLER joined the party as a spy for German army intelligence. The party and its ideology of nationalism, authoritarianism, and anti-Semitism appealed to Hitler so much that he quit his job with the army to devote himself full time to the party. Hitler soon discovered that he was a great orator who could draw new membership to the party. He soon became the party chairman. He changed the party structure from one of elected leadership and collective decision making to that of *Fuhrerprinzip*—he was the sole leader and dictated party strategy and policy. He saw the Nazi Party as a revolutionary organization and sought to gain control of Germany through the violent overthrow of the WEIMAR REPUBLIC.

Hitler and the Nazi Party believed that the Weimar government was controlled by socialists, Jews, and the "November Criminals" who had forced Germany to surrender at the end of World War I, backstabbing the German soldiers at the front just as they were about to see victory. Hitler added a focus of national expansion and pushed policies of anti-Semitism while downplaying the socialistic ideas of the party's founders. Racism gained prominence through the adoption of the swastika and Aryan identity politics. This racial component and the stated goal of helping the Aryan race to achieve its true destiny set Nazism apart from true FASCISM.

By 1923 party membership had risen to more than 20,000 through campaigning with this new message. To showcase their ideas, the Nazis held rallies once a year at Nuremberg. The rallies advertised Nazi power, unity, and a religious loyalty to Hitler as Germany's savior. The Nazi masses were paraded before Hitler as oaths of loyalty were taken. During the rallies the Nazis introduced new policies and party doctrine. The Nuremberg race laws were unveiled at the 1935 rally. The 1934 rally was best known for the documentary *Triumph of the Will*, created by Leni Riefenstahl to showcase the ceremonies. It became one of the best-known propaganda films of all time.

To enforce Nazi policy on the street and to protect party speakers at political functions, the *Sturmabteilung*, or SA (also known as the Brown Shirts for the color of their uniforms), was formed. They acted as a party militia and used quasimilitary ranks and organization. Their main visible function was to prevent the disruption of Nazi speeches by communist-based militias. Later they were used by the party for fundraising, political canvassing, and abuse of party enemies.

The SA came into conflict with the German army in 1934 after pushing to become the new national German army. The SA leadership was murdered, and the organization became marginalized thereafter.

In Munich on November 7, 1923, the Nazis launched an attempted coup d'état known as the Beer Hall Putsch. The coup quickly failed, and the ringleaders, including Hitler, were rounded up and sent to prison for short sentences. During his jail stay Hitler wrote a combined autobiography and political manifesto titled *Mein Kampf* (My struggle). This book outlined the ideas of a cultural hierarchy with the German Aryans at the top and with Slavs, communists, and Jews at the bottom. The lower people were to be purged from the nation so they could not impede its growth. Hitler also stated that nations grew from military power and civil order. Germany was to grow by expanding to the east into its lebensraum (living space). The people of Germany were to be led through the principles of *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer* (one people, one nation, one leader). The relationship between the people and the state was that of loyalty, duty, and honor for the state, while the leader was responsible for protecting the Aryan race against those who sought to destroy it.

While reflecting on politics during his prison sentence, Hitler decided to switch tactics. The Nazi Party would quit attempting to seize power by force. Power would now be achieved through legal means by winning elections. After his release Hitler's personal bodyguard unit, the SS (SCHUTZSTAFFEL), or protection squadron, became more important, and notable senior Nazi leaders such as Hess, Himmler, Goebbels, and Göring emerged. During the new political period the "Heil Hitler" greeting and the Nazi salute were adopted. Electoral success was very small in the 1924 and 1928 elections, in which the Nazi Party only won 3 percent and 2.6 percent of the votes. The party continued to grow, in part because of the fading of other right-wing political parties and because Hitler assumed leadership of right-wing German politics. The Nazis found support from all areas including small business owners, Protestants, students, rural farmers, and those attracted to paramilitary displays put on by the SA and SS.

The biggest upsurge in Nazi support came as a direct result of the GREAT DEPRESSION of 1929. The economic hardships caused by the worldwide depression compounded Germany's existing problems and set the stage for Nazi expansion by creating a receptive audience. The German left was divided, and its elements could not work together to counter Nazi propaganda. The 1930 elections gave the Nazis 18.3 percent of the

vote. In the weeks leading up to this election, Germany was blanketed by Nazi campaigning techniques, propaganda delivered by radio and through rapid travel by airplane. The continued economic chaos played into the Nazis' hands and pushed more people into the party. In March 1932, Hitler ran for president, losing to Hindenburg. During the campaign the SA and SS battled in the streets against left-wing militias; the escalating violence threatened to throw Germany into chaos. Hitler continued to gain support by promising law and order, while at the same time the Nazis were guilty of instigating most of the violence they preached against.

After the elections, neither the Nazi Party nor the communist parties were willing to form a coalition government, so new elections had to be held with much the same result. After much political manipulation, Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor in January 1933. This was seen as a way to solve the electoral deadlock and also as a way to shift blame to the Nazis for Germany's ongoing problems. Hitler did not play into Hindenburg and the cabal's hands. Shortly after Hitler's appointment, the Reichstag was burned down. Hitler and the Nazis used this opportunity to pass the "Enabling Act," which gave the president dictatorial powers in order to prevent a communist revolution. Hitler used his new powers to gain complete control over the government, police, and communications. The German people were lulled into complacency by the new Nazi economic practices, which were able to bring Germany out of the Great Depression by ending unemployment, stopping hyperinflation, and increasing the standard of living.

GERMAN SYNTHESIS

The period from 1933 to 1939 saw the gradual synthesis of the German state and the Nazi Party. The 1935 NUREMBURG LAWS stripped Jews of civil rights, citizenship, and economic rights and banned their marriage to non-Jews. In 1938 active pogroms began with the infamous *Kristallnacht*, which resulted in a number of Jewish murders and involved the destruction of stores, homes, and synagogues; it ended with the deportation of 30,000 Jews to the first concentration camps. During the war years the party and the state became fused, and Nazism gradually transformed into loyalty to Adolf Hitler. With Hitler's death in April 1945, there was little will to keep the party alive. The party was outlawed after the war, and its trappings were removed from society as part of the Allied occupation.

See also HOLOCAUST, THE; WORLD WAR II.

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COLLIN BOYD

négritude

Négritude was a literary and then a political movement that developed from the 1930s by a number of intellectuals from French African backgrounds, the most well-known proponents being Aimé Césaire from Martinique, LEOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR from Senegal, and Léon Damas from French Guiana. They saw the common African heritage as a uniting force against the French colonial system and the inherent racism in French rule.

The original ideas of *négritude* drew from the HARLEM RENAISSANCE and were influenced by the works of African Americans such as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and James Weldon Johnson. These ideas were distilled by Aimé Césaire in the third issue of the journal *L'Étudiant Noir*, the word *négritude* being used for the first time. The magazine was established in Paris by Césaire and two other students, Leopold Senghor and Léon Damas, and became a focus for the concept of a united heritage of the black diaspora in the French colonies; a similar movement, *negrismo*, was used to describe the same ideas in former Spanish colonies.

After WORLD WAR II, the concept of *négritude* became a powerful force, with Césaire being elected as mayor of Fort de France, the capital of Martinique, and then to the French chamber of deputies. In 1948 Jean-Paul Sartre endorsed the ideas of *négritude* in an essay called *Orphée Noir* (Black Orpheus), which was published as an introduction to an anthology of African poetry compiled by Léopold Senghor, who was urging for independence for Senegal. He became its first president, remaining in office from 1960 until 1980. In 1958 the French film *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*) was released, set around the Rio de Janeiro carnival. Sartre idealized *négritude* as a more powerful force than that of French colonial racism, but the *négritude* concept became criticized in the 1960s with some subsequent African scholars and political thinkers feeling that it never went far enough, as it defined the French African diaspora more by what it was against than standing by its own values. Nevertheless, it remained an important development in political thinking in the period of decolonization.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Nehru, Motilal

(1861–1931) *Indian leader*

Motilal Nehru was one of the prominent leaders of the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC) and father of India's first premier, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). Descended from a Kashmir Brahmin family, Motilal was born on May 6, 1861, to Gangadhar and Jeorani in Agra. He studied at Muir Central College, Allahabad. After passing the law examination in 1883, he began to practice in Allahabad, where his elder brother, Nandlal, had a roaring practice. Motilal's legal practice was also very successful. In 1899 and 1900 he went to Europe and began to develop a Westernized outlook. This liberal outlook was in line with that of the moderates in congress. He began to attend the congress's annual sessions. His rise in politics was gradual: member of the U.P. council, member of the Allahabad municipal board, and ultimately president of the U.P. congress.

WORLD WAR I brought momentous changes in the Indian struggle for independence, and Motilal Nehru emerged as a prominent leader in Indian politics. The ministry (1911–15) of Herbert Henry Asquith (1852–1928) declared India at war with the Central Powers. Nationalist leaders like Nehru supported the war efforts of the British government with the hope that India would be suitably rewarded in its path toward self-government. Nehru followed a strategy of cooperation with the colonial power to achieve self-government. A resolution of self-government on December 1916 was passed by the INC.

The moderate and extremist wings of the INC were united at the Lucknow session of 1916. Nehru played an important role in this. His contribution also was present in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. This was also the time of the Home Rule League, which was founded by the English theosophist Annie Besant (1847–1933), who had emigrated to India. After much deliberation, Nehru joined the league when Annie Besant was imprisoned in June 1917. He was made the president of the Allahabad branch of the Home Rule League and demanded

home rule or self-government of India after the end of World War I. The British government initiated the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and the INC wanted major changes to the British proposal. Nehru attended the Bombay session of the INC and supported the congress's demand. He also published a daily newspaper called the *Independent* beginning in February 1919.

In Indian politics events were moving fast. MOHANDAS K. GANDHI had called for a general strike in April 1919 after the enactment of the draconian Rowlatt Act, which empowered authorities to arrest and detain without trial. The Jallianwalla *bagh* massacre followed. Nehru was a member of the inquiry committee that had been constituted to investigate the massacre. He argued the cases of persons who had been booked by British authorities. Nehru became the president of the Amritsar session of the INC in December 1919. The next year he was the general secretary of the congress.

The emergence of Gandhi brought a new direction to the Indian freedom movement. It greatly affected Motilal Nehru and his family. Nehru cast his lot with Gandhi and supported the noncooperation movement. He resigned from the U.P. council and gave up his lucrative law practice. Nehru began to wear traditional Indian dress and lead a spartan lifestyle. The British government arrested him in December 1921 and put him in jail for six months.

After his release Nehru found that the noncooperation movement was in decline. Gandhi had called it off in February after the Chauri Chaura incident. Nehru gave up noncooperation and made plans for entry into the legislative councils. He was one of the founding members of the Swaraj (self-rule) Party in January 1923 and contested the elections. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (1892–1953), the first finance minister of independent India, was the chief whip of the Swaraj Party. It became the largest party in the central legislative assembly and in some legislatures of the provinces. Nehru found it difficult to control different factions in the Swaraj Party in spite of his dominating role. He returned to the mainstream of the INC, and the Swaraj Party functioned as a political wing of the INC from 1925 onward. The INC opposed the formation of the Simon Commission of 1927, as it contained no Indians. It was boycotted, and an all-party conference appointed a committee headed by Nehru to prepare a constitution for a free India. The Nehru Report spelled out dominion status for India like that of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

The radical wing of the INC, led by Motilal's son Jawaharlal, opposed the Nehru Report. They wanted complete independence, and the Calcutta session of

the INC in December 1928, presided over by Motilal Nehru, witnessed heated debates. Gandhi's intervention averted a split. It was decided that the INC would launch civil disobedience for complete independence if the British would not grant dominion status within a year. Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of the historic Lahore session of the INC in 1929. Gandhi launched the salt satyagraha with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. Nehru was arrested but released, as he was not in good health. He died on February 6, 1931. Motilal Nehru was one of the important figures in the history of the INC. He was a great parliamentarian and an eloquent speaker and organizer. Although overshadowed by his famous son, Motilal Nehru had carved a niche for himself in the Indian anticolonial struggle.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

New Deal, U.S.

In his acceptance speech at the 1932 Democratic National Convention, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT pledged "a new deal for the American people." The term was subsequently used to describe the spate of government programs and reform laws enacted during the first months of Roosevelt's presidency in 1933; 15 major bills impacting industry, agriculture, banking, and the unemployed were passed during Roosevelt's first hundred days in office to combat the crisis of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Another round of legislation, known as the Second New Deal, was adopted in 1935. The various New Deal programs marked an unprecedented effort by the U.S. federal government to stabilize the country and improve the daily lives of Americans.

Among the most significant legislation was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933. The act attempted to stabilize the economy through careful planning, striking a balance between supply and demand. A primary cause of the depression had been the disparity between industrial productivity and consumer purchasing power: While manufacturing output, spurred by rapid technological advances, increased 50

percent during the 1920s, per capita income rose much more slowly at 9 percent, and the result was a precariously inefficient, wasteful national economy. The Roosevelt administration responded by calling for fair competitive practices, production quotas, price controls, and increased wages. To gain the crucial support of business leaders, the administration suspended antitrust laws and permitted major industries and trade associations to govern themselves by establishing compacts under the auspices of the National Recovery Administration (NRA). To gain the support of labor, the administration enforced a minimum wage, a 40-hour workweek, and the outlawing of child labor.

AGRICULTURE

The Roosevelt administration similarly sought to rationalize the agricultural sector of the economy through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). Even during the 1920s, American farmers were faced with overproduction, low crop prices, and a heavy debt load, and their plight dramatically worsened during the depression years. The nation's net farm income, worth \$6.1 billion in 1929, plummeted to \$2 billion in 1932. Sheriff's sales were commonplace in rural areas, as farmers could not meet their mortgages; on a single day in 1932 in Mississippi, 25 percent of the land in the state was foreclosed. The AAA made payments to farmers to reduce acreage and eliminate livestock. For example, in 1933 the government subsidized the destruction of 10 million acres of cotton, 6 million piglets, and 200,000 sows. To fend off foreclosures, the Farm Credit Administration lent out \$100 million in 1933 to facilitate the refinancing of mortgages.

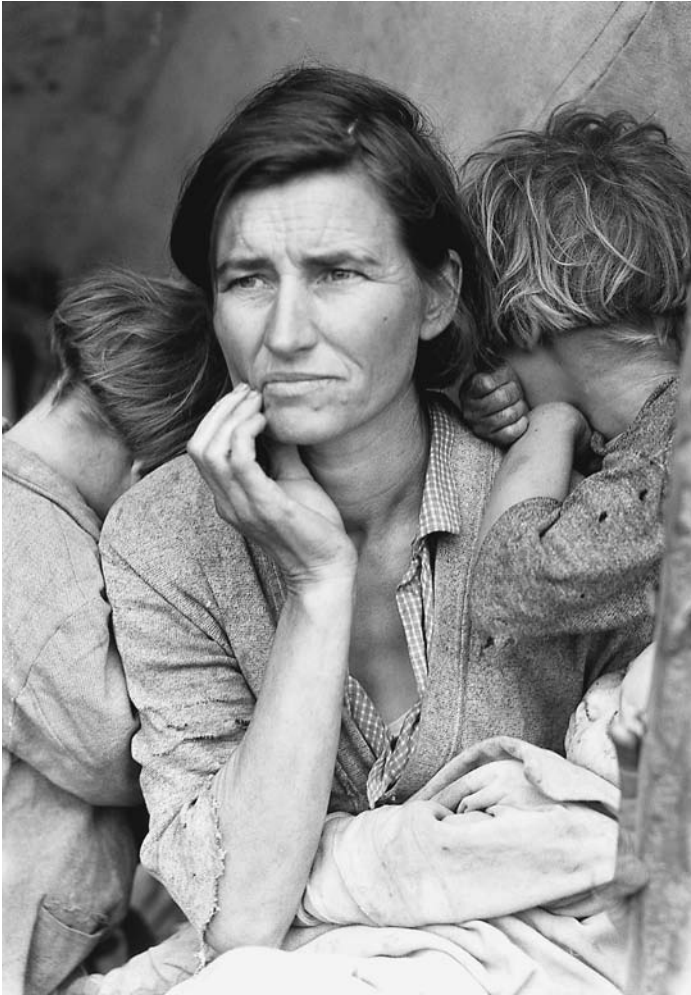
While the New Deal attempted to address structural problems in the American economy, there was a pressing need for immediate relief. At the time of Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, 25 percent of the workforce was unemployed. In response, Congress appropriated \$500 million to form the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which disbursed emergency grants to state and local agencies for direct distribution to the poor. In addition, the administration created the Civil Works Administration, a temporary organization that provided small construction and repair jobs for 4 million workers during the winter of 1933–34. As part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was established to sponsor large-scale public works enabling steady employment. Among other projects, the PWA completed the Grand Coulee Dam, the Triborough Bridge in New York City, and hundreds of school buildings.

The New Deal produced a hodgepodge of other programs reflecting the administration's ad hoc experimentation in the face of crisis. The Civilian Conservation Corps, one of the president's pet projects, employed approximately 3 million young unmarried men on environmental projects, such as building firebreaks and campgrounds in national parks. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), another project of special interest to Roosevelt, was an effort to bring hydroelectric power to the underdeveloped Tennessee River region, where only 2 percent of farms had electricity in 1932. The TVA built 30 dams to reclaim floodplains and more than a dozen power plants to generate cheap electricity. In 1934 Congress passed the Securities and Exchange Act, which successfully reined in some of the speculative stock market practices that had contributed to the crash in 1929. The New Deal became involved in cultural efforts such as Federal Project One, a relief program established in 1935 to provide work for writers, actors, musicians, and artists. Roosevelt's administration made little effort to aid minority groups and had a particularly poor record on African-American civil rights, as the president hesitated to offend influential southern Democratic congressmen. Nevertheless, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 allowed Native Americans increased autonomy on their reservations.

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

The most serious political challenge to the New Deal was mounted between 1934 and 1936. During those years, prominent conservative businessmen created a well-publicized lobby group, the American Liberty League, to denounce what they saw as the New Deal commitment to class warfare and incipient communism. The populist Louisiana governor HUEY LONG accused the Roosevelt administration of placating wealthy businessmen, advocating a "Share the Wealth" program that would force the rich to pay for social programs for the poor. A mass movement led by a retired doctor, Francis Townsend, supported the creation of an "Old Age Revolving Pension," by which every American over the age of 60 would receive a monthly federal payment. The Supreme Court dealt the New Deal a blow through several unfavorable decisions; the most significant, *Schechter Poultry Corp v. United States*, ruled unanimously that the National Recovery Administration was unconstitutional.

Always a nimble politician, the president sought to defuse populist discontent by offering moderate versions of the favored programs of his most prominent critics. Historians regard the Second New Deal



Dorothea Lange's classic photo of a migrant mother in California reveals the social cost of the depression.

in 1935 as more directly committed to assisting the unemployed, industrial workers, and the elderly than the First New Deal of 1933–34. The administration instituted the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a considerable expansion of earlier work relief programs that eventually employed more than 8 million people. The National Labor Relations Act extended the labor rights of the NIRA by establishing a National Labor Relations Board to arbitrate collective bargaining.

This guaranteed unions increased protections and served to systematize relations between mass-production workers and their employers. Perhaps the most far-reaching legislation of the New Deal era, the Social Security Act established a “safety net” for Americans, providing not only an old-age pension but also unemployment insurance and federal assistance for needy, dependent children and the disabled.

Despite its enormously ambitious agenda, the New Deal did not produce the hoped-for economic recovery. The gross national product slowly increased during Roosevelt’s first term in office, but in 1937 the country suffered through a significant downturn known as the “Roosevelt Recession,” when business profits dropped by 80 percent.

Farm prices increased by 50 percent between 1932 and 1936, but much of the scarcity in agriculture was brought on by an environmentally devastating DUST BOWL that engulfed the Plains states. The problem of unemployment remained intractable. Unemployment statistics looked much the same throughout the New Deal era: 21.7 percent of American workers were unemployed in 1934, 20.1 percent in 1935, and 19.0 percent in 1938. The general economic mobilization during WORLD WAR II—and not New Deal policy—finally enabled the country to recover from the Great Depression.

Historians have pointed to several problems with the implementation of New Deal programs that impeded their effectiveness. For example, the National Recovery Administration struggled with the unwieldy task of administering competition and production codes for more than 550 separate industries. Small businessmen complained about having no voice in the NRA, and fewer than 10 percent of the code authorities included labor representatives. Large businesses sought to protect their own self-interest and so engaged in price-fixing measures, instituting rules that forbade selling “below cost.” Consumers were thus denied the chance to buy inexpensive goods. The benefits of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration were also unevenly distributed, favoring rural landowners rather than tenant farmers and sharecroppers, who constituted one-fourth of the population in the South during the 1930s. A widespread practice by landowners was to evict their tenants, take that land out of production, and collect payment from the AAA.

The president expressed ambivalence about his administration’s relief efforts. Although these programs were established with the idea that work relief could restore a sense of dignity among the unemployed, Roosevelt was concerned that relief would become “a habit with the country.”

Historians have debated the legacy of the New Deal. During the 1950s, many viewed the New Deal as a triumph for liberalism and democracy. In the 1960s, revisionist historians argued that the New Deal consistently pushed an agenda of “corporate liberalism.” Their analysis held that the depression decade offered an unprecedented opportunity to substantively change

the American economic system. Instead, the Roosevelt administration, influenced by corporate and financial elites, used strategic moderate reforms to defuse popular discontent, thereby safeguarding capitalism.

More recent historians have countered that Roosevelt had no mandate to restructure American society through radical reform. They point to the inherent conservatism of the American people during the 1930s. Corporate interests remained hostile to the New Deal even after it introduced banking and securities reforms that effectively stabilized the financial system. Many of Roosevelt's congressional allies, particularly western and southern senators, were only willing to support the emergency measures of the First New Deal. They were deeply suspicious of expanding federal bureaucratic power and fought against non-emergency reforms.

The New Deal established the template for federal activism—but the Roosevelt administration also understood that this activism should be tempered by the desires of constituents. The New Deal philosophy insisted that Americans had the right to basic welfare protections, initiating “safety net” policies that lasted through the 20th century. Primarily, however, the New Deal was an expedient, improvisatory response to the emergency conditions of the Great Depression.

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TOM COLLINS

New Economic Policy, Soviet Union

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was the transition from an inherent policy of “military communism” food surplus requisitioning to regular food taxation accompanied by liberalization of internal trade and a state monopoly on international trade and heavy industry.

The introduction of the NEP was the result of the necessity to maintain the rural population and the agricultural sector of the economy, which were exhausted

by civil war. A famine in 1921–23 in the central part of Russia due to economic as well as ecological and climatic factors was an argument in favor of the revision of existing economic policy.

The NEP was an initiative of VLADIMIR LENIN, who, by the beginning of 1921, had already realized that the young Soviet state could face a peasants' war. The 10th congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) took place in March 1921 and adopted Lenin's proposal to transition from food surplus requisitioning to a regular taxation system, the starting point of the NEP, called *nepo* or *nep*. From the very beginning the NEP was perceived by Communists as a forced temporary deviation from the immediate introduction of communism based on so-called Marxist ideals.

Changes in the food taxation system (the transition from voluntaristic food requisitioning to regular food and, soon afterward, to money taxation) accompanied other reforms in the economic sphere. One of the most important of them was the introduction of the possibility for peasants to sell their surplus products at free markets, which meant the renewal of free internal trade in the country. Foreign concessions and lease and privatization of small enterprises were allowed, and trusts got permission for their activity on self-supporting bases. The organization of new collective and state farms was temporarily suspended, and private land cultivation and land lease were allowed.

Nevertheless, the building of communism was not cancelled at all, and key aspects of the economy were totally controlled by the Soviet state. It was a sort of Bolsheviks' guarantee that in the future, socialist elements would overcome capitalist ones under the proletariat dictatorship.

The first results of the introduction of the NEP were visible as early as the 1925, when in most Soviet republics grain production was already as high as before WORLD WAR I, and industry production levels were also renewed. Changes in economic policy and a general improvement of human welfare were accompanied by general liberalization in the social and cultural spheres. The end of hunger and economic disaster destroyed the basis for peasants' rebellion movements and contributed greatly to the spontaneous breakup of widely distributed armed bands, particularly in the Ukraine.

Mass repressions were stopped, and amnesty was given to members of groups and noncommunist parties. Political emigrants were allowed to return to the country. Such liberalization, alongside an improvement in general welfare, gave the population under

Bolshevik rule a desire for freedom and caused movement in social and cultural life, ethnic identification, national revival, and other processes noncoherent with proletariat dictatorship ideology.

In social and cultural spheres, signs of the end of the general liberalization of internal policy connected with the NEP appeared as early as 1926–28. Usually they are associated with the campaign against so-called nationalistic deviations in the Ukraine, which was a specific trend in the communist movement that tried to synthesize the building of communist society with national liberation movements. This campaign was accompanied by an attack on the Orthodox and Autocephal Churches and the destruction of monasteries and churches.

In spite of obvious traces of economic growth, the country remained mostly agrarian in its economic orientation and could hardly be competitive with the leading European countries in its struggle for survival. Since the very beginning, the Soviet state had been permanently preparing for the great war against the imperialists, so a well-equipped and modern army needed to be created and maintained. One of the key tasks of the Bolsheviks, headed at that time by JOSEPH STALIN, became an acceleration of heavy industry development, which was ensured by significant investments. It was proclaimed the main goal of the country's development at the 14th congress in December 1925.

The only reliable source of such investments for the Soviet state was an internal one; that is, it could be maintained by redistribution of internal gross product, guaranteed by strictly controlling all spheres of the economy, the agrarian one included. One means of such gross product redistribution—artificially created differences in prices for industrial and agricultural products, with the help of which up to half of the agricultural segment's income was cut in favor of the industrial one—was widely used during the NEP period. By 1926 it resulted in the so-called NEP crisis: Price control by the state caused a significant excess of demand.

Economic policy reorientation, which factually meant dismantling the New Economic Policy, was marked by two epochal decisions by Communist leaders: industrialization and collectivization strategy plans, which came to be known as the Great Breakdown. The first five-year plan of industry development for 1928–33, adopted by the 15th congress of the Communist Party (December 1927), envisaged a high but relatively balanced rate of industry growth. Nevertheless, soon the Communist leadership demanded

acceleration. Investment shortage was accompanied by a food crisis in 1928, which was caused by extremely poor harvests in the main Soviet granaries. It was given as the reason to reactivate food requisitioning, to destroy the agrarian market, to intensify the organization of collective farms, and to begin a campaign against relatively prosperous peasants (*kulaki*), proclaimed by Stalin at the All-Union Conference of Marxists-Agrarians in December 1929.

These decisions faced economically motivated objections, and Stalin's ideas of economic strategic development met strong opposition among Communist Party leaders, including Nikolay Bukharin, Nikolay Rykov, and others. It was a reason that Stalin started his struggle for absolute power, which implied new waves of terror, hunger, and political repressions. In fact, dismantling of the New Economic Policy was the starting point for a final totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

Nigerian National Democratic Party

Historians widely credit the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) as the first political party in Nigeria. HERBERT MACAULAY formed the NNDP in 1922 by organizing a number of Yoruba interest groups into a cohesive single group with the intent of competing politically. In the 1922 elections for the Lagos legislative council, the NNDP won three seats and began its dominance in western Nigerian politics, which would last until the National Youth Movement (NYM) overtook the NNDP in 1938.

Politics within Nigeria during its colonial period were characterized by tribalism and geographic rivalry. The nature of the Nigerian system, along with the political culture of Nigeria, made it difficult for political parties to unite and form lasting coalitions. Obstacles to political participation traditionally included the number of rural citizens, high illiteracy rates, and the fact that Nigerians speak several hundred different languages. The dominant political parties tended to serve local interests: the Action Group is supported by the Yoruba in western Nigeria

and eastern Nigeria; the Ibos in Southeastern Nigeria follow the National Congress of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC); the Northern People's Congress (NPC) boasts support from the north and the Hausa-Fulani tribe.

Nationalism marked the period between WORLD WAR I and WORLD WAR II in Nigeria. Overall, the Nigerian variety of nationalism did not call for independence but for inclusion in the political system. Created by British colonialism, Nigeria reflected a number of different clans and tribes concentrated geographically. The 1922 constitution allowed the political Nigerian the chance to participate in the political process through the election of a number of representatives to the legislative council. One of the many to emerge from the new political opportunities was Herbert Macaulay, referred to as the "father of Nigerian nationalism." His background as a Nigerian civil servant and his education in England gave him a broad background and the experience necessary for successful activism. Macaulay used his newspaper, the *Lagos Daily News*, to awaken Nigerian nationalism.

The early political platform of the NNDP pushed for a number of reforms. Macaulay called for both economic and educational development. Other popular issues with the NNDP were the Africanization of the civil service and self-government for Lagos. The NNDP, however, only remained a force in Lagos until it was overcome by the NYM. Like other Nigerian political parties, the NNDP's inability to expand beyond the city of Lagos made it difficult for it to become a truly national party.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Northern Expedition

In 1923 SUN YAT-SEN made an agreement with the Soviet Union that helped him reorganize the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), and provided military aid to build an army. His price was to admit members of the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) to the KMT,

where many were given key posts. Sun formed a government in Canton and died in 1925, after which the KMT split, with the pro-Communist wing in command, led by WANG JINGWEI (Wang Ching-wei) and controlled by Soviet adviser Michael Borodin. Anti-Communist right-wing KMT leaders were expelled.

By July 1926 the 80,000-strong KMT army commanded by CHIANG KAI-SHEK and led by officers trained by him in the Whampoa Military Academy was ready to take on the warlords and unify China. It confronted over 800,000 men from three warlord armies. Chiang won overwhelming victories, clearing warlord armies from lands south of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River. In his wake, Wang Jingwei moved the Nationalist capital from Canton to Wuhan. Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN's goal was to use the Nationalists to defeat the warlords. But after conquering financial centers Shanghai and Nanjing (Nanking), Chiang preempted Stalin by striking first. He purged the CCP from areas he controlled directly and established an alternate government (to Wuhan) in Nanjing in April 1927. In July the leftists in Wuhan finally realized that they were Stalin's next intended victims and, after dismissing the Soviet advisers, broke with the CCP and dissolved their "government."

Chiang resumed the Northern Expedition early in 1928. His major obstacle was Japanese intervention to prevent the unification of China. The Japanese captured provincial capital Jinan (Chinan of Shandong [Shantung] province), killing 16 Chinese diplomats sent to negotiate and several thousand civilians in the Jinan incident. Chiang avoided war with Japan, diverting his troops' advance by a longer route. In June the Northern Expeditionary army entered Beijing (Peking) peacefully. Nanjing became China's national capital, and Beijing was renamed Beiping (Peiping), which means "northern peace." By the end of 1928, the nation was reunified, though nominally for many regions; the KMT became the ruling government, and China entered a new era.

See also UNITED FRONT, FIRST (1923-1927) AND SECOND (1937-1941).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Nuremberg laws

During the annual convention of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in Nuremberg on September 15, 1935, the "Nuremberg laws" were passed. This new legislation built the basis for the fascist policies of the Third Reich under ADOLF HITLER that led to the extermination of Jews in THE HOLOCAUST. The laws defined specifically who qualified as a German citizen and thus had the right to official state protection. The laws also clearly defined Jews as enemies of the state and as such stripped them of their rights of citizenship, marginalized them, and prepared for their succeeding mass extermination.

The first Nuremberg law, titled "The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor," prohibited marriages and sexual relations between Germans and Jews and forbade the employment of German women under the age of 45 in Jewish households. It clearly stated a potential danger for fertile German women working in Jewish households. This cast the Jews as lustful beings with little control over their instincts. Jews were portrayed as dangerous to Germans. The first law was passed unanimously in the Reichstag and promulgated on September 16, 1935.

The second law, the so-called Reich Citizenship Law, clarified the relationship between German citizens and the state. It made clear that only Germans determined through blood counted as "nationals." As such, they were considered worthy of protection by the state, but they were also obliged to comply with the provisions that the state made for them. The Reich only considered as citizens those who showed through their behavior that they were personally fit to serve the nation and were loyal to the state. The Reich Citizenship Law was further defined by the first supplementary of the law on November 14, 1935. It used the criterion of purity of blood to distinguish citizens from individuals of mixed Jewish blood and Jews. The state granted the right of citizenship only to full-blooded Germans. Only they were allowed to vote and hold political offices. Jews were explicitly excluded from political participation, and Jews currently in political offices were ordered to retire by December 31, 1935.

The Nuremberg laws were soon followed by "The Law for the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People," which required all persons wanting to marry to submit to a medical examination, after which a "Certificate of Fitness to Marry" would be issued if they were found to be free of disease. The certificate was required in order to get a marriage license.

The Nuremberg laws built the basis for the exclusion and later persecution of Jews in German society that eventually led to the Holocaust. The laws operated from the premise that Germans were the pinnacle of evolution and that the German blood pool was superior to that of all other races. As such, the NSDAP considered the protection of the pure German blood pool essential and wanted to ensure that German blood did not mix with that of other races.

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UTA KRESSE RAINA

Nuremberg Trials

The Nuremberg Trials generally refers to the trials against members of the German leadership for war crimes committed in the period leading up to and during WORLD WAR II. The decision to try these individuals was made during the war. In 1943, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT of the United States, Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL of Great Britain, and JOSEPH STALIN of the USSR proclaimed in the Moscow Declaration, the intent to hold the German leadership responsible for their actions associated with the war. That same year, the initial meeting of the United Nations War Crimes Commission met in London to address the issue. Although there were differing opinions regarding the scope of the trials, the procedural framework, and the substantive nature of the charges, the ultimate decision was made to prosecute roughly 20 members of German government, military, and industry for their involvement in the war. The main portion of the proceedings was held from November 1945 until August 1946 at the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg.

The Nuremberg Trials were an ambitious undertaking. At the time the charges were brought, there was little, if any, precedent for these charges in international law. The four-count indictment sought to hold accountable not just the individual heads of the NAZI regime, but also the various governmental units. The first count alleged, essentially, that the defendants acted in a conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and



Hermann Göring stands in the prisoner's dock after hearing himself accused of war crimes. Seated beside him is Rudolf Hess, 1946.

crimes against humanity. The second count claimed the defendants engaged in a war of aggression. The third count set out that the defendants had a common plan to commit war crimes. The fourth count alleged crimes against humanity, which included the claim that the defendants persecuted civilians on political, racial, and religious grounds.

Like the substantive charges in the indictment, the procedure by which the defendants would be charged and tried was something unheard of at the time. Because the British, American, French, and Soviet forces had divided the conquered Germany, each country attempted to influence the manner in which the defendants were to be tried. Four prosecutorial teams assembled to address the charges, and there were four judges, as well as alternates, from the four representative nations. The logistics of holding the proceedings were also daunting. Hundreds of thousands of pages of documents were entered into evidence, and over 100 witnesses testified. Because the prosecutors and the judges presiding over the tribunal were from the representative countries, all communications at the trial needed to be translated into English, French, German, and Russian.

The individual defendants were carefully selected so as to represent various segments of the Nazi regime. The defendants were members of the military and government and heads of industry. With Adolf Hitler having committed suicide, the most prominent defendant was Hermann Göring, the commander in chief of the Luftwaffe, or German air force, and president of the Reichstag. Wilhelm Keitel was the chief of staff of

the supreme command of the armed forces. Karl Doenitz, commander in chief of the navy, was Hitler's successor. One person charged, Robert Ley, committed suicide before he could be tried, and two were ultimately deemed unfit to stand trial. All in all, there were 22 named defendants tried, including Martin Bormann, who was tried in absentia. Although the majority of the defendants were convicted, a few were acquitted of some or all of the charges against them. Sentences ranged from death by hanging to imprisonment.

Although the Nuremberg Trials generally refer to the initial trial, there were, in fact, 12 follow-up trials involving other lesser-ranking members of the German government involved in various war crimes and human rights abuses. Although some legal scholars challenge the legitimacy of the trials, they served as a detailed review of the atrocities committed by the German government in World War II. The Nuremberg Trials have served as a model for subsequent war crimes tribunals.

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DARWIN BURKE

Nyasaland (Malawi)

Nyasaland is the name for the former British protectorate that is the present-day country of Malawi. Modern Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) form the nation's borders.

A number of native ethnic groups inhabit the Nyasaland region, including the Chewa, the Yaos, the Lowmes, the Tonga, the Tumbuka, and the Ngoni. The area has been inhabited for about 12,000 years and was first visited by Europeans when the Portuguese adventurer Gaspar Bocarro explored in 1492. Like most of Africa, Nyasaland suffered the damages of the slave trade that flourished in the following centuries.

After the Scottish missionary David Livingston arrived on the shores of the lake he named Lake Nyasa in 1859, other missionaries answered his call to come to Africa and fight the slave trade. The first European trade station was built in 1884 at Karonga in the northeastern part of the territory by the African Lakes Company, owned primarily by Glasgow traders. As Britain's imperialist expansion continued, what was known as the Shire Highlands Protectorate in 1889

became a protectorate of the crown. The name was changed to Nyasaland Districts in 1891, to the British Central Africa Protectorate in 1893, and still later to the Nyasaland Protectorate. The area was called Nyasaland until its independence in 1964.

Nyasaland's people resented European rule and in 1915, led by John Chilembwe, openly revolted. Although they were unsuccessful in freeing themselves from foreign rule, the Africans continued to work for their independence. The Nyasaland African Congress (later the Malawi Congress Party) was formed in 1944 with this goal in mind. When Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda became leader of the party in 1959, the movement for freedom intensified.

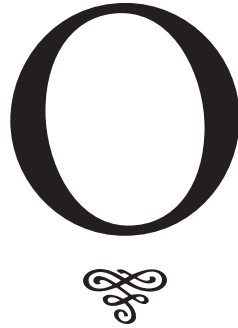
In 1953, at the urging of Britain and of white colonial residents hoping to establish a powerful economic center in the region, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (also called the Central African Federation) was formed. Salisbury (now Harare) in southern Rhodesia was designated the capital of the federation. Giving powers to five governments made the constitution for the federation one of the most complex ever written.

Two British administrative offices had powers: the Commonwealth Office, which managed affairs with southern Rhodesia, and the Colonial Office, which worked in northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In addition, each of these three territories had powerful governors, and there was a governor-general of the federation. In addition, the Africans, especially the government of northern Rhodesia now dominated by Africans, were demanding more political control of their own lives.

Nyasaland gained its independence from Britain in 1964; it was renamed Malawi in reference to the Maravi, a Bantu people who came from the southern Congo about 600 years before, and elected Dr. Banda as the new nation's first president.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM



Obregón, Álvaro

(1880–1928) *Mexican president*

The president of Mexico from 1920 until 1924, General Álvaro Obregón Salido was born on February 19, 1880, at the Hacienda de Siquisiva in southern Sonora, in the far northwest of Mexico. The 17th son of Francisco Obregón, who died when Álvaro was young, and Cenobia Salido, it is often claimed that his name was derived from the Irish surname O'Brian. In later life Obregón used to joke that he had so many older brothers and sisters that when the family ate Gruyère cheese only the holes were left for him.

Obregón did not take part in politics when he was young and stayed away from the clashes during the MEXICAN REVOLUTION. He spent this time working on the family farm and was said to have learned the Mayan language during this period, although some biographers claim that he could only speak a few words. He developed skills including carpentry and photography.

In 1911 Álvaro Obregón entered politics, being elected mayor of Huatabampo. He was a supporter of the then president, FRANCISCO MADERO, who was facing four separate revolts. Madero was captured and executed by two of the rebel leaders, Félix Díaz, nephew of a former longtime president, and General VICTORIANO HUERTA. Huerta was an unpopular president, and Obregón joined a revolt led by VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, which overthrew him. With Carranza in power, there were also clashes between the new government's forces and those of PANCHO VILLA. Obregón, aided by Gen-

eral Benjamin Hill, led the federal troops on April 6–7, 1915, when they defeated Villa's men. In a battle that lasted from April 29 to June 5, Obregón again defeated Villa but lost his right arm to a grenade. On July 10 in the next engagement of what became collectively known as the Battle of Celaya, Obregón's men prevailed again.

Obregón had hoped to succeed Carranza when the presidency became vacant in 1920 and was angered when Carranza named Ignacio Bonillas as his successor. This caused Obregón to plan a military revolt to put himself into power. Carranza was deposed and killed in May 1920 and was replaced by Adolfo de la Huerta, who was provisional president until elections could be held. After the elections, which Obregón won, de la Huerta stepped down, and Obregón became president of Mexico. De la Huerta had done much to reduce the fighting in the country, and most of the country was, for the first time in many years, at peace. This situation allowed for more money to be spent on education than on defense. When rebellions did break out, they were quickly crushed, and their leaders were killed.

Although the four years of Obregón's presidency saw further land and agrarian reforms and moves to reduce the power of the Roman Catholic Church, Obregón changed Carranza's hostile approach to the United States to one of establishing better trade and diplomatic relations. When he became president, the U.S. government did not extend recognition to his regime. This initial problem was made worse by the death of a U.S. citizen, Rosalie Evans, who was killed defending her farm from the governor of Puebla, José

María Sánchez. In summer 1923, talks began between Mexican and U.S. representatives and led to the Bucareli Accords, by which the Mexican government rolled back some of the measures that had been introduced by the revolutionaries. Some senators denounced it as going back on fundamental promises made by current and previous administrations. In heated debate the accords were denounced in both the Mexican senate and the chamber of deputies. However, in September 1923 the U.S. government formally recognized Obregón as president of Mexico. Trade increased quickly, especially with the improved sale of Mexican petroleum to the United States.

Obregón's main reason for overthrowing Carranza had been the latter's choice of an heir apparent. This was also going to cause Obregón trouble. He chose PLUTARCO CALLES as his successor, but Adolfo de la Huerta contested this, leading a revolt in December 1923. With U.S. support for his government, Obregón prevented guns from being sold to the rebels, and the rebellion fizzled out, but not before they had killed one of Obregón's allies, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the governor of Yucatán. Obregón was able to step down as president on November 20, 1924, and then returned to Sonora.

Calles became the next president, and in 1926 there was a change in the constitution to allow presidents to serve nonconsecutive terms. Obregón decided that he would like to contest the next election. In November 1927 Segura Vilchis, a Roman Catholic engineer, threw a bomb at Obregón's car at Chapultepec Park in Mexico City. Obregón survived, but Vilchis and some accomplices were executed a few days later. In 1928 Obregón contested the presidential elections again—he was the only candidate—and won, although he was in bad health. Returning to Mexico City to celebrate his victory, he survived an assassination attempt, but on July 17, 1928, at the La Bombilla restaurant in the capital, he was assassinated by José de León Toral, a Catholic seminary student who opposed the anticlerical policies of Obregón. He was arrested, tried, and subsequently executed.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

oil industry in the Middle East

During the 20th century oil became a major revenue source for a number of Middle Eastern nations. The first petroleum concession was signed between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) and the Qajar shah of Iran in 1901. An Australian, William Knox D'Arcy, negotiated the contract, whereby the shah and the grand vizier received 50,000 shares as a gift. The government was to receive 16 percent of the profits after costs were subtracted. The contract was to last for 60 years, the company was to pay no taxes, and the prospecting covered 500,000 square miles, or five-sixths, of Iran. The British government owned half of Anglo-Iranian Oil, Burmah Oil owned 22 percent, and the rest was owned by a combination of investors. The company justified the extremely favorable terms on the grounds that at the time, prospecting for oil was extremely risky and capital intensive. Dozens of wells might be drilled at great expense before oil was found. Reza Shah managed to obtain better terms after he revoked the first concession in 1932.

The first contract set the pattern for future ones in the region for the next half century. The petroleum industry was a vertical and horizontal monopoly. Western companies controlled the prospecting, sources, transport, refining, and sale of oil. Seven major corporations, or the so-called "seven sisters," eventually dominated the industry. These were Standard Oil of New Jersey (founded by John Rockefeller), Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Gulf, Socony-Mobil, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California. Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CFP) and an Italian company were smaller firms. Many of these companies had overlapping ownerships and directors.

Middle East governments were too weak, lacked the technology to develop the industry themselves, and willingly granted concessions giving Western companies control over their vital natural resource. With no private ownership of oil fields in the Middle East, revenues from oil went directly to the governments to be spent as each deemed appropriate. Because the oil was purchased primarily in Western nations for industrial, military, and transport use, the resource did not generate many jobs or secondary industries in the Middle East, unlike, for example, the automotive industry in the West, which created numerous secondary industries.

The second major concession in the Middle East was signed between Iraq and a consortium of Western companies. Calouste Gulbenkian negotiated the contract in exchange for 5 percent of the shares. As a result of this deal, Gulbenkian was dubbed "Mr. Five Percent"



In the 20th century, oil became a major source of revenue for many Middle Eastern nations. As oil increased in value, these Middle Eastern nations were able to become more powerful economically and thus more important to world trade.

and became one of the richest men in the world at the time. Ownership of the company was apportioned as follows: 25 percent D'Arcy, comprising Burmah and the British government and that became known as British Petroleum (BP); 25 percent CFP, of which the French government owned 40 percent; 25 percent Royal Dutch Shell, comprising British and Dutch interests; and 25 percent U.S. gas, including Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Mobil. These firms divided payment of the 5 percent for Gulbenkian evenly among themselves. The contract covered all of Iraq for 75 years, allowed for no taxation of the companies, and established a set payment amount per ton. Revenues to oil-producing nations did not increase with prices that were set by the oil companies.

A New Zealander, Frank Holmes, obtained the concession in Bahrain in 1925, and U.S. companies bought into that concession. Holmes also negotiated with Kuwait for a concession there, but production in Kuwait did not begin until 1945.

Standard Oil of California initiated negotiations with King ABD AL-AZIZ IBN SAUD in Saudi Arabia and obtained a concession there in 1933 under the California Arabian Standard Oil Company that was to pay the Saudi Arabian government a set amount in gold sovereigns. During the GREAT DEPRESSION the payment was renegotiated for dollars or sterling. During the 1940s

additional investments by U.S. oil firms were made, and the company became the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO). Ownership of ARAMCO was divided among Standard Oil of California (30 percent), Texaco (30 percent), Standard Oil of New York (30 percent), and Socony Mobil (10 percent). With assistance from the U.S. government, ARAMCO built a refinery and extensive facilities for the company and its employees in Ras Tanura.

ARAMCO agreed to a 50-50 split with Saudi Arabia rather than paying the 50 percent corporate taxes in the United States in 1950. Other companies, which did not enjoy the same tax benefits from their nations, were reluctantly forced to follow suit.

By 1950 Middle East oil holdings were apportioned along the following lines: AIOC in Iran, Iraq, Mosul, Basra Petroleum companies (IPC) in Iraq, ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait Oil Company in Kuwait, Bahrain Petroleum Company in Bahrain, and Petroleum Development Ltd. (IPC) in Qatar. However, oil production and revenues in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states did not begin to soar until the 1960s and 1970s as demand from industrialized Western nations and Japan steadily escalated.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Olympic Games

The original Olympic Games were played in Olympia, Greece, from the eighth or ninth century B.C.E. to 393 C.E. The Renaissance's renewed interest in things classical inspired occasional small-scale multievent sporting festivals in various European cities throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, but the real revival of the Olympic Games themselves began when the site of Olympia was excavated in 1829. When the French lost the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, historian

Baron Pierre de Coubertin proposed that a revival of the games, a truly international competition would not only encourage international camaraderie, it would renew interest in athleticism among French youths, restoring physical competence to a generation. Coubertin and Demetrius Vikelas, a Greek businessman, founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to organize a modern Olympics Games.

Unlike the ancient games, the modern Olympics were held at a different site every four years, beginning in Athens in 1896. Athens had been the site of a number of local games held in honor of the ancient Olympics, and there is some dispute today over whether the founder of those games, Evangelis Zappas, should be considered the founder of the modern Olympics. But it was not until the IOC's games that participation became international and widespread; 14 countries competed in 43 events in 10 days, the greatest variety of participating athletes of any sporting event to that date. Greece and the United States won the majority of events. The games struggled to catch on, hampered by the competing popularity of the World's Fair and the difficulty transatlantic journeys posed. In the 1908 games in London, the modern length of the marathon was established as 26 miles and 385 yards; the highlight of the 1912 Stockholm games was the participation of Jim Thorpe, a famous all-around athlete.

In 1924, the first winter Olympics were held as an event separate from the summer games, though the 1924 event was not designated as such until after the fact. The first winter games announced as such were the 1928 games in St. Moritz, where 25 countries competed in 14 events. The 1936 summer games are perhaps the single most famous Olympics Games; they were held in Berlin at the peak of Nazism's popularity before the invasion of Poland and WORLD WAR II. Filmmaker and NAZI propagandist Leni Riefenstahl used technically advanced techniques to film *Olympia*, her chronicle of the games as commissioned by ADOLF HITLER.

Intended to demonstrate the athletic superiority of Aryans over non-Aryans, the movie instead recorded a significant number of non-Aryan victories, including those of African-American Jesse Owens, who won the gold medal in the 100-meter run, 200-meter run, and long jump and as part of the 4 x 100 meter relay team. Despite the Nazi position on his race, Owens was treated as a hero and celebrity in Berlin as much as in any other city, perhaps demonstrating a disconnect between the ruling ideology and the feelings of the people.



American athlete Jesse Owens at the start of his record-breaking 200-meter race at the 1936 summer Olympics in Berlin

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BILL KTE'PI

Open Door policy

China's catastrophic defeat in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1894–95) and its growing political and military weakness led to a scramble for concessions by Western powers that seemed to presage its eventual partition. The movement began in 1898 with Germany's successful demand to the Qing (Ch'ing) government for a 99-year lease of Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) as a naval base in SHANDONG (SHANTUNG) Province, the right to build a railway between that port and Jinan (Chinan), the provincial capital, and numerous mining and other rights. Shandong became a German sphere of influence as a result. Russia followed by obtaining similar privileges and concessions in the northeastern provinces (Manchuria) and Mongolia, and France in the south and southwestern provinces (Guangdong, Guangxi, and Yunnan) that adjoined French Indochina. Great Britain dominated China's foreign trade, amounting to 60 percent of its total imports and exports. While it feared the division of China into spheres of influence would damage British trade, it nevertheless moved to establish a sphere in the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley and in areas near Hong Kong.

The United States had not demanded a sphere of influence in China, did not have major trading interests in China, but feared that Western powers might impose discriminatory tariffs in areas under their influence. These concerns prompted W. W. Rockhill, private adviser on Far Eastern affairs to Secretary of State John Hay (1838–1905), to draft a memorandum, with the assistance of British diplomat Alfred E. Hippisley, that Hay sent in September 1899 to the governments of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan. This, the First Open Door Note, had three points: First, no country would interfere with the interests of others in its sphere of influence; second, no country would discriminate against the nationals of other countries by charging them different railway and harbor dues; and third, tariffs

stipulated by treaties would be collected by the Chinese government within Western spheres of influence. Despite receiving evasive and equivocal replies and no unqualified support from any country, Hay nevertheless announced on March 20, 1900, that all had given their "final and definitive" assent.

The BOXER REBELLION in China precipitated an international intervention in 1900 that threatened to carve up the country. Thereupon, Hay issued the Second Open Door Note on July 3, 1900, in which the United States stated its goal as: to "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative integrity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safe guard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." Hay did not solicit responses from the other powers on this declaration of principle.

The Open Door policy became one of the cornerstones of U.S. policy regarding China. It was embodied in the Washington Nine Power Treaty in 1922 and the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition of Japan's conquest and installation of a puppet government in Manchuria after 1931.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele

(1860–1952) *Italian politician*

Vittorio Emanuele Orlando was prime minister of Italy from 1917 to 1919 following the Italian army's defeat at Caporetto. Orlando was also head of his country's delegation to the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919. Aside from his prominent political role, Orlando, who was himself a professor of law, is also renowned for his writings on judicial issues.

Orlando was born on May 19, 1860, in Palermo, Sicily, where he was also raised and educated. He made a name for himself through his writings on government administration and electoral reform. In 1897, he was elected to the chamber of deputies, the Italian federal parliament. From 1903 to 1905, Orlando served as minister of education under King Vittorio Emanuele

(Victor Emanuel) III. In 1907, Orlando was appointed minister of justice, a portfolio he retained until 1909. He was subsequently reappointed to the same ministry in November 1914, and he became minister of the interior in June 1916.

Italy remained neutral during the initial phase of WORLD WAR I. The country was formally aligned with Germany and Austria-Hungary; a discussion started over whether Italy should enter the war on the Entente's side. Orlando was a strong proponent of Italy's entrance into the war, which took place when the kingdom declared war on Austria-Hungary in late May 1915. Always a strong supporter of Italy's participation in the war even after initial setbacks on the battlefield, Orlando was encouraged in his support of the Allies on the basis of secret promises made by the latter granting vast Italian territorial gains in the Mediterranean.

On October 30, 1917, Orlando became prime minister. It was a time of severe crisis following the disastrous defeat of the Italian troops at the Battle of Caporetto by the Austrians. With his appointment as prime minister having boosted national morale and having successfully rallied Italy to a renewed war effort, Orlando replaced the stubborn general Luigi Cadorna as chief of general staff with Armando Diaz. The following year saw Italian successes on the battlefield and the war's victorious conclusion in November.

Orlando served as prime minister until the end of the war and headed the Italian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. However, he proved unable to obtain the expected and promised territorial concessions. Orlando had a serious clash with his allies, especially President WOODROW WILSON of the United States. Orlando's claims to formerly Austrian territory collided with Wilson's policy of national self-determination. Wilson even appealed over Orlando's head to the Italian people on the question of the Mediterranean port of Fiume/Rijeka, which was requested by both Italy and Yugoslavia. Although that maneuver failed, Orlando dramatically left the conference in April 1919, returning only to sign the resultant treaty the following month. His position rapidly undermined by his apparent inability to get concessions from the Allies and to secure Italian interests at the peace conference, Orlando resigned from office on June 19, 1919. He was succeeded by Francesco Nitti.

On December 2 of the same year, Orlando was elected president of the chamber of deputies. In the rising conflict between the new Fascist Party of BENITO MUSSOLINI and the workers' organizations, Orlando at first supported the Fascists. He remained a supporter of Mussolini's government upon its inception at the end of

1922, although he changed his position two years later when the prominent Socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti fell victim to assassination. In 1925, Orlando resigned from parliament in protest against Fascist electoral fraud, serving thereafter in the constituent assembly.

Orlando remained in retirement until Mussolini's fall in July 1943. After the liberation of Rome in early June 1944, Orlando became a leading figure of the newly established Conservative Democratic Union. He was elected president of the constituent assembly in June 1946. Orlando's objections to the peace treaty brought about his resignation in 1947. The following year saw his election to the new Italian senate. The same year he was also a candidate for the presidency of the republic, but he was defeated by Luigi Einaudi. He died on December 1, 1952.

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MARTIN MOLL

Orozco, Pascual

(1882–1915) *Mexican revolutionary*

Pascual Orozco served as an important military and political leader in Mexico from 1910 to 1915, ultimately becoming a leading figure of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION. Born in the northern state of Chihuahua in 1882 to a politically active family, Orozco received a few years of primary education and worked in his father's store until becoming a muleteer, transporting ore from local mines. His transportation business prospered, and by 1910 he owned his own team of mules and a retail store and was known as a successful businessman with a good reputation as an honest man.

Orozco's political consciousness awoke with his father's opposition to the regime of Porfirio Díaz. Pascual Orozco, Sr., supported the activities of the Mexican Revolutionary Party, one of the earliest groups to oppose Díaz. In 1910 Abraham González, the revolutionary leader of Chihuahua and a supporter of FRANCISCO MADERO, picked Orozco to be the military leader of his home region of Guerrero. Orozco's reputation as an honest and efficient businessman facilitated



Pascual Orozco (center) served as an important military and political leader in Mexico from 1910 to 1915, ultimately becoming a leading figure of the Mexican Revolution. A member of a politically active family, Orozco had a reputation for success and honesty.

recruitment to the revolutionary cause. On November 10, 1910, Orozco initiated his military offensive, beginning operations the day before the official date set by Madero for the revolution to begin. On November 29 Orozco's forces took Pedernales, Chihuahua, the first significant rebel victory over the federal army. Orozco rose in the ranks to a leadership position, commanding revolutionary activities in the state of Chihuahua, which were marked by several triumphant engagements with Díaz's forces. Francisco Madero returned to Mexico and joined Orozco in February 1911, assuming command of military operations. After a devastating defeat at Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, undertaken without Orozco's knowledge, Madero recognized the talent of his Chihuahuan military leader and promoted Orozco to the position of colonel in the revolutionary army.

In May 1911 Orozco and FRANCISCO "PANCHO" VILLA prepared to attack Ciudad Juárez, a metropolitan center located on the U.S.-Mexico border directly opposite El Paso, Texas. Madero feared the attack could spill over into El Paso, leading to U.S. intervention. He subsequently ordered Orozco and Villa to call

off the attack; they ignored orders and forced the city into surrender. Orozco captured the federal commander at Juárez, General F. Navarro, with hopes that the general would be court-martialed for executing some of Orozco's troops. Madero disagreed and aided Navarro in escaping to the United States. The attack on Ciudad Juárez created tension between Madero and Orozco, tension that reached an apex when Madero failed to reward Orozco for his vital services to the revolutionary cause with the position of governor of Chihuahua or minister of war. Orozco was appointed to the position of commander of the rural guard of Chihuahua, a modest position, and later became the head of the garrison stationed at Juárez. He resigned this position in February 1912 after Madero ordered him to quell the Zapatista rebellion in the south, but Madero refused his resignation. Orozco suppressed one more uprising in the north and resigned again.

Feeling that his talents and contributions to the revolution and Madero's presidency went unrecognized and with the financial backing of oppositional political factions in Chihuahua, Orozco openly denounced the

Madero government. Madero's oversight of Orozco's contributions to his rise to power now put the new president into open rebellion with his most successful rebel leader. Chihuahua raged with violent revolt, and the governor of the state fled for his life. Madero's new government struggled to put down the rebellion and found its coffers drained and its attention taken away from reform projects by the focus on stabilizing the country, especially the north. Madero dispatched General VICTORIANO HUERTA to put down Orozco's rebellion in April 1912. Huerta succeeded in taking back Ciudad Juárez but did not capture Orozco.

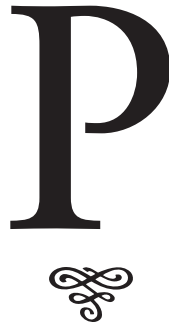
A turn of events in February 1913 left Huerta president of Mexico by way of a military coup and Madero's assassination. Huerta needed military support to overcome resistance to his seizure of power and looked toward Orozco as an important ally. In exchange for financial demands and a program of agrarian reform, Orozco became a brigadier general in Huerta's army. In May 1913 Orozco began his northern campaign against Huerta's enemies, experiencing a series of victories, which led to his promotion to general of brigade. He battled Pancho Villa for control of Chihuahua, but disagreements with fellow general Salvador Mercado over political and military affairs ultimately contributed to the defeat of the federal forces. Huerta dispatched Orozco again in April 1914 to Chihuahua to create a base for guerrilla operations, but Huerta's resignation and exile in July 1914 dissolved that operation.

With this change in government, Orozco did not wait for a new administration to revolt. This time, however, he lacked popular support, and within two months he no longer represented a military threat. Now in the United States, Huerta courted Orozco in his scheme to take back the Mexican presidency. Orozco agreed to meet Huerta at Newman, New Mexico, to discuss the conspiracy.

Federal agents had been monitoring Huerta, and the two men were arrested and charged with conspiracy to violate U.S. neutrality laws on January 13, 1916. Orozco escaped federal custody on July 3 but was killed on August 30 by a posse made up of U.S. federal marshals, Texas Rangers, and U.S. Army troops. Some characterized Orozco's death as an execution, finding it odd that Orozco and his four companions were all shot, while the posse suffered no losses or injuries.

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KATHLEEN LEGG



Pahlavi dynasty and Shah Reza Khan

At the end of WORLD WAR I, Iran was in desperate straits. The authority of the central government had broken down, and the country faced national bankruptcy in addition to famine in some regions. In 1919 the majlis (parliament) declined a British offer of financial and military assistance, and British support personnel left the country. Reza Khan, the commanding officer of the Persian Cossack Brigade, along with newspaper editor and political writer Sayyid Zia Tabatabai, stepped into the void and seized power in a February 1921 coup d'état. Sayyid Zia Tabatabai became premier, and Reza Khan became commander of the armed forces. On February 26, the new government signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Reza Khan was the true power in the new government. Within three months he had ousted Tabatabai, who went into exile. Two years later, in October 1923, with the support of loyal army forces, Reza Khan became premier, and Shah Ahmad Mirza, the last shah of the Qajar dynasty, left the country never to return. In October 1925, the majlis formally deposed Ahmad Shah, and in December Reza Khan was proclaimed the new sovereign. In an attempt to tie the new monarchy to ancient Persian history, Reza Khan took the name Pahlavi for his dynasty. He then embarked on an ambitious program of modernization.

During his reign, Reza Shah enacted educational and judicial reforms that eroded the role and influence of the mullahs (Shi'i clergy), and the clerics gradually lost their

preeminence in education, judicial administration, and document registration. The clergy opposed these and other reforms and often openly clashed with the new regime. In a push for national unification, Reza Shah banned traditional and ethnic forms of dress in favor of Western clothing. He opened the nation's schools and its first university in Tehran to women. Women were officially freed from wearing the veil in 1936, and divorce laws were also changed in their favor.

Reza Shah established an authoritarian system, suppressing political parties and restricting the press. Rebellious tribal leaders were either imprisoned or put to death. Several of Reza Shah's ministers and other prominent Iranian critics of the regime also died under suspicious circumstances.

On the other hand, Reza Shah implemented many reforms that benefited the nation. He established a national bank in 1927 and improved the tax collection process. He also transformed Iran's bureaucracy into a Western-style civil service of 90,000 people and extended the reach of the national government through reorganized ministries and administrative divisions. He instituted a form of state socialism to build a modern infrastructure. New civil, penal, and commercial codes were introduced. In 1933 Reza Khan also gained improved terms on the oil concession granted to British companies earlier in the 20th century.

External rather than internal events ended Reza Shah's reign. Fearing both increased Soviet and British influences in Iran, Reza Shah turned to NAZI Germany. After ADOLF HITLER invaded the Soviet Union in 1941,

Iran's neutrality was jeopardized as the Allies sought safe, overland passage through Iran for delivery of U.S. supplies to the Soviet front. They also wanted to ensure that Germany did not gain access to vital Iranian oil supplies. When it became evident that the shah would not cooperate, Soviet and British troops invaded Iran in August 1941. In September Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Mohammed Reza; he went into exile first to Mauritius and then to South Africa. He died in Johannesburg on July 26, 1994.

See also IRAN-SOVIET RELATIONS; OIL INDUSTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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KEITH BUKOVICH

Pakistan resolution

The Pakistan resolution (also known as the Lahore resolution) called for the creation of one or more separate Muslim states on the Indian subcontinent. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE passed the resolution on March 23, 1940, during its meeting at Lahore, India. Muslims in British-ruled India had become concerned about what would happen when Great Britain left India. As the minority population in predominantly Hindu India, they were concerned about being able to protect their rights and their religious identity. They believed that their best option was the creation of Muslim states, formed in the regions where Muslims were a majority of the population.

As India moved toward self-government during the 1930s, many people believed that it would become an independent nation with a Hindu majority and Muslim minority. Many hoped that the two civilizations could work together to form a federated government. The INDIA ACT of 1935 moved India closer to independence by turning more of the government functions over to the local population by setting up elections that took place in 1937.

The Muslim League hoped to win some positions during the election, but instead it was almost totally shut out of the government and only won control in provinces with a Muslim majority. The INDIAN NATIONAL

CONGRESS, led by MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, won control of most local legislatures and declared that it was the only national party. However, led by MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, the Muslim League declared that it was still an equal partner in the governing process of the country. Muslim leaders feared that the Hindus were only interested in having complete control of the government and were not interested in sharing power in governing the country.

When WORLD WAR II began the congress refused to participate in the war, claiming that it had no interest in the affairs of Europe. The congress ordered its members to resign their offices to protest India's being forced to support Britain's war effort. Hindus protested India's involvement in the war and, Gandhi said that India would only support the war effort when Britain set a date for Indian independence.

Jinnah and the Muslim League took the opposite approach. They offered Britain their support and cooperation in the hope that Britain would then support their desire for a separate Muslim nation after the war. The British were happy with the support and included Jinnah in many aspects of the government. As a result, the league enhanced its stature and gained governing experience, while many congress leaders languished in jail.

The Muslim League held its convention at Lahore, India, and on March 23, 1940, issued the Pakistan resolution calling for the creation of a Muslim state or states. They called their state Pakistan, formed from the provinces in the northwestern part of India where the majority of the population was Muslim. Pakistan became an independent state in 1947.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism originated in the late 19th century in the West Indies. The spark for its enunciation was European colonialism's impact on Africa and African-descended people around the world. In the mid-20th century, Pan-Africanism became a rallying cry for

the African independence movements. Some elements sought a unified postcolonial continentwide African nation. The Pan-African movement developed two strains. Continental Pan-Africanism dealt with the continent itself, emphasizing political union or international cooperation. Diaspora Pan-Africanism attempted to bring together all black Africans and persons of African descent.

The underlying assumption of Pan-Africanism is that all African people have common ties and objectives that can best be realized by united effort. All Africans around the world have a common future based on a common past of forced dispersal through the slave trade, oppression through colonialism and racism, economic exploitation, and denial of political rights. All Africans also share a common history, culture, and social background, all of which are denied by white racism.

"All Africans" has been variously defined as including all black Africans, all people descended from black Africans, all people in Africa regardless of color, and all African states. All people working together for a common African goal based on a common African experience are considered part of the Pan-African movement.

Originally, Pan-Africanism sought unity of all African black cultures and countries. It expanded to encompass all black-descended people in the world, those who had been forced to the Caribbean, the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia through the transatlantic and Islamic/East African slave trades as well as later immigration. Some Pan-Africanists include the Sudroid and Australoid blacks of India. Also included are the Andamanese Island Negritos and the black aborigines of Melanesia, New Guinea, and Australia.

Colonial conquest was commonly followed by control of the native populations as a source of cheap and reliable labor in mines and on African plantations. Europeans came to dominate a market-based production of raw materials. Europeans imposed a caste system and a foreign type of governance over the tribal peoples, and the British were notable for using the local officials as pawns. Internal developments were made to facilitate the extraction of African wealth for European benefit.

Africans fought the colonialists from early on. Discontent with the system and dislike of the colonialists led to efforts to unify Africans for their own good. African rulers protested in writing to their European counterparts, and slaves rose against oppression periodically in the Americas and the Caribbean.

At the Congress of Berlin in 1884 to reduce European rivalries and friction in Africa, the European powers

prepared to divide Africa among themselves. The race for Africa led George Charles of the African Emigration Association (AEA) to declare in 1886 that the AEA intended to establish the United States of Africa. A Pan-Africanist conference in Chicago in 1893 denounced the European division of Africa, particularly the actions of the French against Liberia and Abyssinia.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester-Williams organized a Pan-African conference that brought Africans from the Caribbean and United States to London to discuss common concerns with white Britain. Initially, the meeting sought to protest unequal treatment of blacks in colonial Britain and in Britain itself. Speakers also spoke of the need to preserve the dignity of African peoples and to educate them and provide social services.

The conference also heard W. E. B. DuBois predict that "the problem of the twentieth century is the color line." Williams died in 1911, and DuBois took over management of the congresses. He organized the next several meetings. DuBois, one of the founders of the Niagara movement and the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), and other black leaders were concerned after WORLD WAR I about the treatment of African-American and African soldiers as well as the status of the former German African colonies. The first Pan-African Congress took place in 1919 in Paris, where the European powers were holding the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE.

The 1919 Pan-African Congress had an agenda similar to that of the 1900 meeting. Africans needed education and the right to participate in their own affairs. The former German colonies were of particular interest, and a proposal was made that the LEAGUE OF NATIONS hold them in trust until they were ready for self-determination. The league did take the territories under nominal oversight but gave them to the other European states without requiring any move toward self-determination.

The congresses became larger as attendance from the United States, Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe increased. Reasons for the growth included sponsorship of delegates by international labor movements, which were growing during the 1920s. Also, the black nationalism of MARCUS GARVEY was on the ascent. Garveyites in the United States sought African unity as well as improvement of the lot of working-class blacks. They contrasted with the elite blacks who tended to support DuBois. The Jamaican Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 as a vehicle for instilling black pride and improving the political and economic lot of blacks everywhere.

Garveyism also called for repatriation to Africa, the Back to Africa movement.

Garvey's movement rose rapidly, expanding beyond the United States. His UNIA had chapters in Europe, Australia, and South Africa, and his *Negro World* sold widely. The Black Star Line was Garvey's vehicle for entry into international trade as well as for transporting blacks to Liberia. In 1925 Garvey was arrested on mail fraud charges in connection with the operation of the steamship line, and the movement faded. Garvey's ideas lingered on, stimulating African students in London to create the West African Student Union (WASU) in 1929. WASU brought together the young, aggressive African and Caribbean blacks who wanted political independence for the African colonies.

Drawing attention to the problems of black people in the late 1920s and 1930s was the HARLEM RENAISSANCE, the most prominent of the black cultural movements of the time. The Harlem Renaissance, centered in New York's predominantly black neighborhood, brought public awareness of the work of such black writers as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and Claude McKay as well as DuBois. It also featured black artists who called for black pride and an end to racial injustice. France's African and Caribbean black artists founded the *NÉGRITUDE* movement, which stated that all Africans regardless of geographic location had a common set of traits. *Négritude* rebuffed those who alleged African inferiority. It included authors such as Aimé Césaire, Alioune Diop, Leon-Gontran Damas, and LEOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR, who later would serve as Senegal's first president.

The GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s and the world war of the 1940s set back the Pan-African movement. British and U.S. blacks remained involved, though, protesting the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy, for instance. African-American organizations established the Council on African Affairs in 1937; this was the first black-led U.S. lobbying organization. It sought to increase Americans' awareness of the problems of blacks subjected to colonialism and sought independence for the African colonies.

While in the United States as a student in the early 1940s, Kwame Nkrumah of the British colony the GOLD COAST (now Ghana) founded the African Student Organization. He moved to London in 1944 and joined the Pan-Africanist movement led by the Jamaican George Padmore and the Trinidadian C. L. R. James. Other members were Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, both of whom, like Nkrumah, would eventually lead their countries.

This group sponsored the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945. That meeting brought together trade unionists and nationalists from England, the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean in Manchester, England, and it spurred African leadership in the Pan-African and African independence movements.

Independence came to 17 African countries in 1960; 80 percent of the continent was independent by the end of 1963. Many of the new leaders resisted Nkrumah's United States of Africa, preferring to preserve newly won autonomy. The Organization of African Unity (OAU, now the African Union), founded at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by 32 north and sub-Saharan African nations in 1963, was a loose federation dedicated to cooperation across the continent. Political union failed to materialize because Africa's new states were preoccupied with political differences and widespread poverty.

The last European colonies became independent between 1974 and 1980. Pan-African groups throughout the world continued to pressure governments and increase public awareness through the 1980s and early 1990s of the injustice of white minority rule in Namibia and South Africa.

Continental Pan-Africanism remains as a means of addressing Africa's severe problems. It takes the form of regional cooperative groups including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC, originally the Southern African Development Coordination Council, SADCC). These trade organizations have promoted regional economic integration. They provide a counterforce to the international trade blocs led by North America, Asia, and Europe.

African-descended people throughout the world still face political, social, and economic challenges. Because their problems are similar, international cooperation and common problem-solving strategies remain essential. These approaches are the fruit of Pan-Africanism.

Critics note that Pan-Africanism fails to acknowledge that blacks around the world are not one unit. They have different cultures, ethnicities, societies, and political structures.

See also CASELY HAYFORD, JOSEPH EPHRAIM; NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Panama Canal

Ever since the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa's "discovery" of the Pacific Ocean in 1513, Europeans had dreamed of an oceanic shortcut linking the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Panama Canal, built by the U.S. government from 1903 to 1914, realized that vision at the cost of \$352 million and, by official count, 5,609 lives from accidents and disease (including some 4,500 black West Indian laborers). The canal, which extends from Colón on the Caribbean side to Panama City on the Pacific, traverses 77 kilometers through three sets of locks.

One of the most remarkable technological feats in world history and far and away the largest engineering project ever undertaken up to that time, the Panama Canal transformed markets, demographics, geopolitics, and national histories in the Western Hemisphere in myriad ways. After 1902, protection of exclusive U.S. rights to a transisthmian canal was the pivot upon which U.S. policy in the Caribbean and Central America turned. The many episodes of U.S. military, political, and economic intervention in the first three decades of the 20th century can be traced, directly or indirectly, to larger U.S. economic and geostrategic interests centered on the Panama Canal.

For many years, the Panama route had been considered impractical due to the elevation of the continental divide. That the canal ended up being built in Panama and not in Nicaragua resulted from a highly unlikely combination of circumstances, including a bloody three-year civil war in Colombia and its province of Panama (1899–1902); the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley; the imperialist inclinations of McKinley's vice president and successor, THEODORE ROOSEVELT; and an intensive last-minute campaign by the "Panama lobby" in the halls of the U.S. Congress.

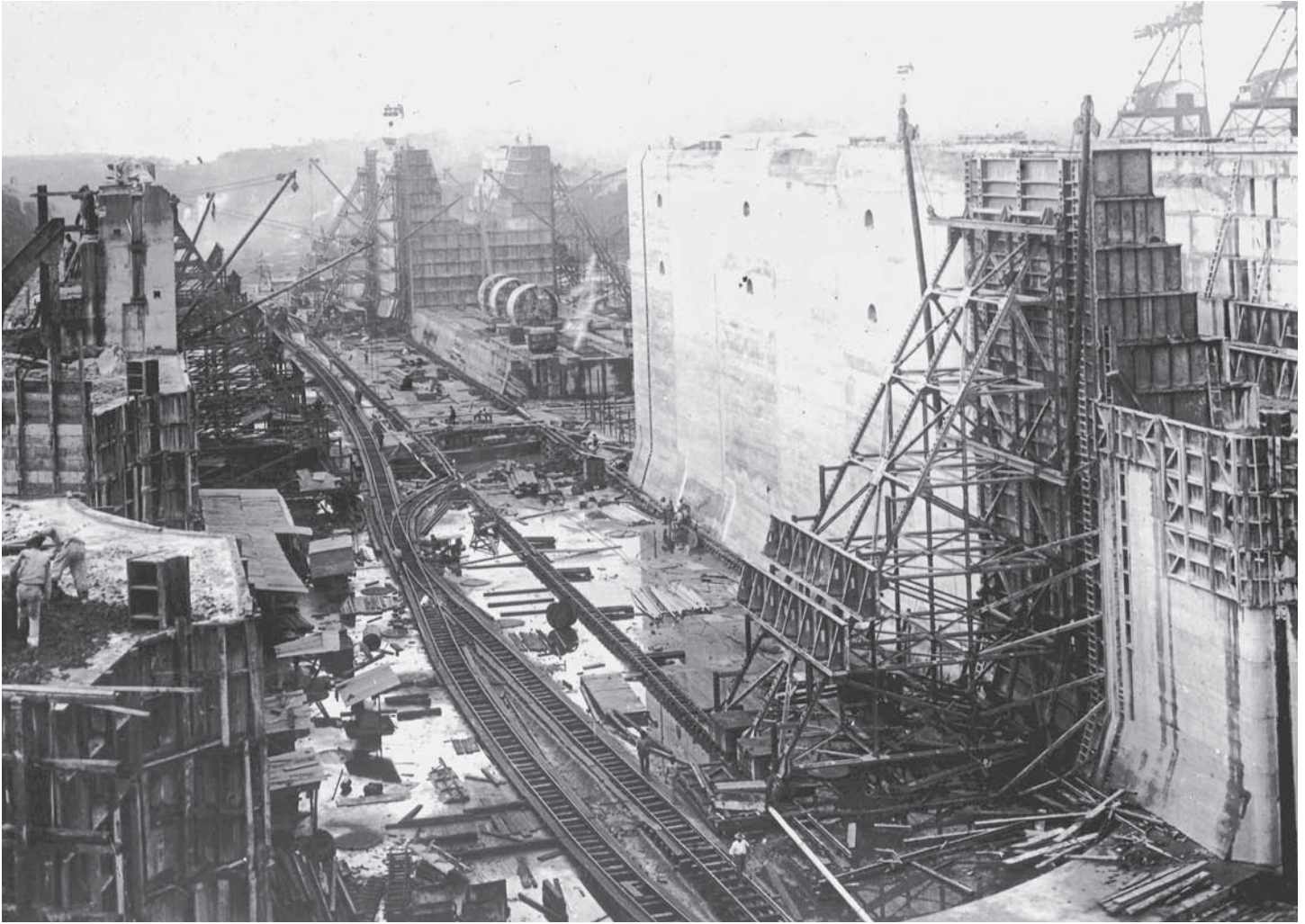
The building of the canal in Panama capped more than half a century of various schemes for an inter-oceanic route that intensified with the U.S. victory in the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the Cali-

fornia gold rush of 1848–49. In 1850 the U.S. and British governments signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, in which both countries agreed (without consulting Nicaragua) that neither would exercise exclusive rights to the proposed Nicaragua canal. The 1850s saw two land routes built across Central America: the Panama Railroad (completed in 1855) and the Nicaragua route, brainchild of Cornelius Vanderbilt and his Accessory Transit Company (in service from 1851 to 1856). Serious surveying work for a transisthmian canal route began in the 1870s by two different groups: a French syndicate and the U.S. government. In 1878 the Colombian government granted canal rights to a French consortium under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Construction commenced in 1881, but by 1889 disease, cost overruns, and related problems led to the firm's bankruptcy and the project's abandonment. As many as 20,000 workers died during the eight-year fiasco.

In 1901 a U.S. commission unanimously recommended the Nicaragua route. In that same year the U.S. and British governments signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and granting the United States exclusive rights to the proposed Nicaragua canal. The 1902 U.S. decision to build the canal in Panama shocked and dismayed the Nicaraguan elite, who had been convinced that the canal would be built in their country. In January 1903 U.S. and Colombian negotiators signed the Hay-Herrán Treaty, granting the U.S. government a strip of land across Panama for the proposed canal in exchange for \$10 million and \$250,000 per year thereafter.

The Colombian senate rejected the treaty. President Roosevelt, infuriated by those he termed the "contemptible little creatures . . . the Bogotá lot of jackrabbits," engineered a rebellion by dissident elements in Panama. The rebels declared independence on November 3, 1903. Three days later the Roosevelt administration recognized the breakaway republic. On November 17 the two nations signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, granting the United States exclusive and perpetual control of the canal zone under the same terms as the scuttled Hay-Herrán Treaty with Colombia. As Roosevelt later declared, "I took the Canal Zone."

Actual construction commenced in 1907, and the canal opened on August 15, 1914. In 1921 the U.S. government agreed to pay Colombia \$25 million in exchange for Colombian recognition of Panama's independence. In September 1977 U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Panama chief of government Omar Torrijos



The Panama Canal transformed markets, demographics, geopolitics, and national histories in the Western Hemisphere in many ways. Actual construction started in 1907, and the canal opened on August 15, 1914.

signed the Panama Canal Treaty, relinquishing U.S. control of the canal to Panama by the year 2000. Panama assumed formal control of the canal at noon on December 31, 1999. The technical, diplomatic, and geopolitical aspects of the Panama Canal have spawned a vast literature.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Pankhursts

British feminists

Emmeline Pankhurst, née Goulden, was born in Manchester, England, on July 14, 1858, the daughter of successful and politically progressive parents. Her education, though, followed respectable Victorian lines, which included time in a Parisian finishing school. Upon her return to Manchester in 1878, she met Richard Pankhurst, a radical lawyer and advocate of women's rights, whom she married in 1879. Her husband's political ambitions were geared to extending the 1867 Reform Act to include women, and to this end he promoted the first Women's Suffrage Bill and reform of the Married Women's Property Bills of 1870 and 1882.

The Austrian and Hungarian treaties were similar and originally were to be presented simultaneously to the empire's heirs, but that with Hungary was delayed until the Communist regime was replaced. Both states had to abjure the Habsburg monarchy and guarantee their independence. Austria had to renounce *Anschluss* (union) with Germany. Both were landlocked and severely shrunken but emerged ethnically homogeneous.

Austria's territorial losses included Galicia to Poland; Bohemia and Moravia to Czechoslovakia; the Trentino, South Tyrol, and Istria to Italy; Bukovina to Romania; and Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and coastal islands to Yugoslavia. The new Austria consisted of the vast capital of a defunct empire surrounded by uneconomic mountainous hinterlands. Psychological dislocation was also severe.

Hungary's territorial truncation was also acute but left a more economically viable state, thanks to fertile plains. Slovakia and Ruthenia went to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania to Romania, Croatia-Slavonia to Yugoslavia, and most of the Banat to Romania and Yugoslavia. A third of Hungary's prewar territory remained, and a third of the Magyars were outside its borders. Hungary never accepted the settlement but lacked the power to alter it.

BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria was equally resentful, though its territorial losses were much smaller. However, hostile neighbors gained greatly, weakening it comparatively. Bulgaria hoped that ethnic factors would mean territorial gain, but the victors yielded nothing. Bulgaria lost to Greece its prized Aegean coastline (and thus direct access to the Mediterranean). Macedonia went to Greece and Yugoslavia, which also gained strategic border salients. Bulgaria emerged largely homogeneous but helplessly bitter.

Unlike other eastern treaties, that of Sèvres intruded in internal affairs. An international commission would control the straits from the Black Sea to the Aegean, which would be open to all ships of all nations in peace and war. The existing capitulatory regime of extraterritorial privileges for westerners was enlarged. Because territorial losses were vast, reparations would be minimal, but Europeans would exert financial control, especially of the Ottoman debt.

Some territorial losses merely ratified prewar situations, but in addition Turkey's Arabian domains were surrendered, part therefore becoming the independent kingdom of Hijaz in minimal fulfillment of wartime promises to Arabs. Syria (including Lebanon) became a French mandate, and Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Palestine

(including Transjordan) British mandates, the latter with a requirement that the BALFOUR DECLARATION (November 2, 1917) be applied to ensure "a national home" for Jewish people. Various Aegean islands went to Italy (whose hopes of Anatolian territory were dashed) and Greece. In Europe Greece gained eastern Thrace and in Anatolia effective control of Smyrna (Izmir). In clauses never fulfilled, Kurdistan was to become autonomous or independent and Armenia independent.

The Sèvres Treaty, which the captive Ottoman sultan never ratified, was a 19th-century imperial document. It was overtaken by the nationalist uprising of MUSTAPHA KEMAL ATATÜRK, who drove Greece from Anatolia, created a national assembly in Ankara and a republic, deposed the sultan, and nearly collided with British forces in the straits. The triumphant Turks rejected Sèvres. Thus, its purely Turkish portions were renegotiated at Lausanne between November 1922 and July 1923. Kemal's deputy, İsmet İnönü, ably led the Turkish delegation with periodic Soviet and American support.

Under the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), Turkey regained eastern Thrace, Smyrna, and some Aegean islands; a forced population exchange resolved minority problems. It retained much of Armenia and Kurdistan. Financial, extraterritorial, and most military restrictions were ended, as were reparations. Turkey gained the presidency of the straits commission and could close them to belligerents if it was at war. Aside from modification of the straits convention, this treaty lasted because it was negotiated and moderate and because Turkey accepted the end of empire.

Six lengthy treaties left much undone. Plebiscites and boundary commissions would set precise borders; the peace structure of Allied commissions, committees, and supreme councils would settle details. However, eastern borders with Russia hung fire, as did the fate of the Baltic states. The future of Fiume (Rijeka), a port disputed between Italy and Yugoslavia, was unresolved, as were reparations totals and allocations. The peacemakers did not bring stability to Europe nor address its balance of power, shattered by World War I.

AMERICAN REJECTION

Rejection of the treaties by the United States (and also China) acutely dislocated from the outset a peace structure designed by men born in the late 19th century who could not rise above their nationalistic, imperialistic, Eurocentric era. Still, Poles, Czechs, and a few Arabs gained independence; Middle Eastern mandates

were designed to be brief, whereas others restricted imperialism a bit.

Europe's ethnic minorities were cut in half, and a European-dominated international organization proved useful within limits. But, as before, great powers decided matters. Since two of them, Germany and Britain, persistently pursued revision of the Versailles Treaty, it crumbled, implying Germany's eventual continental predominance and frightening its weaker neighbors. Thus, Wilson's goal of a world "made safe for every peace-loving nation" remained unmet.

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SALLY MARKS

Pearl Harbor

Japan's surprise attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on the morning of December 7, 1941, resulted in one of the most costly defeats in American history. Over 2,000 American military and civilian personnel were killed as a result of the attack, and all eight of the U.S. battleships moored in Pearl Harbor that morning were heavily damaged or destroyed. In addition, hundreds of U.S. planes on nearby airfields were destroyed or damaged in the assault. Despite Japanese hopes that such a devastating attack would force the United States to petition for peace, the events of December 7 strengthened American resolve and silenced the isolationists who had opposed the possibility of the United States' entering the war. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's request to Congress to declare war against Japan on December 8 was almost unanimously approved, with only one dissenting voice in the House of Representatives.

Although the nature and timing of the December 7 attack took Americans completely by surprise, tension between the United States and Japan had been mounting for some time over Japanese imperialist ambitions in Asia. In July 1937 the Japanese army launched an invasion of China, having already invaded Manchuria and established the puppet regime of Manchukuo six years earlier. Relations between the

United States and Japan worsened in September 1940 when the Japanese signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. When Japan occupied southern Indochina in July 1941, President Roosevelt responded by freezing Japanese assets in the United States and imposing an embargo on oil shipments to Japan. In a series of diplomatic exchanges in the summer and fall of 1941, the United States demanded that Japan withdraw its military forces from China and French Indochina.

As U.S.-Japanese relations worsened, Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander of the Japanese combined fleet and Japan's chief naval strategist, planned a preemptive strike against the United States' Pacific fleet. Yamamoto, who had studied at Harvard, opposed war with the United States. In the event that war became inevitable, however, Yamamoto insisted that Japan ought to strike first with a massive surprise assault to immobilize the American fleet.

Commander Genda Minoru—an experienced carrier pilot and aerial tactician—helped to work out the details of the plan, which Yamamoto named Operation Z. On November 26, 1941, while U.S.-Japanese negotiations were ongoing, the strike force secretly set sail for Hawaii under the command of Vice Admiral Nagumo Chuichi.

On the morning of the attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. code-breakers in Washington, D.C., intercepted and decoded the final part of a 14-part diplomatic message stating that Japan would break off negotiations that day. Correctly interpreting the message as an indication that Japan planned to go to war, but not knowing precisely where or when an attack would take place, General George C. Marshall attempted to radio Hawaii (among other places) to put the forces there on alert. Atmospheric static necessitated the use of commercial telegraph to relay Marshall's warning to Lieutenant General Walter Short, commander of the U.S. forces in Hawaii. General Short would not receive the message until several hours after the attack had ended.

SUBMARINE PERISCOPE

In the predawn hours on December 7 Hawaiian time, the minesweeper *Condor* was patrolling the security zone near the entrance to Pearl Harbor when Ensign R. C. McCloy sighted a submarine periscope. Japanese aviators had opposed the inclusion of submarines in Yamamoto's attack plan, fearing that the subs—if spotted—would destroy the element of surprise. The pilots were overruled, and a large fleet of submarines,



Photograph of the exact moment the USS Shaw exploded during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

including five short-range “midget” submarines, accompanied the aircraft carriers. The midget submarines were deployed at midnight on December 6, 10 miles from the harbor; their two-man crews were to attack any U.S. vessels attempting to enter or leave the harbor during the aerial assault.

Upon detecting one of the midget submarines at approximately 3:45 A.M., McCloy and Quartermaster Second Class R. C. Uttrick reported their discovery via signal lamp to the crew of the USS *Ward*. The *Ward*, a destroyer also on patrol near the harbor, conducted a sonar search but found nothing out of the ordinary. Less than three hours later, however, Lieutenant William W. Outerbridge, the newly assigned captain of the *Ward*, was again summoned from his bunk; this time he spotted a midget submarine following in the wake of the USS *Antares*.

The *Ward* opened fire on the Japanese submarine and then followed up with a depth charge attack that sank the submarine. At 6:35 A.M. Outerbridge reported the incident to district command, but no general alarm was raised at the time. Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the Pacific Fleet, was awaiting verification of the report when the first wave of the aerial assault hit.

As the USS *Ward* fired the opening shots of the war in the Pacific, the first wave of 183 Japanese fighters, bombers, and torpedo planes was making its way toward the naval and air bases on the island of Oahu. Led by Commander Fuchida Mitsuo, the first

group of planes had lifted off from carrier flight decks approximately 230 miles north of Oahu at 6:00 A.M. At 7:02 A.M., two radar operators at Opana (near the northernmost tip of Oahu) detected a large body of aircraft approaching from the north. They immediately telephoned the information center at Fort Schafter, where the inexperienced duty officer Lieutenant Kermit Tyler dismissed the reports as insignificant. Tyler knew that air force B-17 bombers were due in that morning from California en route to the Philippines, and he assumed that was what the radar operators had seen on their screens. Once again, therefore, no alarm was raised.

The air strike on Pearl Harbor was planned with two different options in mind. If surprise was achieved, then dive-bombers and torpedo planes were to strike the Pacific Fleet first, and the level bombers would follow up by dropping armor-piercing bombs over the harbor. In the event that the U.S. forces had been alerted to the impending attack, then the dive-bombers in the first wave of the attack were to strike Wheeler and Hickam Airbases and the navy airfield on Ford Island. When Fuchida fired a single flare at approximately 7:40 A.M. to indicate that surprise had been achieved, the commander of the fighter escort failed to acknowledge the signal. After a brief interval, Fuchida fired a second flare.

TORA! TORA! TORA!

The commander of the dive-bombers, Lieutenant Commander Takahashi Kuichi, mistook the second flare to mean that the defenders had been alerted, and so the dive-bombers proceeded to attack the airfields while the torpedo planes and level bombers concentrated their efforts on the fleet at Battleship Row. As the first wave of Japanese planes reached Oahu at 7:53 A.M., Fuchida radioed back to the carriers the now-famous code words “Tora! Tora! Tora!” to indicate that total strategic and tactical surprise had been achieved. Nagumo relayed the message to Japan, letting forces there know that coordinated operations against Malaya, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies could move forward as well.

Upon nearing Oahu, the dive-bombers, or “Vals,” divided into two groups, one targeting Hickam Field and Ford Island while the other went after Wheeler Airfield in central Oahu. The first group began bombing the army air base at Hickam Field at 7:55 A.M. The fact that the U.S. planes were lined up wingtip to wingtip as a precaution against possible sabotage made them easy targets for the Japanese bombers. The army

suffered its heaviest casualties of the raid at Hickam Field, where 182 men were killed or unaccounted for. Wheeler Airfield was also heavily attacked; nearly two-thirds of the 140 planes on the ground at Wheeler were destroyed or put out of action. The naval air-base at Ford Island lost nearly half its planes in the Japanese assault, and the one at Kaneohe Bay lost all but a few. Concurrent with the airfield bombings was the two-pronged attack on the U.S. Pacific fleet. Fortunately for the United States, none of its aircraft carriers was in port that morning. The Japanese did, however, manage to inflict considerable damage to all eight of the battleships at Pearl Harbor, sinking five of them. By 8:00 A.M. Pearl Harbor was ablaze as a combination of torpedoes and armor-piercing bombs hit one U.S. vessel after another. Especially spectacular was the explosion aboard the USS *Arizona* that resulted in the deaths of 1,177 men. The *Arizona* memorial still stands to commemorate all military personnel who lost their lives in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

A second wave of 167 more Japanese aircraft was launched approximately one hour after the first; 17 Zeros (fighter planes) targeted Kaneohe Naval Air Station, while 18 others attacked Wheeler Field and the Ewa Marine Corps air base. Some 54 high-level bombers divided into three groups to attack Ford Island, Kaneohe, and Hickam Field; 80 dive-bombers attacked Pearl Harbor, including the naval yard where the dry-docked battleship *Pennsylvania* was hit along with several destroyers. Near the end of the second wave, three bombs hit the destroyer *Shaw* in dry dock, setting off a spectacular explosion. The Japanese suffered considerably more damage in the second wave than they had in the first, when they had caught the U.S. forces completely unaware; in all, Japanese losses included 29 planes, five midget submarines, and 55 men. The second and final wave of the attack was over by 9:45 A.M. Genda and Fuchida pressed for a follow-up attack, but the cautious Nagumo ordered the Japanese forces to withdraw. As a result, U.S. oil storage depots and repair facilities escaped relatively unscathed. All but three of the 19 ships damaged in the attack would eventually be returned to service, and it would take just six months for the U.S. armed forces to turn the strategic tables in the Pacific with the decisive Battle of Midway (June 3–7, 1942).

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KATHLEEN RUPPERT

Pentecostalism

The Pentecostal movement burst onto the religious landscape during the 20th century as a major force within Christianity. Its adherents, scattered across many churches and denominations, came to number over half a billion worldwide, suddenly making it a Christian tradition second in size and scope only to the Roman Catholic Church.

Some historians date the origins of the contemporary Pentecostal movement to January 1, 1901, when Agnes Ozman, under the teaching of Methodist preacher Charles F. Parham, "spoke in tongues" (glossolalia) at Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas. This particular event convinced many that the supernatural gifts and powers associated with the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and with the ministries of the early church in the book of Acts are still readily available to ordinary Christians who sincerely seek them. Similar teachings and manifestations gained wide attention from 1906 to 1913 during the Azusa Street Revival at the Apostolic Faith Mission in Los Angeles. William J. Seymour, an African-American Holiness preacher from Texas, was the prominent leader there.

Numerous new Protestant denominations began to form as Pentecostalism spread, beginning with the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Church of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the Open Bible Standard Churches. Still other young but established denominations such as the Church of God and the Church of God in Christ took on Pentecostal beliefs. What nearly all Pentecostal denominations shared was a conviction that Christian experience was incomplete without the sanctifying and empowering work of the Holy Spirit and that the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" is validated by the evidence of "speaking in tongues," as well as by additional signs, including prophecy, visions, exorcism, and divine healing.

As early as 1914 several within Pentecostalism began to proclaim "Oneness," or "Jesus Only," a somewhat modal view of the Trinity that allows for different manifestations of God but suggests that there is ultimately

only one divine person. Oneness Pentecostalism typically insists upon rebaptism in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ alone rather than the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Its relationship to other Pentecostal denominations and to traditional Christian bodies concerned with theological orthodoxy remains ambiguous and controversial at best, depending in part upon how its theological claims are understood.

The Pentecostal movement was preceded by widespread, overlapping teachings among 19th-century evangelical Protestants about the need for a victorious "Higher Life" made possible by the filling of the Holy Spirit, about the importance of Holy Spirit crisis sanctification to purify the believer from sin, and about Jesus Christ as Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King, thereby intertwining Christological and pneumatological emphases. Pentecostalism strongly affirms all four of the latter themes as basic to the Christian life—Christian conversion, the Pentecostal work of the Holy Spirit who purifies and empowers the Christian believer for service, divine healing, and the imminent return of Jesus Christ in power and great glory as a motive for holy living and missionary endeavors.

Religious demographers now recognize a third type of Pentecostalism called the Neo-Charismatic movement. It actually consists of two or more rather distinct elements. One is the so-called Third Wave of evangelicals, who wholeheartedly affirm supernatural signs yet who diligently attempt to avoid the ecclesiastical schisms, upheavals, and controversies that frequently accompanied the first two waves. A much broader, more amorphous form of the Neo-Charismatic movement numerically dwarfs every other type of Pentecostalism.

It consists of the many thousands of independent Christian groups and denominations that have sprung up across the modern world more or less independently from traditional Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant influences. Their founders often claim direct revelation from God by means of dreams or visions. Although these indigenous church bodies may prove difficult to classify, they are generally far closer to Pentecostal beliefs and practices than they are to other Christian traditions.

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TIMOTHY PAUL ERDEL

phenomenology

Phenomenology is the branch of philosophy that explores phenomena (observable, experiential events) and has principally been the concern of German philosophers and 20th-century French philosophers. There are three distinct phenomenological schools: the dialectical, transcendental, and existential, all of which continue to have currency today and were prominent in the development of philosophy throughout the 20th century. Phenomenology is a descriptive approach to philosophy: It describes the world and the function of the mind, rather than prescribing the correct way to do a thing, as ethics does.

In his 1781 *Critique of Pure Reason*, perhaps the single most important text in Western philosophy, Immanuel Kant reacted to and rejected David Hume's empiricist claim that all ideas, all thoughts, were derived from "impressions," that is, from sensory experience. Classical metaphysics, Kant argued, could not have been derived from sensory experience, and so he distinguished between phenomena, events as we experience them and objects as we observe them, and noumena, which exist independent of our perception of them and which we cannot therefore experience. A phenomenon is a representation of a noumenon; the noumenon for Kant is important primarily as a limiter, something against which to contrast the phenomenon.

Publishing several years after Kant's death, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel challenged Kant's noumenon/phenomenon dichotomy, claiming in 1807's *Phenomenology of Spirit* that sufficient knowledge of phenomena can lead to complete apprehension of absolute truth. It was Hegel who coined the term *phenomenology* and who introduced the form of logic he called speculation and that is now referred to as Hegelian dialectics.

Most of the discussion in phenomenology, though, has been between the transcendental and existential schools. Transcendental phenomenology begins with Edmund Husserl, whose mentor Franz Brentano had taught that all perception is flawed and so, too, the conclusions drawn from it. For Brentano and Husserl, absolute truths were unreachable because the mind was a flawed instrument; they recalled Hume in their description of

consciousness as always “intentional.” Intentionality in this respect includes the notion that every thought, every idea or feeling, is focused on some physical object.

In the 20th century, Martin Heidegger and the existential phenomenologists who followed him rejected Husserl’s phenomenology. Heidegger was interested in the history of philosophy and the gaps he saw in its conversation about the world, particularly its failure to address what it means to be. Altering the Husserl-Brentano model of intentionality, Heidegger said that consciousness is not simply “about” something, it is always caring about something. The experience of a thing is the feeling of that thing’s relevance and importance.

By this time, phenomenology had become a concern to philosophers at large, not simply in the German schools. The French philosopher Henri Bergson wrote about perceptions of causality—a concern that had driven the works of Hume and Kant—and on the meaning of comedy and laughter; his influence on French philosophy combined with the growing interest in German phenomenology would shape much of the next century, from Jean-Paul Sartre to Michel Foucault to Jacques Derrida.

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BILL KTE’PI

Philippines, U.S. occupation of the

In 1898 the United States acquired the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, undertook a mission to prepare the Philippines for independence shortly thereafter, and succeeded in that task after WORLD WAR II. Since then, the United States has had a “special relationship” with the Philippines, marked generally by warm relations and close economic, political, and social ties. The Philippine–United States War decided whether that country would gain its independence immediately, as some Filipinos asserted, or would gain its independence gradually through reform and nation building, as the U.S. government under President William McKinley and his successors argued. Throughout the periods of U.S. rule, World War II, and the independence of the Philippines, the two countries remained allies and had close bilateral relations, particularly in the areas of eco-

nomics development of the Philippines, spreading democracy, expanding free trade, and combating international and regional terrorism. The facts that the United States remains the largest trading partner of the Philippines and that Filipinos are one of the largest Asian ethnic groups in the United States have fostered further ties.

The social and political forces that compelled the United States to enter the Pacific world and the Philippines in particular stemmed from a variety of American interests: the popular compulsion to spread American culture, the desire to expand and to develop commercial relations, the economic goal of gaining access to raw materials and markets, and strategic objectives to increase national security.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 placed the United States on a direct path toward major involvement in the Philippines. Aroused by allegations of Spanish aggression in its colony of Cuba, the disruption of U.S. trade with Cuba, and the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana Bay, the United States went to war with Spain and conducted military operations in both the Caribbean and the Pacific theaters. In order to negate the sea power of the Spanish fleet, Commodore George Dewey engaged the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and decisively defeated them. Following victories in the Caribbean over Spain and the arrival of 8,500 American troops in the Philippines, the Spanish authorities in the Philippines surrendered. On August 13 the U.S. flag flew triumphantly over Manila.

The Treaty of Paris, signed by representatives of the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, effectively ended the fighting between these two nations but left the question of rulership of the Philippines in some dispute. By the terms of the treaty, the United States gained possession of the Philippines as well as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other island holdings in exchange for a payment of \$20 million to Spain. Shortly after the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, Filipino insurgents resisted the transfer of authority to the United States and claimed that the Philippines should immediately become independent.

EMILIO AGUINALDO, a patriotic and energetic revolutionary who had led his forces against Spain both before and during the Spanish-American War, turned his military prowess against the American occupiers and conducted a guerrilla war that used the dense jungles and difficult terrain against the American military. Although the U.S. military was not prepared to fight against guerrilla tactics, U.S. forces prevailed against the rebels, captured Aguinaldo, gained his allegiance, and effectively won the support of many Filipinos.

The United States, acting on information gained from the First Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley in 1899, adopted a policy of “tutelage,” which aimed at preparing the Philippines for independence. In July 1901 the Philippine Constabulary was established as a countrywide police force for the purpose of maintaining order and suppressing the remaining rebel activities. The Second Philippine Commission, headed by William Taft, implemented broad economic, social, and political programs that expanded economic development and opportunity, free public education, and political representation of the Filipino people. Despite the successes, major obstacles to reform remained apparent, evidenced in the reluctance of the *ilustrados*, the wealthy aristocrats, who obstructed or reluctantly granted concessions to the lower classes. The emergence of a multiparty system and the indigenous political leadership of MANUEL QUEZON and Sergio Osmena indicated the growing independence of the Philippines. In 1913, the U.S. Congress passed the Underwood Tariff Act, which removed all trade restrictions on Philippine goods, an act that provided valuable markets for the Philippines but also allowed a high degree of economic dependency.

The TYDINGS-McDUFFIE ACT, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1934, established the Philippines as a commonwealth with a constitution, an autonomous political system, and most importantly a 10-year period during which the Philippines would make the transition to independence. The agreement was approved by the Philippine legislature, even though it allowed the United States considerable authority in matters pertaining to foreign policy, immigration, foreign trade, and currency regulation.

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese army invaded the Philippines and disrupted the transitory period. General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR led American and Philippine military forces. MacArthur fell back to the Bataan Peninsula and the island of Corregidor to take a defensive position against the advancing Japanese army, which outnumbered MacArthur’s troops. The defeat of his troops in April and May 1942 allowed the Japanese to force the 80,000 prisoners of war taken at Bataan to march to a prison camp 105 kilometers to the north. This death march caused approximately 10,000 fatalities as prisoners faced abuses, malnutrition, disease, and the harsh tropical climate. MacArthur, under orders from U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, evacuated to Australia, vowing to return again to the Philippines. On October 20, 1944,

MacArthur led his forces back to the Philippines, landing at the island of Leyte. Fierce fighting followed that eventually led to the capitulation of Japanese forces after defeats in Northern Luzon and a last-ditch effort to defend the city of Manila.

After World War II the U.S. government faced the difficult task of aiding the Philippines in its recovery from the war. Despite contention regarding the issue of collaboration with the Japanese and political amnesty, on July 4, 1946, the Philippines became independent, and Manuel Roxas emerged as the first president of that republic. During the early years of the cold war, the period of renewed tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Philippines proved to be a valuable ally of the United States. Manila signed the Military Bases Agreement in 1947 and thereby granted to U.S. naval and air forces base rights to 23 bases including Clark Air Base and naval facilities at Subic Bay.

In addition to allowing U.S. access to bases, the Philippines played an active role in the containment of communism, both in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia. In 1954 the government of the Philippines joined the South East Asia Treaty Organization, a collective security arrangement led by the United States to secure democracies in the region and to contain the expansion of the communist movement. Philippine president Ramon Magsaysay won the praise of many Americans for his bold leadership, economic reforms, and effective anticommunist policies, which subdued the Huks—a Marxist-Leninist organization that revolted against the government of Manila and demanded collectivization of farms.

The post-cold war era brought new challenges and new opportunities for partnership in U.S.-Philippine relations. The United States and the Philippines worked together to fight terrorism, expand global trade, and develop regional trade organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The U.S. Congress has taken a keen interest in the stability of the Philippines for its own good, its role as a regional ally, and its regional influence on developing democracies such as Indonesia.

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SCOTT CATINO

Platt Amendment

The United States occupied Cuba in 1898 and passed the Platt Amendment in 1901. A condition for ending the U.S. occupation of Cuba was the inclusion of an amendment that made Cuba a protectorate of the United States. Although the Cuban constitutional convention delegates opposed the inclusion of the amendment, the United States was adamant, and it had armed forces on Cuba and warships available offshore. Given the choice between limited independence and no independence at all, Cuba accepted the Platt Amendment.

Senator Orville Platt (1827–1905) of Connecticut, a pro-U.S. nationalist expansionist who advocated high protective tariffs and helped to annex Hawaii and occupy the Philippines, authored the Platt Amendment, which was the brainchild of Secretary of State Elihu Root.

The Platt Amendment was a rider to the Army Appropriations Bill of 1901. It provided that Cuba must have U.S. consent for all Cuban trade agreements and treaties with any other nation. It also gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to preserve Cuban independence and maintain a government sufficient to preserve life, liberty, and property. It remained in effect until abrogated in 1934. As well as stipulating the terms under which the United States could intervene in Cuban affairs, the amendment also authorized U.S. lease of land for a naval base and prohibited Cuban transfer of land to any other nation. The amendment made Cuba a virtual U.S. protectorate.

The Teller Amendment of 1898 had stated that the United States did not intend to annex Cuba after the Spanish-American War. U.S. expansionists worried that German expansionists might seize the opportunity to harm U.S. interests by filling the void left by U.S. disinterest in the area. The Platt Amendment compromised between outright imperialism and the repudiation of the Teller Amendment. The compromise prevented Cuba from making treaties, assuming debt, or stopping the U.S. sanitation program on the island. It guaranteed the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs whenever the United States deemed U.S. interests were at stake. Additionally, because the United States had sought to control Guantánamo Bay, Cuba's best harbor,

since 1899, it allowed the United States to lease sites for naval and coaling stations.

Thomas Estrada Palma, an advocate of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, took power in a 1902 Cuban election characterized by fraud and abuse of his position. Estrada Palma's term expired in 1905, but he attempted to return to power. Rebels dissatisfied with the Cuban government and the U.S. involvement in Cuba resisted Estrada Palma. To thwart the liberal revolt, THEODORE ROOSEVELT sent in troops on September 29, 1906. The revolt ended in a negotiated peace and reoccupation of Cuba. The United States occupied Cuba militarily in 1906 under the terms of the Platt Agreement, remaining there for three years. The United States removed Cubans from government during its occupation. U.S. forces left in 1909 but returned in 1912. Another occupation lasted from 1917 until 1933.

Throughout the life of the Platt Amendment, in the interest of maintaining Cuban stability the United States refused to recognize any revolutionary government and sent warships to Cuban waters as necessary.

In 1934 circumstances had changed. Cuban nationalism was rising, and Cubans were increasingly critical of the U.S. dominance of their society. The United States was preoccupied with the GREAT DEPRESSION. In addition, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT had instituted a GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY toward Latin America. Thus, the United States and Cuba signed a treaty abrogating the Platt Amendment. However, the United States retained its naval base at Guantánamo.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Porfiriato

The Porfiriato corresponds to the period in which Porfirio Díaz served as president of Mexico from 1876 to 1880 and from 1884 to 1911. The origins of Porfirio Díaz's political power can be traced to his participation in the military and political battles of the 1850s and 1860s. Díaz embraced liberalism as the ideological foundation of his regime. Inspired by the American

and French Revolutions, he aimed to establish a federal republic where democratic institutions would represent an egalitarian and secular society. Nevertheless, he was to build his career through an incipient patronage network, starting with the local priest's recommendation that he be accepted in the local Catholic seminary school in Oaxaca.

During the Mexican-American War in 1847, 16-year-old Díaz joined the army to help repel the invasion but in the end did not engage in combat. Soon after, he met Benito Juárez, already an elected governor of Oaxaca, who inspired him to study law. However, the military coup that restored the flamboyant and corrupt dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna to power to undertake his 11th—and final—term in office caused Díaz to abandon his studies again to join the resistance. In March 1854 a group of dissidents met in Ayutla, Guerrero, to plot the downfall of Santa Anna.

CALL FOR OUSTER

There the group launched the Plan de Ayutla, a manifesto calling for the ouster of Santa Anna. News of the plan spread throughout Mexico, and soon the country was in open revolt. Juárez and Díaz, who were sent into exile by Santa Anna, returned to Mexico and eagerly joined in the insurrection. Santa Anna fled the country in August 1855, and Álvarez took over as provisional president. Juárez became minister of justice, and Díaz, only 25, was named subprefect of the town of Ixtlán in Nayarit. A new constitution was adopted on February 5, 1857, containing provisions restricting the power of the church. These infuriated clerics and conservatives, and thus began the bloody Reform War of 1858–61, so named because of the “Reform Laws” that were so objectionable to fervent Catholics. During both the Reform War and the 1864–67 war against Maximilian and the French intervention, Díaz distinguished himself as a strong right arm of the liberal cause. He was wounded twice, escaped being captured three times, and during 1864–67 led forces that inflicted nine defeats on the imperialists. When caught by Maximilian's forces, he refused a pardon and then made a daredevil escape from jail in 1865, after which he became a liberal hero. As Maximilian's empire collapsed, Díaz commanded a formidable army, which on July 15, 1867, made its triumphal entry into Mexico City.

After running for the presidency in 1867—and losing to Juárez—Díaz went back to Oaxaca to cultivate sugarcane in his “La Noria” hacienda. While his brother served as governor in Oaxaca, and Porfirio Díaz concentrated on regaining political power, he crafted

the La Noria insurrection plan, which defied Juárez's government and initiated an uprising anticipating the presidential elections of 1871. However, the La Noria plot did not succeed, and the insurrection was suffocated in a few months. After Benito Juárez's sudden death in 1872, interim president Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada granted amnesty to rebellious Porfiristas to gain political control over the country. Tejada ruled for a short period since he failed to see the implications of reducing federal autonomy to the states and for pursuing reelection again. Along with the social uprising, the supreme court's president, José María Iglesias, advocated for the reestablishment of the rule of law and the legitimacy of democratic elections and headed for the presidency. Nevertheless, his refusal to share power with the Porfiristas led Díaz to occupy the capital as the head of the “constitutional army.”

Porfirio Díaz took office in 1876 and assumed as his first endeavor to “pacify” the country after so much revolt. However, his methods of establishing the Porfirian Pax were grounded on intimidation, coercion, and repression strategies. Another factor that contributed to establishing order as the basis for progress was the systematization of daily life through various civil, judicial, and commercial codes and regulations.

ANOTHER TERM

When his first presidential term ended in 1880, Díaz went back to Oaxaca to become governor and a cabinet minister, while his friend General Manuel González was elected president. González rewarded his friends and was on good terms with others, gaining political support in his own right. He had the constitution amended to allow Díaz to be elected to another term. In 1884 the Central Railway was completed, connecting Mexico to the United States. President González recognized Mexican debts to Great Britain, an action that proved to be essential to the country's establishing good credit. There was substantial economic development under González, but he left the presidency under suspicion of extended corruption. With the constitution amended to allow his reelection, Díaz returned to save the nation from the misrule of González and was reelected president in 1880 and would remain until 1911.

Under Díaz's rule infrastructure and public works spread all over the country, multiplying the rail system, telegraphs, and other communications networks, which built Díaz's image as the builder of a progressive and modern Mexico.

The regime also supported the creation of primary and secondary schools, where the values of patriotism,

order, freedom, and progress were to be cultivated. However, technical and professional education was not prioritized, as if progress would not require specialized skills in order to be achieved. It was with external financial resources that Díaz stimulated the internal market through industrial development, while mining extraction was intended for the external market's demand. However, it is worth stating that agriculture never kept the pace of development at large, even when the 6,000 hacienda owners were favored by the regime, which favored feudal practices that allowed the formation of huge concentrations of land.

Moreover, inequity was reflected in every area of society, as in professional education, which was concentrated in a few major cities. So eager was Díaz to attract foreign capital that he adopted discriminating policies for Mexican mining employees, which later accounted for a major strike—which was ruthlessly suppressed—at the Cananea Consolidated Mining Company in Sonora. Díaz also cleverly played one side against the other, encouraging British and European capital as a counterbalance to U.S. capital.

The end of Díaz's regime (1904–11) was marked by foreign investments flowing into the country, which fostered the production of goods and services. Likewise, the oil industry grew from 5,000 to 8 million annual barrels by the first decade of the 20th century. However, at the time a growing critique by young, middle-class intellectuals started to manifest. This group was headed by Camilo Arriaga, Juan Sarabia, and the FLORES MAGÓN brothers and started to craft an antireelection campaign. Even when the repression of opposition leaders was a priority, Díaz was serene enough to supervise the Centenario celebration (the 100-year anniversary of independence); to attend the inauguration of public works, schools, hospitals, and monuments; and even to lead parades.

Two months later FRANCISCO MADERO led an uprising that marked the beginning of a decade-long revolutionary civil war and through the Plan de San Luis proclaimed the nonreelection of Díaz. After several months of insurrection, Porfirio Díaz resigned and headed for exile in France, where he died some years later. During the Porfiriato, progress materialized in infrastructures and communications within major cities. However, the economy became totally dependent on the United States due to major investments in industries. Foreign domination extended over technical and economic domains, contrasting with the profound patriotism that Juárez, Lerdo, and Díaz professed. During the liberal age nationalistic propaganda succeeded in transmitting

to the general public a national sense and a conscience that bonded race, history, and territory within a cultural symbolism that defined national identity for years to come.

See also LATIN AMERICAN MODERNISM; LATIN AMERICAN NATIONALISM.

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ALFONSO VALENZUELA AGUILERA

Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905)

The Treaty of Portsmouth of September 1905 marked the end of the Russo-Japanese War and was the first international treaty to be signed in the United States. It ended a war that had occurred because of the colliding ambitions of the Russians and the newly industrialized Japanese in the Far East. Russia saw Manchuria, part of the crumbling Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty of China, as ripe for expansion. Port Arthur offered a port that could be used all year and the opportunity to build a railroad. The Russians also had designs on Korea and had received territorial concessions from the Chinese. From Japan's point of view, Manchuria also seemed ripe for development, and Japan believed that Korea should be part of its sphere of influence. Russia also had gained control of part of China, which Japan had been forced to give up after the recent SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

Japan initiated hostilities in March of 1904 by attacking Russian forces in Korea and later in Manchuria and besieging Port Arthur. The result of these battles and other actions was a string of Japanese victories. Though Russia could call upon more troops, the Japanese possessed far better equipment and weapons. In fact, many regard this conflict as a laboratory of the



Members of the Japanese delegation, Jutaro Komura and Kogoro Takahira, arrive for negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war between Russia and Japan in 1905. Theodore Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize for brokering the peace.

kind of combat that would occur in WORLD WAR I a few years later. At sea the Japanese also inflicted severe losses on the Russian navy. Having found that their Far Eastern fleet had been sunk by the Japanese at Port Arthur, a large Russian fleet arrived in the area from Europe in May 1905 at the Battle of Tsushima Straits, met the Japanese fleet, and suffered a disastrous defeat. Many Russian capital ships were destroyed with high loss of life. This was the first great naval contest involving the new super battleships. The Japanese had defeated the Russians, the first victory of an Asiatic power over a European, but they were in desperate financial shape. The moment was at hand for peace.

The peace treaty was brokered by U.S. president THEODORE ROOSEVELT, who received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Interestingly, Roosevelt never attended any of the sessions. Portsmouth, a pleasant New Hampshire city, was chosen as the site of the negotiations, and a number of the delegates stayed at a local

resort, Wentworth by the Sea. The talks took place at the Portsmouth Shipyard in Kittery, Maine, for the sake of security. During their time off, the delegates mingled with Portsmouth citizens.

The delegations were headed by Serge Witte for Russia and Jutaro Komura for Japan. The negotiations stopped a number of times when the two sides disagreed but finally came to a conclusion brought about through compromise and through Roosevelt's intervention. According to the treaty, Russia conceded that Korea was in the Japanese orbit and that Russia should withdraw from southern Manchuria, leaving it under symbolic Chinese control. In addition, the Russian right to build the South Manchurian Railway was handed over to Japan, as well as Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula and Port Arthur at its southern tip, along with the southern part of Sakhalin Island. The Japanese also received fishing rights near the Russian coast. Both Russia and Japan were dissatisfied with

the results, and there were riots in Japan. Nonetheless, the treaty did mark Japan's emergence as a power in the Far East.

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MARC SCHWARZ

Prestes, Luís Carlos

(1898–1990) *Brazilian revolutionary*

One of the leading Communists in Brazil, Louís Carlos Prestes has been regarded by many as one of Brazil's most charismatic yet tragic figures for his leadership of the 1924 *tenente* revolt and his subsequent work with the Brazilian Communist movement.

Prestes was born on January 3, 1898, at Porto Alegre, a port 400 kilometers from the Uruguayan border, and attended the Escola Militar in Rio de Janeiro. As a cadet he had a brilliant academic record but led the 1924 revolt against the government, forming what became known as the Prestes Column, a guerrilla group that sought to overthrow President Artur da Silva Bernardes. It was an attempt to overthrow the oligarchy that had entrenched itself in power after the declaration of Brazil as a republic in 1889. Unfortunately for Prestes, he was ill with typhoid on the day of the revolt, and the defeated rebels fled to Bahia.

The Communists fought 56 battles and also negotiated treaties with Indian tribes, and, when the Brazilian army moved against them, Prestes led what became known as Brazil's equivalent of the Chinese LONG MARCH. They escaped from the soldiers and managed to get to the south of Brazil, resettling in the remote area along the Bolivian border. After operating there for three years, they moved into Bolivia, where they were interned. Prestes, however, managed to escape to Buenos Aires. The revolt was to foreshadow the 1930 revolution, which ended the "Old Republic" of Brazil, with GETÚLIO VARGAS becoming provisional president.

Becoming increasingly influenced by communism, Prestes went into exile, by now totally disenchanted with Vargas. In Argentina and Uruguay Prestes met with Marxists in Buenos Aires and Montevideo and then was contacted by COMINTERN officials, who persuaded him to go to the Soviet Union, where he was named the Comintern representative for the Brazilian

Communist Party (PCB). In 1935 Prestes and his German wife, Olga Benária, returned to Brazil in secret, and the two worked for a popular front that was known as the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (National Liberation Alliance). By now Vargas was strongly anticommunist and used the Brazilian congress to legislate against the Communists—in 1937 Vargas was to close the parliament down. He was seen as becoming increasingly profascist, and the police uncovered Prestes's network and arrested the couple in late 1935. Olga, who was pregnant, was deported to Germany as a foreign alien. Because she was Jewish, she was jailed after her return to Germany and died in a concentration camp. Prestes was found guilty of sedition and sentenced to 17 years in jail.

After his release Prestes started organizing the newly legalized Brazilian Communist Party. He saw that Vargas was an opportunist who had supported fascism during the 1930s but was now embracing liberal democracy in an attempt to win favor with the United States. Many Brazilian Communists despaired of Prestes, who was seen as working with Vargas for concessions. When asked why he could support the man who had his wife deported, Prestes replied that he felt that he should not allow personal disputes to get in the way of his attempt for social reform. In 1945 Prestes contested the presidency in the elections and on December 2, 1945, was elected to the Brazilian senate for the Federal District. However, two months earlier, Vargas had been deposed, and the military set about trying to stop Communist political influence in the country. Two years later the PCB was again outlawed, and Prestes returned to his earlier life of organizing secretly. He died on March 7, 1990.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

progressivism, U.S.

The progressive movement is best viewed as a series of shifting coalitions motivated by the problems caused by rapid industrialization in the United States. The composition of these coalitions varied on federal and state levels and from region to region, and progressive reform was not specifically connected to either of the major

political parties. What distinguished progressive reform was the movement's belief in the importance of professional expertise. Progressives understood that government could be an agent of positive change, believed that environment is the key to social behavior, and relied on statistics to support their causes.

Progressive reform was initially directed toward the problems of urban life. The growth of the suburbs took the wealthy away from the cities, which were increasingly populated by people who in many cases spoke a different language and proved impervious to Protestant conversion efforts. Reform efforts were geographically centered in the cities of the East, Midwest, and West and attracted support from agrarian Midwesterners and the moderate wing of southern populism.

Progressive reformers were inspired by thoughts of cultural nationalism and the perfectibility of society. They accepted industrialism but were critical of its oppressive aspects. The movement was publicized by a group of journalists termed the muckrakers, a group of moderate men and women who exposed problems caused by industrial capitalism but did not intend to propose radical remedies for the problems they exposed.

Politically, progressivism occupied the center of the U.S. political spectrum. At the state level, governors like ROBERT LAFOLLETTE of Wisconsin and Hiram Johnson of California were able to implement reforms that placed democracy in the hands of the people and took it away from corporations that appeared to control state politics.

Progressives urged the use of and in many states passed laws that adopted the secret ballot and implemented direct primaries, the initiative, referendums, recalls of elected officials, and direct election of senators. They also formed commissions to regulate utilities and railroads; they restricted lobbying and raised corporate taxes. To correct the worst features of industrialization, progressives advocated worker compensation, child labor laws, minimum wage and maximum hours legislation, and widows' pensions.

Progressivism entered national politics via the presidency of THEODORE ROOSEVELT, who became president after the assassination of William McKinley in 1900. He was conservative in outlook but feared the excessive power of corporate wealth and the danger of working-class radicalism. He became the undisputed spokesman for national progressivism. Roosevelt gained a reputation as a "trustbuster" when in 1904 the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities Company had violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

In 1903 Congress created the Bureau of Corporations, housed in the Department of Commerce, to publicize and investigate the behavior of giant companies. In 1906 Roosevelt signed both the Pure Food and Drug Act, which empowered the Department of Agriculture to fine and imprison producers found selling adulterated or misbranded goods, and the Meat Inspection Act, which sent federal inspectors into packinghouses to prevent bad meat from coming to market.

Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, was unable to hold the progressive and the conservative wings of the Republican Party together, leading Roosevelt to run as the presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, or Bull Moose Party, in 1912. Both Roosevelt and Taft lost to Democrat WOODROW WILSON, who himself was sympathetic to progressive reform. Wilson signed the FEDERAL RESERVE Act of 1913, which reorganized the monetary system of the country, and in 1914 he signed both the Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act, which strengthened government's ability to regulate corporations. In 1916 Wilson signed the Keating-Owen Act, which prohibited the sale of products made using child labor.

Progressivism also had a religious aspect, known as the Social Gospel, an attempt by mainstream Protestantism to restore some of its lost authority and social prestige through a sort of secular leadership. It hinged on the belief that every Christian had a dual obligation to self and to society and combined a critique of individualism with a commitment to social justice and reform. This was significant because by the beginning of the 20th century, many Americans looked to science rather than to faith for expertise on problems of the day.

WORLD WAR I redirected the energy of progressive reformers, and the Republican administrations of the 1920s had no interest in reviving the movement. Its reforms persisted into the 21st century, but many of the social initiatives favored by progressives were not enacted until the NEW DEAL.

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Prohibition (North America)

A century of antialcohol agitation paid off in the early 20th century when the United States and most Canadian provinces passed laws against the sale and use of alcoholic beverages ranging from weak beer to high-proof whiskey. Enacted in the aftermath of WORLD WAR I, the United States' "noble experiment" in nationwide alcohol prohibition proved highly controversial and was repealed in 1933. As in the United States, Canadian restrictions on liquor intensified during World War I, but most were revised or repealed by 1930.

Advocates of Prohibition both responded to and benefited from the social turmoil of late 19th- and early 20th-century America. As immigrants, many of them Jewish and Roman Catholic, flooded into rapidly expanding cities, the anti-immigrant, antiurban, and antisaloon tendencies of Protestant, small-town America and Canada intensified. Business titans like John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and HENRY FORD supported Prohibition in the interest of the industries' need for sober machine operators.

One effective tool used by Prohibition supporters was local option, allowing towns, counties, or entire states to limit or eliminate the consumption of alcohol. By 1915, more than half of all Americans were already living under Prohibition statutes; 18 states were entirely "dry," as were parts of many others, predominantly in the South, Midwest, and West.

Prohibitionists used World War I to crusade against breweries, many owned by German Americans. They cited the need to divert grain supplies from making beer to baking bread for troops fighting in Europe. Congress approved the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor in December 1917; it became law on January 29, 1920. The federal Volstead Act provided guidelines for enforcement. It defined "intoxicating liquors" as containing 0.5 percent or more alcohol; alcohol for industrial, religious, and medicinal use was allowed, as were grape beverages like Vine-Glo that were prepared at home.

From the beginning, enforcement proved difficult. There were many loopholes and too few federal agents to cover the coastlines. Smugglers were extremely successful at importing booze from Mexico, the Caribbean, and, ironically, Canada, where Prohibition restrictions were looser, and almost nonexistent in Quebec. Ships filled with liquor anchored outside the three-mile international limit and awaited speedy bootlegging rumrunners who returned to the mainland with an illegal cargo bound for "speakeasies" and "blind



A police raid in Washington, D.C. With the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, alcohol became illegal in the United States.

pigs" catering to women as well as men. President Warren G. Harding kept liquor in the White House. Other Americans who relished a drink brewed moonshine or bathtub gin; ill-tasting concoctions were mixed with fruity juices to create cocktails. Tainted alcohol, intended for industrial use or "spiked" with derivatives like nerve gas, caused blindness, paralysis, or death. Despite Prohibition's mounting problems, in the 1928 presidential election, which pitted "dry" Republican HERBERT HOOVER against "wet" New York Democrat ALFRED E. SMITH, the U.S. dry heartland voted overwhelmingly for Hoover.

Historians argue about the actual impact of Prohibition on drinking habits and law enforcement. In cities like New York, Detroit, and Chicago, where the dry crusade had never taken hold, illegal drinking probably exceeded pre-Prohibition levels. But there is compelling evidence that overall arrests for drunkenness and hospitalizations for alcoholism declined in the 1920s. In Canada, too, although illegal alcohol production soared, there were fewer reports of public intoxication and associated criminal behavior. Critics of Prohibition certainly had much to complain about, including the proliferation of gangsters like Al Capone and the Purple Gang, along with increased governmental corruption and general disrespect for laws. Criminalizing brewing and distilling, a huge formerly legal industry, meant loss of tax revenues and jobs.

In Michigan, the first state to ratify Prohibition, German-American beer maker Julius Stroh kept his workers employed making ice cream in what had been his brewery. Civil libertarians decried Prohibition's encroachment on states' rights and individual freedoms. By the early 1930s many formerly dry business leaders

were opposing Prohibition's heavy-handed and unsuccessful focus on law enforcement.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT made repeal of Prohibition a campaign issue in the 1932 election. By April 1933 the newly elected president had persuaded Congress to quickly allow beer with 3.2 percent alcohol, while Congress initiated the Twenty-first Amendment repealing the Eighteenth. By December Prohibition was no more. Enforcement of liquor policies and restrictions was mostly returned to the states. For a while some continued Prohibition as a statewide pol-

icy; today jurisdiction tends to be at the local level, and dry counties still exist.

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JOHN M. MAYERNIK



Quezon, Manuel

(1878–1944) *Philippine president*

Manuel Quezon was the oldest child of Spanish mestizo parents living in the small town of Baler on the east coast of Luzon island. At nine the young Quezon was sent to San Juan de Letran College, where he completed his secondary education and finished his bachelor of arts degree. He then went on to the University of Santo Tomás to study law.

In 1899, Quezon interrupted his studies to join EMILIO AGUINALDO in the nationalist struggle against the United States, which had gained the Philippines from Spain after the Spanish-American War. After Aguinaldo surrendered to the United States in 1901, Quezon returned to law school and passed the Philippine bar in 1903. He subsequently set up his own law firm in his home province of Tayabas. Quezon's populist leanings were evident in the way he made wealthy clients pay high fees while he provided free legal services to the poor.

Quezon entered politics in 1905 when he ran for the office of provincial governor in Tayabas. Two years later he won a seat in the newly created Philippine assembly. He became the majority floor leader, with Sergio Osmena from Cebu as speaker. This marked the beginning of a long political collaboration with Osmena. The next year Quezon and Osmena established the Nacionalista Party, although Osmena remained its recognized leader through the early 1920s.

Quezon traveled outside the Philippines during this period, attending the International Congress of Navigation in St. Petersburg in 1908, visiting New York, and lunching with President THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

In 1909, the Philippine assembly elected Quezon resident commissioner to the United States. He would hold this post for the next seven years. During this time he learned English and focused his energies on winning independence for the Philippines. By the time he returned to the Philippines in 1916, his efforts had helped lead to the passage of the Philippine Autonomy Act, commonly known as the Jones Act.

The Jones Act led to a reorganization of the Philippine legislature on the U.S. model and opened up new avenues for Quezon's political advancement. In 1916, having first won a senate seat, he was elected president of the senate by his fellow senators, a position he held until 1935. Exploiting the preamble of the Jones Act and inspired by the rhetoric of President WOODROW WILSON, Quezon led a team to Washington, D.C., in 1919 to lobby for independence. A new presidential administration in the United States in the post-WORLD WAR I period doomed Quezon's mission.

In 1934 Quezon returned from yet another mission to the United States after the passage of the TYDINGS-McDUFFIE ACT by the U.S. Congress, which created a 10-year transitional Philippine Commonwealth prior to full independence. The following year Quezon was elected president of the commonwealth, with Osmena as his vice president.



Manuel Quezon was a leading figure in Philippine independence and served as the country's leader in exile during World War II.

In 1935, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT approved Quezon's request for the assignment of General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR to help create a Philippine

army as the country prepared itself for eventual independence in 1946. Quezon and MacArthur had a long-standing relationship dating back to 1903. In fact, in 1929 Quezon had lobbied hard for MacArthur to succeed Henry Stimson as governor-general of the Philippines. Quezon named MacArthur field marshal and military adviser to the Filipino president.

In November 1941, as the threat of war loomed, Quezon was reelected president, with Osmena as his vice president. A month later the Japanese military swept into Southeast Asia and invaded the Philippines. Quezon and Osmena were evacuated to Corregidor, from which they were taken to the United States.

In Washington, D.C., Quezon and Osmena established a commonwealth government in exile. Manuel Quezon would not return to the Philippines. He became bedridden by the tuberculosis that had plagued him for years and died in Saranac Lake, New York, on August 1, 1944. He was survived by his widow, Aurora Aragon Quezon, and his three children. His body was carried back to the Philippines and interred at the Manila North Cemetery. It was then moved to the Quezon Memorial Circle in Quezon City.

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SOO CHUN LU



racial segregation and race riots, U.S.

Segregation is physical separation based on race, gender, class, or religion. It can occur by law (*de jure*) or by actual practice (*de facto*). It may be voluntary, involuntary, or somewhere between the two. In the U.S. context, segregation historically has meant the separation of blacks involuntarily from white society.

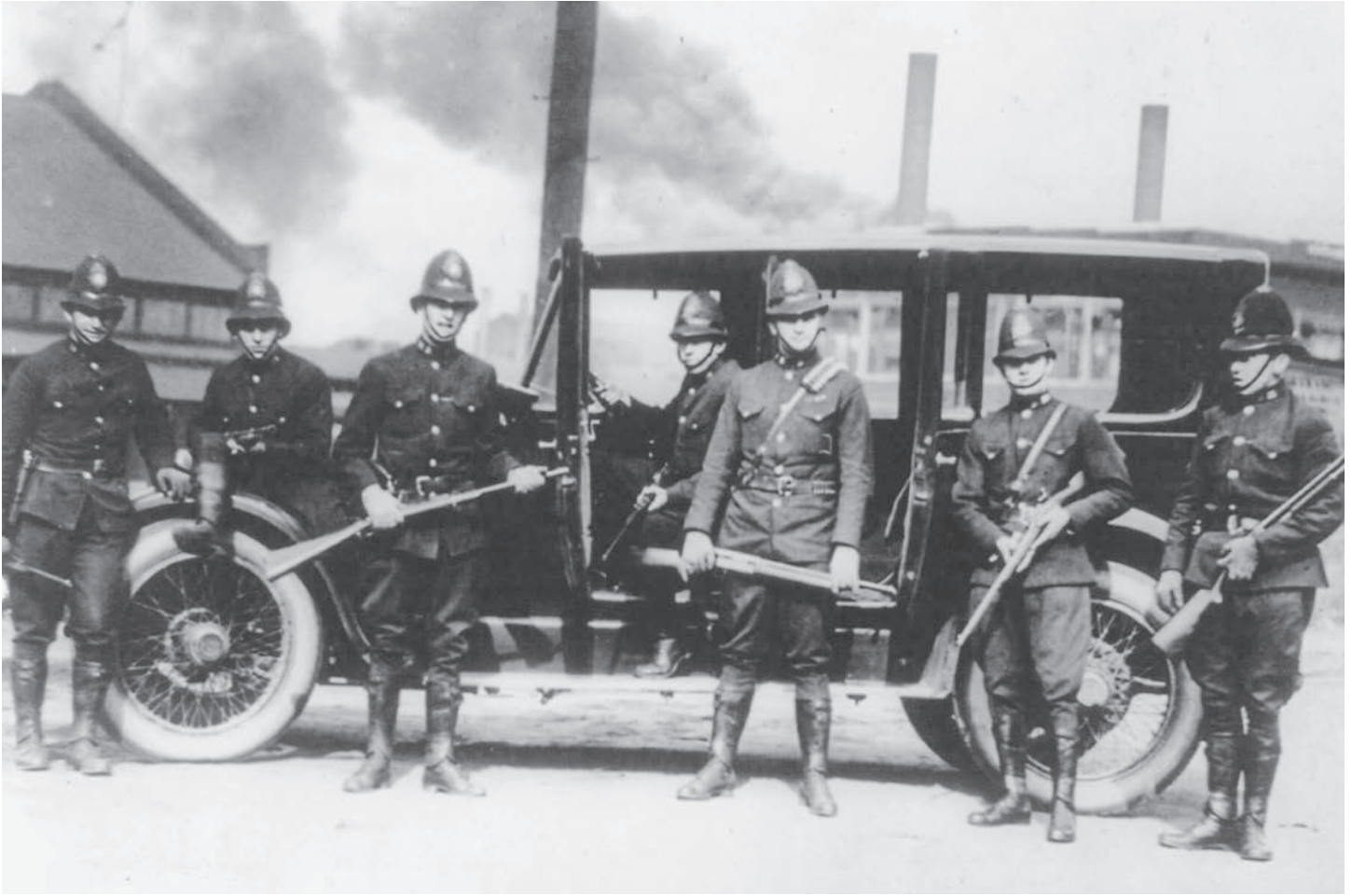
In the antebellum United States, the North and cities in the South were more segregated than was the rural South, where an agricultural economy based on plantations and farms reduced opportunities or incentives for segregation. Northern segregation became more pronounced in the 1820s through the 1840s due to the large European immigration and the increase in white male voting. Northern urban segregation was occasionally *de jure*, but usually it was due to white preference. Blacks were removed from jobs, schools, public accommodations, churches, neighborhoods, and voting booths. Blacks responded by creating their own churches, lodges, and communities.

In the South the plantation economy required a large labor force—mostly slave. Slaves, it was thought, were better kept behind the big house where they could be observed than in towns or elsewhere where they might plot against the white near-minority. Free and slave blacks had access to churches, theaters, and other facilities, but only in their own sections. Blacks and whites did not ordinarily mingle. Schools and social welfare were forbidden to blacks. After the Civil War,

the South developed *de facto* segregation similar to that of the antebellum North. The key concept was separate but equal. Prisons were segregated, as were militia units, cemeteries, trains and boats, streetcars, and general public accommodations. Blacks initially accepted separate but equal, however unequal, as superior to having no access at all. Where segregated institutions were totally inadequate, as they had in the North, southern blacks developed their own segregated facilities. Residential segregation developed as freedmen left the plantations for freedmen's camps, the outskirts of cities, and rural black communities.

After Reconstruction, Redeemer governments abandoned all pretense of equality. The approach was validated by *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896), and for decades the courts ruled against black efforts to mitigate if not overturn segregation. Only in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), a residential segregation case, did blacks win a victory against segregation. Even that ruling was overwhelmed by white prejudice and a limited amount of black preference that combined to segregate most U.S. neighborhoods. Where blacks and whites integrated, usually both were poor.

In the North, Reconstruction meant that black voters had a voice. Most jurisdictions abandoned *de jure* segregation, but *de facto* segregation was similar to that in southern cities. Residential areas were segregated, and so were job sites. Some accommodations were off limits not by law but by custom. The GREAT MIGRATION of blacks northward after the turn of the century and particularly during and after WORLD WAR I led to



State troopers, some posing with riot guns, stand ready for rioters in 1919. Racial conflict occurred because of a loss of employment, rumors of violent crime, and questionable election results—all causes of mass riots that left hundreds dead across the country.

competition and conflict between black migrants and old-time and immigrant whites for jobs, housing, and other basics of life. Blacks became restricted to urban ghettos with their own schools, facilities, and business districts. By the 1920s segregation in the North and South was comparable.

When the federal government instituted a *laissez faire* policy regarding states' treatment of their black populations after Reconstruction, the states implemented disenfranchisement, discrimination, and peonage. Blacks without rights were second-class citizens. White supremacy generated race hatred and lawlessness, and the result was a massive outbreak of lynching. Although lynching occurred throughout the United States and involved whites as well as blacks, it was predominantly a southern act against blacks. Between 1882 and 1951, of the 4,730 persons lynched, 3,437 were black.

The shift began in the decade prior to World War I. Rather than attacking an individual, white mobs began attacking entire communities. Wanting to preserve white power and vent frustrations against the helpless, white mobs went into black neighborhoods, beat and killed large numbers of blacks, and damaged a great deal of black property. Blacks commonly fought back, but the preponderance of casualties were black. Because the North was more urbanized than the South, most riots occurred in the North.

Blacks began migrating to northern cities as the South's segregation became tighter and urban industrialization offered alternative employment to debt peonage on southern farms. Blacks seemed a threat to northern white jobs and neighborhoods. World War I exacerbated the situation, and it also raised the specter of black soldiers returning and refusing to accept second-class citizenship. The summer of 1919 saw 26 race

riots, not only in Chicago and Washington, D.C., but in such cities as Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Elaine, Arkansas. Black deaths exceeded 100, injuries were in the thousands, and thousands more were left homeless.

The most serious riots were in Wilmington, North Carolina (1898); Atlanta, Georgia (1906); Springfield, Illinois (1908); East St. Louis, Illinois (1917); Chicago, Illinois (1919); Tulsa, Oklahoma (1921); and Detroit, Michigan (1943).

Wilmington's riot was the first major outbreak since Reconstruction. An election rife with fraud and intimidation of black voters produced a white racist city administration resolved to control the city's black population. Whites began rampaging two days after the election, killing about 30 blacks and forcing many others to leave. The Atlanta riot of 1906 occurred after months of inflammatory press treatment of black crime in an effort to disenfranchise blacks. Reports that 12 white women were raped in a week provoked a white riot. White mobs murdered blacks, destroyed homes and businesses, and overwhelmed police and black resistance. After four days, 10 blacks and two whites were dead, and hundreds were injured. Over 1,000 left Atlanta.

The rioters in Springfield, Illinois, reacted to a white woman's claim that she had been molested by a black man. After lynching the alleged attacker, the crowd began dragging blacks from homes and streetcars. The National Guard restored order only after four whites and two blacks had been killed. White liberals, shocked by the violence in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, met the next year with blacks and formed the NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE).

Illinois was the scene of another riot in 1917 in East St. Louis. White workers feared black competition for jobs and attendant status. An aluminum plant brought in black and white strike breakers and, with militia and court injunctions, broke a white strike. The union blamed the blacks. The result was a riot, including beatings and destruction of property. After the riot, harassment and beatings continued for several months. In June a new riot began, and this time, along with the beatings, burnings, and the destruction of over 300 buildings, the official death toll was nine whites and 39 blacks.

Chicago's riot was the worst in the postwar years. A black swimmer entered the whites-only section of the water, leading white swimmers to stone him until he drowned; 13 days of rioting by thousands of blacks and

whites produced 15 white and 23 black deaths and 178 white and 342 black injuries. Property destruction left over 1,000 families homeless.

The Tulsa riot was in response to a white girl's allegation that a black man had attempted to rape her in a public elevator. Rumors that the suspect was to be lynched led an armed black mob to the jail. Whites and blacks fought, and the riot was under way. A mob of over 10,000 rampaged through the black neighborhood. Machine guns and airplanes were used to help the white mob, and by the time four companies of the National Guard had restored order, 150 to 200 blacks were dead.

Rioting eased after that, but WORLD WAR II brought a massive black migration to the war jobs of the nation's cities. Detroit's blacks and whites competed for the same jobs and the same houses. On June 20, 1943, fighting began in an integrated recreational area, Belle Isle. Fighting became rioting, with the customary looting and burning of the black neighborhoods. The white mobs spread through the city seeking blacks downtown as well as in the ghettos. Cars full of whites were shot at by black snipers. Federal troops quelled the riots, but 25 blacks and nine whites were dead.

The riots inevitably started when whites attacked blacks. This occurred at times of social dislocation. Riots grew due to the spread of rumors. The police consistently either were a precipitating factor or assisted in the growth of the riots. The location of the riots was always in the black community. Blacks reacted to white violence either by retaliating violently, leaving the cities, or engaging in peaceful protest. The NAACP publicized the riots and continued to work for legislative reform.

World War II altered the civil rights landscape. The NAACP had won a series of victories from the 1920s, slowly tearing down the legal structure supporting unequal facilities. The Supreme Court overturned the white primary in 1944, making black access to the political process theoretically possible. Between 1940 and 1952 southern black voter registration rose from 150,000 to over 1 million.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Ralaimongo, Jean(1884–1942) *Malagasy activist*

In 1898, the French decided to interpret the “friendship treaty” signed with the last Malagasy queen as an invitation to transform Madagascar into a protectorate. Not everyone on the island objected to the changes, especially if, as in the case of future nationalist and socialist Jean Ralaimongo, they had been sold into slavery and released only upon the abolition of slavery effected by the French. Many longed for revolutionary changes to the traditionally rigid hierarchy that structured Malagasy society.

Ralaimongo absorbed French republican ideals enthusiastically and wanted to see them become practice in Madagascar. In the era before WORLD WAR I, the majority of intellectuals optimistically expected that they would have the opportunity to advance toward independence and civilization under France’s aegis. The Sadiavahe resistance movement (1915–17) drew its adherents almost exclusively from the ranks of the peasantry in the southwest of the island, and their economic grievances were caused as much by the weather as by the French-imposed cattle tax.

Many Malagasy men chose to join the French army in World War I. In return for their service, they received educational opportunities in the metropole and French citizenship. Ralaimongo remained in France until 1922, during which time he encountered various European radicals and future nationalist leaders from French colonies in Asia and Africa. With his roommate, the man later known as Ho Chi Minh, Ralaimongo attended the seminal meetings for the formation of the French Communist Party. They also collaborated on the production of a newspaper meant to raise political consciousness among colonial peoples.

Those who remained in Madagascar during World War I lived through an incident that displayed the French will to remain in control of the island. After having repeatedly heard rumors of a revolt planned for late in 1915, the administration ordered a series of arrests on December 12. The ensuing judicial processes concluded quickly. Those arrested belonged to the VVS (Vy Vato Sakelika, roughly Iron Stone Network), a group that had started to articulate an intellectual nationalism and that sought to prepare their compatriots for the distant day when they might take control of their own affairs. The majority of those convicted for their associations with the VVS were lower-middle-class youths from varying ethnic groups, though the leaders of the group were generally students at the medical school, white-collar workers, and teachers.

Soon after the VVS affair and the end of World War I, France granted a degree of representative government to Madagascar. Those war veterans who returned to the island brought with them radical ideas and an intensified sense of nationalism. In the 1920s, leaders adhered to the strategy employed by other African nationalists of the interwar period: Demand increased self-rule and the extension of European civil rights but not complete autonomy. Ralaimongo initiated his agitation from a base in Diego Suarez. They demanded the creation of a council-general with real powers and a significant portion of Malagasy members, along with the abolition of the government-general and representation in the French parliament. Financially backed by members of the business community, Ralaimongo allied former members of the VVS, French socialists, and Malagasy labor leaders in a single movement. From 1927, the group published two newspapers: *L’Opinion* (in Diego Suárez [now Antsiranana]) and *L’Aurore Malagache* (in Tananarivo).

The first mass demonstration occurred on May 19, 1929, after the French governor-general refused to receive any Malagasy to discuss the recent *Pétition des Indigènes*, which had presented the nationalists’ requests. The unrest signified the existence of an embryonic sense of nationality. Little changed, however, and the administration did not listen to recommendations.

As a response to this inaction, nationalists became more radical in their demands. Ralaimongo, exiled to Port Beigé, started to advocate peasant resistance following the model popularized by MOHANDAS K. GANDHI. In 1931 he first suggested that Madagascar should break with France entirely. New groups and a more explicitly nationalistic, proindependence periodical press appeared after 1935. However, the nationalist movement had lost much of its momentum by the later 1930s as the effects of the global GREAT DEPRESSION caused traders to withdraw financial support. Many middle-class Malagasy simply preferred the benefits they would accrue as French citizens to the uncertainty of independence.

The mutations in French politics and foreign policy triggered by WORLD WAR II yielded a new situation for colonies such as Madagascar. The administration decided to acknowledge calls for self-government. To start, the Malagasy elected two representatives to the constituent assembly in Paris. French settlers and Malagasy each had their own electoral colleges, a situation that the Malagasy representatives actively criticized. Once in Paris, these two men, Joseph Raseta and Joseph Ravoahangy, along with Paris-based writer Jacques Rabemananjara, started the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Restoration (known by its French acronym MDRM). This political

party attracted some 300,000 members from various ethnic and social groups. Raseta and Ravoahangy rejected any identity for Madagascar other than that of a sovereign nation-state, so they did not support the territory's inclusion in the French union. Provincial elections in 1946 returned a large MDRM majority in the provincial and the national representative assemblies.

These political reforms did little to mitigate the various causes of tension that sparked the revolt of 1947. Together, the return of soldiers who had fought for France in World War II, food shortages, economic scandals, and ethnic disputes contributed to the deterioration of relations with the French administration. The nationalists who challenged French rule on March 20, 1947, managed to gain support across about one-third of the island before reinforcements could arrive from France. The French outlawed the MDRM, despite its protestations of innocence, and military courts ordered the execution of 20 military leaders of the revolt. Trials of others involved in the uprising resulted in 5,000 to 6,000 convictions and sentences of either imprisonment or death. Malagasy independence remained to be won.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

rape of Nanjing (Nanking), the

On July 7, 1937, Japanese forces attacked a town called Wanping in northern China near Beijing (Peking) in what came to be called the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT. On August 13 they attacked Shanghai, China's major port and financial center. This was the beginning of the SINO-JAPANESE WAR, which became part of WORLD WAR II in Asia. Japan boasted that China would surrender within three months. However, Chinese troops defended Shanghai heroically for three months before falling back, opening the road to Nanjing, China's capital. Meanwhile, the Chinese had moved their capital to Chongqing (Chungking) in Sichuan (Szechwan) province up the Yangzi (Yangtze) River.

Nanjing fell to Japanese troops on December 13, 1937. For the next eight weeks the civilians and surrendered Chinese troops in the city were subjected to monstrous barbarity perpetrated by over 50,000 Japanese officers and soldiers. The world knows it as the rape of Nanjing and the Chinese call it the great Nanjing massacre. The massacre was condoned by the high command and the commander of Japanese forces in Nanjing, Prince Asaka Yasuhito, uncle of Emperor HIROHITO. Soldiers were encouraged to commit the most horrendous atrocities and competed to kill the most people in the least time. Babies were bayoneted, and no female escaped gang rape, sexual torture, and death. All Chinese prisoners of war were massacred. The city was thoroughly looted, and large sections were burned down.

The only help for the desperate victims came from several Americans and Europeans who selflessly chose to remain in the city. They formed the International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone and established an area called the International Safety Zone around the campus of Nanjing University, the Ginling Women's Arts and Science College, the U.S. embassy, and some Chinese government buildings. These Western men and women stood up to the crazed Japanese soldiers, often risking their own lives. One of the bravest was a German businessman and member of the NAZI PARTY, John Rabe, who opened up his home as a refuge and put on his Nazi swastika armband to bolster his authority in stopping Japanese soldiers from violating the safety zone. He was so admired by the Chinese that they called him the "Buddha of Nanjing." Others later called him the Oskar Schindler of Nanjing. Another was Wilhelmina Vautrin, head of the education department of the Ginling Women's College. She protected thousands of women from Japanese soldiers, which won her accolades as the "Living Goddess of Nanjing." There were many others who worked valiantly and at enormous personal risk to protect the Chinese and who kept diaries of the horrific events.

The worst was over by the spring of 1938, and Japanese authorities began damage control in an attempt to prevent international outrage. One outcome of the rape of Nanjing was the creation of a vast network of military brothels staffed by several hundred thousand young women from Korea, China, Taiwan, and later the Philippines and Indonesia, who were kidnapped and forced to serve as sex slaves to the Japanese soldiers so that they would be less likely to rape women in conquered territories. These victims were called "comfort women." The first official "comfort house" was opened near Nanjing

in 1938. These crimes were revealed in the International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo after the war.

See also HOLOCAUST, THE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Red Scare (1920)

Red Scare was a term applied during the 1920s to a period of extreme anticommunism in the United States from 1917 until 1920. It started with the Russian Revolution in October 1917 which saw the Bolshevik Party taking power in Russia. The result was that there was a fear in the United States that Communists might try to take power—initially through the Socialist Party of America and the Industrial Workers of the World, who led strikes in 1916 and 1917, and then through the Communist Party of the United States of America, which was established in 1919. There was also a fear of the rise in anarchist groups.

In April 1919 a series of letter bombs were posted to a number of prominent Americans including Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Supreme Court justice. The man who tried to bomb the home of the attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, Carlo Valdinoci, was killed as he placed the device on the porch of Palmer's house. It was a period of intense xenophobia, and the police started arresting people they thought were involved. During the arrests, there were strikes throughout the United States that led to some people fearing that there was a nationwide conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government.

The terms of the Espionage Act of 1917 had been strengthened through the Sedition Act of 1918, as arrests continued, with some 10,000 people being arrested over the two-year period. The man appointed by Palmer to be in charge of organizing the arrests was J. Edgar Hoover, aged 24. Many people alleged that they were beaten by the police during and after their arrests and also denied access to their attorneys, although the tough attitude had the support of many people and some newspapers. U.S. senator Kenneth



A group is photographed in front of the home of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer after the attempted bombing in 1919.

D. McKellar raised the idea of establishing a penal colony in Guam for subversives. However, a number of jurists, including Felix Frankfurter, later a judge in the Supreme Court, published their criticisms of the arrests.

In early 1920 Attorney General Palmer announced that he had received evidence that the Communists were planning to take over the United States on May 1, but Palmer's attempt to win the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency failed soon afterward. In spite of the arrests, which also saw several hundred people being deported, bombings continued, with one device, which had 100 pounds (45 kilograms) of dynamite and 500 pounds (230 kilograms) of steel fragments, exploded in front of J. P. Morgan Company's office on Wall Street, killing 38 and injuring 400 others. In the 1920 U.S. presidential election, Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist Party of America, who had stood in the U.S. presidential elections on four occasions, was arrested and fought his fifth election campaign from prison. The hysteria reached its peak when two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for their role in the death of a paymaster and security guard on April 15, 1920, and were sentenced to death, being executed in 1927. The Red Scare of 1919–20 served to have a negative effect on progressive political parties and union membership in

America, as both experienced severe declines in membership in the next decade.

See also SACCO-VANZETTI TRIAL.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

reparations, World War I

Since WOODROW WILSON rejected indemnities, WORLD WAR I's victors required reparation for civilian damage done from the losers, ostensibly to ease reconstruction costs. All of the 1920 treaties written at Paris contained reparations clauses, although only Germany could pay appreciably. Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty with Germany, as limited by article 232 and similar clauses in the Austrian and Hungarian treaties, laid the legal basis. Only Germany saw this as a war guilt clause. At Paris, reparations were stretched to cover war pensions to enable Britain and its empire to gain a share. As the total set in 1921 was based on estimates of German capacity to pay, the British share, not the total, was thereby increased.

Germany was to pay 20 milliard (U.S. billion) gold marks (\$5 billion) by May 1921. Meanwhile, the victors would assess damage claims and arrive at a total sum. Actual German payments to May 1921, chiefly in credits for state properties in transferred territories and battlefield salvage, were deliberately overestimated by the Allies at 8 milliard, which did not cover prior charges, including provisioning Germany. The total figure set in April and May 1921 was ostensibly 132 milliard gold marks, but actually 50 milliard, including the unpaid balance on the interim payment. Figures were always misleadingly inflated so victor politicians could claim great accomplishments and German politicians could orchestrate outrage. A schedule of continuing payments in cash and kind (chiefly coal and timber) was established but soon were in virtual abeyance as Germany claimed inability to pay.

Battles over reparations dominated the postwar decade. If the victors had to pay vast reconstruction costs as well as domestic and foreign war debts while Germany, which had no foreign war debt and eradicated its domestic debt through inflation, paid nothing, Germany would be the victor. Berlin sought to reverse the military verdict by paying little and inflat-

ing its currency, blaming reparations for the inflation. Repeated German defaults on coal deliveries led to the 1923 Ruhr encirclement to force Germany to honor the treaty. France won that battle but lost the war, since in 1924 at British insistence, reparations payments and the total were reduced in the Dawes Plan, which provided a large loan to Germany and slowly rising payments. When these became onerous, Germany gained another reduction and loan in the 1929 Young Plan. After ADOLF HITLER's September 1930 electoral triumph, foreign, liberal, and Jewish capital fled Germany, creating a spreading economic crisis that led to the July 1931 one-year Hoover Moratorium on all intergovernmental debts. When it expired, the July 1932 Lausanne Agreement effectively ended reparations without saying so.

In all, Germany paid about 21.5 milliard gold marks, chiefly in kind. Cash was mostly borrowed, and the Dawes and Young loans were defaulted and not settled until 1995. Reparations could not be collected without German cooperation, which was not forthcoming. Of all Germany's battles to escape the Versailles Treaty, that over reparations was the most prolonged, bitter, and devisive.

See also WEIMAR REPUBLIC.

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SALLY MARKS

Rhodesia, Northern and Southern (pre-1950)

In 1911, Northern Rhodesia, a wealthy protectorate of the United Kingdom with borders that corresponded roughly to modern Zambia, was created from a combination of North West Rhodesia and North East Rhodesia. Both of these areas were under the control of the British South Africa Company, which had acquired the area in 1899 by dint of a royal charter. This empowered the company with complete administrative control over what became known as Southern Rhodesia and Northern Bechuanaland. While the charter gave the company power in the south, it soon expanded northward, extending its activities across the Zambezi River into what eventually became Northern Rhodesia.

The name of the area was derived from the name of Cecil John Rhodes, renowned British empire builder and

the most influential figure in the European expansion into southern Africa. Rhodes gained influence for the British in the area through negotiations with local chiefs for mineral rights in 1888. These negotiations, while questionable in terms of fairness to the indigenous population, were so successful that later the same year both Northern and Southern Rhodesia were proclaimed a part of the British sphere of influence. Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed and was granted self-government in 1923. Northern Rhodesia remained under the complete administrative and legislative control of the British South Africa Company until the same year, at which time the company surrendered all of its buildings, assets, land, and other monopolistic rights aside from mineral rights in return for a cash payment from the British government.

Thus, Northern Rhodesia became a British protectorate, and in 1924 executive and legislative councils were established along with the office of the governor of Northern Rhodesia. Seeing the situation of the white population in nearby South Africa, the Colonial Office promoted the immigration of white settlers to the area, reserving huge stretches of prime farmland taken from important tribal areas. This appropriation of land clashed with the land rights of the local population, who had little recourse for complaining about the situation.

The outbreak of WORLD WAR II saw Northern Rhodesia playing an important role for the British. As soon as the war began, citizens of Northern Rhodesia signed up to fight for the British army in both the European and African theaters. Arguably as important, the vast copper resources of Rhodesia were used to create vital munitions for the British war effort. This desperate need for copper caused an upswing in the price of the material, which saved the failing Rhodesian economy. Northern Rhodesia was considered as a possible location for the settlement of European Jews fleeing the political repression of the NAZI regime in Germany, particularly following the *Kristallnacht*, a massive anti-Semitic pogrom launched by fascist organizations on November 9, 1938.

Following the war, Northern Rhodesia took steps toward democratization with the establishment of an African Representative Council in 1946. Again following the lead of South Africa, white Rhodesia settlers opposed any policy that would allow the larger African population to gain greater representation in the political process or better access to education. Most of the white population pushed for an amalgamation with the more prosperous Southern Rhodesia. In spite

of the strong opposition of the white population, two African members were appointed to the Northern Rhodesian legislative council in 1948, the first step toward enfranchising the indigenous peoples. Northern Rhodesia became the independent nation of Zambia on October 24, 1964.

The area known as Southern Rhodesia corresponds roughly to modern Zimbabwe. After the split in 1923, Southern Rhodesia became known simply as Rhodesia. Previously, in 1922, nearly 30,000 white settlers in Southern Rhodesia voted for the area to become self-governing rather than integrated into the Union of South Africa. Very soon after the annexation by the British government in 1923, Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony. As with Northern Rhodesia, the right to vote was tied primarily to property qualifications. While a few black Africans were elected to the assembly, the legislature was predominantly white.

In 1930, the Southern Rhodesian Land Act was passed, excluding black Africans from owning the best farmland and creating a situation similar to the one experienced by the native people in South Africa at the same time. Four years later, a labor law excluding black Africans from entering the skilled trades and professions was passed. Additional legislation of the time continued to discriminate against the native population.

The indigenous peoples suffered repeated shrinking of areas set aside for them, the constant confiscation of the best, most arable lands, and continued exclusion from any professions that required specific skills. Education tended to be private schools that catered to the white minority, with the education of the native Africans relegated to missionaries. However, with the onset of World War II, the social conditions of Southern Rhodesia were forced to change. During the war, many young white men enlisted to serve in the British army; this meant that black African natives had to fill the vacated jobs to prevent the complete collapse of the economy. This, more than anything, started to empower the natives.

The black population of Southern Rhodesia was not unrepresented in the legislature but was significantly under-represented. Dissatisfaction with the local political situation began to grow in the native community, and many social and political organizations advocating the demands of the local black population sprang up. Following the war, the British Colonial Office attempted to assuage the situation with constitutional changes, increasing the size of the electorate and granting political representation to the African majority. Naturally, the powerful white minority opposed these

measures, believing that the Colonial Office had no authority; Southern Rhodesia had been self-governing since 1924. This position was enhanced by the return of white Rhodesian servicemen following the end of the war; veterans wanted their jobs back, a situation that permitted the environment of pushing aside the grievances of the black African population and increasing racial policies that closely resembled those of neighboring South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia would remain relatively peaceful by African standards until the 1960s.

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RIAN WALL

Rif rebellion

For centuries Spain controlled the mountainous areas from Ceuta to Melilla in northern Morocco. In March 1912 Sultan Mulai Hafid signed a treaty in which he recognized a French protectorate over Morocco. The French and Spanish then negotiated the Treaty of Fez; Spain would continue to control the mountainous areas of the Rif in the east and the Jibala in the west. France would control the rest of Morocco, and the Rif Mountains would serve as the border between the two protectorates.

When Spain began moving troops into the region, it caused unrest among the peoples of the Rif, who were used to living independently under the rule of the sultan. Two Berbers from the largest tribe in northern Morocco united all the tribes against the Spanish into what became the Rif rebellion of 1921–26. Muhammad Ibn Abd el-Krim el-Khatabi, also known as Abd el-Krim, became the leader of the revolt. Abd el-Krim was the eldest son of a *qadi* who received an education superior to that available to most in the Rif. His younger brother M'hommad became his chief adviser and commander of the Rif army. Abd el-Krim was appointed chief *qadi* in the Melilla region and quickly became an important figure in the administration of the Spanish zone. He also was an editor for *El Telegrama del Rif*, where he took anti-French stances during WORLD WAR I, for which

he was imprisoned in 1917. After being released from prison in 1919, he was reinstated in the Office of Indigenous Troops and Affairs. Shortly afterward, Abd el-Krim left the Spanish administration, and his brother came home from Madrid, where he had been studying to become a mining engineer. They then began to form an intertribal military force with the intention of creating an independent state in the Rif.

Abd el-Krim and the Rif army won several decisive battles against the Spanish. They used brief military engagements to ambush the Spanish and then retreat. Because of this, the Spanish soldiers were at a large disadvantage. They were trained to engage another European army and not to fight a guerrilla-style war. Abd el-Krim also took advantage of the region's steep mountainous terrain and the inaccessibility of the Rifian coastline. General Manuel Sylvestre, the commander of the Spanish forces in the region, was defeated and killed in battle at Annual. The fighting continued after the Spanish retreat, as the Rifians cut off Spanish escape routes. It was estimated that the Spanish suffered between 9,000 and 15,000 casualties, including General Sylvestre, in this battle.

Shortly after the battle, Abd el-Krim established a government and began making changes in the Rif in an attempt to better the lives of his people. The Rifian army continued to win battle after battle until the majority of northern Morocco was under the control of Abd el-Krim. In an attempt to stop him, the Spanish resorted to massive bombing campaigns with TNT and incendiary and chemical bombs, but to no avail. Abd el-Krim and the Rifian army continued to advance. Marshal LOUIS-HUBERT LYAUTEY, the top administrator of the French zone of Morocco, kept a close eye on the events in the north.

The French authorities had pursued a successful policy of divide-and-rule against the local tribes to keep control, but Abd el-Krim's influence began to penetrate into the French zone. By April 1925 he launched an offensive into French territory. For a short time his attacks forced a French retreat until a joint Spanish-French operation caught Abd el-Krim, now fighting a two-front war, in a pincer attack. By late October 1925 the Spanish were advancing, and Abd el-Krim was forced to retreat toward the French. In May 1926 Abd el-Krim negotiated a surrender with the French. France pardoned Abd el-Krim and then exiled him to the island of Reunion in the Indian Ocean. In 1947 he was granted asylum in Egypt, where he lived in Cairo until his death in February 1963.

See also FRANCO, FRANCISCO.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Rommel, Erwin

(1891–1944) *German general*

Born into a middle-class family with no military background in 1891, Erwin Rommel went on to become one of the most decorated and senior generals in the German army during WORLD WAR II. He is most famous for commanding the German Afrika Korps from 1941 to 1943. He proved such a competent commander during this period that the British nicknamed him the “Desert Fox.”

Rommel first distinguished himself as a leader in a number of combat missions during WORLD WAR I in France, Italy, and Romania. For his exceptional military prowess he was awarded two Iron Crosses and became the youngest recipient of a Pour le Merite, Germany’s highest military honor. Following the war he served as an instructor at the Dresden Infantry School from 1929 to 1933 and the Potsdam War Academy from 1935 to 1938.

He also wrote a well-received textbook on military theory, *Infantry Tactics*, in 1937. *Infantry Tactics* caught the attention of ADOLF HITLER. Rommel was subsequently promoted to colonel and given command of the Hitler Youth paramilitary force and later Hitler’s bodyguard battalion in 1939–40. By now a major general, Rommel took command in February 1940 of Germany’s 7th Panzer Division and led his new unit to war against France on May 10. Despite having no previous experience in tank warfare, Rommel displayed an uncanny instinct for coordinating large and fast-moving armored formations. He outperformed his more experienced colleagues in the blitzkrieg assaults. In a six-week campaign, Rommel’s unit captured over 450 tanks and over 100,000 Allied prisoners.

In an effort to relieve the beleaguered Italian units fighting in North Africa, Hitler promoted Rommel once again and awarded him a new command in January 1941. Rommel landed in Libya with the two divisions that would form the foundation of the Afrika Corps (Korps). Violating his orders from Wehrmacht high command to consolidate his new units, he attacked the British forces in North Africa in March and caught them off

balance, which allowed him to retake all of Cyrenaica except Tobruk. Promoted to full general in the summer of 1941, Rommel and his Panzer Group Africa held off British counterattacks until he was eventually forced to withdraw in November.

After receiving new supplies and reinforcements, he launched a series of offensives against the British, concluding in the Gazala battles through which he regained all of the lost ground and captured Tobruk. He was promoted once more to field marshal on June 22, 1942, in recognition of his success.

Rommel’s panzer group was defeated by the British at the first Battle of EL ALAMEIN in July, defeated again by British general Bernard Montgomery at Alam Halfa in September, and crushed at the second Battle of El Alamein in October. Facing competent and far better supplied Allied troops, Rommel’s forces were hampered by fuel shortages and his own debilitating medical problems. Despite his achieving a notable victory over the U.S. 2nd Army Corps at the Battle of the Kasserine Pass in February 1943, Rommel’s campaign in Africa was ultimately a failure. Against Hitler’s orders he organized an orderly withdrawal from North Africa. He flew to Germany on extended sick leave, leaving many of his subordinates to be captured by the Allies.

Following the Allied victory in North Africa, Rommel was appointed commander in chief of German Army Group B in August 1943 and tasked with planning operations in northern Italy. When Rommel failed to defend Sicily or the Italian mainland from Allied invasion, Hitler ordered him to France in November 1943 to organize the defense of that country against further Allied invasion.

There he launched a massive construction effort to strengthen the Atlantic wall, particularly with his own innovative design of beach obstacles nicknamed “Rommel’s asparagus.” In addition, he ordered that thousands of tank traps and other obstacles be set up on beaches and throughout the countryside and that millions of mines be laid.

Rommel disagreed with the strategy of his superior, General Rundstedt, for defending France. Rundstedt believed that a large proportion of the German army should be held in reserve to provide a flexible means of reinforcing front line units and plugging gaps opened by the Allies, while Rommel argued that the German tank units should be deployed right at the beaches to repel the Allied invasion forces immediately. The former won out, but following the Allied invasion of Normandy on D-DAY, both struggled in vain to stop the Allied advance across France toward Germany.



Plane wreckage is all that remains after Erwin Rommel's Afrika Corps retreated through Libya to the Tunisian coast. Despite his inexperience with tanks at the beginning of World War II, Rommel soon gained the respect of the Allies for his tactical leadership.

Rommel was severely wounded on July 17, 1944, when his staff car was strafed by an RAF fighter. He was also implicated in a failed assassination attempt against Hitler on July 20. The investigators discovered numerous connections between Rommel and the conspiracy, including the deep involvement of many of his closest aides. He was offered a choice of poison or a lengthy show trial and a promise of reprisals against his family. Predictably, he took the former course of action on October 14, 1944.

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SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

Roosevelt, Eleanor

(1884–1962) *American first lady*

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was the wife of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and first lady of the United States from 1933 until 1945, becoming a United Nations diplomat and a major political figure in her own right.

She was born on October 11, 1884, in New York, the daughter of Elliott and Anna Hall Roosevelt and niece of THEODORE ROOSEVELT, who became the 26th president of the United States. Both her parents died when she was young—her mother when she was eight and her father when she was nine, and as a result she was raised by relatives, rapidly becoming Theodore Roosevelt's favorite niece. It was the childhood of a wealthy girl, and she quickly developed a social conscience and keenness to help with charitable works.

She was educated at Allenswood, near London, England, and later described the three years she spent there as the happiest in her life. In 1902 she returned

to New York, and three years later, on March 17, 1905, she married a distant cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. They were to have six children: Anna Eleanor, born in 1906; James, born in 1907; Franklin Delano, Jr., born in 1909 (died aged seven and a half months); Elliot, born in 1910; Franklin Delano, Jr., born in 1914; and John Aspinwall, born in 1916.

Even before her marriage, Eleanor Roosevelt had been active in charity and volunteer work, and she adapted easily to the task of accompanying her husband as he entered politics. The family moved to Albany after Franklin won a seat in the New York senate in 1911, and two years later they moved to Washington, D.C., when he was appointed assistant secretary of the navy. During WORLD WAR I, Eleanor worked in a Red Cross canteen for the Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society. A particularly traumatic time came about in 1918 when Eleanor discovered that her husband was having an affair with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer. She offered a divorce, which he rejected, promising to end the affair. The two would remain married, but their relationship was badly strained.

In 1921 Franklin Roosevelt was struck with poliomyelitis, and it looked as though his political career was over. However, Eleanor stood by him, and gradually both of them became active in grass-roots politics, with Eleanor playing a major role in the Democratic Party in New York State. When Franklin was elected governor of New York in 1929, Eleanor remained an adept political hostess but also continued to run a Manhattan girls' school, Todhunter, which she and two friends had recently bought. Eleanor taught at the school and enjoyed her independence from political life.

When Franklin Roosevelt was elected president, Eleanor became a leading advocate for liberal causes, especially women's rights and equal rights for African Americans. She held a regular White House press conference restricted to women journalists. This ensured that many major newspapers had to hire women correspondents, if only, some would later admit, to get the news from her. With Franklin crippled, Eleanor toured the United States many times in his absence and was able to tell him about the success or otherwise of social programs.

Eleanor Roosevelt's championing of the rights of African Americans quickly became famous throughout the United States and overseas. In 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow Marian Anderson, an African American operatic singer, to perform in Constitution Hall, so Eleanor resigned her membership of the organization and held the concert

at the Lincoln Memorial, with 75,000 people attending. Once, when attending a public meeting in Alabama with the public segregated by race, Eleanor sat in a folding chair in the central aisle.

In 1945 Franklin Roosevelt died, and his successor, HARRY S. TRUMAN, who called Eleanor the "First Lady of the World," appointed her to be a delegate to the United Nations, where she was chair of the Commission on Human Rights from 1946 until 1952, playing a major role in the drafting and then the adopting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. She was appointed in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy to chair the Commission on the Status of Women, and she came to support the Equal Rights Amendment. From 1945 Eleanor Roosevelt traveled around the world many times, unveiling a statue of Franklin Roosevelt at Grosvenor Square, London, in April 1948 and going to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as well as most Western countries.

Eleanor Roosevelt died on November 7, 1962, from tuberculosis, and was buried at Hyde Park, New York, where her husband had been buried 17 years earlier.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

(1882–1945) *U.S. president*

Franklin Roosevelt, known as "FDR," was the 32nd president of the United States (1933–45) and was the only president elected to that office four times. He led the United States through two major crises: the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s and then WORLD WAR II, which saw the emergence of the United States as a world power. His NEW DEAL programs were extremely controversial at the time, and Roosevelt's moves, although nowadays seen as progressive and necessary, were subject to bitter criticisms when enacted.

Franklin Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, New York, the only child of James and

Sara Delano Roosevelt. The family was wealthy but discreet, spending much of their time at their estate in the Hudson River valley, New York State, or traveling in Europe. As a boy, Franklin Roosevelt attended Groton Preparatory School in Massachusetts and in 1900 went to Harvard University, where his academic results were mediocre, but he made a major impression on the social scene. He also came to know his fifth cousin THEODORE ROOSEVELT, marrying Theodore's niece, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, on March 17, 1905. It was through his wife's work that Franklin came to see the condition of the poor in New York.

PROGRESSIVE REFORM

After graduating from Columbia University Law School and passing the New York bar exam, Roosevelt worked as a clerk for Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn of Wall Street, but by this time he had decided to enter politics. In 1910 Franklin Roosevelt was elected for the state senate seat for Dutchess County, New York. It was not long before he achieved national attention in opposing the choice of a candidate for the U.S. Senate by Tammany Hall, the New York City Democratic Party organization. Soon Roosevelt started to urge for progressive reform and supported the 1912 presidential bid of New Jersey governor WOODROW WILSON. When Wilson became president, he appointed Roosevelt assistant secretary of the navy in March 1913.

With the outbreak of WORLD WAR I in 1914, Roosevelt supported the rearmament of the United States, which entered the war in 1917. In 1918 he toured naval bases and battlefields. It was on his return from his major tour in summer 1918 that Eleanor realized that Franklin had been having an affair with Lucy Mercer, her social secretary. Franklin rejected the divorce that Eleanor offered and agreed to end the affair and not see Mercer again, but he was to break this promise 20 years later. Although the marriage held, Franklin and Eleanor were never close again. Franklin Roosevelt had supported U.S. membership in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and in 1920 was nominated as the Democratic vice presidential candidate, running on a ticket with James M. Cox. However, the Republicans won convincingly, and Roosevelt became disenchanted and went into business as vice president of Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland.

Soon after this, while on holiday at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Canada, Franklin Roosevelt discovered that he had poliomyelitis. Paralysis set in, but Roosevelt believed that he would be able to walk again, although he had to withdraw from active politics. In 1924 he appeared at the Democratic Convention,

amid cheers, to support the nomination of ALFRED E. SMITH as the Democratic presidential candidate. Roosevelt supported Smith's second bid in 1928, and Smith urged Roosevelt to run for the governorship of New York, which Roosevelt did, winning even though New York voted Republican in the presidential election on the same day.

Roosevelt learned to campaign from his car and soon was making many appearances in public, often holding on to one of his sons as he literally dragged himself from engagement to engagement.

As governor of New York, Roosevelt gained much support from farmers for whom he gave tax relief. In 1930 he turned his original majority of 25,000 votes into one of 725,000 votes. His public works programs were becoming increasingly popular as the Great Depression forced more and more people out of work. In 1931 he established the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, giving unemployment assistance to up to 10 percent of all the families in New York. The popularity of this quickly made Roosevelt a likely contender for the 1932 presidential elections. He won the election comfortably, with 472 of the Electoral College seats, to Hoover's 59, and with 22,829,277 votes, as against 15,761,254 for Hoover. He also had good Democratic majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The economy declined considerably between the election and the inauguration, with industrial production at 56 percent of its 1929 level and unemployment running at 13 million. In his first "Hundred Days" he sought to massively boost the economy by public spending through poor relief and other reforms in the economy. He declared a bank holiday, closing all banks until Congress could pass legislation to support the banking system, which was facing the possibility of widespread destruction, with "runs" on many banks. This restored public confidence in the banking system, and Roosevelt explained his actions in regular radio broadcasts that became known as the "fireside chats."

Roosevelt guided into law the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The former resulted in the establishment of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which helped provide subsidies for wheat, corn, cotton, and some other goods in exchange for reduced production levels. This raised the prices of these commodities and hence the income of small farmers. Although there were some immediate successes, many critics saw it as immoral to destroy fields of crops at the same time that some people were going hungry and while there

were famines overseas. However, it was not until 1941 that farm income reached the level of 1929. The NIRA started public works programs, but many of these began slowly, with Roosevelt anxious that none of the \$3.3 billion allocated to them should be wasted. A major part of this was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), with a massive hydroelectric scheme established to improve flood control and generate power in the Tennessee River basin. There was also the establishment of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which set minimum wage levels and guaranteed workers could bargain collectively. However, in May 1932 it was declared illegal by the Supreme Court, resulting in a bruising battle between the administration and the Court.

Roosevelt's initial programs were very successful, but because of his wanting to moderate them and cautious of critics seeing the country's debt expanding rapidly, they only mitigated the effects of the depression rather than ending it. However, in November 1936 Roosevelt was reelected, winning every state except Maine and Vermont with 27,752,648 votes as against 16,681,862 for his opponent, Kansas governor Alfred Landon.

SUPREME COURT

Seeing that the main opposition to the New Deal programs was from the Supreme Court, Roosevelt came up with a very controversial program to nominate another new justice for each existing one aged 70 years or more. This bill was voted down, but the Supreme Court was nervous and upheld the constitutionality of the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act (known as the "Wagner" Act). In 1937 the economy recovered, and Roosevelt was able cut back government spending to create a balanced budget. However, this produced a recession, and Roosevelt immediately increased spending.

The outbreak of World War II started to overshadow the last year of Roosevelt's second term as president. He had recognized the Soviet Union, improved relations with Latin America, but did nothing to oppose the rising power of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The latter's sinking of a U.S. gunboat in December 1937 led to a Japanese apology to avoid war. In June 1940, with the German capture of France, Roosevelt was keen to aid the British with "all aid short of war." He managed to send 50 old ships to Britain in exchange for naval bases. Most people in the United States remained isolationist, with the 1940 presidential election being fought largely on home issues. Roosevelt decided to break with the tradition set by George

Washington, and he was nominated for a third term—his Republican opponent, Wendell L. Willkie, also supporting Roosevelt's policy of supporting Britain. Although Roosevelt won comfortably with 449 to 82 Electoral College seats and 27,313,945 to 22,347,744 in the popular vote, there was a great fear of Roosevelt drawing the United States into war.

Tensions rose when in March 1941 Roosevelt ordered the navy to fire at German submarines, and in August 1941 he met with the British prime minister WINSTON CHURCHILL on a battleship off Newfoundland, Canada. The result was the Atlantic Charter. The close personal trust between the two men was to be the keystone of the Allied war effort. However, it was the attack on PEARL HARBOR on December 7, 1941, that would result in the United States going to war with Japan and Germany.

By restricting the export to Japan of certain war supplies, essentially the Japanese felt that their only way out of the impasse was to attack. It now seems accepted that Roosevelt saw that the Japanese would attack—U.S. intelligence having broken the Japanese ciphers—but was uncertain about the place and the time of the attack. The bombing of Pearl Harbor "on December 7, a day that will live on in infamy," took the U.S. government by surprise, and on December 8 Congress, at the request of Roosevelt, declared war on Japan. Three days later Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which was now committed to war in Europe.

Massive war production programs began immediately, ending the depression and seeing the industrial might of the United States dedicated to the war effort. Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill and the other Allied leaders at various conferences, the most famous being Casablanca (January 1943), Teheran (November 1943), CAIRO (November-December 1943), and YALTA (February 1945). Roosevelt saw that peace in the postwar world would depend on friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and a strong but brief alliance resulted.

By this time, however, Roosevelt was becoming increasingly ill. He defeated New York's governor, Thomas Dewey, in the 1944 presidential election, with Roosevelt standing for a fourth time. He won the Electoral College comfortably, with 432 against Dewey's 99 and 25,612,916 votes to 22,017,929 for the Republicans. After returning from Yalta, Roosevelt was forced to give his address to Congress while sitting down. In early April he went to Warm Springs, Georgia, to rest and had a massive cerebral hemor-

rhage while sitting for a portrait on April 12, 1945; he died soon afterward.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Roosevelt, Theodore

(1858–1919) U.S. president

The only 20th-century president carved into Mount Rushmore, Teddy Roosevelt turned the presidency into his “bully pulpit,” significantly expanding federal executive power. A progressive Republican, he used his popularity to launch the modern conservation movement, build the PANAMA CANAL, and broker a treaty in the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

The second child in an old New York Dutch family, Teddy suffered from asthma and was extremely near-sighted. He responded with a strenuous exercise regime that included hunting and ranching in the Dakotas. His legendary triumph over ill health shaped his lifelong energetic masculinity.

A stand-out at Harvard University, Roosevelt studied law but soon turned to politics. A year after marrying Alice Lee, the brash young Republican was elected to New York’s assembly and joined the National Guard. Plunged into depression by the deaths of his mother and wife on the same day in 1884, Roosevelt took time to write a well-received history of the War of 1812 and then, as commissioner of the new U.S. Civil Service, won appointments from presidents of both parties.

Soon happily remarried to childhood friend Edith Carrow, Roosevelt reconnected with his political base as New York City’s police commissioner but quickly returned to Washington as assistant secretary of the navy in William McKinley’s first administration. When the Spanish-American War erupted in 1898, Roosevelt, already an outspoken imperialist, quit his navy post to muster 1,000 fighters for his 1st Volunteer



Theodore Roosevelt was the first American president to consider the environment to be a valuable topic of political discussion.

Cavalry. These “Rough Riders” won a crucial battle at Cuba’s San Juan Hill in which Lt. Col. Roosevelt suffered minor wounds but became this “splendid little war’s” national celebrity. Months later Roosevelt narrowly won New York’s governorship. As McKinley’s reelection campaign approached, state political enemies were happy to propose Roosevelt’s promotion to the harmless job of vice president. McKinley strategist Mark Hanna considered Roosevelt a “madman” but reluctantly agreed. In September 1901 McKinley was shot by anarchist Leon Czolgosz at Buffalo’s Pan American Exposition. When he succumbed on September 14, Roosevelt became the 26th president and youngest ever at 42.

“TR” soon put his own stamp on the presidency. That October he invited African-American leader Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House, drawing a storm of protest. Facing a 1902 coal strike, Roosevelt made labor history by insisting that owners and mine workers negotiate. He followed his secret acquisition of Panama Canal territory with his ROOSEVELT COROLLARY, restating the 1823 Monroe Doctrine to justify military intervention in the hemisphere.

Promoting a “Square Deal” for all Americans, Roosevelt easily won his own term in 1904. Even Democratic cousin FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, husband of Teddy’s niece Eleanor, voted for him. Roosevelt created the National Forest Service and placed 230 million acres, including the Grand Canyon, under federal protection. In 1906 he signed the landmark Pure Food and Drug Act. Acclaimed as a trustbuster, Roosevelt used

the long-ignored Sherman Anti-Trust Act to rein in dishonest business practices, but historians still argue over whether he effectively brought big business to heel.

Disappointed in his hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, Roosevelt sought the Republican nomination in 1912, creating his own Progressive (Bull Moose) Party when rebuffed. Roosevelt placed ahead of Taft by winning a third-party record of 88 electoral votes but thereby assured Democrat WOODROW WILSON's election.

In failing health but still rambunctious, the former president advocated U.S. entry into WORLD WAR I on the Allied side and offered Wilson his military services. Denied, he considered leading a Canadian unit but settled for promoting War Bonds. Three of Roosevelt's four sons served in the war; his youngest, Quentin, a fighter pilot, died in battle in July 1918.

Generally considered America's first truly modern political figure, Roosevelt died at 60 of a coronary embolism in January 1919. He is buried in an Oyster Bay cemetery near his beloved Sagamore Hill family compound.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

Under President James Monroe, the United States expressed its belief that the Western Hemisphere was, essentially, off limits to European powers, a policy expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Under THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the doctrine was expanded to state that the United States would act as a police power in the event that a nation in the Western Hemisphere conducted its affairs irresponsibly. This corollary came when Germany and England attempted to force the repayment of loans made to Venezuela. When Venezuela refused repayment, England and Germany sent their navies to force repayment. Before sending ships, both governments consulted with Roosevelt, who initially consented to the action. However, American public opinion disagreed with European powers taking military action in the West; many felt this was a direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt addressed Congress on December 6, 1904, laying out his corollary, stating that it was the job of the United States to act as a policing force for the Western

Hemisphere, and, when necessary, to intervene on behalf of other nations.

On December 3, 1901, Roosevelt had stated the U.S. position as protector of the Western Hemisphere but had also said that the United States would not protect countries that did not conduct themselves in a proper manner. Specifically, he was referring to countries, in this case Venezuela, that did not make payments on their debts. Roosevelt felt that as long as the punishment did not involve occupation of any land, enforcement should be done by the country that had been wronged. In the case of Venezuela, this meant letting Germany and England deal with Venezuela's nonpayment on its debt. What Roosevelt did not count on was the strong reaction of the U.S. people and media against this policy. Roosevelt pressured Germany and England to submit their claims to the International Tribunal at The Hague for resolution. The court ruled on February 22, 1904, in favor of Germany and England. When Roosevelt issued his corollary, it allowed the United States to step in and try to take control of the situation.

Roosevelt was concerned with more than just Venezuela. The Dominican Republic was in financial trouble and could not make payments on its loans. Having suffered through several revolutions, the country was in chaos, and collection of tariffs was not happening, so the republic could not make its loan payments. After talks between the republic and the U.S. State Department, it was decided that the United States should take control of collecting the tariffs to ensure that the holders of the loans received their payments. The agreement was signed on February 7, 1905, but immediately ran into opposition in the Senate from Democrats. Refusing to act on the treaty, Roosevelt, who was concerned about European intervention, went around Congress and implemented control of the customs houses without Senate approval. Roosevelt and the Senate Democrats spent most of 1906 arguing whether Roosevelt was subverting the Constitution or not. Finally, in 1907, a new treaty was negotiated that the Senate approved and passed.

Roosevelt's corollary was later replaced by DOLLAR DIPLOMACY under President William Howard Taft.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Round Table Conferences

The Round Table Conferences were a series of three conferences held in London from 1930 to 1932 between British and Indian leaders to form a new constitution for India, which was formalized in the 1935 Government of India Act. The INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and MOHANDAS K. GANDHI wanted immediate and complete self-rule for India, while the British wanted to grant India dominion status eventually and keep India as part of the British Empire.

The conference was held in London from November 12, 1930, to January 19, 1931. Gandhi and the congress boycotted the conference. Moderate Indian leaders, Muslims, and representatives of the princely states attended the conference. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald represented Great Britain. By the end of the conference, the idea of a federation was under consideration as the form of government suitable for India. Because the congress had boycotted this conference, Great Britain was anxious to get it involved in the next round.

In order to get the congress to participate in the next conference, Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, met with Gandhi and concluded the Delhi Pact on March 5, 1931. Gandhi agreed to end the ongoing civil disobedience, and Irwin agreed to release most of the political prisoners. Most importantly, Gandhi agreed that the congress would participate in the second Round Table Conference.

The second Round Table Conference began on September 7, 1931. Gandhi attended the conference as the only representative of the congress. The congress and Gandhi believed that they represented all of India and that only they should deal with the British. The British, on the other hand, wanted other Indians to be represented in part perhaps in order to influence and control the events. Little was accomplished during the conference, and when no plan could be agreed upon on how different groups would be represented, the British government issued its own Communal Award on August 16, 1932, that outlined how minority groups, especially the Muslims and the untouchables, would be represent-

ed. The award did have the provision that it could be overruled if the congress and the minority groups could come to an agreement on their own. A separate agreement, the Poona Pact, was eventually reached between the untouchables and the congress about the representation of the untouchables. However, no agreement was reached with the ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE. The final conference, held from November 17, 1932, to December 25, 1932, also achieved little.

The British parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935. The act set up an India Federation, which was to be given control of parts of the Indian government while other parts remained under the control of the British.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Russian Revolution (1905)

On January 9, 1905, a vast but orderly crowd of Russian workers approached the Winter Palace to present Czar Nicholas II with a list of both economic and political grievances. The petition included among its demands an eight-hour workday, increased wages, improved working conditions, and an immediate end to the Russo-Japanese War. In addition, at the suggestion of liberal intellectuals, the petition urged the czar to convene a constituent assembly. The demonstrators, most of whom regarded Nicholas II as a father figure who would redress their grievances, carried with them portraits of the czar and of Orthodox saints. Father Georgii Gapon—a Russian Orthodox priest and the head of a police-sponsored trade union—led the procession, which included approximately 150,000 unarmed workers.

As the procession approached the Winter Palace, it found its way blocked by armed troops. When the crowd failed to disperse as ordered, the troops opened fire, killing nearly 200 and wounding several hundred more. The events of that day, which came to be known as Bloody Sunday, sparked riots and demonstrations across Russia and marked the onset of the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Until that point, the Russian masses had played little if any role in the political turmoil that beset late-tsarist Russia. In the months that followed, however, the working classes would play a key role in the revolutionary movement.

To protest the massacre of unarmed demonstrators, thousands of workers across Russia went on strike. Liberals used the occasion of worker unrest to press for constitutional reform, urging the czar to abandon autocracy in favor of a constitutional monarchy. For the next several months the czar's regime was variously confronted with student demonstrations, workers' strikes, peasant disorders, unrest among ethnic minorities, and even mutinies in the armed forces.

Efforts to restore order were not helped by the fact that Russian troops remained in the Far East fighting the Japanese. Hoping to appease popular opinion, Nicholas II decided in late August to grant freedom of assembly to university students for the first time since 1884. As part of the concession, the czar forbade police even to enter university grounds. The efforts at conciliation backfired; the universities became more of a radical hotbed than ever as students recruited workers from nearby factories to participate in political rallies without fear of police intervention.

By the second week of October, a general strike encompassing workers in several key industries forced the czar to make further concessions. Russia had negotiated a peace treaty with Japan (the TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH) in late August, but with the railway workers on strike the troops could not be brought home. Meanwhile, with the autocracy apparently unable to restore order, the Russian economy was grinding to a halt. The minister of finance, Sergei Witte, convinced Nicholas II to grant concessions in the hopes of dividing the liberals from their more radical counterparts. According to Witte, there was no other way to save the monarchy. In the October Manifesto, dated October 17, Nicholas pledged to grant civil liberties and to create a parliament (the *duma*) based in part on popular elections. Laws passed over the next several months abolished censorship and guaranteed freedom of assembly and association.

As a result of the October Manifesto, the liberals were divided into two factions: the Octoberists, who accepted the terms set forth in the proclamation, and the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), who held out for further reform. Both groups, however, withdrew from revolutionary activity, at least in the short term, to prepare for the upcoming *duma* elections. Witte's objective of separating the liberals from the radicals

was therefore accomplished, but order was by no means restored.

Workers became increasingly militant throughout the remainder of the year, and the socialist intelligentsia was further radicalized. In addition, bloody pogroms against Jews and intellectuals followed the proclamation of the manifesto. In the countryside peasants continued to riot, sacking and burning manor houses and attacking landowners and officials. By the following winter much of rural Russia was under martial law, and over 1,000 peasants were executed in a campaign of village-by-village pacification.

The constitution promised in the October Manifesto was published in April 1906. The so-called Fundamental Laws (which continued to refer to the czar as an autocrat) established a two-chamber parliament, the lower house of which was made up of elected officials. While this represented progress to many who favored liberal reform, the effects of the constitution were limited in practice. The franchise system for *duma* elections favored the propertied classes over ethnic minorities, peasants, and workers.

In addition, the Crown reserved the right to dissolve the *duma* at any time, and article 87 of the Fundamental Laws enabled the Crown to rule by decree when the *duma* was not in session. After the first two *dumas* were arbitrarily dissolved, the government took advantage of article 87 to enact a new electoral law that further skewed electoral representation in favor of the propertied classes. Meanwhile, the continued activity of the secret police at least partially undermined any concessions that had resulted from the 1905 revolution.

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KATHLEEN RUPPERT

Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917–1924)

Like most revolutions, the Russian Revolution of 1917 had a combination of political and social causes. At the beginning of the 20th century, Russia was the last of the great powers to retain an autocratic system of

government. Educated Russians, many of them influenced by liberal ideas from the West, resented the lack of civil and political rights under the Russian system and pressed for political change. Progress was made following the 1905 revolution; an elected parliament (the *duma*) was established, censorship was abolished, and political parties were finally legalized. Nevertheless, Czar Nicholas II continued to rule as an autocrat, dissolving the *duma* at will, and political and civil liberties remained circumscribed by the pervasive presence of the secret police. The absence of an effective forum for political participation, even after 1905, furthered the development of a radical intelligentsia determined to overthrow the autocratic regime. The intelligentsia became more, rather than less, radical after 1905, viewing the events of that year as an episode on the road to full-scale revolution.

In addition to political grievances, social and economic discontent helped pave the way for revolution. Russia was comparatively late to emerge from feudalism, serfdom having been abolished only in 1861. Peasants, who made up 80 percent of Russian society at the beginning of the 20th century, pressed for the redistribution of land from private landowners to the peasant communes. Rural overpopulation exacerbated peasant discontent, and the czarist regime was confronted with ongoing agrarian disturbances in the years leading up to 1917. Compared to the other great powers, Russia was also late to industrialize. Rapid industrialization beginning in the 1890s put tremendous strains on Russian society and produced a nascent working class with great revolutionary potential. Through political rallies and educational circles, the radical intelligentsia turned to the workers for support in fostering a socialist revolutionary program. The Social Democrats in particular preached that the industrial workers were the only truly revolutionary class. In reality, most workers were probably more interested in seeing their economic grievances (low wages, poor working conditions, etc.) redressed than in seeing the autocratic regime toppled. Nevertheless, since the authorities typically responded to strikes and demonstrations by sending in police and Cossack troops, economic issues were easily politicized.

The long-term social, economic, and political discontents that confronted Russian society in the early 20th century were exacerbated by Russia's involvement in WORLD WAR I. Crushing defeats at the hands of the German armies, together with the glaring inefficiency of a bureaucracy confronted with the demands of total war, discredited the czarist regime in the eyes of the

Russian people. The czar's wife, Empress Alexandra, was extremely unpopular due to her German origin and her association with Rasputin, a peasant healer from Siberia who treated the heir to the throne for hemophilia. When Nicholas II left for the front to take control of the Russian armed forces, Rasputin gained considerable influence at court. False rumors about a romantic affair between the czarina and Rasputin contributed to the desacralization of the monarchy and the further erosion of czarist authority. Meanwhile, growing inflation and lengthening bread lines revitalized the workers' strike movement during the war and provided the spark that would ignite the February revolution.

The first phase of the 1917 revolution began on February 23 (International Women's Day), when women workers from Petrograd textile mills took to the streets demanding an end to the bread shortage. The strike quickly spread to nearby factories; by the following day more than 200,000 workers had gone on strike. On February 25 students and members of the middle classes joined the demonstrators, demanding an end both to the war and to the czarist government. By that point the workers' movement had developed into a general strike, paralyzing the normal functioning of the Russian capital. On February 26 armed troops, acting on orders from the government, fired on the demonstrators, killing hundreds. The massacre sparked a mutiny within the Petrograd garrison. Early on the morning of February 27, soldiers of the Volynskii regiment shot their commanding officer, then rushed to nearby regiments and persuaded soldiers there to revolt as well. Many soldiers joined the insurgents on the streets, while others simply disobeyed any further commands to fire on civilians. What began as two physically separate revolts—the soldiers' mutiny in the city center and the workers' demonstrations in the outlying districts—became joined by the afternoon of February 27 as insurrection spread to all parts of the city.

Members of the Duma (the Russian parliament) anxiously watched the street violence of late February from their meeting place at the Tauride Palace and debated how best to restore order. When Nicholas ordered the *duma* dissolved, Duma leaders decided to form a "Temporary Committee of the State Duma" to take over the reins of government in Petrograd. On the same evening in a different room of the Tauride Palace, workers, soldiers, and socialist intellectuals met to form the Petrograd Soviet. Over the course of the next several days, the two bodies worked together to consolidate the revolution and establish a new government. The provisional

government was formed on March 2; it was to govern until a constituent assembly based on universal elections could be convened.

With the exception of ALEXANDER KERENSKY, a moderate socialist who sat on both the provisional government and the Soviet Executive Committee, the socialists initially declined to join the provisional government. The leaders of the Petrograd Soviet pledged to support the new government, however, as long as the government pursued policies of which the Soviet approved. This decision ushered in an era of “dual authority” characterized by tense and often uneasy cooperation between the Soviet and the provisional government.

SPREAD OF REVOLUTION

Meanwhile, the revolution spread quickly and with relatively little bloodshed (there were exceptions such as Tver, where considerable violence occurred) to the provincial cities and then to the countryside. On March 2 the military high command convinced Nicholas II to abdicate in favor of his brother Michael. (The czar initially decided to abdicate in favor of his son Alexis but changed his mind due in part to his son’s poor health.) When Grand Prince Michael refused the crown on March 3, the three-centuries-old Romanov dynasty, and with it Russia’s monarchical system of government, came to an end.

The extreme optimism that accompanied the February revolution began to fade after several weeks as the provisional government dragged its feet on the urgent issues of land reform, peace, and elections to the constituent assembly. Returning to Russia on April 3 after almost 16 years of exile, Bolshevik leader VLADIMIR LENIN issued the April Theses, in which he outlined his plan for the course of the revolution. Among other things, Lenin called for the overthrow of the provisional government and its replacement by a socialist government based on that of the Soviets. He also rejected cooperation with nonsocialist political groups, demanded an immediate end to the war, and called for radical social and economic reforms. In mid-April the provisional government faced a political crisis when Foreign Minister Paul Miliukov’s controversial policy of continuing the war to victory, rather than seeking a negotiated peace, led to massive street demonstrations and violence. In the wake of the April Crisis, the government was reorganized; several leaders from the Petrograd Soviet were brought in to form the first coalition government of moderate socialists and nonsocialists. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin’s leadership, continued to remain aloof from the provisional government.

Throughout the summer of 1917, food shortages and continued economic hardship contributed to growing disillusionment with the provisional government. Discontent over Russia’s involvement in the war continued to increase, particularly after the government launched an unsuccessful military offensive in June. The summer months were characterized by almost continuous government instability. Workers and garrison soldiers once again took to the streets during the July Days (July 3–5), demanding that all governmental power be passed to the Soviets. The demonstrations were suppressed on July 5, and Bolshevik leaders were forced into hiding. In the aftermath of the July Days, a second coalition was formed, with Kerensky as prime minister. That government collapsed as well after suspicions of an attempted coup in late August (the Kornilov Affair) seemed to confirm fears of a counterrevolutionary movement. The threat of counterrevolution, coupled with popular disillusionment over the provisional government’s failure to end the war and enact promised reforms, increased the popularity of the radical left and paved the way for the October Revolution.

In the fall of 1917, with a political climate favorable to the radical left, Bolshevik leaders debated how and when to take over the government. Lenin favored an immediate insurrection, while more moderate Bolsheviks preferred to wait for the second Congress of the Soviets when, they believed, power would pass to the Soviets by democratic means. The question resolved itself on the morning of October 24, when Kerensky shut down the leading Bolshevik newspapers in an effort to suppress the radical left. The Bolsheviks could then move forward with plans to overthrow the government, justifying their seizure of power as a necessary step to defend the revolution. Unlike the February revolution, the October Revolution was not characterized by massive street demonstrations. Instead, small groups of soldiers and Red Guards took control of bridges, railway stations, and other strategic points throughout Petrograd. Unable to summon troops to resist the insurgents, Kerensky fled. On the afternoon of October 25, Lenin announced that the provisional government had been overthrown. Significantly, the insurrection was carried out in the name of the Petrograd Soviet and not the Bolshevik Party. However, Menshevik and Social Revolutionary delegates walked out of the Congress of Soviets on the night of October 25 to protest the insurrection, leaving the Bolsheviks with a majority in the congress. The following day Lenin announced decrees on peace and land and the formation of an all-Bolshevik government, the Council of People’s Commissars (or Sovnarkom).



An official celebration of the Russian Revolution in Vladivostok. The Russian Revolution of 1917 saw the end of the czarist era in Russia and heralded the first Communist regime in the world.

Once in power, the Bolsheviks decided to go forward with elections to the constituent assembly in mid-November. The Socialist Revolutionaries were the clear winners in the election, gaining 40 percent of the popular vote against the Bolsheviks' 25 percent (the remainder of the votes were divided among the Constitutional Democrats [Kadets], the Mensheviks, and non-Russian nationality candidates). Recognizing that its hold on power was precarious, the Bolshevik government took steps to consolidate its authority and quash any resistance.

After ordering the arrest of leading Kadets in late November, the government established the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle with Counterrevolution and Sabotage (or Cheka) on December 7. The Cheka, which could arrest and execute without trial anyone suspected of counterrevolutionary activities, quickly became one of the most powerful organs of the state. The constituent assembly opened as planned on January 5, 1918, but the Bolshevik government forcibly dispersed the assembly after only one day. By circumventing the democratic process and choosing instead to rule by force, the Bolsheviks laid the foundation for the authoritarian dictatorship that would follow. The decision to suppress the constituent assembly also opened the door to civil war.

The Russian Civil War was a complex affair that is perhaps best seen as two or even three distinct civil wars occurring between 1918 and 1922. The first serious challenge the Bolsheviks faced came from the Komuch, a group of Right Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) who opposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and sought to restore the constituent assembly. In June 1918 with the aid of insurgent Czechoslovak legions, the Right SRs set up a regional government for the Volga based on the platform of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The conflict between the Bolsheviks and the so-called "patriotic socialists" was upstaged by the decision of the "Whites" (Russian nationalist officers, supported by industrialists and former landowners) to stage a coup in Omsk in November 1918. Despite Allied intervention on behalf of the White forces, the Bolsheviks' Red Army was able to suppress the attempted counterrevolution, but only after two years of bloody conflict. After the final defeat of the Whites in the autumn of 1920, the focus of fighting shifted to widespread peasant insurrections, collectively referred to as the Green movement.

Many of the peasant guerrilla leaders had been allied with the Red Army in defeating the White forces;

once the threat of a White victory (which would have meant the return of the landlords) disappeared, however, peasant revolts against Bolshevik policies—most notably the forced requisitioning of grain—erupted across Russia on a massive scale. It took a combination of concessions and brutal repression to quell the peasant revolts and finally end the civil war.

Throughout the civil war years Lenin and the Bolsheviks employed ruthless measures to eradicate any political opposition, thus creating the first one-party state and providing a model for later totalitarian regimes. Upon Lenin's death in January 1924, JOSEPH STALIN succeeded him (after considerable party infighting) as leader of the Communist Party.

See also RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1905).

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KATHLEEN RUPPERT



Sacco-Vanzetti trial

Fernando (Nicola) Sacco (1891–1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888–1927) are best remembered as the victims of injustice following the wave of U.S. antiradical persecution in the years immediately following WORLD WAR I. Both men were Italian immigrants with revolutionary anarchist political beliefs. It is in the context of this political background that their legal difficulties began and led, it was claimed, to their prosecution. They were ultimately condemned to death for murder and executed by electric chair on August 23, 1927.

The circumstances behind their arrest, trial, and conviction were the gunshot murders on April 15, 1920, of Frederick Parmenter and Alessandro Berardelli during the commission of a shoe factory payroll robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Cash boxes containing \$15,766.51 were taken, and a .32 Colt automatic pistol was the primary weapon used. Initially, the police linked the crime to an earlier robbery of December 1919 in Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

The U.S. political climate following the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and World War I produced a fear of radical subversion that became known as the RED SCARE of 1919–20. Sacco and Vanzetti were followers of Luigi Galleani (1861–1931), a revolutionary anarchist who published the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Galleani's writings promoted many forms of violent insurrection, including the use of bombs, terrorism, and assassination. One member of this organization and an acquaintance of Sacco and Vanzetti, Carlo Valdinoci, was accidentally

killed while attempting to bomb the Washington home of A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), the attorney general. Palmer was involved in the government's antiradical policy pursuits. He was aided in this campaign by the young J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), who was director of general intelligence in the Department of Justice.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920, and were initially questioned about their radical activities. Although they denied such associations and the ownership of any guns, both had pistols and ammunition. Sacco had a .32 Colt and Vanzetti had a revolver, which was of the same type as that taken from the guard at the time of the murder. This record of deceit helped create an atmosphere of suspicion that brought about their eventual linkage with the Braintree robbery.

Although both were tried for the 1919 South Bridgewater robbery, only Vanzetti was convicted, and he received a 15-year sentence. It was the May 21 murder trial that was to prove most controversial and serious. Both men claimed innocence and produced alibi witnesses, but the prosecution challenged their reliability. It was, though, the possession of weapons that was their undoing, along with the negative trial atmosphere allowed by Judge Webster Thayer. The gun evidence from the .32 Colt in Sacco's possession ultimately convinced the jurors that it was the murder weapon. After a six-week trial Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty of first degree murder and sentenced to death on July 14, 1921.

Their convictions marked the beginning of a lengthy legal struggle for an appeal and a new trial. In 1924

the defense's legal team was taken over by William Thompson, and the emphasis shifted from politics to one of fairness. Motions were raised concerning bias, the defendants' and their witnesses' poor command of English, political intrigue, perjury, and illegal police activities. Many leading lights within the liberal and socialist set, such as Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair, and John Dos Passos saw the conviction as a travesty of U.S. values and sense of justice. In 1925 a Portuguese immigrant, Celestino Madieros, confessed to the crime, which he claimed was part of the criminal activities of the well-known Morelli gang. But this confession failed to persuade the courts, and the death sentences were upheld. Sacco and Vanzetti went to their deaths on August 23, 1927.

The controversy over their innocence or guilt persists. In some quarters there remains the general notion that the Sacco and Vanzetti case produced a gigantic stain on the U.S. conscience and was a gross miscarriage of justice. There are others who question this view. Insiders within the anarchist community years after the trial indicated that the pair was guilty but that the case offered a great propaganda opportunity that could be exploited. This group includes some whose claims exonerate Vanzetti but state that Sacco was guilty. In 1927, 1961, and 1983 ballistics tests, making use of improved technology, have matched Sacco's gun to the murders. Most tellingly, there appeared in 2005 an Upton Sinclair letter from 1929 that claimed that Sacco and Vanzetti's attorney, Fred Moore, told him that they were guilty and that their alibis were invented.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Saionji Kimmochi

(1849–1940) *Japanese political leader*

Prince Saionji Kimmochi (or Kinmochi) was born into the Takudaijii *kuge* (Japanese court nobility) and was later adopted by the Saionji *kuge*. He grew up near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo and was a childhood friend of the emperor Meiji. Saionji participated in politics

from an early age, as was expected, given his family lineage. He was influential in advocating that the Japanese imperial court take part in the Boshin War (1868–69) between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the proimperial forces in Japan. The Tokugawa Shogunate's defeat in this war made the Meiji Restoration possible.

Saionji had more exposure to European ideas than most Japanese of his time: He lived in France for 10 years (1870–80), during which time he took a law degree at the Sorbonne and became friends with many French intellectuals and politicians, including GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, the authors Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, and Théophile and Judith Louis Gautier. As a result of his travels, Saionji became more liberal and less nationalistic in his approach to life than many of his Japanese peers, and he advocated the establishment of strong links between Japan and Europe.

Upon his return to Japan in 1881, Saionji founded the newspaper the *Oriental Free Press* to popularize democratic ideas but abandoned the paper in favor of government service. He served as education minister of Japan under Ito Hirobumi, advocating a liberal and international approach to education, and was influential in the founding of Kyoto University in 1897. Saionji was one of the cofounders of the Rikken Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government) political party in 1900. He held a number of other government positions over the years, serving in several cabinets, as president of the privy council, and twice as foreign minister. He served as prime minister for two terms, in 1906–08 and 1911–12. In 1919 Saionji was the head of the Japanese delegation to the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. He also served as tutor to HIROHITO, grandson of Emperor Meiji, who became emperor on his father's death in 1926 and may be best remembered today for announcing Japan's surrender to the United States in 1945 (ending WORLD WAR II) and renouncing his claim to divinity in 1946. Saionji remained influential at the Japanese court through his position as a genro, or elder statesman, advising the emperor on political appointments in his cabinet and military leadership.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Salazar, António de Oliveira

(1889–1970) *Portuguese prime minister*

António de Oliveira Salazar was prime minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968 and the creator of the New State (Estado Novo).

Salazar was born on April 28, 1889, in Santa Comba Dao, near Viseu, in central Portugal, the son of an estate manager. He received his education at the Catholic seminary at Viseu and at Coimbra University, graduating in law in 1914. Salazar became a professor of political economics at the University of Coimbra. In 1921 he was among the founders of a new Catholic party and was elected to the federal parliament, the cortes. After only one session, however, he returned to the university.

After WORLD WAR I (in which Portugal had chosen the side of the Entente but gained nothing from the common victory), the country was a republic. In 1926, the army overthrew the civilian government and subsequently offered Salazar the ministry of finance, but he rejected the offer. Two years later, the president, General António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona, made a new offer to Salazar: As minister of finance he would be granted complete control over all expenditures. This time Salazar accepted. He immediately stopped Portugal's long tradition of state deficits and managed to create a budget surplus for the first time in decades. These surpluses, one of the hallmarks of Salazar's forthcoming regime, were invested in various development plans. The mismanagement of the former era contrasted sharply with Salazar's success at reorganizing the country's finances. Salazar's reputation as minister of finance paved the way for his power grab, since the church, monarchists, aristocrats, the army, the upper classes, and the parties of the right preferred Salazar to the previous military government. Salazar gained support for his course of reform from different groups of Portuguese society. The overall basis of his regime was a platform of stability. Salazar's politics privileged the wealthy classes to the detriment of the poorer sections of society. For example, education for the masses was not regarded as a priority and therefore not heavily invested in.

On July 5, 1932, President Carmona named Salazar prime minister of Portugal and handed power to him. In 1933, Salazar introduced a new constitution to Portugal, which gave him wide but not unlimited powers and established an authoritarian regime that would last four decades. This constitution and the regime based upon it sharply distanced themselves from any kind of democracy and parliamentary government, although

the existing parliament was not completely abolished. As prime minister, Salazar was nominated for a seven-year-term. Legally, he was subject to dismissal only by the president of the republic. Based on the new constitution, Salazar propagated and inaugurated the Estado Novo (New State). On the whole, all efforts were concentrated on economic stability and recovery. Salazar's regime was much less bloody than other contemporary European dictatorships, such as FRANCISCO FRANCO's in neighboring Spain, not to mention NAZI Germany. This was partly because the death penalty was not introduced in Portugal.

There is an ongoing scholarly debate about the nature of the political regime established by Salazar in Portugal. The main question is whether this regime was typical for the 1920s and 1930s, when apparently similar or at least closely related regimes came to power in many European countries. While some historians and political scientists argue that Salazar's dictatorship had many aspects in common with MUSSOLINI's FASCISM in Italy, others find it more accurate to describe his rule as only old-style conservative and authoritarian. The style of politics created by Salazar in Portugal differed completely from the ways by which HITLER and Mussolini communicated with German and Italian society: Salazar lived a life of frugal simplicity and shunned publicity; he rarely made any public appearances. There was no cult around his "ingenious" leadership. His life exclusively devoted to the task of modernizing Portugal, he paid little attention, if any, to the reactions and feelings of the Portuguese people.

Salazar's political philosophy was based upon authoritarian Catholic social doctrine, similar to the contemporary regime of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss and his Christian-Social Party in Austria. The economic system adopted by Salazar was known in Europe as corporatism; it was based on the papal encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" (1891) and "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931).

During the crisis occasioned first by the SPANISH CIVIL WAR and then by WORLD WAR II, Salazar steered Portugal down a middle path. Although the dictator supported Franco's Nationalist Spain (Salazar sent aid to the Nationalists against the Republicans), he did not side with any of the contenders in the Spanish civil war. The Iberian Neutrality Pact was put forward by Salazar to Franco in 1939. During World War II, Salazar maintained a policy of severe, if benevolent, neutrality. Indeed, Portugal provided aid to the western Allies, giving permission to them to use the Azores Islands in the Atlantic as a military base for fighting the German navy. Between 1940 and 1945, Portugal, and

particularly Lisbon, was one of the last European exit points toward the United States. Remaining neutral, Portugal continued to export goods to both the Axis and the Allied countries.

After the war, Salazar continued and even intensified his policy of economic reform. Portugal's whole transportation system, the railroads, road transport, and the merchant navy were reequipped. A national airline was instituted for the first time in the country's history. The electrification of the country was extended, and a huge number of rural schools were developed. A corporate organization, expressed in the corporative chamber as a second house of parliament, was of lesser importance.

Salazar (who personally never left Portugal) wanted his country to be relevant internationally. At the same time, Portugal itself rejected any influence from the Western world. Portugal was the only non-democratic country among the founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. This reflected Portugal's position as an important ally against communism during a period when the cold war reached its peak. Salazar's dictatorship never had to survive in total isolation like Franco's Spain had. Portugal was invited to accept economic help within the framework of the Marshall Plan, but Salazar refused.

By around 1950, Salazar's regime was firmly established. One major problem remained: the country's large overseas provinces. At that time, Portugal was in control of the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé e Príncipe, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique in Africa; Goa, Damão, and Diu in India; Macau in China; and Portuguese Timor in Southeast Asia. Almost everywhere, independence movements challenged Portugal's rule over its colonies. Salazar was determined to retain Portuguese control of these territories. The 1933 constitution and various colonial acts had provided for the integration of the provinces. Portugal became increasingly isolated from other Western countries, which were gradually releasing their colonies into independence. Around 1960, Salazar faced a broad movement of anticolonialism that united the Soviet Union and the United States. In that situation, Salazar personally took over the ministry of war and proclaimed that Portugal would defend its possessions no matter what the price. From the capture of Portuguese ports in India in 1961 until after Salazar's death, the overseas territories remained a continual source of trouble for Portugal, especially when the country had to fight the African colonial wars.

Salazar's stubbornness regarding the status of the colonies, understanding the changing world order, and grasping the impossibility of his regime's outliving him marked the final years of his regime. "Proudly alone" was the motto of his final decade. In September 1968, Salazar became seriously ill with brain damage after falling from a chair. According to some sources, he suffered a stroke. Salazar's physical condition made him unable to continue his duties and forced President Américo Tomás to dismiss him as prime minister. When he died in Lisbon two years later on July 27, 1970, he left neither property of his own nor a family. A special train carried the coffin to Salazar's hometown of Santa Comba Dao, where he was buried. Thousands paid their last respects at the funeral.

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MARTIN MOLL

San Remo Treaty (1920)

The San Remo Treaty was signed at the San Remo Conference in April 1920 following WORLD WAR I. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles ended World War I but did not resolve many complex issues surrounding the end of hostilities. The San Remo Conference, held in April 1920, was one of several conferences commissioned to address unresolved postwar issues. The most pressing problem facing the Allied powers at the conference was the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Although the Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, former Ottoman territories, and created the LEAGUE OF NATIONS' mandate system, it did not assign oversight mandatory powers. Based on WOODROW WILSON's ideals, the mandate system classified these former territories according to the approximate time the Allied powers believed it would take each to achieve independent statehood. The San Remo Treaty designated Allied countries as man-

datory powers to assist territories with political, economic, and nation-building initiatives. Once a country was able to govern itself, the mandatory power would withdraw from the country, but in practice the mandatory powers kept control over the territories until circumstances forced them to leave.

France was assigned mandates for Syria and Lebanon. Britain was assigned mandates for Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Palestine. One of the San Remo Treaty's most important provisions regarded the Palestinian mandate. The World Zionist Organization, established by Theodore Herzl in 1897 to organize Jews throughout the world, wanted a Jewish state with Jerusalem as its capital. On the other hand, SHERIF HUSAYN, a descendant of the prophet Muhammad, desired an autonomous Arab state. During the war, Britain had entwined itself in several secret yet conflicting agreements with the rival sides. In 1915 Henry McMahon, Britain's high commissioner in Cairo, agreed to support Arab independence if Sharif Husayn assisted the Allied cause by leading an Arab revolt against the Turks. In contrast, the 1917 BALFOUR DECLARATION declared Britain's support for the establishment of a national home for Jewish people in Palestine.

Against Arab protests, the San Remo Treaty explicitly incorporated the Balfour Declaration within the Palestinian mandate by assigning the mandatory power responsibility for executing the declaration. Although it did not specify the creation of Palestine as a Jewish state and sought to guarantee the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population, the declaration and the Palestinian mandate itself did demonstrate British prime minister DAVID LLOYD GEORGE's affinity for the Zionist desire for statehood. British control over Palestine lasted until 1948, when Britain unilaterally terminated the mandate and withdrew its troops from Palestine, and Israel declared statehood, which resulted in the first ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

See also BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE; FRENCH MANDATE IN LEBANON AND SYRIA; ZIONISM.

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MICHELLE DONNELLY

Sandino, Augusto C.

(1895-1934) *Nicaraguan rebel and patriot*

Augusto César Sandino was the supreme chief of the Defending Army of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty (Ejército Defensor de la Soberanía Nacional de Nicaragua), which waged a rebellion against U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua from May 1927 to January 1933. To his supporters, Sandino was a patriotic hero and symbol of resistance against U.S. imperialism. To his detractors, he was a bandit engaged in pillage and criminality in the mountainous north-central part of the country bordering Honduras, where his rebellion was based, a region called Las Segovias. He was assassinated during peace negotiations on the outskirts of the capital city of Managua on February 21, 1934, by the Nicaraguan National Guard (Guardia Nacional), acting under the orders of its chief director, ANASTASIO SOMOZA GARCÍA. Henceforth, Sandino was considered by many a martyr who died defending the cause of Nicaraguan national sovereignty.

In the 1960s a new generation of Nicaraguan revolutionaries, led by Carlos Fonseca Amador, resuscitated the image of Sandino to launch a prolonged struggle against the Somoza dictatorship under a politico-military organization called the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional). This second generation of Sandinistas ousted the Somoza dictatorship on July 19, 1979, initiating the period of the Sandinista Revolution (1979-90). The Sandinista party continued to play a leading role in the nation's political life after 1990, as seen in the election of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to the Nicaraguan presidency in 2006.

Born in Niquinohomo, Masaya Department, on May 18, 1895, the illegitimate offspring of Gregorio Sandino, a moderately well-to-do landowner, and his Indian servant Margarita Calderón, Augusto Calderón was, by his own account, excluded from the family patrimony until age nine, when he confronted his father with the injustice of his exclusion. Henceforth, he became Augusto Calderón Sandino, was brought into his father's household on an equal footing with his half-brother Sócrates Sandino, attended school, and became administrator of his father's property and a grain trader. In 1920 he shot and wounded a man in a personal dispute, compelling him to flee the country—first to Honduras and Guatemala and then to the oil fields of Tampico, Mexico, where he worked as a mechanic from 1923 to 1926.

In the ferment of postrevolutionary Mexico, Sandino imbibed revolutionary ideologies that shaped his

stance toward U.S. imperialism and his belief in the need to defend Nicaragua's sovereignty by force of arms.

In mid-1926, on learning of the outbreak of civil war in Nicaragua, he returned to his homeland and journeyed north to the U.S.-owned San Albino gold mine, where he worked as a pay clerk. Organizing the workers in the mine, he formed a small revolutionary army that from November 1926 fought against the troops of the ruling Conservative government of Adolfo Díaz, one among many such liberal bands. His military successes led him to become one of the top liberal generals. With the U.S.-brokered Espino Negro Accord (or Treaty of Tipitapa) of May 4, 1927, Sandino became the only liberal general who refused to disarm. Instead, he launched his rebellion against the U.S. Marines and National Guard, which remained confined principally to the region of Las Segovias. A provisional peace accord between Sandino's Defending Army and the Nicaraguan government was negotiated in February 1933, a year before Sandino's assassination. Most scholars agree that Sandino was motivated by patriotism and a complex revolutionary ideology. His rebellion and political thought have spawned a voluminous literature.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Sarekat Islam

The Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), established in 1911, was one of the earliest political parties to have broad appeal in Indonesia. There was need for an organized merchant association in the face of competition from the Chinese mercantile community.

A religious motivation was also present because of increasing proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries. Sarekat Islam had many able leaders, and the most notable was Umar Sayed Tjokroaminoto (1882–1935), the *ratu adil* (savior prince). His charismatic personality and his message of improving happiness and the religious lives of people attracted many followers. His

house became a center of political, social, and cultural activities.

Leaders like Tjokroaminoto, Abdul Muis, Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, and Hadji Agus Salim carried on a mission of fostering economic cooperation of indigenous merchants against the Chinese, uplifting material happiness, and defending Islam against missionaries. The Sarekat Islam had a moderate program of socialism with emphasis on *gatong rajong* (group spirit). Capitalism was viewed as responsible for the woes of Indonesia, which was essentially a Chinese and European enterprise. Initially, the party did not venture into the political realm so as not to incur the wrath of the Dutch, and at its first congress, held at Solo (Surakarta) in 1913, it declared in clear-cut terms that it was not against the colonial government. As a heterogeneous organization, it had among its followers peasants, batik traders, bankers, the *santri*, or orthodox, Muslim sect, *priyai* (lesser nobility), traditionalist *abangans* of Java, and others. The Sarekat Islam was blamed for the agitation that occurred in Java in 1919.

With members professing divergent aims, the direction of Sarekat Islam became varied, and splinter groups arose. The traditional leadership's commitment to religion came under criticism by the left-leaning members of Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (the Indies Social Democratic Association), which endeavored toward a communist agenda. The Bolshevik Revolution had triumphed in Russia in 1917, and the first communist state had become a reality, which encouraged communist movements in various parts of the globe.

The Democratic Association itself was divided in 1920 with the formation of Partai Komunis Indonesia (Communist Party of Indonesia), which wanted the Sarekat Islam to renounce its moderate policies. At the sixth congress of the Sarekat Islam in 1921, Salim brought out a resolution prohibiting the members of Sarekat from joining other parties. The Communists were expelled. A Red Sarekat Islam was formed within the fold of the Communist Party, and this later became Sarekat Rakjat (Peoples Association). A turning point had occurred in the Indonesian nationalist movement, and it was accepted that traditional concepts and Western ideologies could not go together. The Sarekat attempted to broaden its base and adopted measures of noncooperation with the colonial government. It organized movements of youth and women.

The leadership of Sarekat tried its best to interpret Marxist doctrine in its own way; Salim was of the opinion that the Prophet had followed Marxist ideas. Even

Tjokroaminoto took a mystical approach, saying that the *ratu adil* would appear in the form of socialism. But the savior did not appear, and many members joined different parties according to their ideologies. Sarekat members flocked to the Communist Party, Nahdatul Ulama (1926), and the Indonesian Nationalist Party (1927). In the 1930s there were more divisions over the question of collaborating with the colonial government. The absence of the development of a clear-cut ideology became the most important factor in the party's failure. It continued to function as a minor party with the new name of Partai Sarekat Islam until 1973.

See also NATIONALIST PARTY OF INDONESIA.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Schlieffen Plan

The Schlieffen Plan was one of the most controversial military plans ever conceived. Devised as imperial Germany's blueprint for victory in WORLD WAR I, it ironically contributed to Germany's defeat.

The Schlieffen Plan was named after its creator, Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833–1912), third chief of the German general staff. The genesis of the Schlieffen Plan was in the strategic position Germany faced in 1905. Germany's enemies, France and Russia, had formed a military alliance in 1894, while France and Great Britain had formed their own alliance. If war erupted, Germany potentially faced multiple enemies on two fronts. The strategic question of the era was how Germany could win such a two-front war.



Observing the enemy from a German trench in World War I: The devastating trench warfare of the “war to end all wars” was partially the result of German leaders adopting the Schlieffen Plan in the early 1900s.

German military leaders hoped that, like German military legend Frederick the Great, by employing speed and maneuverability they could defeat one opponent and quickly confront the other. Initial plans called for a limited defensive war against France and a major assault against Russia. Schlieffen inverted this strategy in his 1905 “memorandum” by focusing German power against the French while deploying a defensive force against Russia.

To defeat France, the Schlieffen Plan relied on speed and power. An offensive against France required a rapid mobilization before Russian forces arrived on Germany’s eastern frontier. German forces for the French offensive would be deployed along three wings, the left and central wings composed of defensive forces on the Franco-German border and a gigantic right wing on the Belgian border. By placing the bulk of Germany’s forces against France, Schlieffen gambled that Russia’s vast territory and inefficient railroad system would result in a protracted mobilization.

Finally, Schlieffen called for the ruthless invasion of neutral Belgium, France’s northern neighbor. By having the right wing cross through Belgium and northern France, Germany bypassed France’s fortified eastern border. The right wing would encircle the French while it engaged the left wing, crushing them between the “hammer” of the right and the “anvil” of the left. If the plan was successful, the French would surrender, and German forces could be diverted to face Russia. Schlieffen predicted the fall of France some 35 to 40 days after German mobilization.

The ramifications of Schlieffen’s strategy were profound. First, by relying on rapid mobilization, the plan committed Germany to striking first in the event of war. This rigidity limited Germany’s diplomatic options in 1914. Germany could not seek a peaceful settlement to the diplomatic crisis in fear that France and Russia would mobilize their armies first. Also of great importance was the invasion of Belgium. The Treaty of London (1839) bound the European powers to guarantee Belgian independence and neutrality. German violation of this treaty triggered British entry into World War I and caused significant damage to Germany’s international prestige. Finally, relying on Russia’s slow mobilization was a considerable risk. If Russia successfully deployed its sizable armies while fighting continued in the west, eastern Germany was threatened with what was ominously described as the “Russian steamroller.”

Schlieffen retired from active military service in 1906. His successor, Helmuth von Moltke (or “Moltke the Younger,” 1848–1916), made significant alterations to the Schlieffen Plan. Moltke employed Schlieffen’s

same basic strategy when World War I erupted in 1914. Indeed, the plan nearly worked. Its failure, however, came from numerous causes. Among these were delays, Belgian resistance, the deployment of British Allied Expeditionary Forces, and German exhaustion during the rapid advance. These factors allowed France to assemble a force to meet the powerful right wing at the first Battle of the Marne. Russia also mobilized more quickly than anticipated, threatening eastern Germany.

As a result, the western front stabilized into static trench warfare, while German forces scrambled to decisively defeat Russian armies at the Battle of Tannenberg. Despite this triumph, the Schlieffen Plan’s promise of quick victory transformed into a German nightmare of protracted wars on both borders.

The Schlieffen Plan’s failure had ominous repercussions for Germany. Designed to prevent a two-front war against superior forces, Schlieffen’s deficient strategy led to exactly that fate. The western front was characterized by four years of stalemate, a battle of attrition that led to German defeat in 1918.

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DANIEL HUTCHINSON

Scopes trial

Often known as the “Monkey Trial,” this face-off between free speech and state educational prerogatives pitted “modern” science against “old-time” religion. A major fault line in U.S. society was exposed when two of the United States’ most famous figures—lawyer Clarence Darrow and three-time presidential candidate WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN—clashed in the tiny town of Dayton, Tennessee.

Although Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution had been provoking controversy since 1859, not until the postprogressive 1920s did five states, including Tennessee, legislate how, or even whether, evolution could be taught in taxpayer-funded public schools. The actual legitimacy of evolution was not at first the main issue. Rather, the recently formed American Civil Liberties



Clarence Darrow (above) led the defense of John Thomas Scopes, basing his case on free speech and scientific authority.

Union (ACLU) challenged Tennessee's new law as a violation of free speech. A test case required a defendant, and that role was pressed on 24-year-old John Thomas Scopes (1900–70), a math teacher and football coach at Dayton's high school. Substituting for an absent biology teacher, Scopes had read a passage on evolution to his class from a textbook formerly approved for use in Tennessee. Scopes clearly had violated the new state law, but what did that mean? More than 100 reporters, including *Baltimore Sun* gadfly H. L. Mencken, converged on Dayton for an eight-day July trial to answer that question. The proceedings were carried nationally on radio.

The four-man defense, led by Darrow, sought a broad discussion of free speech and scientific authority; the prosecution's aims were less clear. Bryan, assisted by his son, Will Jr., knew that Scopes had broken the law, but he also wanted a chance to defend religious beliefs

against godless modernism, including what he saw as the unacceptable Social Darwinist idea that the weak be allowed to fall by the wayside. Presiding Judge John T. Raulston allowed only one of the ACLU's scientific experts to testify. He found Scopes guilty before allowing Darrow's and Bryan's plea for closing arguments, during which both hoped to make their larger cases to a national audience.

On Monday, July 20, 3,000 people were on hand to hear the debate on the lawn outside the hot, cramped courthouse. Darrow, an admitted agnostic and skilled litigator, peppered Bryan with questions regarding the literal truth of the Bible. Bryan was the finest public speaker of his generation, but he was no theologian and seemed poorly prepared. His defense of the Bible was feeble and often laughable. Although Judge Raulston expunged Bryan's testimony from the court record, millions had heard it via the media. Mencken's newspaper paid Scopes's \$100 fine. (His conviction was later voided on a technicality and never refiled.) Six days later Bryan died in Dayton of diabetes.

The Monkey Trial revealed how hard it was for urban secularists and rural believers to find common ground. In 1955 a lightly fictionalized courtroom drama, *Inherit the Wind*, introduced this "trial of the century" to new generations as a huge victory for science. It was, but it also was not. Tennessee repealed its statute in 1967. But controversy over evolution would reemerge as religious Protestants and others began expressing themselves more forcibly in school, state, and national politics.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Scottsboro Boys

The Scottsboro Boys, as they were called by American newspapers, were nine young African-American men, all of them between the ages of 13 and 21, who became the defendants in an infamous, overtly racist criminal case. On March 25, 1931, a fracas broke out between white and black vagrant men riding a freight train through Alabama. When the train was stopped by

local authorities, two white women were also discovered onboard. These women had worked as prostitutes and feared arrest; to avert suspicion, they claimed the black men had raped them.

Two weeks later, the men went on trial in the town of Scottsboro, where a throng of white onlookers gathered. Following hasty legal proceedings in which the men received a minimal defense, they were found guilty, and most were sentenced to death.

The Scottsboro case was widely discussed in the northern press. A communist-affiliated legal group, the International Labor Defense, agreed to handle the appeals process. In subsequent trials, prominent defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz offered ample evidence that the accusers were lying, and one of the women disavowed her story and even testified as a defense witness. Nevertheless, the various Scottsboro defendants were found guilty by 11 southern juries, and their convictions were upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court. In 1937 four of the men were released in a plea bargain agreement, and the others were eventually paroled. The last defendant was released in 1950.

As a result of the case, southern mores and Jim Crow justice were held up to national and international scrutiny. African-American church and civic groups were galvanized. Demonstrations were held in Harlem, and the mothers of some of the defendants—women who had passed their lives in obscurity in the rural South—found themselves addressing crowds across the country to win support for their sons. The NAACP (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE), which had been slow to defend the Scottsboro Boys, was criticized by many African Americans.

Two important U.S. Supreme Court decisions resulted from the Scottsboro case. In *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the Court ruled that the defendants had been denied their right to adequate counsel. In *Norris v. Alabama* (1935), the Court found that African Americans in Alabama had been systematically and arbitrarily excluded from jury rolls. These decisions—and the activism in response to the Scottsboro case—became important precursors to the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

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TOM COLLINS

SEASIA (Southeast Asia)

The term *Southeast Asia* came to be used during WORLD WAR II, when the region was placed under the command of Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–79). It includes the area to the east of the Indian subcontinent and to the south of China. In 2006 the countries of the region were Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Myanmar, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. In the first half of the 20th century, all of Southeast Asia except Thailand was under foreign domination. Southeast Asia is a region of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and historical diversity. It has retained its own identity in spite of cultural influences from different areas. The first half of the 20th century witnessed momentous events and new ideas that transformed the history of the region. WORLD WAR I, World War II, Japanese occupation, the rise of anticolonialism, the growth of communist ideas, and the onset of the cold war had varied impacts on the countries of the region.

In a geographical sense, before 1950 Southeast Asia comprised two broad groups. The mainland comprised the British colony of Myanmar (formerly Burma), the French colony of Indochina (Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam), and Thailand. Island Southeast Asia consisted of the British colony of Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines under U.S. domination.

Thailand survived without becoming a colony of either Britain or France due to the sagacious policies of the kings. It did not succumb to colonial subjugation by signing unequal treaties of friendship and commerce or allowing extraterritoriality rights to France, Great Britain, the United States, or Germany. Rama V (1853–1910) maintained friendly relations with the colonial powers even at the cost of Thai territory. King Vajiravudh (1881–1925) joined with Allied powers and was able to revoke extraterritorial rights. In 1932 there occurred for the first time in the history of Thailand a bloodless coup, which ended absolute monarchy there. Pridi Phanomyong (1900–83) and Pibul Songgram (1897–1964) were important leaders. The military dominated the affairs of government. Thailand gave the Japanese passage to invade the British colony of Malay. But after the defeat of Japan, Thailand gave up the newly acquired territories to Malay, Burma, and Cambodia.

The British colony of Burma was governed as a province of British India until 1937. The Japanese drove out the British in 1942. Burmese nationalism, which had been given a boost after World War I, was in full swing. The days of the British were numbered. Leaders like AUNG SAN (1915–47), who had collaborated

with the Japanese, sided with Great Britain in 1945. On January 4, 1948, the country became independent. The three Indochinese states of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam rebelled against French colonial rule. Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) had pleaded in vain with the Allied countries to give independence to the Indochinese countries at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. The Indochinese freedom struggle had communism as one of its ideologies for a sizable number of people. When the French came back again, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), or North Vietnam, had already been established on September 2, 1945. The Khmer Issarak, or the Free Khmers, of Son Ngoc Thanh (1907–76) and Souphanouvong's (1901–1995) Pathet Lao (Land of Lao) had been aligned with the Vietminh. The First Indochina War began in 1946 and continued until the French defeat eight years later. The communist faction had not accepted the limited independence given to Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam in 1949.

The Philippines was annexed by the United States after the Spanish-American treaty in December 1898. After the Philippine-American War (1898–1901) military occupation was replaced by civilian governments. In principle, the independence of the Philippines was recognized by the U.S. Congress in the Jones Act of 1916. On July 4, 1946, it got complete independence. British Malaya had three types of administration: Crown colonies, protected federated states, and protected unfederated states. The Japanese had faced tough opposition from the Malay Chinese, who had formed the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army. The British created the Malayan Union in April 1946, which faced problems from the Malayan Communist Party. The pan-Malayan party called the United Malay National Organization was established in May of the same year. The British created the Federation of Malay in February 1948, which became a stepping stone to independence in 1957.

In World War II Japan occupied Singapore on February 15, 1942. General disillusionment with British rule and the growth of political consciousness accelerated. After the abolition of Straits Settlement, Singapore became a separate Crown colony on April 1, 1946. Elections to its legislative council were held in March 1948. The British government was compelled to give greater self-government to Singapore in 1953. Singapore attained self-government in 1959, with Britain retaining control of its defense and foreign affairs.

The Dutch established direct rule over the whole of modern Indonesia by 1909. Nationalism grew out of the country's glorious historical past, colonial exploitation,

Western education, anticolonial movements in Asia, and miserable social conditions. The first nationalist organization was Budi Utomo (Noble Conduct), founded in May 1908. The SAREKAT ISLAM (Islamic Association), established in 1912, became a mass organization with membership running above 2 million. In 1920 a group of radicals formed the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Communist Party of Indonesia). The Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party), with its motto of one nation (Indonesia), people (Indonesian), and language (Bhasa Indonesia), was established in 1927. It was led by Sukarno (1901–70). The nationalist struggle was suppressed by policies of repression and by sending leaders to prison camps. On August 17, 1945, Sukarno and MUHAMMAD HATTA (1902–80) proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. But it took five years of guerrilla warfare and diplomatic offensives to establish its independence unchallenged, as the Dutch came back. At last, on August 17, 1950, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was restored.

In the second half of the 20th century this historical legacy, along with new developments, shaped Southeast Asia. In the 21st century Southeast Asian countries had increasing importance among the nations of the world.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Selassie, Haile

(1892–1975) *Ethiopian ruler*

Tafari Makonnen was born in Ethiopia in 1892, the son of a general who was a trusted adviser and grand-nephew of Menelik II. In 1911 he married Wayzaro Menen. As Ras (prince) Tafari, he quickly became a rival of Menelik's grandson for the throne. The grandson was unreliable politically and supportive of Muslims, and Ras Tafari was progressive and Christian. Tafari deposed him in 1916. He became regent and heir to Menelik's daughter, Empress Zauditu (Judith), in 1917. Between 1917 and 1928 he traveled in Europe, becoming the first Ethiopian ruler to travel abroad. He became



The leader of Ethiopia in the years before World War II, Haile Selassie attempted to modernize his nation.

king in 1928. Zauditu died in November 1930, and Ras Tafari became the 111th emperor in the succession from King Solomon. He took the name Haile Selassie, Amharic for “Might of the Trinity.”

Selassie inherited a land rich in culture and resources and recognized as sovereign by European colonial powers since 1900. It had grown under Menelik II and established treaties with Italy. Britain and Italy agreed, however, that Ethiopia should be under Italian influence. Tensions erupted occasionally, but when Selassie took the throne, Ethiopia was free and independent.

Selassie’s travels in Europe convinced him that he needed to modernize Ethiopia. He reformed the laws, bureaucracy, schools, and health and social services while serving as regent. He applied to the LEAGUE OF NATIONS for Ethiopian membership in 1919 but was rebuffed because Ethiopians still practiced slavery. After abolition of the slave trade in 1923, the league accepted Ethiopia.

In 1928 Ethiopia and Italy signed a 20-year treaty of friendship. In 1930 Ethiopia outlawed the sale of illegal arms and established the government’s authority to purchase arms for protection against external enemies and internal unrest.

In 1931 Selassie gave Ethiopia its first constitution. He established his bloodline as the only princely line eligible to inherit the throne and fought for four years before getting the princes to accept it. He continued to modernize schools, universities, and newspapers while

establishing electricity, telephones, currency, banking, and other modern benefits.

Selassie’s modernization occurred in the shadow of BENITO MUSSOLINI, who took power in Italy in 1922. Italy had a colony in Eritrea, where Mussolini instituted segregation. He also used Eritrea as a base for expansion in Africa. In 1934 Italian forces provoked an incident in Welwel, Ethiopia. The League of Nations failed to condemn the aggression, and Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in October 1935. Selassie personally led his forces into battle. After seven months of fighting, Italian forces, gas warfare, and league inaction forced Selassie into exile on May 2, 1936. On June 30 he spoke passionately at the league about how league inaction would promote international lawlessness instead of collective security.

Ethiopians continued to resist the Italian occupation throughout Selassie’s exile in Britain. Once Italy entered WORLD WAR II against Britain, Britain recognized the strategic asset of an ally on the Red Sea, so it helped Selassie to return to Khartoum. With a force of British, African, South African, and Ethiopian troops, he returned to Addis Ababa on May 5, 1941. Fighting continued in Ethiopia until January 1942.

After the war Ethiopia was a founder of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. As his relationship with Britain waned in 1953, Selassie sought U.S. support. And he later received assistance from Italy, West Germany, Sweden, Taiwan, China, and the Soviet Union. Internally, he attempted to bring peace among Ethiopia’s many religious, ethnic, and economic factions. His reforms of the government continued in the 1950s, as did the internal factionalism. In 1960 he quashed a coup led by his son, among others, but internal discord grew as economic and social reforms failed to match their promises. From the mid-1960s to 1974 Ethiopia was plagued with inflation, corruption, and famine. Selassie’s attempts to divide and weaken his enemies failed in 1974 as uprisings broke out in several provinces, and the coup leaders united into the Derg, which, under the pretense of allegiance to Selassie, took effective control of the government. After taking his resources and charging him with intentionally provoking the famine of the early 1970s, the Derg arrested Selassie and deposed him on September 12. Selassie died in August 1975 under questionable circumstances.

During his lifetime Selassie inspired Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X with his commitment to civil disobedience as a path to social justice and redress. He also inspired the Jamaican-born religion of Rastafarianism. Rastafarians generally believe that Selassie is the messiah and Ethiopia is heaven on earth.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Senghor, Leopold Sédar

(1906–2001) *Senegalese writer and politician*

Leopold Senghor was born into a wealthy merchant family in 1906 in a small fishing village south of Dakar in present-day Senegal. He was educated in Catholic mission schools. Senghor studied in Paris on a state scholarship and during the 1930s taught in several French lycées. He was granted French citizenship in 1932, and when WORLD WAR I broke out Senghor enlisted in the French army and was captured by the Germans, spending over one year as a prisoner of war.

Senghor and Aimé Césaire are credited with developing the ideas of *NÉGRITUDE*, a glorification of African history and culture that was also a revolt against imperial control. Although he presented highly romanticized visions of Africa and its peoples, particularly women, Senghor was also highly assimilated into French culture. Senghor's descriptions of Africa as a region of feeling and Europe as one of reason were criticized by later African nationalists and intellectuals.

Poetry was Senghor's preferred medium of expression. Writing in French, Senghor published a collection of poetry, *Chants D'Ombre*, dealing with memories and loss of homeland in 1945. Senghor was well known in French intellectual circles, and Jean-Paul Sartre wrote the introduction to his *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et mangache de langue française* in 1948. In 1944 Senghor became a professor of African languages at the École Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer.

Senghor married a Guyanese woman, with whom he had two children, but the marriage ended in divorce. He then married a French woman from Normandy. From 1945 to 1946 Senghor represented Senegal in the French constituent assemblies, and he continued to serve in the French national assembly into the 1950s. With Alioune

Diop, another Senegalese intellectual, Senghor established *Présence Africaine*, a renowned intellectual cultural journal.

When Senegal broke off from the federated Sudanese Republic and became an independent nation in 1960, Senghor was elected its first president. Although he was a practicing Catholic from a small ethnic group, Senghor ruled over a majority Muslim nation that was mostly Wolof. However, Senghor maintained cordial relations with Muslim leaders.

Senghor served as president until 1980, when he willingly stepped down from office. In retirement he divided his time between Senegal and France. Senghor was honored with many awards, including the Dag Hammarskjöld Prize in 1965. He was appointed to the prestigious Institut Française, Académie des Sciences in 1969. In 2001 Senghor died in France.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Shandong (Shantung) Question (1919)

Shandong (Shantung) is a province on China's northern coast. It is the birthplace of two great sages, Confucius and Mencius, and is therefore called China's Holy Land. Dramatically weakened after its defeat by Japan in 1895, Germany set off the "scramble for China" in 1898 by seizing Jiaozhou (Kiaochow), a port in Shandong, for a German naval base and forcing the Qing (Ch'ing) government to lease it to Germany for 99 years. Germany also received the right to build and control two railways in Shandong and gained other mining and financial concessions. Shandong became a German sphere of influence.

Japan entered WORLD WAR I as an ally of Great Britain with a goal of destroying German influence in East Asia; by November 1914 it had ousted all German interests in Shandong. In 1915 the Japanese government presented Chinese president YUAN SHIKAI (Yuan Shih-k'ai) with the TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS, aimed at establishing its hegemony in China. One group stipulated the transfer of German interests in Shandong to Japan. Although Yuan agreed to the demands in May 1915, they were never ratified by the Chinese parliament,

which he had dissolved. In 1917 Japan's allies (Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy) agreed to the transfer of German rights in Shandong to Japan after the war. After joining the war the United States also agreed to Japan's special rights in China.

China joined World War I in 1917 as an associated power and thus won a seat at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE in 1919. Its broad goal, the rescinding of the unequal treaties China had been forced to sign with Western powers since 1842, was never discussed. Japan had three goals at Paris: (1) the Micronesian Islands (Carolines, Marianas, and Marshalls) in the northern Pacific as mandates under the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, which was granted; (2) a clause in the covenant of the League of Nations on racial equality, which was controversial and withdrawn; and (3) obtaining German rights in Shandong. China's legal position was compromised when Japan revealed a secret agreement with Yuan's successor in China that acknowledged Japan's rights in Shandong in return for Japanese loans.

The loss of Shandong provoked enormous public anger in China, directed mainly against its politicians, who were seen as incompetent and traitorous. Protests led by students, called the MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT, won widespread support from merchants and workers. The government was pressured into not signing the Treaty of Versailles with Germany.

See also LANSING-ISHII AGREEMENT; WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND TREATIES (1921-1922).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Shaarawi, Huda

(1879-1947) *Egyptian feminist*

Huda Shaarawi was a prominent Egyptian women's rights activist and arguably the most important Arab feminist of the 20th century. She began her career of political activism by organizing lectures for mostly upper-class women of the harem and later became a member of the WAFD PARTY women's committee, which gained recognition because of substantive all-women's demonstrations in the 1919 revolt. Shaarawi was from an upper-class background, with extensive political

connections—her husband was one of the founders of the Wafd Party in 1919, and she was the daughter of the president of Egypt's first national assembly.

However, Shaarawi fought the upper-class institution of the harem by removing her veil in 1923 when she disembarked from a train station in Cairo, marking the beginning of the end of the harem in Egypt. In 1923 she also formed Egypt's first women's organization, the Egyptian Feminist Union, whose agenda focused on women's political rights, including the right to vote and the right to stand for parliamentary elections. In her activism Shaarawi reflected two ongoing social and political movements, Islamic modernism and secular nationalism, challenging both British colonial rule over Egypt and Egyptian patriarchy by claiming that they concurrently served to eclipse women's voices. She was the founder and president of the Arab Feminist Union and vice president of the International Women's Union. She was a strong advocate for girls' education and participated in more than 14 international women's gatherings on behalf of Egyptian women.

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RANDA A. KAYYALI

Sherif Husayn-McMahon Correspondence

The Sherif Husayn-McMahon Correspondence was a secret agreement between Sherif Husayn, representing the Arabs, and the British over the future of Arab territories in the Ottoman Empire. Sherif Husayn was sherif, or ruler, over the Muslim holy city of Mecca. A member of the Hashemite family, Husayn was a direct descendant of the prophet Muhammad and consequently had both political and religious influence. An Arab nationalist, Husayn wanted one unified, independent Arab state. Personally ambitious, he also wanted to be the ruler of that state.

In 1915 Sherif Husayn sent a secret letter to the closest high-ranking British official, Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Egypt, proposing that the Arabs would fight on the side of the British in WORLD WAR I in exchange for an independent state when the

war was over. Because the letters had to be hand delivered by secret agents from Mecca to Cairo and back, the correspondence extended from July 1915 to January 1916. Although McMahon, who did not speak Arabic or know much about the Middle East, had nothing to do with the British responses that were written by government officials in London, as the highest-ranking British official in Cairo his name was affixed to the texts. After Husayn's letters were translated into English, they were put into secret code to be transmitted to London for final decisions as to what responses the government wished to make.

In his first letter, Husayn delineated the borders for the proposed Arab state. The boundaries were to run along the Red Sea and include the Arabian Peninsula, but not Aden, which was already a British colony; the state would also include present-day Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel-Palestine, Jordan, and the area around Alexandretta, in present-day Turkey. All this territory was overwhelmingly Arab ethnically, linguistically, culturally, and historically. Husayn also sent his son Faysal to ascertain whether Arab nationalists in greater Syria would support the proposed Arab state.

They agreed to back Sherif Husayn's plans. As an excuse for this fact-finding mission, Faysal also visited Istanbul to meet with the Committee of Union and Progress, the virtual rulers of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, which was fighting on the side of Germany and the Central Powers in the war. This was a highly dangerous mission, as in Turkish eyes Sherif Husayn's proposals were treasonous. In the summer of 1915, the Turks publicly hanged several Arab nationalists in downtown Beirut. The square where the executions took place is still known as Martyrs Square in present-day Lebanon.

The British responded that discussion of the borders of the Arab state was premature. Sherif Husayn then ceded Alexandretta, and Britain replied that it wished to omit most of the area in present-day Lebanon because the French had interests there. They also wanted to omit most of present-day Iraq. Throughout the letters, the territories were referred to by the Turkish administrative terms of *vilayets*, or provinces, which did not precisely conform to the boundaries of present-day nations in the Middle East. Although the British did not communicate their interests to Sherif Husayn, they knew about the oil reserves in Iraq and were anxious to maintain control over Iraq for economic and strategic reasons. Nor was Sherif Husayn informed about the secret negotiations simultaneously taking place between the British and the French regarding Arab territories. These secret negotiations resulted in the SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT of May

1916, which in part seemed to contradict the agreement the British government was making with Husayn.

By early 1916 Sherif Husayn had essentially agreed to fight on the side of the British in exchange for what he believed would be one Arab state, possibly minus Lebanon and parts of Iraq, which, as predominantly Arab, he believed would ultimately become part of that state. Palestine was not specifically mentioned by name in the exchange, but Sherif Husayn clearly believed that it would be included in the proposed Arab state. On the basis of this correspondence, the Arabs rose up in armed revolt against the Turks in June 1916 and fought on the side of the British for the duration of the war. Husayn's forces immediately secured Mecca and much of the coast along the Red Sea but failed to take Medina, which remained in Ottoman Turkish hands until the end of World War I. The British supported the revolt with money, supplies, and advisers, including T. E. LAWRENCE, who was known as Lawrence of Arabia. The Arab forces used mostly guerrilla warfare tactics, attacking the Ottoman Turkish flanks and blowing up railway and communication lines as the British army advanced northward through Palestine and into Syria and Lebanon in 1917 and 1918.

The publication in late 1917 of the BALFOUR DECLARATION giving British support to Zionist aspirations for an independent Jewish nation in Palestine was immediately opposed by Sherif Husayn and the Arabs on the grounds that the area was Arab and that the declaration contradicted the earlier agreement made with Sherif Husayn. The controversy over the conflicting terms of the three wartime agreements—the Sherif Husayn-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration—became a point of contention at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE and continued to be debated into the 21st century.

See also ARAB NATIONALISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Shidehara Kijuro

(1872–1951) *Japanese diplomat and politician*

Shidehara Kijuro was born in Osaka and educated at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He began his career as a

diplomat in 1899; his postings included Korea, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. In his capacity as ambassador to the United States (1919–22), he argued (without success) for the repeal of laws restricting Japanese immigration to the United States. Shidehara led the Japanese delegation at the Washington Naval Conference (also known as the International Conference on Naval Limitation) in 1921–22, called by the United States to establish security and arms limitations agreements in the Pacific. He assumed the post of minister of foreign affairs in 1924 and served in this capacity in the years 1924–27 and 1929–31. Shidehara's foreign policy approach was notable for his pursuit of peace and reconciliation rather than aggression and territorial expansion, an approach that became known as Shidehara diplomacy. This conciliatory approach brought Shidehara into conflict with those individuals in the Japanese government who wanted to pursue more militaristic, expansionist goals, particularly toward China. Shidehara was forced out of office in 1931 after the MANCHURIAN INCIDENT, when the bombing of a Japanese railway near Shenyang (Mukden) became a pretext for the Japanese capture of Manchuria from China.

Shidehara was held in high regard abroad even after he left office in Japan. He was well known and popular within the United States. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1931 with the caption "Japan's Man of Peace and War." After the Japanese surrender in 1945 that concluded WORLD WAR II, Shidehara, with the approval of the U.S. military occupation authorities, became the first prime minister of postwar Japan. Shidehara appointed Matsumoto Joji to head a commission to draft the new constitution. However, the result was rejected by the U.S. authorities as too similar to the Meiji constitution. A new constitution that included women's right to vote and a renunciation of war was produced by General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR's staff and was adopted in 1946. Shidehara was elected to the house of representatives of the diet in 1947, became speaker of the house in 1949, and held this post until his death in 1951.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Sino-Japanese War

The Nationalist government in China faced two major challenges after completing the NORTHERN EXPEDITION in 1928: domestically, the Communist rebellion, and internationally, Japanese aggression. While warlords ruled China Japan could exploit Chinese disunity by extorting concessions. Japanese militarists bent on preventing the formation of a strong China had tried and failed to halt the advance of the Nationalist Northern Expedition in May 1928 by landing troops in Shandong (Shantung). They failed again in December 1928 to prevent the young warlord of Manchuria from acceding to the Nationalist government.

The MANCHURIAN INCIDENT demonstrated the ascendancy of Japanese militarists over the civilian government. On September 18, 1931, junior officers of the KWANTUNG ARMY (a unit of the Japanese army stationed in Manchuria, a Japanese sphere of influence) attacked many cities in Manchuria (called the Northeastern Provinces in China). China appealed to the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, which passed resolutions ordering Japan to halt its aggression, in vain. The league then sent a commission of inquiry (the LYTTON COMMISSION) to investigate the legitimacy of the puppet government that Japan set up in Manchuria. When the commission report rejected Japanese claims and ordered Manchuria's rendition to China, Japan resigned from the league.

Emboldened by the league's impotence and the indifference of the United States, Japan stepped up its aggression against China. Its troops conquered Rehe (Jehol) province, which adjoined Manchuria, in 1933 and attacked the Inner Mongolian provinces in 1934. Fearing an all-out war where it would be crushed and beset by the Communist rebellion, the Nationalist government, led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK, sought piecemeal resistance and negotiations with Japan in order to buy time to build up Chinese infrastructure and defenses. Successes against China made the Japanese militarists heroes at home, and their tactic of assassinating their opponents silenced the opposition. Their avowed policy was to control all of China, then move by sea to conquer South and Southeast Asia and by land to conquer the Soviet Far East and then all of Central Asia. These ambitions would lead to the formation of an Axis between Japan, NAZI Germany, and Fascist Italy in 1938 that aimed at world domination by these three nations. In 1935 Japan initiated a program to create another puppet state, called North Chinaland, to include five provinces in northern China.

The acceleration of Japanese aggression led to widespread demand in China that all Chinese unite and that the government cease its anti-Communist campaigns. In response to that prospect, Japan initiated the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT on July 7, 1937, by attacking a town in northern China at a railway junction near the Marco Polo Bridge (called Lukouchiao or Lugouqiao in Chinese). Realizing that the incident was part of a large design, the Chinese government decided to resist to the end. A UNITED FRONT was formed with the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) and other parties and groups, all pledged to support the war of resistance led by the Kuomintang (KMT). Japan had expected to conquer China in three months. The war would last eight years and become part of WORLD WAR II in Asia.

CHINA FIGHTS ALONE

The modern Japanese army, aided by air and sea power, inflicted heavy losses and conquered the entire coastal region by the end of 1938. However, Japanese attempts to destroy Chinese morale by bombing schools, destroying industries, and treating the civilians in conquered areas with extreme brutality only forged an iron will among the Chinese to fight on. The RAPE OF NANJING (NANKING), in which the Japanese soldiers raped, tortured, and slaughtered upward of 300,000 Chinese in the surrendered former capital, was one of the most despicable acts of brutality in World War II. Millions of Chinese civilians were killed in the war, but more millions trekked to Free China in the interior, moving schools, libraries, and factories to continue resistance. To slow the Japanese advance, in 1938 the Chinese even breached the Yellow River dikes, at a horrendous toll to the local population. The Chinese government moved too, up the Yangtze (Yangzi) River first to Wuhan and finally to Chongqing (Chungking) in Szechuan (Sichuan) Province, deep in the interior, where the mechanized Japanese military could not penetrate, though its bombs did inflict heavy damage. Chongqing was repeatedly destroyed by Japanese incendiary bombs, but life and factory production continued in caves excavated in the surrounding mountains, which served as air-raid shelters. Despite great odds, the government persisted in its goal of resistance combined with reconstruction. China fought alone with little outside aid until Japan attacked PEARL HARBOR in December 1941. Japan could not entice prominent Chinese leaders to collaborate. The only man of national prominence to defect and form a quisling regime was WANG JINGWEI (Wang Ching-wei) in 1938.

But he had become so discredited by then because of his previous political machinations and because Japan so obviously dominated the several puppet regimes in China that few followed him.

The United Front with the Communists was ill fated and a lifesaver for the besieged remnant Communist forces, down to about 30,000 men in 1937. From the beginning the CCP used it to increase their numbers and territory, while the KMT army was mauled by superior Japanese forces. As Communist leader MAO ZEDONG (Mao Tse-tung) told his men, "Our fixed policy should be 70 percent expansion, 20 percent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 percent resisting Japan." In the light of these policies, it is not surprising that even nominal cooperation between the two parties had broken down by 1941. In April 1941 Japan and the Soviet Union signed a neutrality pact that allowed the Soviet Union to focus on preparing for war against Germany. This pact also removed the doctrinal basis for CCP-KMT cooperation. Their standoff continued throughout the war. The CCP continued its expansion, and the KMT maintained a military blockade of CCP-controlled areas around its capital, Yanan (Yenan). The war also provided the CCP an opportunity to restructure its party and its army and provided Mao and other leaders time to develop new social, political, and economic institutions and strategies.

CHINA GAINS ALLIES IN WORLD WAR II

China fought alone between 1937 and 1941 except for Soviet aid in its air defenses in the initial years, some small loans from the United States and Great Britain, and an Air Volunteer Corps (Flying Tigers) of U.S. airmen under General CLAIRE CHENNAULT. After Japan attacked PEARL HARBOR and British and Dutch colonies in Asia in December 1941, World War II expanded to include all Axis powers against China and all Allies against Japan. China became part of the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chiang Kai-shek became supreme commander of the China theater. China also began to receive expanded U.S. aid. 1942 was a bleak year for the Allies in Asia as Japan conquered most Western holdings—the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies. In contrast, China had stood alone against Japan for over four years. China's international prestige soared. In 1943 treaties were signed between China and the United States and Great Britain that ended 100 years of unequal treaties. Chiang and Madame Chiang Kai-shek traveled to Cairo, Egypt, to meet with British leader WINSTON CHURCHILL and U.S. president FRANKLIN

D. ROOSEVELT. The leaders agreed that Japan would have to surrender unconditionally, return its conquests since 1895 to China, and grant Korea independence.

War also brought disagreements between the Allies. Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed that they would give first priority to defeating the Nazis in Europe, then the Japanese in the Pacific, with the Chinese theater coming third. Friction developed between China and its allies over expectations. In exchange for China's receiving U.S. Lend-Lease aid, the United States expected China to expand its role in the war, while exhausted China expected the United States to bear a greater burden in the fighting. There were also disputes over Lend-Lease. Roosevelt appointed newly promoted general Joseph Stilwell, the chief of U.S. forces in China, Chiang's U.S. chief of staff, and gave him control over Lend-Lease materiel in China (whereas Lend-Lease materiel in Britain was under British control). China was also disappointed that it received the least amount of Lend-Lease, although the logistics of transportation were a factor in the limited amount reaching China. The worst thorn in the side of Sino-U.S. relations was Stilwell's abrasive personality, for which he was called Vinegar Joe and his insulting attitude toward the Chinese leaders. Stilwell also clashed with Claire Chennault, an advocate of air power, and finally demanded that he be handed total command of Chinese troops. Convinced that Stilwell's goal was to subordinate rather than cooperate with the Chinese, Chiang demanded his recall, which was endorsed by General Patrick Hurley (secretary of war under President Hoover), Roosevelt's special emissary to China to mediate between Stilwell and Chiang. He was recalled in October 1944 and replaced by General Albert Wedemeyer, who was not given command of Chinese troops. Relations between the two nations improved as a result. Hurley, however, was unsuccessful in mediating between the KMT and the CCP.

In February 1945 Roosevelt met with Churchill and Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN at Yalta to obtain Soviet entry into the war against Japan after Germany's surrender. The terms included important concessions to the Soviet Union in Manchuria and Chinese recognition of the independence of Mongolia (a Chinese possession that had become the first Soviet satellite state in 1924). These agreements were made without prior consultation with the Chinese government, which was forced to agree. World War II ended in Asia on August 10, 1945, after the United States dropped the second atomic bomb on Japan. China was Japan's first victim and had suffered most from Japanese aggression. The Chinese rejoiced in their victory, and in China's new

international status as one of the Big Four Powers, a founding nation of the United Nations (UN), and a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

See also CAIRO CONFERENCE (1943); STILWELL MISSION; YALTA CONFERENCE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Smith, Alfred E.

(1873–1944) *U.S. political leader*

Al Smith was born in Manhattan into a working-class family of partly Irish ancestry. He had no formal education past grade school because he had to go to work at age 12 when his father died. Smith took various jobs, including a well-paying job at the Fulton Fish Market, which brought him to the attention of Tammany Hall, New York's political machine, and at the age of 22 he became a clerk in the office of the commissioner of jurors. He was elected to the New York state assembly as a Democrat in 1904 and elected speaker in 1913.

Smith gained even greater prominence when he was appointed vice chairman of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, formed to investigate the fatal 1911 TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE. This familiarized him with industrial conditions in New York State and encouraged him to support progressive policies. By 1915 Elihu Root, a Republican senator who had won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912, could call Smith "the best informed man on the business of the State of New York."

In 1915 Smith was elected to the office of sheriff of New York. Three years later he was elected governor. He lost the position in the Republican landslide of 1920, regained it in 1922, and kept it through two more election cycles. As governor he assisted in the creation of the New York Port Authority, run jointly by New York and New Jersey, and he sponsored legislation on rent control; tenant protection; workers' compensation; aid



Alfred E. Smith (center) was the first Roman Catholic nominated for president by a major political party.

to mothers, infants, and dependent children; and regulating women's work hours. He also put Robert Moses in charge of the state park system.

During his tenure as governor he feuded with newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and the mayor of New York. Smith's reelection victory in 1926 against a very strong Republican candidate made him the foremost Democrat holding public office in the country.

Smith had been nominated as a candidate for the presidency at the Democratic National Convention in 1924, but the combination of a late start in the hunt for delegates, his Roman Catholic faith, and a fight over a platform plank denouncing the KU KLUX KLAN by name led to a deadlock with a southern candidate, William McAdoo, and neither received the nomination. In 1928 FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT presented Smith to the convention as "The Happy Warrior," and he was nominated on the first ballot, making him the first Roman Catholic ever nominated for president by a major party. His New York accent, his religion,

his association with a big-city political machine, and his stand against PROHIBITION led to a sound defeat by HERBERT HOOVER in a campaign characterized by appeals to religious bigotry.

After his defeat Smith became involved in the project of erecting the Empire State Building, and he became president of the firm that owned and operated it, a position he held until his death. Although he supported the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, he became a critic of the NEW DEAL and government regulation of industry. He later joined in the formation of the American Liberty League, a nonpartisan organization devoted to protection of the rights of property and opposition to the "political experiments" being conducted by the Roosevelt administration. Smith supported Republican presidential candidates in 1936 and 1940.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Smuts, Jan Christiaan

(1870–1950) *South African general and statesman*

Jan Christiaan Smuts was born on his family's farm in the Cape Colony on May 24, 1870. The second child in the Smuts family, Jan grew up working on the farm and roaming the Afrikaner, the countryside dominated by Dutch-speaking colonizers in South Africa. At the age of 12 he attended school at Riebeck West, and after graduating he attended Victoria College in Stellenbosch. Smuts graduated with an emphasis on science and literature from Victoria College. Upon graduation Smuts traveled to England on scholarship to study law at Christ's College, Cambridge University. Though he passed the legal examinations that allowed him to practice law in England, Smuts decided instead to return to the Cape Colony and practice law in Cape Town.

Upon Smuts's return to South Africa he practiced law and later wrote for the Cape Town newspaper, the *Cape Times*. He worked in Cape Town as a lawyer and writer until the Jamison Raid, where a militia from the British South African Company led by Colonel Jamison tried to lead a revolt of the Uitlanders, the term for British mining workers in the Transvaal. In protest, Smuts moved to Johannesburg to practice law. After

successfully establishing himself in the mining city of Johannesburg, he was appointed state attorney of the Republic of Transvaal in 1898 by President Kruger, which cemented Smuts's loyalty to the Boer nation-state.

His loyalty to the Republic of Transvaal was strongly evinced during the second BOER WAR (1898–1902). As the war began to erupt, Smuts helped write a polemic essay, *A Century of Wrong*, to instill support for the Boer cause and to vilify British imperialism. Smuts gained a distinguished notoriety in South Africa for leading a band of Boer fighters in the war. Smuts was a participant at the Vereeniging Peace Conference that led to the Vereeniging Peace Treaty, signed on May 1, 1902, which formally ended the war.

Smuts continued to be politically successful in South Africa after the war. He teamed up with Louis Botha in 1905 to create Het Volk, an Afrikaner political party to counteract the British governing elites. In 1906 Het Volk won the majority in the independent elections in the Transvaal. As a cabinet appointee as education secretary and the colonial secretary, Smuts slowly climbed up the echelons of political power in South Africa. At the constitutional convention in Durban in 1908, Smuts drafted and reworked the South African constitution, which unified South Africa in December of 1909.

With the unification of South Africa, which led to a majority Afrikaner voting population among whites, Louis Botha became the prime minister of United South Africa in 1910. Under Botha Smuts was appointed to positions as the secretary of the interior, secretary of mines, and secretary of defense for South Africa. Smuts came under pressure from his own political party and the press for his numerous cabinet positions, later including secretary of finance.

Although he fought against the British in the second Boer War, Smuts fought alongside the British in WORLD WAR I. He created the South African Defense Force, which helped with the defeat and subsequent acquisition of German East Africa and South West Africa. As a member of British prime minister DAVID LLOYD GEORGE's war cabinet, Smuts was one of the masterminds of the Royal Air Force. Smuts helped lead negotiations toward the end of the war at the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE of 1919. Smuts also helped conceive and support the LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Smuts was the prime minister of South Africa from 1919 until the Afrikaner-dominated National Party defeated him in 1924. After his tenure as prime minister Smuts dabbled in academia, especially philosophy, publishing his book *Walt Whitman: A Study in the Evolution of a Personality*. Smuts returned to politics in 1933 when he again

became the prime minister of South Africa. As an ardent anti-NAZI he led the South African effort in WORLD WAR II, joining British prime minister WINSTON CHURCHILL's war cabinet. After World War II ended Smuts signed the Paris Peace Treaty on February 10, 1947.

In 1948 the National Party, which supported apartheid, government based upon the separation of races, ousted Smuts as prime minister in the national election. At that point he officially retired from South African politics. Jan Christiaan Smuts died soon thereafter on September 11, 1950, on his family's farm in Doornkloof, Irene, South Africa.

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BRETT BENNETT

Somaliland

Somaliland is an area along the northeast Horn of Africa bordering the Gulf of Aden, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia. It is roughly the territory formerly known as the British Somaliland Protectorate and has had a history of unrest and adversity.

In the mid-19th century France gained control of part of the Somaliland territory. At about the same time, Britain became interested in Somaliland as a source of supplying meat to troops stationed in the colony of Aden, where its ships refueled as they sailed to India. When the opportunity arose to take control of strategic parts of Somaliland because Egyptian forces were busy fighting in the Sudan, Britain acted quickly. Negotiations with local Somali leaders led to the formation of the protectorate in 1887. Treaties with France in 1888 defined the borders between the two colonies. The next year Italy established its presence in other parts of Somaliland.

Throughout its rule by European colonial forces, Somaliland was divided by the whim of nations, often causing hardship for the inhabitants. In 1899 the "mad mullah" Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan began a Somali rebellion against British rule that was to last almost two decades. When the British withdrew to their coastal outposts in 1910, they left the interior in chaos. There was constant fighting among the Somalis and little food available. As much as one third of Somaliland's male population may have died from fighting or starvation.

Britain returned to the interior in 1920 and began a series of administrative and social reforms that were halted by WORLD WAR II. In 1925 Jubaland, a region in Kenya, was added to Italian Somalia. Shortly before World War II Italian-speaking regions of Ethiopia were joined with the Somali territories to become Italian East Africa. During the war Somalia saw a great deal of fighting, with the British taking control of the Italian districts and ruling a combined Somaliland Protectorate from 1941 until 1950, when the Italian districts came under the auspices of the United Nations.

In 1956 Italian Somaliland was granted autonomy, and in 1960 it was granted total independence. In the same year Britain gave its ill-prepared protectorate independence. At the time, Somaliland had only one secondary school and only a few college-educated individuals. An infrastructure was almost nonexistent, and the indirect rule system used by Britain had not trained Somalis for positions of authority. For a period after 1960 Somalia and Somaliland were united as the United Republic of Somalia.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Somoza García, Anastasio

(1896–1956) *Nicaraguan president and dictator*

Founder of the Somoza dynasty, which ruled Nicaragua for 43 years (1936–1979), Anastasio “Tacho” Somoza García became chief director of the Nicaraguan National Guard (Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua) in November 1932, despite his lack of military experience. His rise to political and military prominence can be attributed primarily to his political and family connections and his capacity to charm U.S. policy makers with his fluency in English. Born in San Marcos, Nicaragua, to a wealthy Liberal coffee planter, in his teens he traveled to Philadelphia to live with relatives. There he honed his English skills, taking classes at the Pierce School of Business Administration. In Philadelphia he also met his future wife, Salvadora Debayle Sacasa, a member of one of Nicaragua’s most prominent Liberal families. Returning to Nicaragua, he engaged in a number of unsuccessful business enterprises, including a stint as a used car salesman. With the outbreak of

civil war in 1926, he joined the Liberals on the side of ousted president Juan Bautista Sacasa, his wife’s uncle. A minor Liberal chieftain who led a failed assault on the Conservative garrison at San Marcos, he gained prominence in U.S. military and diplomatic circles by serving as interpreter during U.S.-brokered negotiations between Liberal and Conservative factions.

Under the administration of José María Moncada (1928–1932), he was appointed governor (*jefe político*) of León department and later foreign minister and consul to Costa Rica. Principally by ingratiating himself with U.S. officials and exploiting his family ties, by 1932 he had become the assistant director of the Guardia Nacional, whose main task was suppressing the six-year insurrection led by nationalist rebel leader AUGUSTO C. SANDINO in the mountainous north. After being appointed director of the National Guard on the strong recommendation of U.S. ambassador Matthew E. Hanna, Somoza engaged in a series of unsuccessful peace talks with Sandino. On February 21, 1934, in the capital city of Managua, he had Sandino and members of his entourage assassinated, soon followed by a series of massacres of Sandino’s supporters, most notably at the Río Coco cooperative near the Honduran border.

Tensions mounted between Somoza and President Sacasa, elected in 1932. In June 1936, Somoza orchestrated a coup against Sacasa and in December, in a rigged election, was elected president with over 99.9 percent of the vote. The same year he published an important book, *The True Sandino* (*El verdadero Sandino*), demonizing Sandino as a criminal psychopath. After 1936 his Nationalist Liberal Party dominated the country’s politics. His regime can be characterized as a populist, patrimonial dictatorship that ruled through a combination of shrewd co-optation and violent suppression of opposition. Amassing enormous wealth through exploiting his political power, by the mid-1940s he had become the country’s largest landowner, in part by expropriating the properties of German nationals. A staunch ally of the United States in WORLD WAR II, he responded to mounting domestic opposition in 1944 by reorganizing his ruling bloc, permitting limited opposition, and orchestrating the passage of a progressive labor code in 1945 intended to defuse opposition among the country’s incipient urban working class.

In the late 1940s he ruled through a number of puppet presidents elected in his stead (Leonardo Argüello, Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa, and Victor Román Reyes) until his rigged reelection in 1950. On September 21, 1956, the poet Rigoberto López Pérez shot him dead in the city of León. He was succeeded by his sons Luis

Somoza Debayle (dictator, 1956–1963) and Anastasio “Tachito” Somoza Debayle (dictator, 1963–1979), both of whom governed with strong U.S. support. The latter, more avaricious and less prone to compromise than his elder brother or father, was overthrown on July 19, 1979, in the Sandinista revolution and later assassinated in Paraguay by a Sandinista hit squad. Within Nicaragua, popular memories of Somocista rule remain overwhelmingly negative, emphasizing especially the three dictators’ cruelty, corruption, and cupidity.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

South African Native National Congress (pre–1950)

The South African Native National Congress was the predecessor of the African National Congress (ANC). It changed its name in 1923 to reflect a growing demographic that included members outside of South Africa. The South African Native National Congress was founded on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State (now the Free State), by John Dube, Pixley Seme, and Sol Plaatje in opposition to the South African Native Land Act. The group had existed for almost a century under various auspices with similar goals. However, it was not until 1912 that the group was able to formally gain recognition in South Africa and abroad as a counter to the repressive white rule.

Opposition to the land act began in 1909 when a group of black delegates met in Bloemfontein to object to the act’s predecessor, the South Africa Act. This act and those that would come after centered on South Africa’s land tenure system. The land act, eventually passed in 1913, was the first law in the 20th century to create group areas. It declared that the whole of South Africa would be exclusively for white South Africans, with the proviso that certain “scheduled areas” would be kept in trust solely for the welfare and benefit of black South Africans. The scheduled areas made up approximately 13 percent of the total land area and were mainly occupied by tribal communities. The act facilitated the formal establishment of African reserves, which would

later become a political behemoth under apartheid’s separate development policies as Bantustans. Although the population of black South Africans vastly outnumbered white South Africans, only 7 percent of South Africa’s land area was set aside as reserve land. The economy of South Africa during this period was highly dependent on the gold discovered in the high veld.

With little else to sustain the growing South African economy, the South African government encouraged mining companies and the resulting offshoots in big cities such as Johannesburg to draw migrant labor from the reserves. In addition to addressing the labor needs of the mines, the act also set out to eliminate independent rent-paying African tenants and cash croppers residing on white-owned land by restricting African residence on white land to labor tenancy or wage labor and prohibiting African land ownership outside of the reserves. Initially, the South African Native National Congress aimed to express dissatisfaction with the Native Land Act as well as the treatment of black South Africans during the South African BOER WAR.

The founding members of the congress were of an educated and elite background. John Dube was a minister and a schoolteacher; Sol Plaatje (the secretary-general) was a court translator, author, and newspaper editor; and Pixley Seme was a lawyer with degrees from Columbia University in the United States and Oxford University in Great Britain. In contrast to later calls by the African National Congress, the trio was not pushing for the end of British rule in South Africa, just the beginning of equality and representation.

In order to express the group’s discontent with the present government in South Africa, they sent a delegation led by W. P. Schreiner to London to try to convince the British government not to accept the Union of South Africa that was being put forward by the Afrikaner government in Pretoria. While it was a futile effort on the part of the South African Native National Congress, it did strengthen the bonds of the members of the new organization. Although initially the organization was elitist, only representing those black Africans with education, it did attempt to represent both traditional and modern elements of African society. Like most groups and organizations worldwide at the time, however, women were not admitted.

The draft constitution of the South African Native National Congress that was put forth in 1912 outlined five basic aims:

- To promote unity and mutual cooperation between the government and the South African black people

- To maintain a channel between the government and the black people
- To promote the social, educational, and political uplift of the black people
- To promote understanding between chiefs and loyalty to the British Crown and all lawful authorities, and to promote understanding between white and black South Africans
- To address the just grievances of the black people

Although the contents of the constitution were not radical, the official constitution was not passed until 1919. The South African Native National Congress would send another delegation to Britain in 1913 led by Sol Plaatje to officially protest the Native Land Act. Plaatje would travel later to Canada and the United States, where he would meet MARCUS GARVEY and W. E. B. DuBois. The efforts of the group would have little effect until the group became the African National Congress.

See also AFRIKANERS, SOUTH AFRICA.

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RIAN WALL

Soviet Five-Year Plans

The Five-Year Plans (which existed from 1928 to 1990 with the exception of a break from 1965 to 1971) were the means by which the Soviet Union managed its centralized economy. Using the plans, the Soviet Union devised priorities, assigned resources, determined objectives, and then measured the results. What is more, the Five-Year Plans were not only used to achieve objectives in a given time period but were the means by which the Soviet government took and maintained complete control over all economic matters.

The Five-Year Plans came into existence in the Soviet Union in the 1920s. In the years after WORLD WAR II, this method of top-down planning and control was more or less forcibly adopted by the Eastern European nations that came under Soviet control.

Starting in 1928, there were 11 Five-Year Plans (1928–32, 1932–37, 1938–42 [interrupted by the begin-

ning of World War II in 1941], 1946–50, 1951–55, 1956–60, 1959–65 [designated the Seven-Year plan], 1971–75, 1976–81, 1981–85, and 1986–90).

Immediately after the revolution of 1917 and through the Russian Civil War, the Soviet leadership attempted to manage the economy through what it referred to as War Communism. All industrial and agricultural enterprises were nationalized by the state to better manage what was produced and distributed. War Communism lasted until 1921, when it was replaced by the NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP). NEP represented a significant change in the structure of the economy. While heavy industry remained under direct state control, smaller concerns could operate on an entrepreneurial basis. It was, essentially, a small-scale, partial return to private enterprise. Farms were not to be appropriated by the state; they had to deliver a tax but could keep the rest to sell or use as they wished.

NEP was extremely popular not only among the citizens who saw its tangible benefits but among a large percentage of the Soviet leadership. There was, however, a faction that believed that the Soviet Union was so far behind the West that NEP was unsatisfactory. Building the Soviet Union to the point where it could ensure its military, economic, and political survival required effective management of all resources. In addition, as would be made clear by the Stalinist policies of the late 1920s on, exercising control over every aspect of life was considered to be essential.

By 1927, as JOSPEH STALIN assumed a more secure position and could begin to impose his policies, NEP's days were numbered. State control would return but in a more effective way than had existed under War Communism. Under this imperative the Five-Year Plans began, the first to be performed from 1928 to 1932.

From the beginning, the Five-Year Plans mainly emphasized heavy industries. First raw materials such as oil, coal, timber, and iron ore had to be extracted. Then factories and even factory cities had to be constructed. The most famous, but not the only one of these, was the city of Magnitogorsk, built to be a major steel producing center. From these factories and centers, capital goods to manufacture other goods would be made and distributed. Population movements to support these efforts, the construction of roads and railroads, and the building of ships, all to support the industrialization component of the plan, were considered and included.

Lighter industries and consumer goods were assigned a very low priority but were factored in to the plan. Every aspect of economic activity was subject

to planning and control, even agriculture, important because although the Soviet Union comprised a huge landmass, only 10 percent of it was suitable for growing crops. The scarcity of food in the years of the civil war through the 1920s was a major source of unrest and possible destabilization.

Each plan was different in that it would emphasize different objectives. In the first two plans (1928 to 1937), creating heavy industry for the Soviet Union was the single most important goal, and all of the plan components were coordinated to support that goal. In later years, there was an increased emphasis on making consumer goods available to the general population. The plans after World War II focused on rebuilding and repairing the immense destruction that had occurred during the war. In the postwar years, there was once again a very heavy emphasis on increasing agricultural production.

The planning of each Five-Year Plan was a process with defined stages, objectives, and roles to be played by the designated participants. Although planning through the years evolved and each was different, a look at how it was done for the second Five-Year Plan gives a good general sense of how it was done.

In 1931 general work on drafting the second Five-Year Plan began. Each department or industry would develop its targets to be reached during the period under consideration. The State Planning Commission (GOSPLAN) acted as coordinating agency. It worked with all departments to adjust targets and prepare a cohesive nationwide plan. In preparing the planners would have to take into account the Politburo's grand objective and required resources. The plan's general provisions with substantial detail were completed by early 1933.

In November 1934, the plan received its final approval by the XVII Party Congress. After approval there might be some changes to the plan, but there were no significant departures. In 1935 and 1936, the changes made to the plan were primarily to increase quota quantities to be produced. In this phase, Stalin often took a more or less direct role in encouraging increases in expectations. There were changes to the objectives in 1936 and 1937.

Officially in 1937, the plan came to an end, and the objectives were considered to have been met. Stalin, however, attacked the alleged success of the plan, stating that the goals and objectives were set so low that no satisfaction could be taken from meeting them. What is significant about this statement is that 1937 was considered to be the worst of the purge years. As perceived political enemies were being rounded up, sabotage and lack of commitment to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan was one of the "crimes."

Quotas, or norms, were an integral part of the plans, and the assignment of objectives to an industry or factory percolated down to teams and the individual workers. Meeting one's goals was an important responsibility. In the prison camps of the Gulag, whether one ate or not would depend on whether one met a norm in construction, cutting timber, or mining gold. Outside the Gulag, however, the rewards for production could result in significant rewards. In 1935 a miner named Stakhanov dramatically increased his team's output by reorganizing its work. Stakhanov was made into a hero, and workers who excelled in production were known as Stakhanovites. They were rewarded with bonuses and recognition. A significant problem with this, however, was that often, to exceed the goals, the quality declined.

By the mid-1930s, Soviet steel manufacturing capacity was not far behind Germany. There were, however, many problems that existed throughout the existence of the plans. While remarkable progress was made, there were areas in which the plans did not succeed. Reporting was not always accurate. Inaccuracy was a systemic problem but one that was exploited by managers who could not meet their quotas and so falsified their accomplishments. While the planning was supposed to be coordinated on a national scale, not everything went as intended.

Also, even though everything was theoretically controlled by the state, workers still had a degree of freedom that could make life a nightmare for managers. The workers had to be managed, often with tact and rewards, such as one might have seen in capitalist countries. In the years after World War II, opposition from workers could require sending in the army to use violence to get workers back into the factories.

See also SOVIET PURGES.

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Soviet purges

Soviet purges were JOSEPH STALIN's systematic elimination of dissenters and potential opponents when he was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the 1930s. Stalin and the Politburo sought to ensure the adherence of the members of the Communist Party to the orders of the Central Committee by eliminating divergent ideologies within the party, creating a monolithic Communist ideology. The Communist Party had regularly used repression against perceived enemies to increase a state of fear in order to establish a pretext for increased social control, yet it had not used this strategy on itself on a massive scale while it was the established governmental authority in the country. The purges resulted in Stalin's complete subjugation of the Communist Party and the Soviet regime, monolithic unity, and loss of intellectualism, leadership, and millions of lives.

After the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, which overthrew the monarchy, the Bolsheviks, or Communists, eventually seized control of the country during a brutal civil war and established the Soviet Union. VLADIMIR LENIN emerged as the leader of the new regime and began the suppression of non-Bolshevik socialist parties. Following the elimination of rival political parties, Lenin expelled and purged opponents of his own party, using terror as state policy to establish a totalitarian state. He introduced a decree on party unity to thwart future deviations in every possible manner and forbade members to enter factions advocating policies different from those of the established leadership. The Party Central Control Commission was established to maintain political discipline. Lenin did not favor the parliamentary system and created the Orgburo to allocate forces and the Politburo to decide policy to bypass the larger and less manageable Central Committee. In 1917 Stalin was elected to the Central Committee, retaining the position for the rest of his life. Stalin worked to establish the myth that he and his Party Center directed the October Revolution, which resulted in the Communists' rise to power. In 1922 Stalin became general secretary, a position whose influence he increasingly expanded.

Lenin's death in 1924 created a power vacuum for control of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Stalin continued Lenin's methods of consolidating power. As general secretary, he kept in touch with Communist officials throughout the country. Stalin removed threats to his power base from within

the party. He formed a moderate coalition with Grigori E. Zinoviev (1883–1936) and Lev B. Kamenev (1883–1936), both prominent Communists, to govern the party and maneuvered against LEON TROTSKY, his major rival and the leader of the left-wing Communists. Stalin favored establishing communism in the Soviet Union first, rather than the theory of permanent revolution favored by both Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky was soon expelled from the Communist Party and was exiled in 1929. Stalin then established an alliance with the right-wing members of the Communist Party, led by Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), against Kamenev and Zinoviev, who unsuccessfully attempted to counter Stalin.

Those opposed to Stalin favored Leningrad party chief Sergei Kirov (1886–1934), one of Stalin's close associates and advocate of a moderate policy toward the peasantry. Kirov's assassination in 1934 initiated a purge of the local Leningrad party and mass deportations to hard labor camps, known as gulags, in Siberia. Zinoviev and Kamenev, former allies of Stalin, were arrested and executed for their alleged participation in Kirov's murder. The further announcement of the discovery of an alleged plot by the exiled Trotsky to overthrow the Stalinist regime initiated a series of purges in the Soviet Union that reached their peak during 1936–38.

Stalin destroyed the upper echelon of the original committed Communists, replacing them with loyal appointees. Stalin had an effective secret police force, known as the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD). Through intense surveillance provided by a network of informers, the NKVD claimed to uncover numerous anti-Soviet conspiracies. All allegedly dissident persons were accused of crimes, usually fabricated, and were forced to sign confessions that led to sentences of death or to long terms of hard labor. Many of the arrests and sentences were carried out in secret, although some of those charged with crimes received public "show trials," which were trials meant to provide an illusion of justice but in fact had predetermined outcomes.

In 1937, the Politburo issued an order allowing physical coercion, which was used to justify torture and extrajudicial executions by the NKVD. Although the NKVD chief was Genrikh Yagoda (1891–1938) when the purges began, Nikolai Yezhov (1895–1940), nicknamed the "Bloody Dwarf," was chief of the NKVD during the height of the purges; consequently, this period is sometimes called the Yezhovshchina, or Yezhov Era. Toward the end of the purges, Yezhov, arrested on

charges of espionage and treason, was executed and soon replaced by Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953), who became a longtime associate of Stalin.

During the height of the purges, three trials of former senior Communist Party leaders were held; they were accused of participating in conspiracies to assassinate Stalin and other Soviet leaders and of attempting to dismantle the Soviet regime. The first trial in 1936 involved 16 defendants, chief among them Zinoviev and Kamenev. All of the accused were convicted and executed. Zinoviev and Kamenev granted confessions under the condition that their lives and the lives of their family members would be spared. Although Stalin relayed assurances to both men that the conditions would be granted, not only were Zinoviev and Kamenev executed, but most of their family members were arrested and executed as well. The second trial, held in 1937, involved 17 defendants, including Karl Radek (1885–1939) and Grigori Sokolnikov (1888–1939); 13 of the defendants were executed, and four received sentences of hard labor. The third trial, in 1938, included 21 defendants, including Bukharin, former head of the Communist International, former prime minister Alexei Rykov (1881–1938), Christian Rakovsky (1873–1941), Nikolai Krestinsky (1883–1938), and Yagoda. Bukharin agreed to confess under the condition that his wife would be spared; after his execution, she was sentenced to hard labor.

The purges conducted of the military resulted in the execution or incarceration of more than half of all officers. A group of military generals, including Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky (1893–1937), were tried in secret in 1937. The military was left weak, leaving the Soviet Union vulnerable to attack, as demonstrated in the German invasion during WORLD WAR II (1939–45).

The purges spread to the general population, and the NKVD charged countless commoners with alleged crimes. Amid the Great Terror, Stalin introduced a new Soviet constitution in 1936. Promoted as an instrument of democracy, the constitution stipulated free, secret elections based on universal suffrage. It also guaranteed all citizens a range of civil and economic rights. However, other provisions within the constitution nullified these new rights.

Purges in the non-Russian republics were particularly brutal. The NKVD carried out a series of national operations during 1937–40, targeting specific minority groups and members accused of attempting to destabilize the country. NKVD local officials were assigned quotas for arrests and executions.

In 1938, legislation was passed to halt NKVD operations of systematic repression and executions. However, such actions did not completely end Stalin's use of mass arrest and exile, for he sporadically continued such practices until his death in 1953. Trotsky, the last of Stalin's enemies, was murdered with an ice pick in Mexico in 1940, presumably by the NKVD.

By 1939, all power rested with Stalin and his inner circle. Millions of people had died in the purges. Several hundred thousand had been executed, and millions had been exiled, tortured, and sent to hard labor camps, where they died from starvation, disease, and overwork. Stalin's exact reasoning for initiating the purges is unclear. Although the purges succeeded in consolidating Stalin's control over the Communist Party and the Soviet regime, they severely weakened the country's military, cultural and intellectual accomplishments, and leadership ability. Party congresses met with increasing infrequency, and state power increased. A cult of personality developed around Stalin. During his lifetime, the adoration and reverence among the common people toward Stalin eclipsed that shown toward Lenin.

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ERIC MARTONE

Soviet society: social and cultural developments

Traditionally interpreted in “Western” and “Eastern” (i.e., Soviet and post-Soviet) historiography, the process of social and cultural development of Soviet society reflects the main phases of Soviet societal evolution and all its lacks and advantages.

Strong ideology and total control by Communist Party authorities usually are identified as the main trends in the social and cultural history of Soviet society, and recent years have brought new insight

connected with unofficial (underground, or dissident and samizdat) cultural phenomena studies.

The first decade after the October Revolution was a time of transformation of cultural stereotypes connected with the introduction of Marxist-Leninist ideology that demanded revision of mental reference points and human behavior.

Milestones of cultural and social revolution of that time were introduced by VLADIMIR LENIN, among them liquidation of cultural backwardness and illiteracy in the majority of the Soviet Russian population, creation of socialist intelligence, and promotion of Communist ideology. These ideas were realized step by step through the introduction of a new education system based on new genres of higher and secondary education institutions, through activation of wide publication activity, and in the course of the establishment of tight and sometimes friendly connections with old Russian intelligence.

New tendencies in art and literature appeared at that time, the most striking and well-known of them represented by Kazimir Malevich in painting; Sergei Eisenstein in cinematography; Maxim Gorky, Mikhail Bulgakov, Isaac Babel, and Mikhail Zoshchenko in prose; and Anna Akhmatova, Vladimir Mayakovsky, and Sergei Yesenin in poetry. These works concentrated mainly on the process of adaptation to the new life among different population groups.

It is worth mentioning that many representatives of the Russian intelligentsia could not adapt to their post-revolution motherland; more than 2 million voluntarily emigrated from the Soviet Union, including composers Sergei Rachmaninoff and Igor Stravinsky; ballerina Anna Pavlova; painters Marc Chagall and Konstantin Korovin; writers Ivan Bunin, Vladimir Nabokov, and Alexander Kuprin; and others whose works have become part of world cultural heritage.

A problem of special importance at that time was relationships with the Orthodox Church, which greatly influenced the mentality of a major part of the population. In February 1918, a law separated the church from the state and schools from the church, which caused fundamental religious opposition led by the patriarch Tikhon. Bolsheviks and church opposition resulted in the plunder of church property and utensils, destruction of churches, repression of church leaders and friars, and broad atheist propaganda.

At the period of the NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (1921–27), the politics of *korenization* implied increasing attention to national minorities, whose language and traditional culture were introduced in Soviet republics.

Reflecting the general liberalization of internal policy inherent to that time, *korenization* was dismantled with the improvement of the totalitarian system and was replaced by a general tendency toward Russification and repression of minority cultures.

During the period of active promotion of socialism in all spheres of human life, significant results were achieved in the area of social and cultural developments. By 1937 overall elementary education had been introduced in the country, the average level of literacy was already as high as 81 percent, and the task of overall secondary education (in villages, shortened up to seven years) had been put forward as had the necessity of medical service in the country. The new so-called Stalin Constitution, adopted in 1936, guaranteed Soviet citizens democratic civil rights and freedoms. Nevertheless, its statements in practice were totally ignored by JOSEPH STALIN, who successfully created a totalitarian system based on the physical destruction of his opponents and competitors. This tendency was displayed also in the cultural sphere, where artistic works of different genres were evaluated mainly subjectively, and many artists and representatives of science and education were repressed or lost the chance to be published because Stalin did not like their works.

Soviet culture gradually gained a strong ideology based on a new artistic method and style introduced by Nikolay Bukharin and later called socialist realism. Its main idea was that an artist must provide a precise and true picture of real life in its historical development; this picture should be used as an instrument to encourage socialist ideas among working people. To make control over Soviet artists easier, they were united in hierarchical professional organizations totally controlled by party bureaucracy. Nevertheless, even in this hard situation of ideological control, Soviet writers and poets, composers, and cinematographers enriched world cultural heritage by their works.

The struggle against fascists had caused a revision of the ideological implications of the sociocultural internal policy of the Communist Party. The necessity to maintain a unified Soviet society had resulted in slogans of patriotism, unity, and friendship among all Soviet peoples, and the mass media had actively and effectively contributed to the dissemination of these ideas. Theater, literature, and visual art (also in the form of political placards) were used as potent instruments to maintain the Red Army warriors' inspiration and motivation. In this situation Stalin even met with the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, and this fact reflects a general amelioration of party-church

relations. Scientific research was concentrated on the improvement of already-existing arms and the creation of the nuclear bomb.

The obvious success of many artists was caused also by the fact that their ideas fit well with the inspirations of the Soviet people. In spite of measures undertaken by the Soviet government to move its most valuable art objects to remote territories or to mask nonportable objects in their places, the cultural heritage in the Soviet Union was seriously damaged during WORLD WAR II, and many objects were lost for eternity.

Victory over fascism and the general aspirations of the Soviet people had made the World War II the main subject of art in the first postwar decade. At the same time, the destroyed national economy demanded urgent restoration, and this need could be satisfied only by highly educated specialists. Education and science became the subject of special attention in economic development.

At the same time, Stalin started a new phase of totalitarian system improvement that resulted in a new series of repressions and meant the end of the liberalization of ideology. Soon, typical Stalinist forms of culture and society control were restored.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party and the following dismantling of the personality cult of Stalin following his death caused democratization of social and cultural processes in the Soviet Union and revision of basic ideas, highlighted by literature and art. Responsibility for past mistakes and comprehension of the lessons of the past have become an important subject of discussion, tightly connected with the general problem of fathers and children. For many recognized representatives of Stalinist culture this process was disastrous, and a series of suicides stressed Soviet intelligence.

Phenomena that were principally new in Soviet culture sprang up, including samizdat (i.e., nonofficially printed literature) produced by Soviet dissidents. Artistic comprehension of repression and Stalinist terror became a striking subject of discussion, and rehabilitation of the works of many repressed writers, artists, and scientists took place during these years.

Nikita Khrushchev, the leader of the Communist Party and initiator of the dismantling of Stalin's personality cult, actively influenced the cultural process, trying to outline what he saw as appropriate frontiers of mental freedom. One of the greatest reformers in the history of Soviet culture, he had inspired the abolition of avant-gardist and abstractionist visual art, including the works of Soviet poet, Jew, and Nobel

laureate Joseph Brodsky and Boris Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago*.

General liberalization of life displayed itself mainly in big cities (in the "center"), where the majority of the well-educated population was concentrated. Inhabitants of the countryside, in spite of the political rights and social freedoms proclaimed in the Soviet constitution, could hardly explore them in full measure. In most cases they could not even move from their villages because they had no official identification documents at their disposal. Even to apply for study at the university in the regional center, they had to ask special permission to get their passports from local Soviet and party authorities.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

Spanish civil war

The Spanish civil war raged from July 17, 1936, until April 1, 1939, when the Nationalists, led by General FRANCISCO FRANCO (1892–1975), overcame the ruling Republican, or Loyalist, government to take control of Spain's future. The origins of the war can be found in Spanish political instability, which characterized the early decades of the 20th century, beginning during the rule of Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), who became monarch in 1902.

A military coup led by Miguel Primo de Rivera in 1923 saw the constitution suspended. Further attempts at economic and social change failed to reverse long-term negative trends. After the army withdrew its support, Rivera resigned, and Alfonso XIII was forced to accept free elections in 1931. As a result, Alfonso

relinquished the crown and went into exile, and a republic was declared. In the June 1931 elections the Socialist Party (PSOE) and assorted left-wing parties won a major victory that made Alcalá Zamora (1877–1949) prime minister, but he was soon replaced by the more radical Manuel Azana (1880–1940).

A series of reforms that challenged the land-owning agricultural elites and the dominating position of the Catholic Church followed. The 1933 elections saw the right-wing parties, led by the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (*Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas*, CEDA), regain control of parliament (the Cortes); they abolished the earlier reforms. A general strike followed in 1934, and armed rebellion occurred in Asturias. To overcome these divides and in a hope of establishing legitimacy, Manuel Azaña established a broad coalition of the left, which included the communists (PCE, known as the Popular Front).

In opposition to this movement, the right-wing parties formed the National Front, which included CEDA and the Carlists (monarchists) as well as the *Falange Española*, a nationalist party with fascist sympathies. The February 1936 general election saw a narrow Popular Front victory. The Popular Front won 34.3 percent of the votes, and the National Front gained 33.3 percent. With control of 263 seats out of 473 in parliament, the Popular Front attempted a reform program in agriculture. They also freed political prisoners, banned the *Falange*, and sent several prominent military officers, such as Francisco Franco, to overseas outposts.

POLITICAL MANEUVERING

Important sections of the military leadership, led by General Emilio Mola, began to discuss what could be done about this government. The issue became more serious when in May 1936 the conservative Niceto Alcalá-Zamora was removed as president and the more left-wing Manuel Azana replaced him. Azaña made Diego Martínez Barrio prime minister on July 18, 1936. Barrio failed to reach a compromise with the opposition, and he was replaced by the more radical José Giral, who armed left-wing groups for possible resistance.

General Mola declared the army in revolt on July 19, 1936, and gained initial but somewhat blundering success in the Canary Islands, Morocco, Navarre, Seville, and Aragon. Francisco Franco, commander of the Army of Africa, joined the revolt and began his conquest of southern Spain. General Mola concentrated his forces in the northwest and took the important naval base at Ferrol. Mola would be killed in a plane crash in June 1937.

Franco commanded the superior Army of Africa, which contained the Spanish foreign legion and over 34,000 men. He moved his forces with the help of the German *Luftwaffe* to control practically all of southwestern Spain. Most of the Civil Guard and the Assault Guard joined with the Nationalists.

The Popular Front's army was larger than that of the Nationalists and had gained the support of a variety of overseas left-wing recruits, primarily led by communists, who were organized into International Brigades. This also included U.S. volunteers, who served under the Abraham Lincoln Brigade banner. This mix of various national groups and ideologies produced friction among left-wing factions.

The Nationalist side also attracted international support in the form of Lieutenant Colonel Walther Warlimont (1894–1976), a member of the German General Staff. Warlimont became an adviser to General Franco and arranged for the creation of the Condor Legion of volunteers, numbering 19,000 men by war's end, to fight for the Nationalist cause. The *Luftwaffe* put in the field squadrons of bombers, fighters, and other aircraft to support ground operations. In August 1936 the border area with Portugal fell to the Nationalists after General Juan Yagüe overran Badajoz city, gaining in the process the epithet "Butcher of Badajoz." President ANTÓNIO SALAZAR of Portugal gave his support to the Nationalists and closed the border to the Republicans.

In September 1936 Francisco Largo Caballero (1869–1946), a left-wing socialist, became Republican prime minister. It was during this time that General Franco assumed total control of the army, becoming *generalissimo* as well as head of the Nationalist state, a position strengthened with the fall of Toledo to Nationalist armies. By November 1936 Nationalist troops under General José Varela, supported by the Condor Legion, began their siege of Madrid, which lasted for nearly three years and ultimately forced Caballero's government to leave the capital.

BENITO MUSSOLINI came to the aid of the Nationalists with men and supplies. The Italian Blue Shirt Militia, numbering 30,000, joined 20,000 Italian army soldiers as part of the Nationalist Front. There were also pro-Catholic Irish Blue Shirts who joined the Nationalist side. This Italian force included air force squadrons that joined with the Germans in bombing missions for the Nationalists. In March 1937 the Italian contingents were amalgamated as the Italian Corps. The intensity of the fighting increased at and near Madrid in 1937 in an effort to take the city and cut off Republican

supplies. Battles in the Jarama Valley and at Guadalajara were costly for all sides but left the Republicans hanging on.

In April 1937 Franco brought all the Nationalist groups together under Falange Española control with himself as a supreme leader, or *caudillo*, an imitation of the titles *Duce* and *Führer* used by Mussolini and Hitler. On April 26 the Germans bombed the Basque city of Guernica, made famous by Picasso's painting that became a tribute to the city's losses. The city was captured by the Nationalists two days later, and the regional capital, Bilbao, fell in June. Santander and Aragon were taken in August, and by October Asturias, including Gijón, had surrendered, giving the Nationalists control of the north.

Tensions mounted in the Republican camp because of Communist Party demands, which Caballero refused to meet. With the coalition threatened, President Azaña removed Caballero and replaced him with Juan Negrín (1892–1956), who allowed the Communists greater influence in the cabinet. This internal strife became outright conflict in Barcelona when in May 1937 the Communists challenged other left-wing elements, such as the anarchists and Trotskyites, for control of local institutions. Death squads killed an estimated 400 people until troops from Valencia arrived.

This event lost the National Front credibility, and Negrín's pro-Communist sympathies gave more and more influence and control to Stalin and his agents. With its intensive bombing campaigns and its more unified military command, the Nationalists in April 1938 broke out of their pocket, advancing to the sea toward Valencia, and appeared ready to encircle Madrid. Negrín launched the Ebro offensive in July in order to reverse these advances, but the losses were very heavy, particularly in International Brigade ranks. The International Brigade elements were eventually totally withdrawn from Spain in September 1938. The Ebro battles also cost the Nationalists dearly; 6,000 were killed and 30,000 wounded. Yet the Republican inability to reverse the tide of war meant that they were now essentially a spent military force without hope of victory.

Negrín's efforts at reform and reorganization also proved futile. When the Nationalist army took Barcelona on January 26, 1939, the Republican government withdrew to the French border. In February 1939 the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, recognized General Franco and the Nationalists as the legitimate Spanish government. President Azaña now had no option other than to resign and flee to France.

Splits also occurred on the Madrid front when Republican forces led by Segismundo Casado (1893–1968) formed an anti-Negrín junta. These internal divides saw Communists fight anarchists in the heart of Madrid. Casado realized the situation was hopeless and attempted negotiation with the Nationalists. However, Franco refused anything less than total surrender. The Nationalist Army entered Madrid on March 27 without significant opposition, and on April 1, 1939, Franco declared the civil war over.

The civil war proved costly for Spain in economic, military, and social terms. Although estimates of deaths vary considerably, a general view is that approximately 500,000 were killed, tens of thousands on both sides were murdered for their political associations, and an estimated 10,000 civilians were killed through German and Italian bombing. The end of the war also saw the Nationalists extract a sizable revenge, executing 100,000 Republican prisoners; thousands more died from the conditions of their imprisonment.

The civil war left in its wake a legacy of bitterness. Spanish democracy did not return until the restoration of the monarchy under King Juan Carlos following the death of Franco in 1975. Franco remained the longest-serving fascist dictator of the era. He eventually normalized relations with his neighbors and joined the NATO alliance in the postwar period. Even his sending troops to fight with the Nazis on the Russian front during WORLD WAR II was forgotten, for he never officially joined the Axis powers.

For many, the Spanish civil war was a precursor to the World War II struggle against fascism. The conflict also revealed the ineffectiveness of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS in stopping such actions, which were made worse by the neutrality and nonintervention policies of the democratic states. The civil war in military terms became a testing ground for equipment and tactics that would be used in World War II, such as the carpet bombing of cities and the idea of total war.

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SS (Schutzstaffel)

The SS was the abbreviated form of the German *Schutzstaffel*, meaning “protection squadron,” which began as a small personal bodyguard for ADOLF HITLER and grew into a large multipurpose arm of the NAZI PARTY by the end of WORLD WAR II. In 1925 the Stosstrupp Adolf Hitler was formed as a group of eight men with the task of protecting Adolf Hitler at rallies, speeches, and other events after the failed Beer Hall Putsch. In 1926 the group was renamed the Schutzstaffel, expanded, and given the role of protecting Nazi Party leaders. The SS remained a small force for the first few years but expanded rapidly after the appointment of Heinrich Himmler in 1929 as its leader. Under Himmler the SS expanded from 280 to 209,000 members in five years. After 1932 the SS wore distinctive black uniforms, changing to army grey uniforms prior to the beginning of World War II. Admittance to the SS was restricted by race to Germans, and the organization had a special interest in attracting “Aryans,” blonde-haired, blue-eyed Germans who were viewed as the vanguard of the Germanic peoples.

Under Himmler and his right-hand man Reinhard Heydrich, the power of the SS grew, and it became a branch of the German government under Hitler. The SS assumed the role of guards of the Reichschancellery and later expanded into the first Waffen-SS Division. The Waffen-SS became a second German army (in addition to the Wehrmacht), which was first loyal to Hitler. The SS first exercised its power by carrying out purges in the Nazi Party during the Night of the Long Knives.

Shortly after the Nazis came to power, the SS expanded its role in German politics and society. In 1934 the SS took control over the Geheime Staatspolizei (the German secret state police, known as the Gestapo). The Gestapo was combined with the SS intelligence service, or Sicherheitsdienst (SD), to form the Sicherheitspolizei (security police). Two years later all German federal, state, and local police were absorbed into the SS. The newly established concentration camps came under the control of the SS-Totenkopfverbände (SS Deathshead Unit, or SS-TV). The SS-TV continued to expand with Nazi conquests, establishing new concentration camps. During the war, disabled Waffen-SS veterans often moved into SS-TV units and were sent to work at the concentration camps. Once Germany began to expand, Einsatzgruppen (special action squads) were formed by the SS on an as-needed basis to neutralize threats to Germany. In 1941, as a precursor to the final solution, the Einsatzgruppen moved into

the Soviet Union and began the extermination of Jews, Gypsies, and communists.

The Allgemeine-SS, also established in 1934, was responsible for race, security, finance, administration, and personnel. Officers were established to help SS officers who had suffered during the struggle for power. Other offices oversaw party and military awards, press and information, and liaison between Himmler and the Four-Year [economic] Plan. Another office controlled the teaching of ancestral heritage, genealogy, and biological research; still another oversaw the welfare of SS mothers and children. Later the Allgemeine-SS took on a reserve role, with many of its members serving in other Nazi organizations. The SS Medical Corps provided medical care to SS units in the 1930s. After the establishment of the concentration camps, the SS Medical Corps began experimentations on human prisoners. The most notorious of these crimes occurred at Auschwitz under the leadership of SS doctor Joseph Mengele.

During the war the Allgemeine-SS was responsible for executing SS policy in the occupied territories. These were added to the Weimar government records that the Nazis had inherited, making the Nazi regime the most heavily documented government and society in history. Shortly after the Reichstag fire, the Allgemeine-SS provided help to the police forces during the roundup and imprisonment of Germany's communists and potential Nazi Party opponents.

The Waffen-SS continued to grow after the outbreak of war and eventually reached 38 divisions. Many were made up of foreign volunteers from occupied Europe. The racial restrictions were relaxed because of a manpower shortage. Some foreign units ended up defending Berlin and Hitler's bunker during the final Russian offensive. Because of their fanatical loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi Party, SS combat formations were given priority when new equipment and new weapons were issued. They also had priority in receiving replacements to cover casualties. Waffen-SS units were feared by the Allies because of their fanatical indoctrination and cruel treatment of civilians and prisoners.

See also HOLOCAUST, THE.

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Stalin, Joseph

(1878–1952) *Soviet leader*

Joseph Stalin seems to have dedicated himself to acquiring and maintaining political power in the manner of Machiavelli's prince. Unlike the prince, however, Stalin subscribed to an ideology that suggested his priorities while foreclosing certain policy options. As the leader of the Soviet Union from 1925 until his death in 1952, he defended the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, pushed through an accelerated and brutal industrialization, successfully waged war against NAZI Germany, and contributed to the division of Eastern from Western Europe in the 1940s.

The man who later earned the name of "Stalin" (meaning "steel" in Russian) grew up in a Christian area of Georgia, in Russian Transcaucasia. Born Josif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in December 1878 to parents who both belonged to the legal estate of peasant, he had little money and few opportunities as a child. His alcoholic father left the household during Stalin's childhood and died a vagabond in 1909. Stalin maintained a close, if not affectionate, relationship with his mother.

A good, though not brilliant, student, Joseph initially pursued his coursework diligently, and he continued to improve his Russian. He became critical of the "humiliating regime" maintained by the extremely conservative Russian Orthodox priests who ran the school, however. Around 1895 he became involved in the social democratic discussion circles that had begun to form in Tblisi. His earlier belief in Georgian nationalism was increasingly replaced by a devotion to Marxist internationalism.

Before he left seminary in 1899 (without completing his training), he had organized strikes and protests. In 1902 he was arrested by the czar's police for his activities. He spent the first of several terms in prison or internal exile (usually in Siberia). He attracted the attention of VLADIMIR LENIN and other leading revolutionary Communists for his ruthless effectiveness as an organizer as well as for his intellectual work on nationality and nationalism. On the other hand, his methods often caused schisms and rendered him unpopular.

When the revolutionary year of 1917 began, Stalin was in Siberia. The Bolsheviks were distancing themselves from the *duma*, which had been created by the czar in 1905 to placate protesters but which lacked legitimacy. The destruction of life and property during WORLD WAR I fatally undermined the czar's authority, as it revealed that Russian industrial backwardness meant not only a poor standard of living for the people

but also an inability to supply troops or to sustain infrastructure during war. In addition to ending the war, the Bolsheviks promised to build industry and improve agriculture through communist principles.

Stalin generally, though often cautiously, supported Lenin while the Bolshevik leader proposed a radical strategy to bring his party to power. Although important as an adjutant, Stalin did not enjoy the name recognition of Lenin, LEON TROTSKY, or Lev Khamenev. Nevertheless, he joined the Central Committee and the Politburo as soon as they were created; he was also appointed people's commissar of nationalities.

During the civil war that followed Bolshevik victory, Stalin was sent by Lenin to Czaritsyn (later Stalingrad) in summer 1918 as special plenipotentiary. His assignment was to secure food from southern Russia with the assistance of a small armed detachment. Stalin butted heads with Trotsky over the conduct of operations against the Cossacks. Before being recalled to Moscow, Stalin had carried out the executions of Red Army officers with noble blood or ties to the old czarist army. Stalin's fears—occasionally but not always entirely paranoia—of betrayal by members of the military and party were already manifest in 1921.

HISTORICAL DEBATE

Historians have debated whether Lenin wanted to prevent Stalin from succeeding him. Certainly Lenin was concerned about Stalin's readiness to use torture and violence instead of persuasion. In the years immediately after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin consolidated his hold on power by discrediting rivals such as Trotsky and by emphasizing his respect for Lenin's legacy. In fact, he immediately began to distance himself from that legacy by ordering the immediate imposition of agricultural collectivization and by elevating himself above the Communist Party. Furthermore, unlike Lenin, Stalin asserted that the Soviet Union could effect "socialism within one country" and so did not need to await socialist revolutions elsewhere.

Stalin's long tenure as leader of the Soviet Union was characterized by immense gains in industrial production, especially in the decade prior to WORLD WAR II, often at the expense of human life and of agriculture. He ordered citizens to build enormous steel factories and industrial towns, such as Magnetogorsk; when foreigners visited the Soviet Union, they typically expressed amazement that Stalin had achieved such results while the rest of the world struggled to cope with the GREAT DEPRESSION. Indeed, industrial production quadrupled between 1929 and 1938.

Meanwhile, Stalin collectivized approximately 80 percent of Soviet agricultural land and deported, exiled, or executed millions of peasants who resisted state expropriation of their land and produce. Stalin's determination to acquire foreign currency in order to support industrialization led him to authorize grain exports even in years of crop failure and dearth. Famines occurred, especially in the "breadbasket" republic of the Ukraine. As many as 4 million people died in the Ukraine alone during the 1932–33 famine. Incompetent management and flawed policies, not a lack of grain supplies, caused the deaths from starvation.

Aside from industrialization and collectivization, Stalin also strived to reform the educational system and culture. He made it possible for generations of young people from poor and working-class backgrounds to acquire higher education and respectable jobs. Men who benefited from Stalin's egalitarian measures included several, such as Nikita Khrushchev, who in turn became leaders of the Soviet Union. Within the sphere of culture, Stalin promoted socialist realism, an aesthetic that encouraged artists and writers to idealize peasants, workers, and everyday life under Communism while achieving a certain degree of verisimilitude. Stalin attempted to uproot the Russian Orthodox Church from its place in Russian life, replacing it with the "religion" of Communism. However, neither Christianity nor Islam disappeared from the Soviet Union.

For much of the 1930s, Stalin prepared for imminent war against Germany. Despite the signing of the Molotov–von Ribbentrop pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, Stalin expected that war between the countries was inevitable. Soviet armament production increased, as did fear of treason and the exile or execution of supposed traitors. During the period known as the Great Terror, in the immediate aftermath of the December 1934 assassination of Leningrad party chief and Stalin confidant Sergei Kirov, Stalin pursued all suspected terrorists and promulgated an edict that enabled an accelerated execution timetable for terrorists. With the assistance of NKVD head Nikolai Ezhov, Stalin organized the arrest of 1.3 million political criminals, of whom almost three-quarters were executed. Approximately 90 percent of all death sentences assigned to pre–World War II convictions for political crimes were imposed in 1937 and 1938. The Great Terror affected enormous numbers of ordinary citizens, but Communist Party elites were also imprisoned or executed in large numbers. Stalin also eliminated officers in the Red Army: 412 of 767 members of high command in 1936 were killed.

Stalin may initially have been shocked by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, but he quickly recovered and marshaled his infamous strength of will. He spoke to Muscovites about the ideological meaning of the war and the Russian history of valiantly resisting invasions by seemingly superior armies. The "Great Patriotic War" cost an average of 7,050 Soviet lives each day, with a total of 8.6 million soldiers and 17 million civilians killed.

After 1945 an aging Stalin gradually reduced his active involvement in day-to-day government. He oversaw the creation of an eastern bloc of countries sympathetic to the Soviet Union. He also prevented any war hero from gaining widespread popularity and thus from becoming an alternative ruler. He did not appoint a successor before he died in 1952. The de-Stalinization campaigns of the later 1950s and early 1960s could not, however, remove the imprint left by Stalin over several decades.

In fact, opinion polls taken after the fall of communism indicated that a large percentage of Russians continued to admire him, despite the opening of archives that revealed the magnitude of the human tragedy that accompanied the triumph of industrialization.

See also SOVIET PURGES; SOVIET SOCIETY: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

Stalingrad, Battle of (1942–1943)

The Battle of Stalingrad was one of the decisive battles of WORLD WAR II. Lasting from August 1942 to February 1943, the battle pitted the forces of the Soviet Union against those of NAZI Germany amid the ruins of the city of Stalingrad. Soviet victory in February 1943 proved a major Allied triumph and a turning point of the war.

On June 28, 1942, the German High Command launched Operation Blau (blue) against the Soviet Union. Blau's objectives were to capture the oil fields and agricultural resources of the Caucasus region and



The difficult Russian winter helped stall the advance of the German Wehrmacht around Stalingrad. The lengthy siege proved disastrous for Germany and began the slow shift of fortunes in favor of the Allies in World War II.

the city of Stalingrad. This task was assigned to Army Group South, a coalition of German, Italian, Romanian, and Hungarian armies. Army Group South advanced through heavy Soviet resistance throughout the summer of 1942 and by August had reached Stalingrad.

German forces unleashed a devastating bombardment against Stalingrad and reduced much of the city to rubble. As German infantry units entered the city, Soviet forces and even Stalingrad's citizens fiercely resisted. Seemingly endless street-to-street and house-to-house combat resulted in heavy casualties on both sides. Snipers hid amid the ruins and inflicted numerous casualties, with both Russian and German snipers earning renown for their marksmanship and lethality.

The Soviet commander charged with the defense of Stalingrad was Vasily Chuikov. Chuikov had strict orders from JOSEPH STALIN to hold the city at any cost; indeed, Stalin had issued similar instructions to all Soviet soldiers in the famous Order No. 227 forbidding retreat. Particular Stalingrad landmarks were fought over continuously, such as the Red October fac-

tories, "Pavlov's House," and a large hill overlooking the city, the Mamayev Kurgan. Although Soviet forces tenaciously defended these sites, by November German forces held 90 percent of Stalingrad.

While Stalingrad's defenders held fast, the Soviet High Command launched a counterattack, Operation Uranus. Uranus called for an assault on the northern and southern flanks of Army Group South. The Soviets deemed these flanks particularly vulnerable because ill-equipped and unenthusiastic Romanian units guarded them. On November 19 Soviet forces assaulted the Third Romanian Army in the north. The following day Soviets attacked the Romanian 4th Army Corps in the south. The Romanians quickly gave way, allowing Soviet armies from both flanks to meet at the town of Kalach and successfully execute a pincer movement that encircled 250,000 Axis soldiers within the Stalingrad sector.

The German commander of Axis forces within Stalingrad, Sixth Army's general Friedrich Paulus, sought permission to fight through the encirclement and escape. Hitler refused, assuring Paulus that Ger-

man relief would soon break the siege. Hermann Göring pledged that his Luftwaffe could supply Stalingrad via an “air bridge,” delivering over 300 tons of food, fuel, and ammunition daily. His boasts, however, were wildly exaggerated and only a trickle of the supplies arrived.

The bitter Russian winter, dwindling supplies, and constant fighting severely reduced Axis resistance in Stalingrad. Soviet troops inexorably inched forward, pushing the Germans back to the city center. Paulus was captured by Soviet forces on January 31, along with 22 other German generals. Axis forces finally surrendered on February 2. Soviet forces captured over 90,000 German soldiers; only 6,000 would survive the war and return home.

Germany’s defeat at Stalingrad proved the turning point of the war. Germany’s reputation for invincibility was shattered, and after Stalingrad the Germans endured a defensive position on the eastern front. The Soviets gained an important strategic and psychological triumph and pushed steadily toward Berlin. Soviet victory came at great sacrifice, however; the Battle of Stalingrad is considered World War II’s bloodiest battle, with over 2 million deaths on both sides.

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DANIEL HUTCHINSON

Stilwell mission

Joseph Stilwell (1883–1946) was assigned to China between 1920 and 1923 and between 1926 and 1928 as a military intelligence officer in the U.S. legation in Beijing (Peking). He learned spoken Chinese. Between 1932 and 1939 he served as U.S. military attaché to China. China fought Japan alone between 1937 and 1941, but the United States and China became allies against Japan after PEARL HARBOR. The Allies established the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chinese leader CHIANG KAI-SHEK became supreme commander of the China theater. Since Stilwell was one of the few U.S. military officers who spoke Chinese, he was promoted from colonel to lieutenant general and

appointed commander of U.S. forces in China, administrator of U.S. Lend-Lease aid to China, and chief of staff to Chiang in 1942. Although he was a brave soldier, he was the worst possible choice for these positions because he was abrasive, stubborn, and entirely lacking in diplomacy, for which he was called “Vinegar Joe.” His earlier experiences in China had also made him contemptuous of Chinese leaders.

Relations between Stilwell and Chinese leaders were bad from the beginning. His first campaign in 1942 to keep open the Burma Road, which supplied China overland, was a disaster and led to mutual recriminations. Stilwell complained that the Chinese forces were unwilling to engage the Japanese, while Chiang countered by complaining about the little aid that he was receiving and expressing unwillingness to step up his efforts until he received more aid. With his tactless ways, Stilwell became the lightning rod in Sino-American relations and caused divisions within the U.S. administration.

He also quarreled with CLAIRE CHENNAULT, a proponent of air power, the commander of the volunteer airmen called the Flying Tigers, and later the commander of the Fourteenth U.S. Air Force, who had Chiang’s support for building airfields to bomb Japan. The friction came to a head in September 1943, when Stilwell demanded that Chiang lift the blockade against CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP)–held regions and use the freed-up troops against Japan.

In the midst of a major Japanese offensive, Stilwell received U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT’s endorsement that Chiang hand over to him total command of all Chinese troops, and he delivered the ultimatum to Chiang in the most offensive manner, intending to humiliate the Nationalist government.

Both Vice President Henry Wallace and special presidential envoy general Patrick Hurley deemed the way Stilwell handled the situation with Chiang unacceptable. Although the difficult military situation compelled Chiang to accede to the U.S. demand for a U.S. commander for the Chinese forces, he rejected Stilwell as the man for the job, charging that he wanted not to cooperate with the Chinese as allies but to dominate them.

Hurley agreed, reporting to Roosevelt that “there is no issue between you and Chiang except Stilwell,” adding “my opinion is that if you sustain Stilwell in this controversy, you will lose Chiang Kai-shek and possibly you will lose China with him.” Roosevelt recalled Stilwell on October 29, 1944. His replacement, General Albert Wedemeyer, did not command Chinese forces.

The Stilwell episode was unfortunate because of its effect on Chinese-U.S. relations.

See also SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Sudan under British rule (1900–1950)

After the area of present day Sudan was conquered by Muhammad Ali of Egypt in the 1820s, Great Britain began to exert pressure on Egypt to halt the flourishing slave trade that was prevalent in the area. Strong resistance arose among the Sudanese, who had grown wealthy and powerful from the slave trade. They harassed the Egyptian officials who administered the Sudan until 1883. The British became more involved both due to fears of French expansionism in the area and after the massacre of British troops under General Charles Gordon in 1885 by followers of the Mahdi. Great Britain viewed its interests in Egypt to be under threat and set about to uproot the Mahdist regime.

British forces under General (Lord) HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER concocted a plan to rout the Mahdist forces in the Sudan and bring the Sudan under joint Egyptian and British control in response to French aggression in Fashoda. By September of 1898, the British forces had uprooted the Mahdist regime and stopped the French march. In 1899 the Anglo-British condominium was established, stating that England and Egypt would jointly administer the Sudan. In reality, British officials and Egyptian officials selected by the British administered the Sudan. The British dominated the condominium and crushed many small uprisings throughout the country.

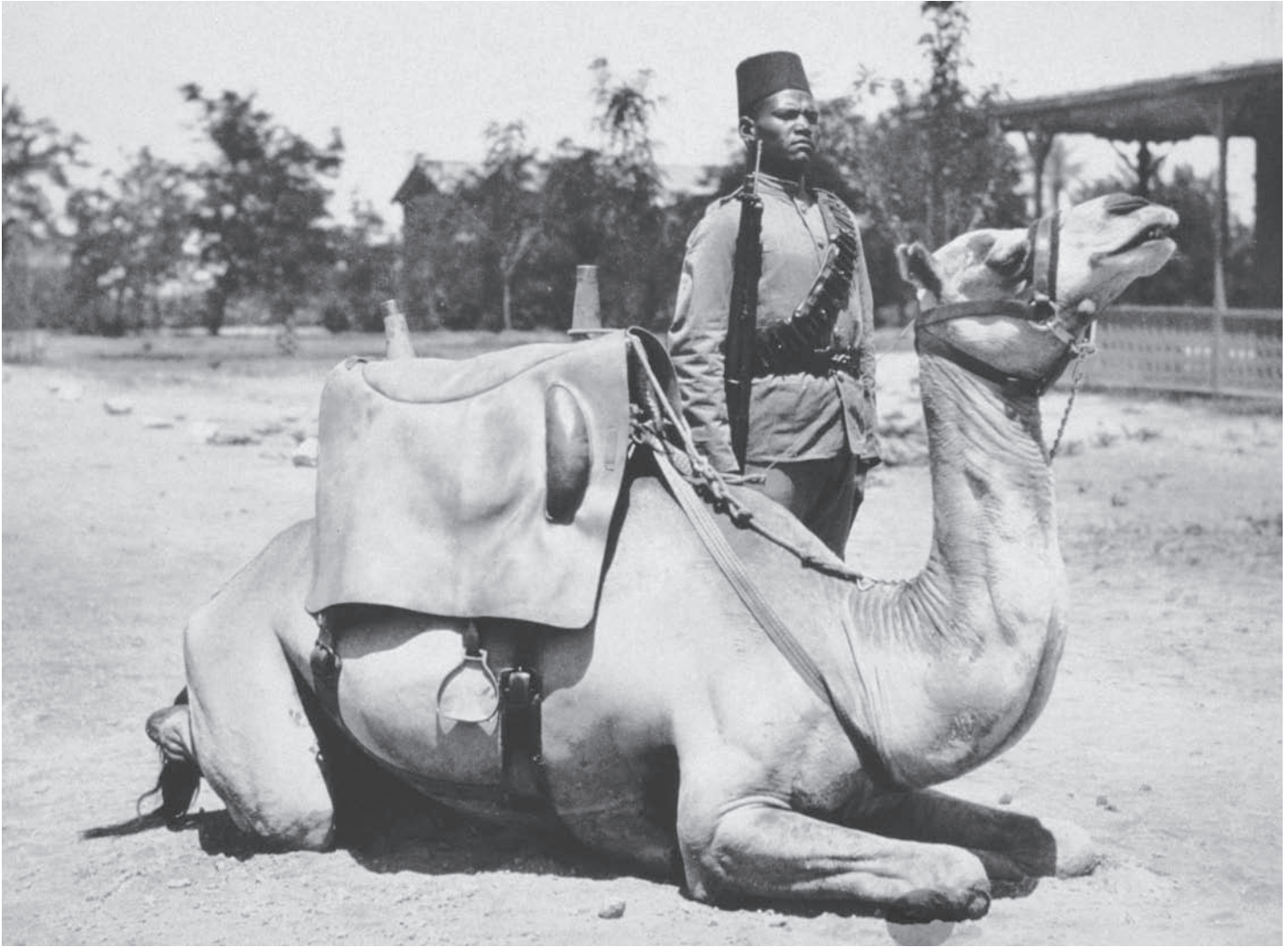
Lord Kitchener became the first governor-general of the Sudan and was followed by his former aide, Sir Reginald Wingate, who served as governor-general from 1899 to 1916. Wingate was knowledgeable about the Sudan and kept taxes light to allow the economy

to grow. Railway, telegraph, and steamer services were expanded, although they were heavily dependent on Egyptian subsidies. In 1902 the Gordon Memorial College was founded, which produced a highly educated Sudanese class. However, this new class was not able to find positions in the government, nor were they able to function within the traditional Sudanese society. Frustrated and disillusioned, it is from this class that Sudanese nationalism was born.

These educated Sudanese nationalists were encouraged and assisted by their Egyptian counterparts, who also sought to rid themselves of British control. In 1921 a Gordon Memorial College graduate, 'Abd al-Latif, formed the United Tribes Society and was arrested by the British. After his release he formed the White Flag League in 1924 with the specific goal of pushing the British out of the Sudan. Demonstrations in Khartoum followed in the summer of 1924 but were ruthlessly suppressed by the British. On November 19, 1924, the British governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo. The British, suspicious that the Egyptians provoked unrest in the Sudan, forced the Egyptians to withdraw from the area. A Sudanese battalion rallied to support the Egyptians but was wiped out by the British. This ended the revolt, and the British ruled the Sudan alone until 1936.

In 1936 Britain and Egypt reached a semi-agreement that allowed the Egyptians to return and once again administer the Sudan jointly. The newly educated class of Sudanese were angered that they were still not involved in the administration of their country and publicly expressed their discontent through the Graduates' General Congress, a Gordon Memorial College alumni association. The congress split into two factions, a moderate and radical branch. The radical faction was led by Isma'il al-Azhari and actively sought Egyptian help in expelling the British. In 1943 al-Azhari's faction was in full control of the congress and organized the Ashiqqa' Party, the first Sudanese political party.

They were opposed by another party formed under Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, the son of the Mahdi. His party, the Ummah Party, used his father's reputation and following to gather a strong base. Both the Ashiqqa' Party and the Ummah Party sought to unify other minority groups under their respective banners. Sayyid 'Ali al-Margahani of the Khatmiyyah Brotherhood supported al-Azhari's party, both factions uniting under the umbrella National Unionist Party in 1951. The rivalry between al-Azhari's party and the Mahdist party would affect politics for years, even after British domination in the region ended.



Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A camel soldier of the native forces of the British army stands ready. Both the British and Egyptians ruled the Sudan throughout the first half of the 20th century. It was not until 1956 that the country was declared an independent republic.

The British, aware of Sudanese nationalistic aspirations, attempted to incorporate some Sudanese into the government. They established an advisory board for Northern Sudan led by a governor-general and 28 Sudanese, but this was not a legislative body. The Sudanese agitated for more power and for the inclusion of Southern Sudan in the legislative body. Under the British administration, the Christian and animist sects of the south had been ruled and administered separately from the Muslim Arab sects of the north. This division would prove fatal when the British established a legislative body (under pressure) that encompassed all of the Sudan, north and south, in 1947.

This move angered the Egyptians, who then threw out the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and

proclaimed sole Egyptian rule over the Sudan. The Sudanese agitated until the Egyptian revolution in 1952 under Gamal Abdel Nasser prompted both the Egyptians and the British to sign an agreement granting the Sudanese self-determination within three years. Elections followed in 1953, and al-Azhari's National Union Party won the majority. Al-Azhari declared the Sudan an independent republic on January 1, 1956.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Sun Yat-sen

(1866–1925) *father of the Chinese republic*

Sun Yat-sen was the son of a farmer from southern China, a region that had the most contact with Westerners. In 1879 he went to Hawaii with his successful elder brother and studied in a Christian missionary school. Later he received a medical degree in British Hong Kong, where he came into contact with anti-Manchu secret societies.

Dr. Sun soon abandoned his medical practice for politics. He first sought out Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang), the leading reformer in the Qing (Ch'ing) government, with a detailed letter outlining his ideas. Because Li was too busy with international problems to respond, Sun was discouraged and became a revolutionary, forming the Xingzong hui (Hsing-chung hui), or Revive China Society, in Honolulu in 1895; it quickly expanded among overseas Chinese worldwide and secretly in China.

The society's declared goal was to "expel the Manchus, restore Chinese rule, and establish a federal republic." Its uprising in 1895 failed miserably, and Sun fled to England with a price on his head. In London he was lured into the grounds of the Chinese legation and arrested, but he escaped shipment to China and execution when his teacher, Dr. Cantlie, alerted the British authorities, who forced the Chinese authorities to free him.

A wanted man in China, Sun traveled widely in Japan, Southeast Asia, and the United States to recruit followers and raise funds. Japan had become a magnet for Chinese students, many on government scholarships. It also gave refuge to opponents of the Qing dynasty. There Sun formed the Tungmeng hui (T'ung-meng hui), or League of Common Alliance, in 1905. His ideology crystallized as the Three People's Principles—nationalism (overthrow of the Manchus and international equality for China), democracy (a republic where the people enjoyed the same rights as in Western democracies), and livelihood (land to the tiller and industrialization)—that became the goal of his organization. The Tungmeng hui propagated its ideas in a paper called the *Min Bao* (Min Pao), or People's Report, and competed with Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei) and members of his Emperor Protection Society, which advocated a constitutional monarchy for China.



Sun Yat-sen agreed to step down as provisional president; the following period was marred by warlords in China.

Sun's followers staged 10 failed uprisings against the Qing dynasty. Then on October 10, 1911, army officers who were secret members of the Tungmeng hui rose up in revolt in Wuchang, the capital of Hubei (Hupei) Province on the lower Yangzi (Yangtze) River. The revolution spread quickly through southern and central Chinese provinces. Sun was in Denver, Colorado, on a fundraising tour when the revolution happened, and he hastened homeward. He arrived in Shanghai on Christmas Day to hear that the provisional national assembly meeting in Nanjing (Nanking) had elected him provisional president of the Chinese Republic. He took his oath of office on January 1, 1912. Meanwhile, the Qing court had appointed YUAN SHIKAI (Yuan Shih-k'ai) commander of its best divisions to defeat the revolutionists. Yuan, however, negotiated with both sides to ensure the abdication of the Qing dynasty, on the condition that he would become president of the republic. Sun agreed to step down because the revolutionaries could not win militarily against Yuan.

Yuan, however, betrayed the republic because he wanted to be emperor. He outlawed the Kuomintang

(KMT, the name adopted by the Tungmeng hui in 1912), which opposed his ambitions, failed to win acceptance for himself as emperor, and was forced to resign. Warlords divided China after Yuan's death in 1916. Sun suffered frustration until 1923, when he made an agreement with Adolf Joffe, agent of the Comintern in China, whereby in return for Russian Communist assistance he would accept members of the infant CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY into the KMT. This agreement began the first UNITED FRONT. Sun was able to establish an opposition government in Canton, where Russian advisers helped him to reorganize the KMT on the Soviet model. He died in 1925 during a trip to Beijing (Peking), where he made a failed attempt to negotiate with the warlords to unify China.

Sun was a revolutionary and a visionary. He succeeded in overthrowing the Qing dynasty but died before his other ideals could be realized. He is honored as the father of the Chinese Republic.

See also HU HANMIN; MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT/INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret agreement between the British and the French regarding the dispensation of Ottoman territory in the Middle East. François Georges-Picot represented the French and Mark Sykes represented the British. Formalized in May 1916 at the height of WORLD WAR I, the agreement was based on the assumption that the Allies would win the war (by no means certain in 1916), and as a result, the Ottoman Empire that had sided with the Germans would be dismembered.

Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, France was to gain spheres of influence, or direct control, over most of the Arab territories of present-day Syria and Lebanon as well as southeastern Turkey, including the area around Alexandretta. The British were to gain control

over much of present-day Iraq and Jordan and areas in Palestine around the northern port of Haifa. The rest of Palestine, including the holy cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was to fall under international control. At the time none of these areas existed as independent states but had been ruled as provinces of the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century.

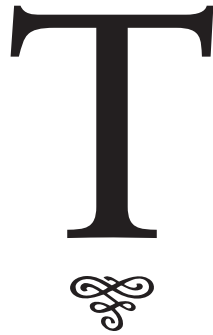
Under later terms, Russia, an ally in the war at the time, was to receive Armenia and parts of Kurdistan. Russia also hoped that this would mean the realization of its long-held dream to control access into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea through the Strait of the Dardanelles. The Italians, also allies, were to expand in the Aegean and western Turkey around the major city of Izmir. The area of present-day Saudi Arabia was not included in the arrangement because in 1916 oil had not yet been discovered there and the territory was not considered of economic or political importance.

The portions of the agreement involving Russia were nullified when Russia dropped out of the war early through a separate treaty with Germany. Owing to MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK's successful military defense of the Anatolian Peninsula, Turkey was not partitioned after the war, nor was it occupied for any length of time. As some British foreign office officials warned at the time, portions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement contradicted the secret agreements made with the Arabs in the SHERIF HUSAYN-McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE. The BALFOUR DECLARATION regarding Zionist, or Jewish national, aspirations in Palestine, issued publicly in 1917, further complicated the issue of control over that territory.

The terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement involving Arab territories were formalized in the 1920 SAN REMO TREATY and in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS in 1922, whereby Syria and Lebanon became French mandates and Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq became British mandates. Consequently, in the post-World War I era, the Arabs not only failed to receive independence, but they were also divided into separate nations ruled by two different imperial powers. Nor did the Zionists realize their dreams of an independent Jewish state. The consequences of these decisions continued to cause conflict in the region into the 21st century.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Taisho

(1879–1926) *emperor of Japan*

Emperor Taisho, whose personal name was Yoshihito, was the emperor of Japan from 1912 to 1926, the 123rd ruler of the Japanese imperial line, and the son of the hero-emperor Meiji and an imperial lady-in-waiting, Yanagiwara Naruko. The Empress Shoken Haruko was appointed his official mother. In 1912, he became emperor and took the reign name Taisho.

Taisho's father, the emperor Meiji, was a hard act to follow. Meiji had brought Japan's economy into the modern world, and by the time of his death, Japan was an industrialized nation and a world power. His charisma and achievements transformed Meiji into a persona that was difficult to separate from the institution of the imperial system. His blend of humanity and heroism bolstered the belief in the emperor as a living deity.

On the other hand, Taisho was a sickly man whom many considered not of the same caliber as Meiji. He was expected to have strength and intellectual acumen, to make quick, strong decisions, and to put Japan above all else. Advisers, intellectuals, and officers of the state felt that Taisho bore none of these traits and considered him indolent and impulsive. Taisho lacked knowledge of military strategy and negotiation skills.

Taisho's reign marked the attainment of universal male suffrage, the decrease of monarchical power, and greater freedoms. Historians mark the post-Russo-Japanese War period and the 1912 imperial change as the beginning of the Taisho democracy, meaning universal

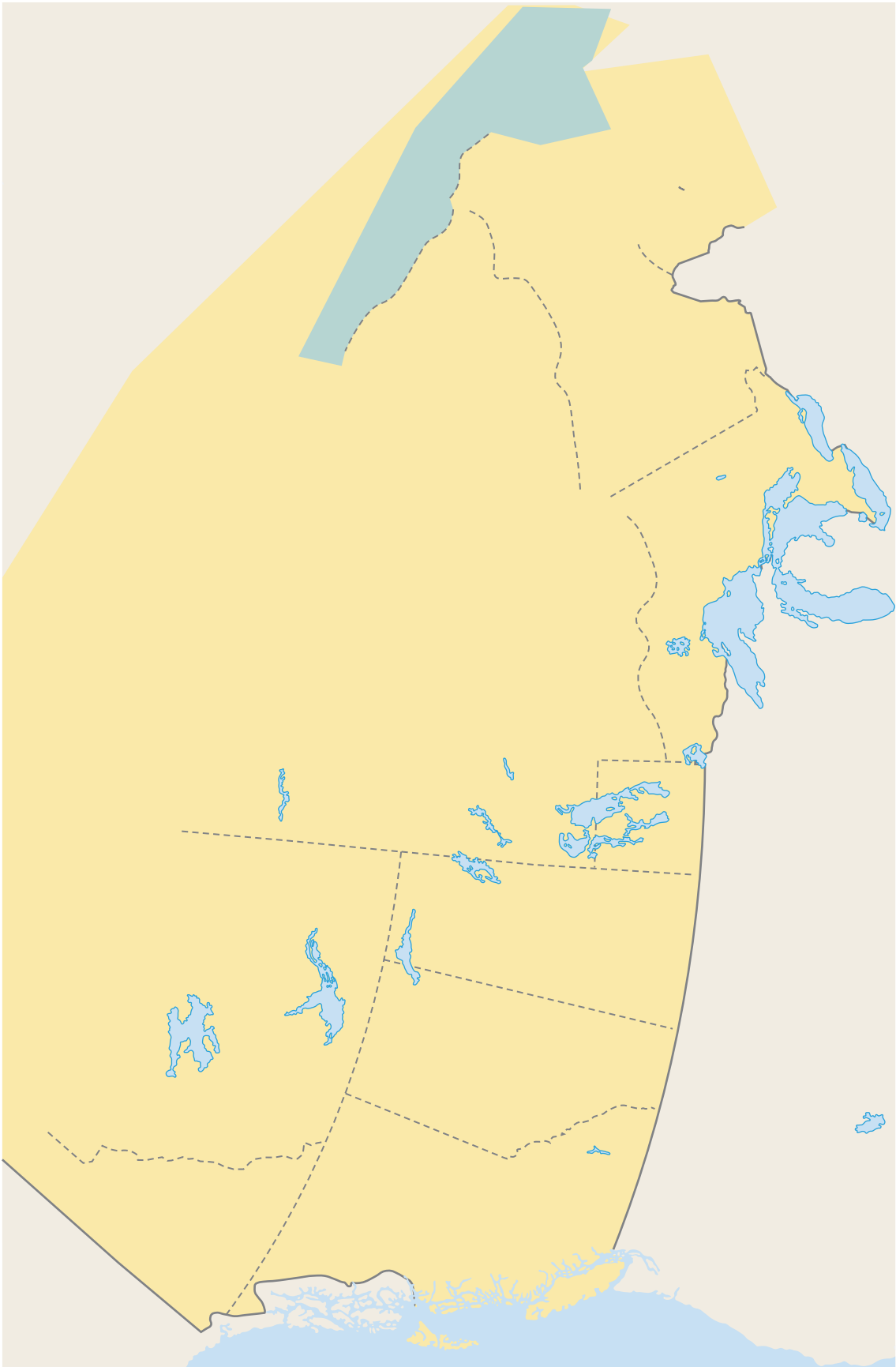
male suffrage, cabinet governments, and politics based on parties rather than the older fief-based political cliques. After WORLD WAR I, the Taisho democracy also came to mean the influx of Western lifestyles, individualism, and cultural products. This influx of Western culture challenged the idea that the state was responsible for defining and enforcing proper moral life.

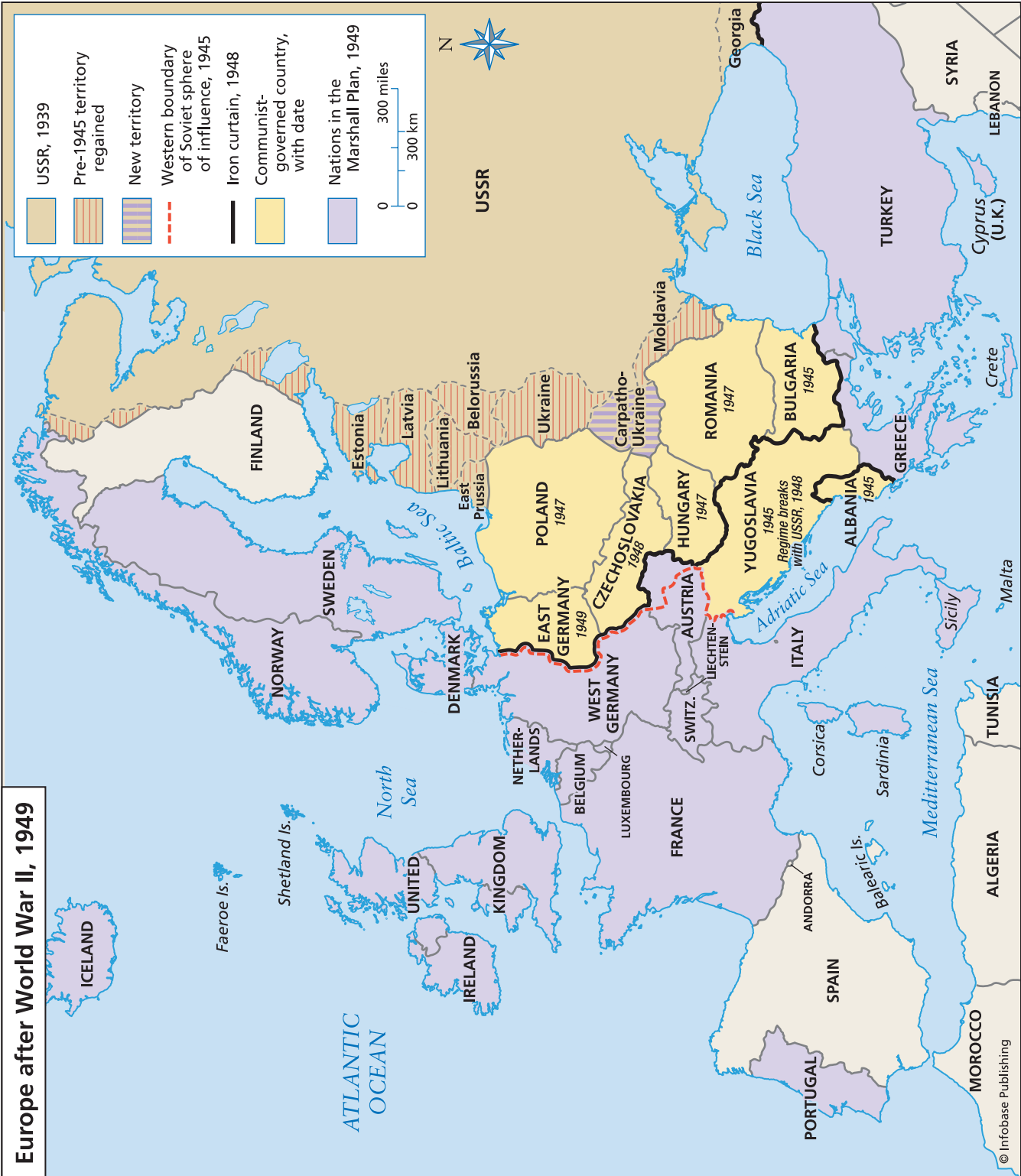
As a child, Yoshihito had suffered from meningitis, said to have affected him throughout his entire life. When he was around 10 years old, his medical condition had worsened and his performance as a student had suffered miserably. Court attendants who had recognized his limitations eventually devised a program consisting of three parts learning to seven parts physical education. He withdrew from the school so as not to damage the carefully constructed image of an institution that did not allow for human failure.

Despite these failings, there were high hopes upon his assumption of the throne. The reign name *Taisho* means "great rectification and reform," and he was pledged to correctness, rectification, and adjustments.

In 1919, Japan attended the peace conference at Versailles that ended World War I as one of the great military and industrial powers of the world. It participated in the proceedings as one of the Big Five powers. Japan also earned a seat on the council of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

In 1921, Japan, the United States, Britain, and France signed the Four Power Treaty on Insular Possessions. They agreed to recognize the status quo in the Pacific region. Japan and Britain also agreed to terminate their





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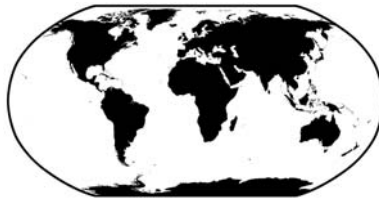
WORLD HISTORY

Edited by
Marsha E. Ackermann
Michael J. Schroeder
Janice J. Terry
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur
Mark F. Whitters



ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD
1950 to the Present



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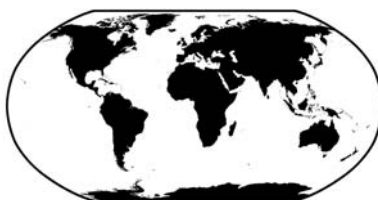
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Encyclopedia of World History

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Volume VI

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FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world's major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

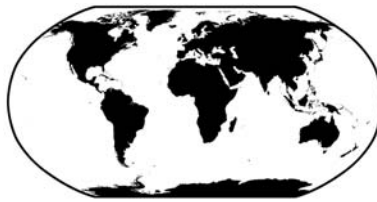
The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen because they are specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

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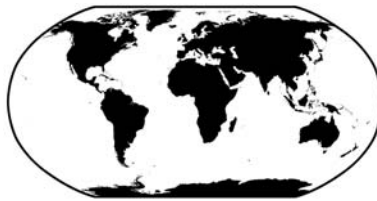
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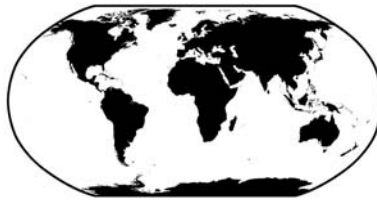
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CHRONOLOGY

1950 USSR and China Sign Pact

China signs a 30-year Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union.

1950 North Korea Invades the South

The Korean War begins with an attack on June 24 made by North Korean forces across the 38th parallel dividing North and South Korea.

1950 Truman Announces National Emergency

To respond to the strain on economic and military resources caused by the Korean War, U.S. President Truman announces a National Emergency.

1951 King Abdullah Is Assassinated

King Abdullah of Jordan (formerly Transjordan) is assassinated while praying at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

1951 H-Bomb

On May 12, the United States detonates a hydrogen bomb on a Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific.

1951 First Electronic Computer

The Remington Rand Corporation unveils the first commercial digital computer, called the UNIVAC.

1952 King George VI Dies

King George VI of Great Britain dies on February 6. Elizabeth is crowned queen.

1952 Mau Mau Begin Terrorist and Nationalist Actions

A state of emergency is declared by the British governor of Kenya as the Mau Mau begin an open uprising against British rule.

1952 King Farouk Abdicates

Young army officers, disgusted by widespread corruption in Egypt, stage a revolt against King Farouk. The revolt is led by General Mohammed Naguib and Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser.

1952 Revolt in Bolivia

A revolt takes place in Bolivia when the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario is deprived of the election of its leader as president.

1952 Polio Vaccine Is Invented

A vaccine against the disease polio is developed by Jonas Salk.

1952–57 First Five-Year Plan in People's Republic of China follows the Soviet model.

1953 Korean Armistice

On July 27, the signing of an armistice between the United Nations and North Korea ends the fighting of the Korean War.

1953 Stalin Dies

Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, dies at the age of 73. Stalin is succeeded by Georgy Malenkov and, later, Nikita Khrushchev.

1954 U.S.–South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty

The United States signs a military accord with South Korea.

1954 Dien Bien Phu

On May 7, Dien Bien Phu falls to Communist Vietnamese forces, and with it so do French hopes of victory in Vietnam.

1954 Geneva Accords

The Geneva Accords end the French war in Indochina. Under the terms, the country is divided into a communist north and noncommunist south. Laos and Cambodia also become independent.

1954 SEATO Is Formed

In an additional collective security alliance, modeled on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, eight nations form the South East Asia Treaty Organization.

1954 Republic of China–U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty

The United States provides the Republic of China protection against the People's Republic of China.

1954 Revolt in Algeria

The National Liberation Front (FLN) begins a revolt against French rule.

1954 Segregation Is Ruled Illegal

The U.S. Supreme Court, in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, rules that segregation is unconstitutional.

1954 U.S. Backs Coup in Guatemala

The Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman is overthrown by military forces led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas. Armas receives direct support from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

1955 Bandung Conference of Nonaligned Nations

A conference is held in Bandung, Indonesia, under People's Republic of China and India's leadership.

1955 Military Coup in Argentina

President Juan Perón of Argentina is ousted by the military. Following the death of his wife, Eva, he loses much of his support.

1956 Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) Launches 100 Flowers Campaign

Intellectuals in China are punished for criticizing the Chinese Communist Party

1956 Soviet Troops March into Hungary

Rioting against the Soviets erupts throughout Hungary. Soviet troops are called in to put down the revolt.

1956 Tunisia and Morocco Become Independent

Large-scale opposition to French rule forces the French to grant independence to Morocco.

1956 Sudan Becomes Independent

Sudan had been under joint Egyptian-British rule. The Sudanese vote for independence, and on January 1, the country's independence is declared.

1956 Suez War

After sustained terrorist attacks launched from Egyptian territory, Israel, in coordination with Britain and France, attack and capture the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. At the same time, Britain and France seize the Suez Canal, which has been nationalized by Egypt.

1957 Common Market Is Formed

An economic union is formed by six European countries.

1957 Britain Grants Independence to Malaysia

Malaysia is granted independence from British colonial rule and becomes a centralized federation with a constitutional monarchy.

1957 *Sputnik* Is Launched

On October 4 the Soviet Union launches the first artificial satellite into space.

1957–75 Second Indochina War

A war of national liberation in the wake of World War II is fought by nationalist Vietnamese against French, American, and Chinese forces.

1957 Military Dictatorship Ends in Venezuela

A nine-year military dictatorship in Venezuela is ousted in 1957. Large-scale rioting leads to its fall.

- 1958 Imre Nagy Is Executed in Hungary**
The Hungarian Communist regime executes Imre Nagy, the leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1956.
- 1958 Egypt and Syria Join United Arab Republic**
Gamal Abdel Nasser successfully negotiates the merger of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic.
- 1958 U.S. Troops Land in Lebanon**
President Dwight Eisenhower orders 5,000 U.S. Marines to Lebanon to help maintain order after the ouster of the pro-Western Lebanese government, and the revolution in Iraq brings down a pro-British regime.
- 1958–60 Mao Zedong’s Great Leap Forward**
Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) launches an economic and social plan with the goal of transforming mainland China into a modern communist society.
- 1959 Singapore Gains Independence**
Singapore becomes an independent state in the British Commonwealth on June 3.
- 1959 Uprising in Tibet**
Fighting breaks out between Communist Chinese troops and the population in Lhasa, who are rebelling against Communist rule. Dalai Lama flees to India.
- 1959 Castro Seizes Power in Cuba**
On January 1, Fidel Castro marches into Havana after Cuban dictator Batista flees.
- 1960 Syngman Rhee Is Ousted**
President of South Korea Syngman Rhee is ousted by student protests.
- 1960 Sino-Soviet Split**
An ideological split develops between Communist China and the Soviet Union. Armed border conflict occurs between the two nations.
- 1960 African Independence**
Niger, Mauritania, Mali, French Congo, Chad, and Madagascar all become independent.
- 1960 Nigerian Independence**
On October 1, Nigeria becomes independent.
- 1960 Belgian Congo Independence**
On June 30, an independent Republic of the Congo is created, with Joseph Kasavubu as president and Patrice Lumumba as premier. A civil war subsequently breaks out when Moïse Tshombe declares Katanga Province independent.
- 1961 Kennedy Is Inaugurated**
President John Kennedy gives a brief but stirring inaugural speech that signifies the birth of a new era.
- 1962 Agreement Establishes Malaysia Federation**
An agreement is reached on the establishment of a Malaysian federation comprising Malaysia, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei, and British Borneo.
- 1962 Border War Between China and India**
Battles break out between the two countries over disputed territory.
- 1962 Burundi Independence**
Burundi was a part of Belgian Mandated Territory. It petitions the United Nations for full independence, which is granted in 1962.
- 1962 Algeria Is Granted Independence**
On July 1 Algerians vote overwhelmingly for independence from France. On July 3 Algeria officially declares its independence.
- 1962 Environmental Movement Is Launched**
Rachel Carson’s book *Silent Spring* is published in September. By describing the effects of the use of pesticides and other chemicals on the environment, Carson helps launch the environmental movement.
- 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis**
The Soviets secretly place medium-range missiles in Cuba. When the U.S. government finds out, it blockades Cuba. The Soviets pull out the missiles, ending the crisis.
- 1963 Kenya Declares Independence**
On December 12, Great Britain grants Kenya independence within the Commonwealth.
- 1963 OAU Is Founded**
Representatives of 30 of the 32 independent nations of Africa meet in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU).
- 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Agreement**
The first test ban agreement between the United States

and the Soviet Union is ratified by the Senate on October 10. The agreement bans the above-ground testing of nuclear weapons.

1963 March on Washington, D.C.

Two hundred thousand people participate in the largest nonviolent demonstration ever held to support the passage of civil rights legislation.

1963 President Kennedy Is Assassinated

On November 22 while visiting Dallas, Texas, President Kennedy is shot and killed by Lee Harvey Oswald.

1964 China Explodes A-Bomb

On October 16 the Chinese explode their first atomic weapon.

1964 Nikita Khrushchev Is Ousted

Nikita Khrushchev is ousted as leader of the Soviet Union and is succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev.

1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution

The U.S. Congress passes the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which gives the president the authorization to “take all necessary steps and measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” It leads to increased U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War.

1964 Civil Rights Act of 1964

After a long fight the civil rights legislation of 1964 is passed. It gives the U.S. federal government broad powers to fight racial discrimination.

1965 War Escalates in Vietnam

In March the United States initiates the first sustained attacks against North Vietnam, in an action named Rolling Thunder.

1965 Indo-Pakistani War

The war is the second skirmish between India and Pakistan over control of Kashmir.

1965 Gambia Gains Independence

On February 18 Gambia becomes an independent country.

1965 Singapore Becomes Independent

Singapore secedes from Malaysia and gains independence.

1965 Rhodesia Declares Independence

Rhodesia declares its independence from Great Britain, in defiance of the British government.

1966 Botswana Gains Independence

On September 30 Botswana, formerly called the Bechuanaland Protectorate, becomes independent.

1966 Lesotho Gains Independence

On October 4, the British colony of Basutoland becomes independent, and is renamed Lesotho.

1966 Sukarno Resigns

Sukarno resigns as president of Indonesia, after a failed coup. He is succeeded by General Suharto.

1966 Nigerian Civil War

In January a series of insurrections in the Nigerian army brings chaos to the country.

1966 Great Proletarian Revolution

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) launches another effort to reform Chinese society.

1966 National Organization of Women Is Founded

The National Organization of Women is founded in the United States by Betty Friedan, who becomes its first president.

1967 ASEAN Is Formed

The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is formed by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand to aid economic growth, progress, and cultural development, and to promote peace in Southeast Asia.

1967 Military Coup in Greece

The Greek military stages a coup against the civilian government. All moderate and leftist politicians are arrested. When King Constantine refuses to support the military, he is sent into exile.

1967 Six-Day War

After being threatened with attack, Israel attacks its Arab neighbors. In six days it gains victory over Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

1967 Antiwar Protests

Amid growing opposition to the war in Vietnam, large-scale antiwar protests are held in New York, San Francisco, and other U.S. cities.

1967 Che Guevara Is Killed in Bolivia

Ernesto “Che” Guevara is killed by Bolivian troops hunting down Bolivian rebels.

1968 Rioting in France

French students take to the streets, bringing Paris to a virtual standstill. Fighting breaks out between the students and the police.

1968 “Prague Spring” in Czechoslovakia

Alexander Dubček becomes first secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia; his reforms are crushed by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops.

1968 Martin Luther King, Jr., Is Assassinated

On April 4, a lone assassin kills Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., America’s leading civil rights activist.

1968 Robert Kennedy Is Assassinated

Robert Kennedy, brother of the late President John F. Kennedy, is killed on June 5, after winning the Democratic primary for the presidency in California.

1969 Non-Proliferation Agreement Is Signed

The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which pledges the two nations would not divulge secret information that would allow additional countries to build nuclear weapons.

1969 Clashes on Soviet-Chinese Border

In March the ideological rift between the Soviet Union and Communist China deteriorates into fighting along the border. Thirty Soviet soldiers are killed in one clash on a small, uninhabited island in the Ussuri River.

1969 War Between Honduras and El Salvador

Rioting after a lost soccer match leads to a brief war between Honduras and El Salvador.

1969 *Apollo 11*

Apollo 11, with Neil Armstrong, Michael Collins, and Edwin Aldrin, Jr., lifts off for the Moon on July 16. Four days later Neil Armstrong sets foot on the Moon.

1970 War in Vietnam Spreads to Cambodia

On April 30 President Richard Nixon announces that U.S. troops would join with South Vietnamese troops to invade the border area of Cambodia and eliminate Communist sanctuaries.

1970 Four Are Killed at Kent State

American campuses erupt in protest against the Vietnam War. At Kent State University, in Ohio, National Guardsmen kill four unarmed protesters.

1970 Salvador Allende Becomes President of Chile

Salvador Allende Gossens is elected president of Chile. He is the first Marxist ever elected in free elections.

1971 Communist China Joins UN, Replacing Taiwan

On October 25 the United Nations approves the membership of Communist China, replacing Taiwan.

1971 Idi Amin Seizes Power in Uganda

In January, while Ugandan President Milton Obote is out of the country, Colonel Idi Amin stages a coup to oust the president.

1972 Arab Terrorists Attack Israeli Olympic Team

Palestinian terrorists, who are members of the Black September Organization, attack the Israeli team at the 1972 Summer Olympics.

1972 Nixon Visits China

On February 21, 1972, President Richard Nixon arrives in Beijing for a seven-day stay. Although no major agreements are reached during the summit, its occurrence ushers in a new era of diplomacy for the United States.

1973 U.S. Completes Withdrawal from Vietnam

On January 27 the United States and North Vietnam sign the Paris peace accords. Under the terms of the accords, U.S. troops withdraw from Vietnam.

1973 Severe Drought

A seven-year drought in sub-Saharan Africa brings starvation to over 100,000 people in the countries of Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, and Burkina Faso.

1973 Fourth Arab-Israeli War

On October 6, the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur, the Egyptians and the Syrians launch a surprise attack against Israel to retake territory occupied since 1967.

1973 Allende Is Killed in Coup

A military coup, purportedly supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, deposes President Allende of Chile and replaces him with Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

1974 Military Government of Greece Resigns

The military junta in Greece resigns, turning control of the government over to Constantine Karamanlis. Martial law is lifted, and elections are held.

1974 Military Coup in Portugal

A leftist military coup takes place in Portugal. It unseats the right-wing dictatorship in power for 40 years.

1974 India Explodes Nuclear Device

On May 18 the Indians detonate a nuclear bomb in an underground explosion.

1974 Emperor Haile Selassie Is Deposed in Ethiopia

The 44-year reign of Haile Selassie comes to an end when he is deposed by the army.

1974 President Nixon Resigns

On August 8, 1974, Richard Nixon becomes the first president in U.S. history to resign. Nixon resigns as the House of Representatives is poised to vote on the articles of impeachment against him. He is succeeded by Gerald Ford.

1974 Soyuz-Apollo Mission

The meeting of the American Apollo and the Soviet Soyuz on July 19, 1975, marks the first cooperative space mission between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1975 Helsinki Accords

Thirty-five nations sign the Helsinki Accords. The accords recognize the borders of Europe as they had been at the end of the World War II, thus recognizing Soviet domination of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

1975 Franco Dies

On November 20 Francisco Franco dies. His death ends a dictatorship that had lasted since the Spanish civil war.

1975 Pol Pot in Cambodia

On April 17, Communist forces capture Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. The new Communist regime is headed by Pol Pot, who commits genocide in Cambodia.

1975 Communists Defeat South Vietnam

On April 30 North Vietnamese Communist forces capture Saigon, ending the Vietnam War.

1975 Mozambique Gains Independence

Portugal grants independence to Mozambique on June 25.

1975 Angola Independent

Angola declares its independence from Portugal. Two separate governments are proclaimed.

1975 King Faisal Is Assassinated

King Faisal ibn Abd-al-Aziz of Saudi Arabia is assassinated by a family member.

1976 Mao Zedong Dies

Chairman Mao dies, the Cultural Revolution ends, and the Gang of Four is ousted.

1977 First Elections Are Held in Pakistan

The first general elections held under civilian rule take place on March 7.

1978 Chiang Ching-kuo Is Elected President

Chiang Ching-kuo is elected president of the Republic of China, beginning democratization.

1978 Sandinista Guerrillas Seize Hostages

Sandinista guerrillas capture the National Palace in Managua, Nicaragua. They seize 1,500 hostages, including members of the legislature.

1978 Deng Xiaoping in Power

Deng Xiaoping comes to power in China and begins economic reforms.

1978 John Paul II Is Elected Pope.

John Paul II is the first Pole to be elected pope.

1979 SALT II

The SALT II Accord is reached in June, allowing both the United States and the Soviet Union to build up to 2,250 missiles, of which 1,320 could be MIRVD (Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles).

1979 U.S. and China Establish Relations

In January 1979 the United States and Communist China establish formal diplomatic relations.

1979 Vietnamese-China War

In January 1979 Vietnamese troops capture Phnom Penh in an attempt to overthrow the government of Pol Pot. In response, the Chinese invade North Vietnam.

1979 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Is Hanged

A military coup led by General Zia unseats President Bhutto in Pakistan. Bhutto is charged with corruption and sentenced to death.

1979 Soviets Invades Afghanistan

Soviet troops pour into Afghanistan to support Hafizullah Amin, who has recently unseated Mohammed Taraki. The Soviets quickly send 40,000 troops but are unable to put down the rebellion launched by Taraki loyalists.

1979 Idi Amin Is Overthrown

The despotic rule of Idi Amin comes to an end when a joint force of Ugandan rebels and Tanzanian troops enters the Ugandan capital of Kampala. Amin flees to Saudi Arabia.

1979 War Between Somalia and Ethiopia

On August 8 Somalia invades Ethiopia, the latest chapter in the ongoing dispute over the Ogaden.

1979 Southern Rhodesia Becomes Zimbabwe

The white-controlled government, under Ian Smith, successfully holds against majority rule until 1976. Robert Mugabe becomes president of Zimbabwe.

1979 Shah of Iran Is Ousted

On January 16, the shah leaves Iran for exile. One week later, the Ayatollah Khomeini returns from exile and forms an Islamic revolutionary government.

1979 Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel

On March 26, in Washington, D.C., a peace agreement is signed between Egypt and Israel, brokered by U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

1979 Militants Seize U.S. Embassy

Angered by the arrival of the shah in the United States for medical treatment, militants attack and seize the American embassy in Tehran. Forty-nine embassy employees are held hostage for 444 days.

1979 Sandinistas Revolution Triumphant

A multi-class insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship results in the coming to power of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, initiating the 11-year Sandinista revolution (1979–90).

1979 Civil War in El Salvador

Civil war breaks out in El Salvador. A military coup

unseats the incumbent President Carlos Humberto Romero.

1980 Strikes Across Poland

Polish workers, led by Lech Wałęsa, strike the Gdańsk shipyards. The workers win a major victory when the government agrees to demands made by the newly formed Solidarity Trade Union to legalize unions as well as affirm the right to strike.

1980 Gang of Four on Trial

The Gang of Four, consisting of Jiang Qing (Mao's fourth wife) and other important leaders in the Cultural Revolution, go on trial in China. The Gang of Four fell from power after Mao Zedong's death in 1976.

1980 Libyan Troops Intervene in Chad Civil War

Civil war breaks out in Chad between the forces of President Goukouni Oueddei and Prime Minister Hissène Habré.

1980 Iraq-Iran War

Iraq invades Iran. The war lasts until 1988, and it is estimated that almost one million people die.

1980 Leftists Seize Embassy in Colombia

Members of the Colombian April 19th movement take over the Dominican Republic's embassy during a reception.

1981 Mitterrand Is Elected French President

François Mitterrand is elected as the first French socialist president in a surprise win over incumbent Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

1981 Martial Law in Poland

Martial law is imposed in Poland by Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski in an attempt to repress the Solidarity movement.

1981 Anwar Sadat Is Assassinated

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated by Muslim extremists who oppose his peace agreement with Israel and the increasingly repressive regime in Egypt.

1981 Reagan Arms Buildup

President Ronald Reagan proposes a \$180 billion expansion of the American military over the next six years.

1981 Assassination Attempt

On March 30 President Reagan is shot and gravely wounded by a lone gunman, John Hinckley, Jr.

1982 Israel invades Lebanon

Israel invades Lebanon on June 6, advancing to Beirut, and continues to hold South Lebanon until 2000.

1982 War in the Falklands

On April 2 the Argentinean military seizes the Falkland Islands off the coast of Argentina. On May 21, the first British troops land on the Falklands and rapidly defeat the Argentinean forces.

1983 Northern Chad Is Seized

Libya continues its involvement in Chad. The government requests and receives aid from both the U.S and French governments.

1983 U.S. Invasion of Grenada

Under the guise of an invitation by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, U.S. troops intervene and take control of the island.

1984 Indira Gandhi Is Assassinated

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is killed by two of her Sikh bodyguards in revenge for her armed raid on their temple. She is succeeded by her son Rajiv Gandhi.

1984 United Kingdom and China Agree on Hong Kong
Great Britain and the People's Republic of China agree on terms for the return of Hong Kong to China when the 99-year lease of portions of Hong Kong expires in 1997.

1984 Poison Gas Tragedy in India

Gas escapes from the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India. The gas, which is methyl isocyanate (used in the manufacture of insecticides), kills 2,000 people; 200,000 suffer long-term harm.

1984 Moderates Win Election in El Salvador

Free elections held in El Salvador bring José Napoleón Duarte to power as president. Duarte is considered a moderate.

1984 AIDS Epidemic Begins

French research scientists report isolating the HIV virus that causes acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).

1985 Gorbachev Becomes Soviet Leader

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is named the new leader of the Soviet Union. He begins reforms and brings in Boris Yeltsin, who later replaces him.

1985 Nimeiri Is Ousted in the Sudan

General Nimeiri is ousted in the Sudan after serving as the head of government since 1969.

1985 TWA Flight 847 Is Hijacked

A TWA Boeing 727 is hijacked by two Shi'i terrorists; 153 people are held hostage. After Israel releases 31 of its Shi'i prisoners, the hostages are released.

1985 United States Becomes Debtor Nation

For the first time since 1914, the United States owes more money to foreigners than it is owed.

1986 Nuclear Disaster at Chernobyl

A Soviet nuclear reactor at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in Ukraine not far from Kiev explodes, releasing fatal radiation to the surrounding areas.

1986 Summit at Reykjavík

A two-day summit is held in Reykjavík, Iceland, between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. At the summit, the Soviets make major concessions in negotiations on strategic arms.

1986 Marcos Is Deposed

Filipino leader Ferdinand Marcos has parliament declare him the winner in a fraudulent election, even though his opponent has actually won. Mass demonstrations ensue, and Marcos is forced to flee when the army refuses to put down the demonstrations. He is succeeded by the true winner of the election, Corazon Aquino.

1986 Iran Contra

The Reagan administration confirms that it has been selling arms to Iran, which is fighting a war with Iraq, in an effort to obtain the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

1987 Reagan and Gorbachev Meet

The signing of the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) treaty in 1987 marks the beginning of the end of the cold war.

1987 Libyan Troops Are Driven Out of Chad

Chad takes the offensive in its civil war. The army of

- Chad attacks Libyan forces in the northern village of Aozou and routs them.
- 1987 Intifada Begins**
When an Israeli truck in the Gaza Strip hits and kills four people, Palestinians respond with protests.
- 1988 Gorbachev Announces Unilateral Troop Cuts**
Soviet Premier Gorbachev announces at the UN that the Soviet Union is unilaterally cutting back its conventional forces in eastern Europe by 500,000 troops.
- 1988 Benazir Bhutto Is Elected**
Benazir Bhutto is elected prime minister of Pakistan, the first woman in a Muslim country to hold the position.
- 1988 Soviets Out of Afghanistan**
The Soviets agree to remove troops from Afghanistan.
- 1988 Ten-Day Siege of Golden Temple**
Thirty-six are killed during the siege of the Sikh Golden Temple by the Indian army.
- 1988 Free Elections Held in Soviet Union**
Free elections are held in the Soviet Union for the first time in its history. Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian Federation.
- 1989 Solidarity Wins Election in Poland**
On June 5 the Solidarity movement wins by an overwhelming majority in the first free election in Poland.
- 1989 Berlin Wall Comes Down**
On October 18, the regime of Erich Honecker, the Communist leader of East Germany, falls. It succumbs to increasing riots, as well as a flood of East Germans leaving via the open borders of Hungary.
- 1989 Czechoslovakia Elections**
The Communist regime of Czechoslovakia yields to popular demands and allowed free elections.
- 1989 Ceaușescu Ousted in Romania**
In the only bloody revolt in eastern Europe, Communist Romanian strongman Nicolae Ceaușescu is deposed.
- 1989 Tiananmen Square**
In April students in Beijing begin a series of demonstrations demanding democratization of China. They are bloodily put down by the Chinese Communist Party.
- 1989 U.S Troops Invade Panama**
When Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega clamps down on the limited democracy existing in Panama, the United States intervenes and ousts the Noriega-led government.
- 1989 Chileans Vote to End Military Rule**
Elections held in December bring Patricio Aylwin to power as president of Chile.
- 1990 Lithuania Independent**
On March 11 the Lithuanian Parliament declares its independence from the Soviet Union.
- 1990 Germany Is Reunited**
On October 3 East and West Germany reunite, ending the division created at the end of World War II.
- 1990 Free Elections in Poland**
Lech Wałęsa is elected president of Poland. He receives 74 percent of the vote.
- 1990 Elections in Myanmar**
In the first free elections in 30 years, the voters of Myanmar (formerly Burma) repudiate the military government, which is ignored.
- 1990 Nelson Mandela Is Freed**
Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, is released after 27 years in prison by President F. W. de Klerk as the first step in the creation of a multiracial democracy.
- 1990 Namibia Independent**
After being occupied by South Africa for nearly 70 years, Namibia becomes independent.
- 1990 Gulf War Begins**
On August 2 Iraq attacks Kuwait. In response the United States leads an international coalition that frees Kuwait.
- 1991 Airlift of Ethiopian Jews to Israel**
In a period of 36 hours, Israel airlifts 14,500 Jews from Ethiopia to Israel.
- 1991 Failed Kremlin Coup**
On August 21, hard-line Communists stage a coup

against the government of Mikhail Gorbachev. It fails when Boris Yeltsin, the leader of the Russian Federation, rallies popular support against it.

1991 Rajiv Gandhi Is Assassinated

Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India and son of Indira Gandhi, is killed by an ethnic Tamil from Sri Lanka.

1991 Cambodian Civil War Ends

Under pressure from the world's powers, the Vietnamese-controlled Cambodian government and rebel forces reach a peace agreement.

1991 Eritrea Independent

After a 30-year armed struggle against Ethiopian domination, Eritrean forces defeat the Ethiopian military and gain independence.

1991 End of the Soviet Union

On December 21 representatives of 11 former Soviet Republics meet in Alma Ata and sign Declaration of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

1992 Civil War Begins in Former Yugoslavia

Civil war breaks out in Yugoslavia after the fall of the Communist regime. Among its former components are Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia.

1992 End of Military Rule in South Korea

Kim Young Sam becomes the first nonmilitary candidate to be elected president of South Korea.

1992 Security Council Votes Sanctions on Libya

The UN Security Council votes to impose sanctions on Libya for refusing to surrender two suspects in the bombing of a Pan Am flight over Scotland.

1992 El Salvador Signs Peace Agreement

The guerrilla movement and the El Salvador government sign an agreement, ending a 13-year civil war.

1993 Terrorists Attack World Trade Center

In February a powerful bomb explodes in the World Trade Center in New York, killing seven and injuring 1,000. The bombers are Islamists.

1993 Israel and PLO Reach Accord

Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization reach an accord on an Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

1994 Mandela Is Elected President of South Africa

Nelson Mandela is elected the first black leader of South Africa in its first free multiracial election.

1994 Civil War in Chechnya

A civil war breaks out in the Russian province of Chechnya after Chechens demand independence.

1995 Israeli Prime Minister Is Assassinated

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's prime minister, is assassinated on November 3 by a right-wing Israeli opponent of the peace process.

1996 Elections in Bosnia

The Dayton Accords are signed, ending armed hostilities between hostile religious groups and mandating elections in Bosnia.

1996 Taliban Gains Control of Afghanistan

The Taliban, a Muslim fundamentalist group, captures Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan.

1996 Suicide Bombers Hit Israel

A series of suicide bombings strike both Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, seriously affecting the peace process.

1997 Britain Returns Hong Kong to China

British rule over Hong Kong comes to an end on July 1, with the region returning to China. China agrees to maintain extensive autonomy for Hong Kong.

1998 Northern Ireland Peace

Representatives of Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, together with representatives of the Irish Republic and the United Kingdom, sign a major peace accord.

1998 U.S. Embassies Are Bombed Simultaneously

On August 7 bombs explode at U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

1999 Free Parliamentary Elections in Indonesia

On June 7 Indonesia holds free parliamentary elections. The opposition leader, Megawati Sukarnoputri, wins the most support.

1999 President Clinton Is Impeached

U.S. President Bill Clinton is impeached by the House of Representatives but is acquitted by the Senate.

2000 Camp David Summit Fails

Chances for peace between Palestinians and Israel

are dashed when a summit hosted by President Clinton fails. Palestinians begin another uprising against Israeli occupation.

2000 Bush Becomes U.S. President

Republican George W. Bush wins a contested election against Democrat Al Gore. The U.S. Supreme Court decides in favor of Bush.

2001 9/11 Terrorist Attack

Terrorists crash two planes into the World Trade Center in New York and a third into the Pentagon.

2001 U.S. Forces to Afghanistan

A U.S.-led coalition invades Afghanistan, fighting against and ousting the Taliban government for giving sanctuary to Osama bin Laden, leader of the 9/11 terrorism group al-Qaeda.

2003 U.S. Invades Iraq

U.S. troops invade Iraq and overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein. Conflicts continue.

2004 Madrid Terror Attacks

On March 11 a series of coordinated terrorist attacks take place, aimed at the Madrid commuter train system. The attacks kill a total of 192 people and wound 2,050.

2004 Genocide Begins in Darfur

After a rebellion breaks out in western Sudan the government instigates militias and turns on the local population.

2005 Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina strikes New Orleans. One million people are forced to flee and more than 1,800 are killed.

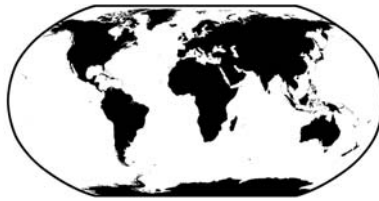
2006 North Korea Explodes A-Bomb

North Korea becomes a member of the nuclear club when it reportedly tests an atomic bomb.

2007 Iraq War Continues

U.S. forces continue fighting in Iraq, a war now lasting longer than World War II.

MAJOR THEMES



1950 to the Present

FOOD PRODUCTION

Between 1950 and 2000 the world population increased from about 2.5 billion to over 6 billion people. Throughout this era food shortages and malnutrition persisted in parts of eastern and southern Asia, Central and South America, and throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Famines were caused by human factors such as war, civil strife, and failed economic and political policies, while sometimes being exacerbated by natural disasters such as drought. In the 1970s an almost decade-long drought in the Sahel region of Africa south of the Sahara contributed to the death of millions. Hundreds of thousands of others left their homes, walking long distances to neighboring countries in search of food. These refugees then became dependent on subsistence aid from governments or relief agencies.

In the early 21st century, a peanut-based paste (Plumpy'nut), developed by a French scientist, André Briend, offered high nutritional value at very low cost and seemed a promising means of alleviating severe malnutrition among children in Africa. A human-made famine caused by the communist regime under Mao Zedong resulted in the deaths of 27 million people in China from 1958 to 1960. The reversal of Mao's agricultural policies in the 1980s under Deng Xiaoping increased agricultural production by 50 percent in only eight years. Inefficiencies and waste on collective farms also resulted in food shortages in the Soviet Union.

In the Middle East, some oil-rich nations such as Libya and Saudi Arabia devoted huge amounts of money to subsidize agricultural and livestock production in order to avoid total dependence on food imports. Vast agricultural projects, some using hydroponics (growth in water), irrigation, and other techniques increased production but were not cost-effective. Nations in the region with large populations and little oil, such as Egypt, were unable to adopt such expensive technologies to increase productivity.

Subsistence production in Central and South America declined as commercial agriculture grew; rural producers everywhere became increasingly linked to national and international markets. Overall, imports of food increased as the 20th century progressed. United States foreign aid was often tied to the acceptance of U.S. food imports that sought to dump excess production

overseas. Most poor countries remained dependent on the export of low-priced single crops, such as coffee from Brazil, bananas and other fruits from Central America, and cocoa and peanuts from West Africa.

By the 21st century, privatization and globalization had further lowered the prices of agricultural products from nations in the Global South, leading to greater rural poverty. The United States and others also sought to export wheat; hence, in Mexico and other South American nations wheat bread gradually began to undermine the popularity of the traditional corn tortillas that provided more complete nutrients. Similarly, mothers in much of the Global South were encouraged to buy manufactured milk formulas rather than nursing their infants. The degradation of the environment also made it harder for the rural poor to eke out livelihoods on depleted and deforested soils with insufficient water supplies. In contrast, heavy government subsidies and protectionist policies protected farmers and the agricultural sector in Europe, North America, and Australasia.

Technological and political developments led to the increase of food production and distribution in many regions. Improved transportation and communication systems allowed food from rich agricultural nations, especially the United States, Canada, and Australia, to be distributed in poor regions. International humanitarian aid organizations and aid benefits by rock stars and others helped to provide needed relief. Scientific and technological advances and chemical fertilizers also increased the yields of vital grains per acre.

However, the application of these developments was uneven. Poor countries used the least amount of fertilizers; ranging from 200 grams per hectare of arable land in the Central African Republic to 535,800 grams per hectare in South Korea. Pesticide use was similarly uneven. The “green revolution” begun in the 1960s introduced high-yielding rice, corn, and wheat; as a result of the use of these high-yield crops, the world’s rice production doubled between 1967 and 1992, and India went from being a grain-importing nation to an exporter of rice. Harvests in Mexico and other nations also increased. Thus, formerly famine-prone nations such as India, Bangladesh, China, and Mexico were able to produce sufficient food to feed their growing populations, although pockets of hunger and malnutrition remained. By the 1990s scientists had also successfully genetically modified (GM) key crops and livestock to increase production.

Vast irrigation projects such as the Aswān Dam in Egypt, the Three Gorges Dam in China, and the Atatürk Dam in Turkey also brought new land into agricultural production, as well as generating electrical power for civilian use and industry. Unfortunately, these projects came at high ecological and human costs. Some argued that smaller, more technologically appropriate projects might have produced the same results at lower human and economic costs.

The development of new and less perishable foodstuffs was sometimes driven by wars or the military. For example, during World War II, instant eggs and Spam were adopted as rations to feed troops. After the war, many in the West adopted these products as part of their usual diets. The space program also contributed to the development of high-energy drinks and dehydrated foods. A wide variety of easily available and inexpensive frozen foods provided convenience to Western homemakers who eagerly fed TV dinners and other “fast foods” to their families. These new foodstuffs altered the eating habits of many in the West and freed homemakers, mostly women, from long hours spent in food preparation. Fast-food franchises proliferated from the West to Russia, the Middle East, India, and China. The wealthy around the world adopted Western eating styles and foodstuffs, including soft drinks, hamburgers, and pizza. Conversely, Asian cuisine from India, Thailand, and China became popular in the United States and Europe. Other new foodstuffs, including a wide variety of soft drinks, were popular worldwide.

Health concerns, especially among the middle and upper classes in the West, contributed to the popularity of organic foods and eating locally grown products that were close to nature. Many also adopted the Mediterranean diet heavy with fruits and vegetables with little meat. The poor in the West and the rest of the world were generally unable to afford these more expensive foodstuffs or diets.

Hence although much of the world’s population was better fed by the beginning of the 21st century, people in Europe, North America, Japan, and Australasia consumed about one-third more

calories per day than people in poor nations. The discrepancy in consumption of protein, particularly meat, was even greater. Whereas obesity was an increasing problem among the wealthy, malnutrition and hunger continued to threaten the health and longevity of the poor.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The pace of scientific and technological discovery surged in the second half of the 20th century and showed no sign of ebbing in the 21st. Although most discoveries further enriched the world's wealthiest nations, as had been true since the onset of the Industrial Revolution, other countries, including China, India, South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and South Africa, began to pose an energetic challenge to the West and Japan.

For the United States and Soviet Union, the cold war was for many years the engine that drove innovation. Both nations' huge spending on military projects often also yielded important scientific information and an array of new consumer products. Among innovations that began in the defense sector were jet aircraft, lasers and global positioning devices, electronic computers, and the Internet. "Big Science" and "Big Technology," carried out in government agencies, major universities, and huge corporate laboratories, created what U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower criticized in a 1961 speech as the "military-industrial complex." Eisenhower was not the only American, or human, to fear a world led by the "scientific-technological elite." During this period, the legitimacy of science and invention would be undercut by growing environmental degradation, chemical and atomic disasters, the emergence of dangerous new diseases, and troubling ethical questions.

The Space Frontier. Both Britain and Germany flew jet-propelled airplanes into battle during World War II, but commercial use of these much faster planes grew slowly in the postwar years. By 1955, the Soviets had jets in service; an early passenger was Premier Nikita Khrushchev. The U.S. airline industry, profitably flying propeller planes, took longer to introduce jet engines. But by 1959, Pan American World Airways was flying Boeing 707 jets from New York to Paris, halving the time of the trip.

Meanwhile, military pilots were testing the limits of terrestrial flight. In 1947, American pilot Chuck Yeager, piloting a Bell X-1 jet, officially exceeded Mach 1, the speed of sound (approximately 660 miles per hour). Although supersonic flight led to outer space programs, it failed commercially. Concorde, the British-French luxury passenger plane, could fly at twice the speed of sound but was expensive to operate and limited to certain airports. The Concorde fleet was withdrawn from service in 2003, three years after its only fatal crash.

The Space Race began on October 4, 1957, when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the world's first artificial satellite, into earth orbit. *Sputnik* was no bigger than a basketball, but its successful 98-minute trip was seen by alarmed Americans as a huge Soviet victory. Within months, the United States kicked its embryonic space program into high gear. In June 1958, Congress authorized the creation of NASA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Although the Soviet Union and United States were the main competitors in the space program, France, under Premier Charles de Gaulle, and other nations were also motivated by *Sputnik*. The Soviets were first to put humans in space; only American missions set humans on the Moon, the first time in 1969. As the cold war waned, national prestige missions mostly gave way to scientific space exploration and commercial ventures. The U.S. Space Shuttle program began in 1972. The Soviet Union manned a space station, which later became an international endeavor. Europe's Ariane program in 1980 became a private venture that marketed space opportunities, including satellite launches. In 2003, China successfully launched an astronaut.

Astronomers and cosmologists sought more basic information about the universe—its age, origins, and size. American Edwin Hubble and Briton Stephen Hawking were among those seeking to define the beginning of the universe. The so-called big bang theory, now accepted by virtually all scientists, posits an explosion 10 to 15 billion years ago, with Earth's solar system appearing about 5 billion years ago. Hubble (1889–1953) was honored in 1990 when the *Hubble Space Telescope* began sending back images of the universe unimpeded by Earth's atmosphere. Unmanned missions

to the Moon, Mars, and other planets have also resulted in new information and recategorizations of planets and other heavenly bodies.

Energy. Finding sufficient energy for a growing and industrializing world population proved to be a major challenge. Soon after the United States dropped its two atomic bombs in 1945, some physicists and business interests began to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy. Although hundreds of nuclear-fueled power plants are operating around the world, especially in Japan and Europe, an atomic age of abundant clean energy did not come to pass in the 20th century.

Nuclear energy's beginning as a fearful weapon that caused not only instant deaths but lingering radiation sickness did not help its image. Nor did the United States's development of an even more destructive hydrogen bomb. In 1963, the United States and Soviet Union acknowledged some of these concerns, signing a treaty that required weapons tests underground to minimize atmospheric contamination.

Electric utilities using fossil fuels—coal and petroleum—produce greater air pollution than nuclear power plants, but they enjoyed several advantages. Less heavily regulated, they also did not need to store or process radioactive waste that could last for thousands of years, as spent plutonium fuel did. Nuclear plants also required constant cooling. Cooling water inevitably got hot as it circulated through reactors. Although this water was not radioactive, it could cause thermal pollution if dumped into local rivers and was implicated in the deaths of fish and other aquatic life. By the 1960s, ecologists were describing these adverse effects and enthusiasm for nuclear plants was waning. A near disaster at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979, followed in 1986 by a reactor meltdown in Chernobyl, Ukraine, that spread high levels of radiation across much of western Europe, brought new nuclear projects almost to a halt.

Late in the century, evidence of global warming mounted as ice sheets in the Arctic and Antarctic began melting rapidly. Carbon dioxide levels climbed, and the protective ozone layer shrank. Although Earth had experienced cycles of abnormal warmth and cold even before humans appeared, most scientists and some political leaders feared that human activity was seriously disrupting the world's climate. They urged energy conservation and alternatives to carbon-rich oil and coal, such as solar and wind power, hydrogen, and synthetic fuels. In 2005, 140 nations ratified the Kyoto Protocols, designed to limit destructive emissions. The United States, proportionally the world's largest energy user, declined to sign the treaty.

Chemistry and Material Science. New synthetics enabled the construction of cheaper, better-insulated houses, taller office buildings, and safer roads and bridges. Plastics, along with resins and epoxy, came into their own in the 1950s, usually replacing traditional natural materials. From non-iron polyester clothing to nonstick cookware, from fireproofing to mold-proofing, companies like Monsanto, BASF, and DuPont promised “better living through chemistry.” Pharmaceutical chemists, like Germany's Bayer, engineered new medicines and made them easier to use. Agricultural pesticides significantly improved crop yields.

But side effects rose in tandem with chemistry's proliferating consumer and industrial applications. Nearly indestructible, plastics soon glutted landfills. In 1962, scientist Rachel Carson blamed DDT, a powerful insecticide formulated by Swiss scientists in the 1930s, for bird deaths. At Love Canal in Niagara Falls, New York, industrial wastes left behind by a chemical company were blamed in 1978 for illnesses affecting both adults and children, whose school was built atop a toxic dump. In the Indian industrial city Bhopal in 1984, a Union Carbide plant leaked the pesticide methyl isocyanate, exposing 500,000 people to sickening fumes and killing thousands. The Bhopal area was still contaminated 20 years later.

The Information Age. ENIAC, the first electronic computer, was completed in 1945 at the University of Pennsylvania under a military contract. Engineer J. Presper Eckert and physicist John W. Mauchly's enormous device was powered by 18,000 vacuum tubes and performed 5,000 calculations per second. Hungarian refugee John von Neumann soon after developed what became the basic architecture of computer systems. The invention of transistors by lab scientists at Bell Laboratories in 1948 eventually eliminated clumsy vacuum tubes and paved the way for microchips that

would make computers and many other digital devices much smaller, cheaper, and more powerful. While computers allegedly reduced paper documents, new copying and printing technologies only increased the flood. The process that would eventually be trademarked by the Xerox Corporation was invented in 1938 but did not become commercially viable until the 1960s. As computers found ways to “talk” to each other, old-line consumer businesses like Corning Glass became suppliers of fiber-optic technology, carrying millions of data and voice messages around the world.

New opportunities for instant worldwide communication proved to be both a promise and a threat. Despite unequal access across national and class lines, these devices were readily adapted in most societies. It seemed that the Internet might do to printed books and newspapers what automobiles had done to railroads.

Human Engineering. Deoxyribonucleic acid—DNA—might be the most important biological breakthrough in human history. Identified and decoded in 1953 by researchers James Watson, Francis Crick, Maurice Wilkins, and Rosalind Franklin, this double helix composed of four protein building blocks has been used to identify criminals, trace ancestors, and pinpoint disease processes. The Human Genome was “mapped” in 2000 by multinational efforts involving both university geneticists and commercial DNA scientists. DNA holds out the promise of eradicating genetic diseases but has also raised troubling ethical issues of privacy, eugenics, and equality of medical care.

New reproductive technologies are especially controversial. In Britain in 1978, the first healthy “test tube” baby was born after her father’s sperm and mother’s eggs were mixed by physicians in a laboratory. In vitro fertilization, as it is now called, became a relatively routine technique for couples struggling with infertility. Controversy grew as some fertilization techniques produced multiple births, and a few women past menopause used medical techniques to carry babies to term. So-called boutique babies also raised ethical questions. At least theoretically, parents could choose their child’s sex or sexual orientation, their height and looks, or their IQ and mental proclivities. Some ethicists are disturbed by these developments, seeing them as a form of prenatal eugenics.

In 1955 doctors Jonas Salk and Albert Sabin independently developed vaccines to end polio, a waterborne viral disease that crippled or killed. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who contracted polio in 1920, was America’s most famous victim of the prevaccine disease. A few years later, smallpox was declared eradicated. For a while, it looked as though medical advances would soon end most human disease. New drugs, including medications for mental illnesses, indeed prolonged and improved lifespans. But access to medical care was extremely inequitable, even in wealthy nations like the United States, and more so in less-developed societies. America’s “War on Cancer” made progress but found few certain cures. The shocking emergence in the 1980s of previously unknown diseases—particularly HIV/AIDS—convincingly showed that human scientific knowledge had not yet created a perfect world.

SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

Major social and class changes occurred around the world in the post–World War II era. In the United States, the GI Bill enabled hundreds of thousands of young veterans to attend university, thereby opening up white-collar and professional jobs for an entire generation of working class or rural youth. After the war, there was also a huge baby boom in the United States, Europe, and Australasia. In the United States, many families moved from agricultural or urban areas to the suburbs, often buying new homes with loans provided for veterans. Road systems, shopping malls, schools, and hospitals were constructed to provide services for these new residents. The same trends were followed by the peoples in western Europe, Canada, and Australia.

In Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, many young people and families flocked to the cities to find work and better ways of life. Urbanization became a global phenomenon in the last half of the 20th century. By 2006 more than 8 million Chinese peasants annually were moving into cities to find work. Whereas Great Britain had five cities of over a million people, China by 2000 had 90. In Central and South America, where social and class relations were most starkly contrasted, urban populations swelled and vast slums sprang up in major cities like São Paulo, Bogotá, and Lima. Similarly

large slums, inhabited mostly by migrants from rural regions, also surrounded many African and Asian cities. Higher population density also made many more people vulnerable to natural disasters such as the 2004 tsunami that devastated parts of Southeast Asia, or the periodic earthquakes that have killed tens of thousands in Turkey, Iran, and Indonesia.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the struggle for independence in Asia and Africa led to the creation of a host of newly independent states that often turned toward the Soviet model of a planned economy in attempts to foster rapid development. In Central and South America working-class peoples' organizations began to emerge in both rural and urban areas. In contrast, in industrialized nations such as the United States trade union membership dropped. With end of the cold war, most formerly Communist nations, as well as those like India that had emulated the socialist model, dismantled state-owned enterprises in favor of capitalism and privatization. After the death of Mao Zedong, China also abandoned most state-owned enterprises in favor of free-market ones.

The gap between the rich and poor globally, and within many nations, widened in the later part of the 20th century. In the post-cold war era, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank often demanded privatization and opening up of markets as prerequisites for loans and assistance to African, Asian, and Latin American nations. As socialist economies in eastern Europe collapsed or were dismantled, many workers lost the social safety net that socialist states had once provided. Nations in western Europe continued to provide a wide range of social benefits including healthcare for their citizens, while some oil rich Middle Eastern nations such as Kuwait and Libya implemented sweeping welfare states to provide free education, health care, and a host of other benefits for their citizens. In contrast, although one of the richest and most powerful nations on Earth, the United States failed to implement universal health care for its citizens.

By 2006 almost a billion people (out of a world total of over 6 billion)—mostly in Africa, Central and South America, and parts of Asia—lived below the extreme poverty line of \$1 per day. Although wealthy European nations, the United States, and Japan talked about and implemented some debt renegotiations or cancellations, huge debts continued to burden the poorest countries.

The status of women and family life also continued to undergo major changes in the second half of the 20th century. Beginning in the 1960s, women in Western nations again entered the workforce in large numbers. The development of the birth control pill and other forms of contraception in the 1950s and beyond opened new social horizons for women, while the Kinsey Report on Sex in 1948 resulted in a more open attitude on sexuality. Laws that made abortion legal were enacted in many Western nations and Japan. To prevent a continuing population explosion, China had enacted a strict one-child-per-couple rule by 1980. Abortion also became a major issue of social and political conflict in the United States and some other nations. Likewise, homosexual and lesbian demands for equal rights exacerbated political differences between liberals and conservatives, especially in the United States.

New generations of feminists also demanded the extension of equal rights and fuller political and economic participation for women around the world. For example, Doria Shafik in Egypt campaigned for voting rights for women and better educational opportunities, while Simone de Beauvoir of France, Betty Friedan in the United States, and Germaine Greer from Australia called for equality in jobs, equal pay for equal work, and changes in social mores on housework and child care and other traditional female roles. Old stereotypes of “women’s” versus “men’s” work were challenged. Women also played important roles in revolutions in the developing nations, as in Vietnam and Algeria. While many women have risen to lead their governments, many others failed to gain equal rights in their post-independence countries. Women’s international congresses in Mexico, China, and elsewhere have continued to address the problems of persistent inequality of payment for work, human rights, and access to education. Women’s rights have also been set back in the United States by the failure to gain ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and in many Muslim countries because of fundamentalist interpretations of Islam.

On the positive side, Wangari Muta Maathai in Kenya, a government minister and activist, championed environmental and women’s rights; she empowered women by providing seedlings to women

to plant in public and private lands in exchange for small remuneration and won the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. Muslim women feminists Fatima Mernissi of Morocco and Shirin Ebadi of Iran (the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner) both wrote about rights of Muslim women; their work provided liberal interpretations of Islamic tradition and law and promoted feminism as part of Islam. Nawal al Sadawi of Egypt and others also spoke out against crimes of honor and physical domestic abuse, which is a global problem. The Grameen Bank, begun by the economist Mohammad Yunus from Bangladesh, has made hundreds of thousands of microloans to women to empower them economically. This model has been copied in several countries, and Yunus was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.

Women have been elected as president or prime minister in Great Britain, Germany, Turkey, Pakistan, India, and a host of other nations. In 2006, Michelle Bachelet was elected as president of Chile, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as president in Liberia—nations whose political systems had previously been dominated by men.

The populations of Western countries, Japan, and even China also became older as life spans extended, owing to better health care, lowering of birth rates, and new treatments for a host of physical problems. Japanese men and women enjoyed the longest life span worldwide. In contrast, from the 1970s on, many in Africa were condemned to early deaths that were, in part, caused by poverty, high infant mortality, and disease, especially HIV and AIDS. In Africa over a dozen nations had higher under-five infant mortality rates in 2006 than in 1990, and India had one of the highest numbers per capita of maternal deaths per year. The rights of children also continued to be imperiled in many poor nations, where they often had to work in dangerous conditions in order to provide food for their families. To ameliorate such abuses, the United Nations launched campaigns against child exploitation, while international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in the United States devoted vast sums of money to address problems of international public health, especially such diseases as polio and AIDS.

In the 1960s, university students led a young people's movement in the West that challenged old traditions in social behavior, fashion, music, and politics. The hippies of the era advocated a lifestyle of "making love not war" and urged their peers to "drop out and tune in" with drugs, rock and roll music, and sex. The civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States struggled to achieve equal rights for African Americans, long a social and economic underclass. Martin Luther King, Jr., led a nonviolent struggle against segregation and helped to achieve more equal political and legal rights. But riots and protests, coupled with mounting opposition to U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam, polarized American society. King and other leaders were assassinated, and protesting students at Kent State University in Ohio were shot by the National Guard in the 1960s.

Blacks in South Africa also waged a protracted struggle against the apartheid system of total racial segregation. The African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela ultimately resorted to violence to dismantle apartheid; it finally gained full political and social rights in 1990s. Indigenous peoples in Latin and South America and Canada, Australia, and New Zealand also sought and often gained improved rights and status. Rigoberta Menchú was awarded the 1992 Nobel Prize for Peace for her struggle for the rights of indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere. Because inequities continued to exist, the struggles for social and class equality appeared certain to continue well into the 21st century.

TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

World War II provided full employment and production to the U.S. economy, which allowed it to dominate world trade and industry in the war's immediate aftermath. In contrast, the infrastructures of all of the other major manufacturing nations in Europe and Japan had been largely destroyed by the war.

These factors allowed U.S.-based corporations to enjoy an almost total monopoly in the manufacturing of steel, automobiles, and a host of other consumer goods for the domestic and international markets in the 1950s. However, as Europe and Japan recovered from the effects of the war in

the 1960s, the U.S. trade advantages began to diminish. The oil shocks of the 1970s revealed U.S. energy dependency on foreign sources, while its aging industrial infrastructure made it difficult to compete with modern and more efficient manufacturers overseas. In addition to western Europe, Japan emerged as a major economic competitor, followed by the “little dragons,” namely South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, which also began to compete for international markets. Partly in response to lower labor costs, U.S. corporations began to move production facilities from union-protected plants in the United States to plants in those countries. At the same time the European Common Market, begun after World War II, evolved by the late 1990s into the European Union (EU), which included most of the nations of western Europe. The EU became a third major economic powerhouse, along with the United States and Japan.

The development and improvement of computers from the mid-1950s helped to revolutionize global trading and business. The computer revolution also made it possible for U.S. companies to outsource jobs to lower-cost English-speaking countries such as India or Ireland. The development of copiers in the 1970s and then faxes helped to facilitate trading and business transactions across vast distances. Late in the 20th century, the World Wide Web, satellites, and cell phones made business and trade communications almost instantaneous.

With the end of the cold war by the early 1990s, Western capitalist countries led by the United States moved to globalize and privatize the world’s economic system. The IMF and World Bank made economic restructuring conditions for aid and loans to poor countries in the Global South. Nations seeking loans also had to lower protective tariffs and open their markets to goods from the West. This increased trade of goods from the West but often led to the further impoverishment of already poor nations.

The most important world trade organization was the World Trade Organization (WTO), which included most industrialized nations, although Russia and India had not been admitted as of 2007. Important regional trading organizations promoting free trade were established; they included the EU, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Andean Group (AG), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the former Soviet Union, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the Middle East. There was also a standardization of “floating currencies,” but the continued strength of the dollar favored the United States, although the growth of European currency (the euro) emerged as a possible rival in the early 21st century.

Africa lagged behind the world economically. It remained a source for raw materials and sometimes was used as a dumping ground for both low-quality goods and waste products from the industrialized countries. The gap between wealthy and poor nations continued to grow in the latter part of the 20th century despite economic conferences attended by leaders of wealthy nations that called for the refinancing of global debt, especially for poor nations in Africa. In the Millennium Summit in 2000, rich nations promised assistance to help poor nations out of the cycle of poverty by increasing education and health care and eradicating hunger while fighting virulent diseases such as malaria and AIDS by working with poor nations.

However, by 2006 much remained undone, while the rich continued to grow richer and the poor continued to eke out livings through trade in raw materials and inefficiently produced food products. Increasing populations continued to undermine economic growth in many nations, especially in Africa but also in some parts of Asia. However, by the early 21st century, India and China, both previously low-income nations, had emerged as new economic and manufacturing giants, exporting a wide range of goods around the world and accumulating trade surpluses. They were followed by Vietnam, Thailand, and Malaysia, which also enjoyed rapid economic growth. The United States, in particular, had a huge trade deficit with China.

The 20th century was also marked by the globalization of Western culture. The United States led the way as American movie and television stars, music, fashion, and even advertising became increasingly popular around the world. However, film industries in Egypt and Mumbai (Bombay), India, known as Bollywood (three times larger than Hollywood production), also enjoyed great popularity for audiences in the Middle East and Asia. Beginning in the 1980s, color television, sat-

elite systems, videocassettes, and cell phone networks all provided easy and relatively inexpensive access to wide a range of musical, artistic, and dramatic productions throughout the world. International hotel and fast food chains also helped to popularize Western tastes. Tourism, boosted by cheap jet airplane travel, enabled millions to see and enjoy other cultures.

The 1960s was a decade of major cultural changes, especially among Western youth and the elites worldwide. The Woodstock rock festival in 1969 was a centerpiece of the hippie generation, which advocated “turning on, tuning in, and dropping out” and rock and roll music and dance. Cultural fusions were particularly apparent in music. Western rock-and-roll musicians helped to popularize Africa, Caribbean, and other traditional music and sometimes brought indigenous artists from Africa and South America to the attention of international audiences for the first time. Jazz, hip hop, Latin influences, and rai (a fusion of traditional Arabic and urban Western motifs) from North Africa attracted music lovers from around the world. Similar fusions of indigenous materials and motifs, along with eco-friendly styles, in art and architecture also became popular.

While English became the universal second language, attempts were made to preserve and revitalize indigenous languages. The Nigerian author, Wole Soyinka, spoke widely on the awareness among Africans of their own rich cultural heritage. For example, the Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong’o wrote in his native language Gikuyu, which had been banned in his school while the British ruled Kenya. Similarly, Amadou Hampate Ba of Mali spoke impassionately at UNESCO to preserve African oral traditions, or, as he expressed it, “In Africa, when an old man dies, it is like a whole library burning down.”

The tensions between secularism and religion apparent at the beginning of the 20th century intensified at its end. While western European societies became increasingly secular, by the 1970s militant Islamists across the Muslim world wanted to return to early Islamic practices and governments that operated under Islamic law and challenged Western cultural hegemony. Some Christian fundamentalists in the West, especially in the United States, Hindus in India, and Jews in Israel also wanted to create religiously based governments and judicial systems in their nations. Although the conflict of secular Westernization with tradition and religion promised to continue in the Islamic world, other leaders in these nations expressed their desires for the preservation of the best of their own traditional cultures with the adaptation of what they considered the best of Western civilization.

Hence, ongoing and seemingly endless technological advances made the world smaller, enabling peoples to travel, trade, and communicate almost instantaneously. It also provided the means through which the rich industrialized nations could dominate and largely control world trade and communications and popularize Western culture worldwide. At the same time, peoples around the world attempted, with varying degrees of success, to preserve their ancient traditions, languages, and religions. Some sought to maintain their individual societies through divisive and sometimes violent racism, sectarianism, and ethnocentrism. However, as the 21st century progressed, many others struggled to maintain their individuality, taking the best of other cultures while sharing the best of their own.

WARFARE

Warfare in the second half of the 20th century was dominated by the cold war, which for 45 years pitted nuclear superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, against one another. At the same time, this era also experienced extensive ethnic, religious, and territorial conflict. This often meant that military forces equipped with technologically advanced weapons of mass destruction found themselves in battle with guerrilla fighters armed with makeshift or outdated weapons. The well-equipped warriors did not always win.

The waning days of World War II set new hostilities in motion as the Soviets competed with their Allies to be the first to liberate Axis-held territories in both Europe and Asia. At a 1945 conference at Yalta, three months before Germany surrendered, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British prime minister Winston Churchill agreed to a buffer zone between the USSR and Germany. By 1946, Churchill, speaking at a Missouri college, was decrying

a Soviet “Iron Curtain” that was turning eastern European nations, including the Soviet sector in eastern Germany, into satellite states while projecting communist influence around the world. The cold war was under way.

Although the United States and Soviet Union never directly attacked one another—hence the term “cold” war—the superpowers engaged in a costly arms race and spent blood and treasure in a series of “proxy” wars in Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. Wars of decolonization that included French Algeria, Dutch Indonesia, and French, British, Belgian, and Portuguese sub-Saharan Africa erupted in many regions still trying to throw off Western imperialism. The United States and the Soviet Union regularly used independence movements as opportunities to outdo one another by providing intelligence, arms, and covert assistance to their presumed allies. Both “proxy” and “decolonizing” wars played out in a bipolar world in which the Americans and Soviets each pressed the rest of the world’s nations to take their side. Many did so; others, including India, precariously maintained nonaligned status.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union were permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, but they also took steps to secure their own allies. NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—founded in 1949, became a mutual security body prepared to respond militarily to possible Soviet incursions. Moscow responded in 1955 to NATO’s admission of West Germany by creating the Warsaw Pact, a mutual defense agreement between the Soviet Union and most eastern European nations in the Soviet orbit.

The Soviet Union intervened militarily to crush revolts in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Poland (1981) and built the Berlin Wall to prevent East Germans from escaping to the West. The United States also intensified efforts to control client nations in Central America, sometimes intervening militarily to prevent the emergence there of reform movements that were, or seemed to be, inspired by communism. Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro’s embrace of the Soviet Union after 1959 was a rare failure of U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Arms Race. The most significant but least-used weapon of the cold war era was the nuclear bomb and its associated adaptations. After the Soviets fabricated their own A-bomb in 1949, other nations were soon preparing to join the nuclear “club.” Since then, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, South Africa, and North Korea have built bombs or are believed to have developed bomb technology, despite international efforts to check nuclear weapons proliferation. In 1951, the United States tested an even more powerful hydrogen, or H-, bomb and began expanding its fleet of nuclear-powered submarines. As the arms race intensified, both sides turned to rocket technology to create intercontinental ballistic missile systems; virtually all of these were designed to drop nuclear warheads on enemy targets or fire them from submarines.

Many historians now agree that this bilateral binge of nuclear weapons stockpiling was a major reason why the United States and the Soviet Union managed to avoid going to war with each other. The cold war weapons buildup that produced what came to be called MAD—mutually assured destruction—certainly caused anxiety. Americans were urged to build backyard fallout shelters to protect their families from radiation.

During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, U.S. President John F. Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev squared off over Soviet installation of nuclear weapons in Cuba. War was narrowly averted, but the likelihood that both nations could suffer deaths and damage of unprecedented magnitude helped to defuse the impasse. In 1963 Kennedy and Khrushchev signed a treaty banning above-ground nuclear testing; by the 1970s, the two nations were negotiating agreements to slow or even reduce nuclear weapons development.

After 1950, the U.S. Air Force emerged the big winner in the internal Pentagon race for respect and resources. The biggest, most expensive improvements in both offensive and defensive weaponry focused on manned and unmanned aircraft and missiles. Aircraft carriers and submarines dominated the seas, while versatile armored helicopters took on important combat roles. After the Soviet Union successfully launched *Sputnik* in 1957, the first satellite in orbit, the idea of “air” power took on an outer space dimension. Although the perceived *Sputnik* military threat fizzled, in 1983 Ronald

Reagan, America's last cold war president, proposed a strategic defense initiative, dubbed "Star Wars," to shoot down Soviet missiles from positions in space.

Proxy Wars. Three major conflicts between 1950 and 1989 demonstrated attempts by the two superpowers (and Communist China) to "win" the cold war militarily and ideologically. These were the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75), in which U.S. troops played a leading role, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979–89). None of these conflicts proved very productive for the superpowers.

With the blessing of the United Nations (during a Soviet boycott of the Security Council), the United States assembled a multinational force to repel efforts by Communist North Korea to conquer pro-Western South Korea. Soon, the new Chinese Communist regime came to the aid of North Korea, complicating any chance for a United Nations–led victory. This war ended with an armistice that never became a peace treaty. Hostilities continued to break out along the DMZ (demilitarized zone) separating North and South Korea.

Soviet intervention in a civil war–wracked Afghanistan ended 10 years later in a failure so profound that it became a factor in the breakup of the Soviet Union soon after. The U.S. government, interpreting the Afghan conflict through a cold war lens, provided the latest weapons, including Stinger missiles, to local warlords. A decade later, these weapons would reappear as disaffected ethnic and religious groups in Asia and the Middle East mounted anti-American and anti-Russian attacks.

Vietnam was the longest of these "proxy" contests and, for a time, made Americans question national power and the U.S. role in a world of nations. As Japan withdrew from its Asian conquests at the end of World War II, the French tried to resume colonial control in Indochina. Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, a Communist, sought independence. By the time France withdrew in 1954 after a major defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the United States had assumed the role of protecting the southern sector of politically divided Vietnam from its "red" brethren in North Vietnam.

For 10 years U.S. involvement in South Vietnam drew little public attention and was carried out by relatively small numbers of military advisers and intelligence agents. These Americans were supposed to strengthen South Vietnam's military and political structures to prevent what President Dwight D. Eisenhower called the "domino effect." This was the idea that communism had to be contained—ideologically if possible, militarily if necessary—wherever it appeared. The U.S.-backed South Vietnamese government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem was corrupt and unpopular. In 1963 a U.S.-instigated military coup assassinated Diem. In 1964, an apparent clash between North Vietnamese vessels and a U.S. warship spying in North Vietnam's Gulf of Tonkin gave President Lyndon B. Johnson a free hand in Vietnam, despite his having no congressional declaration of war.

Militarily, Vietnam was a conflict between a massively armed superpower and guerrilla fighters known as the Vietcong. Aided by regular North Vietnamese troops and outfitted with Chinese and Warsaw Pact–supplied weapons, these fighters used their knowledge of Vietnam's terrain, jungle climate, and people to fight on, despite U.S. attacks with napalm, a deadly defoliant, and air raids that dropped 8 million tons of bombs on Vietnam, more than any other country had ever experienced.

One collateral casualty of Vietnam for the United States was the end of its system of universal military service. After World War II, the United States continued mandatory military training for young men. As a result, the U.S. Army expanded to 3.5 million soldiers. As manpower needs in the undeclared war in Vietnam required more American troops—peaking at 541,000 in 1969—resistance to the war also increased. College students used generous deferment policies to postpone conscription; when that failed, a friendly doctor might issue a diagnosis of disease or mental illness. Draft protesters publicly burned their Selective Service documents, and thousands fled, mostly to Canada and Sweden, to avoid the draft.

Warfare in a Postcolonial and Post–Cold War World. As the Soviet Union unraveled between 1989, when the Berlin Wall came down, and 1991, when its last premier, Mikhail Gorbachev, resigned, some thought, briefly, that a time of peace might be at hand. In fact, the demise of a world order shaped by two superpowers helped intensify existing ethnic, religious, and political rivalries

and created new “hot spots” around the globe. As old-style colonialism collapsed, especially after 1960, new wars over boundaries and resources erupted in Africa and other formerly colonized regions where Western control had distorted national development. Tribal massacres in Rwanda and the Darfur region of Sudan were only the bloodiest outcomes of warfare also afflicting Congo, Liberia, and much of West Africa. “Ethnic cleansing” occurred in Europe, as Yugoslavia, once an independent socialist state, broke into warring religious and ethnic groups. India and Pakistan clashed over the disputed territory of Kashmir, becoming competing nuclear powers in the process. Persistent conflict between Israel, founded in 1948 as a Jewish state, and its Arab neighbors remained a major danger to world peace.

Indeed, events in the oil-rich Middle East became even more central in the post-cold war years. Religious conflicts between some Islamist organizations and other world religions were at the heart of warfare conducted not by national armies but by small, dedicated groups using terrorist tactics, including suicide bombing, to achieve their aims. Terrorism was not a new method of warfare—Irish nationalists for years had used terror tactics against Britain—but it seemed especially effective against nations whose strength lay in conventional methods of warfare.

Russian troops laid waste to the separatist Islamic region of Chechnya, but found that this neither ended Chechen guerrilla actions nor protected Russian civilians from terror attacks, even in Moscow. On September 11, 2001, al-Qaeda, an Islamist group based in Afghanistan, used 19 operatives, armed only with box cutters and just enough training to pilot commercial jets, to bring down New York City’s World Trade Center and seriously damage the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C. Smaller deadly attacks in Madrid and London were later perpetrated by al-Qaeda or similar non-national terrorist groups. The U.S.-led 2003 Second Gulf War against Saddam Hussein’s regime in Iraq in 2003 was a triumph for America’s sophisticated weapons but faltered amid low-tech attacks committed by warring factions upon each other and U.S. forces.

As the 21st century got under way, the rapid spread of technology and almost uncontrolled sales of arms and possible “weaponized” biological and chemical agents seemed to be changing warfare from nation-state projections of power within formal rules of engagement into a dangerous free-for-all among disgruntled nations, regions, and even small groups of individuals destabilizing the world.



Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a predominantly Muslim, landlocked country bordered by Iran, Pakistan, and the former Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. It is not a nation-state along European lines—it shares no common language or ethnic heritage. Instead, it consists of a host of different groups, including Pashtuns, Hazaras, Tajiks, and Uzbeks. It also occupies rugged, divided terrain. This diversity has translated into a weak central state prone to interventions from the outside. From the 19th to early 20th centuries Afghanistan was caught between the Russian and British Empires as each expanded into Central Asia.

During the second half of the 20th century Afghanistan again found itself a buffer between large empires, in this case between the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1933 Afghanistan's king, Mohammed Zahir Shah, began what would become a 40-year reign, during which he would only rule directly during the final decade. Just before the end of World War II, in which Afghanistan was neutral, one of Zahir Shah's uncles, Shah Mahmud, gained control of the country. In the immediate postwar years Shah Mahmud saw the breakdown of relations with Pakistan and Afghanistan's subsequent movement toward the Soviet Union.

Tensions with Pakistan, especially over the border issue, would characterize postwar Afghanistan's history. The 1,300-mile border with Pakistan, the so-called Durand Line, had been established by the British decades earlier to divide the fractious Pashtun tribe. Pashtuns

ended up on both sides of the border. The departure of the British in 1947 gave Shah Mahmud and other Pashtuns in Afghanistan hope for Pashtun unification. Mahmud and others called for an independent "Pashtunistan" and encouraged rebellion on the Pakistan side of the border. In 1950 in retaliation, Pakistan halted shipments of petroleum to Afghanistan. Crippled without oil, Afghanistan turned to the Soviets and signed a major trade agreement. Pakistan, meanwhile, became an important part of the American military alliance.

In 1953 Mohammed Daoud, the king's cousin and brother-in-law and a young, Western-educated modernizer, came to power. His vigorous pursuit of Pashtun unification created more tensions with Pakistan and pushed Afghanistan further toward the Soviets. Interested in spreading and consolidating power along its border regions, the Soviet Union was eager to assist. At the same time, though, the United States also tried to win influence in Afghanistan. As part of COLD WAR strategy, the United States wanted to create an alliance of nations along the Soviet Union's border—Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey. Daoud refused to join the resulting Baghdad Pact but accepted U.S. aid.

During his 10 years in power, Daoud pursued a cautiously reformist agenda, in which economic development became the chief goal of the state. To help with modernizing projects, Daoud skillfully played the Soviets and the United States off of each other. Afghanistan received \$500 million in aid from the United States and \$2.5 billion from the Soviets. Daoud used this aid to consolidate his own power.

In the early 1960s Daoud, obsessed with Pashtun unification, made payments to tribesmen on both sides of the border and spread propaganda. In 1960 he sent troops across the border. As a result the two countries severed relations in September 1961 and the border was closed to even nomadic shepherders. In 1963 as it became clear that an extended showdown with Pakistan would only hurt Afghanistan, King Zahir Shah dismissed Daoud and took direct control of the country.

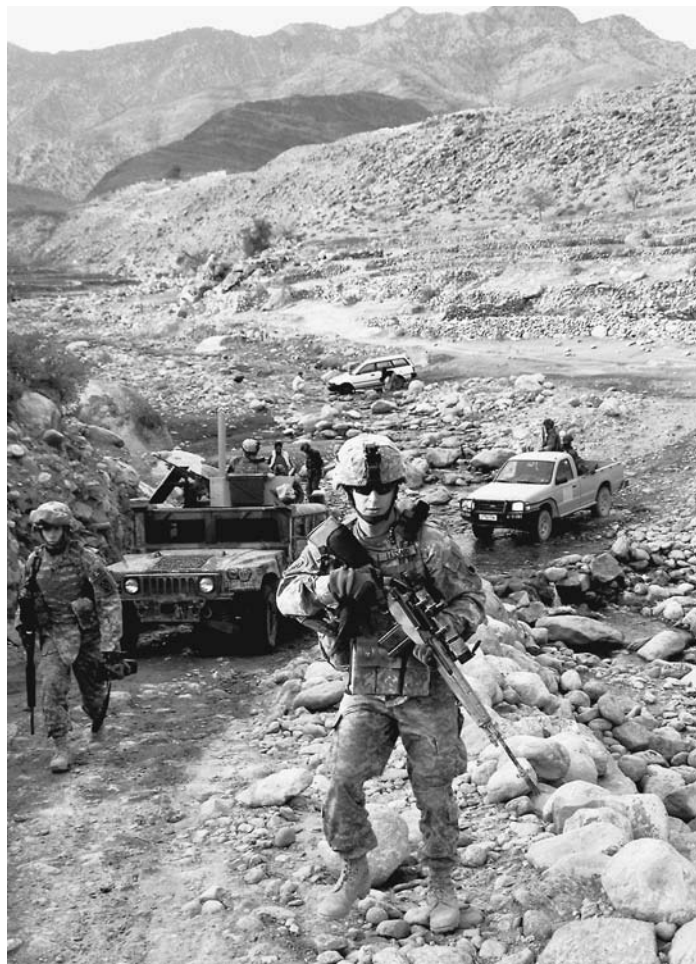
The king ruled from 1963 to 1973. Within two months of taking power he had reached an agreement reestablishing diplomatic and trade relations with Pakistan. He also began an experiment in liberalization called “new democracy.” At the center of this was a new constitution, promulgated in 1964. It barred the royal family—except the king—from politics, created a partyless system of elections, extended full citizenship to all residents of the country, including non-Pashtuns, and created a secular parliament and an independent judiciary. Although Afghans voted in elections in 1965 and 1969, the king held most of the power.

After a decade of economic stagnation and political instability, the king was deposed while in Europe in 1973 by Mohammed Daoud. The economy continued to stagnate and Daoud could only maintain stability through repression. In April 1978 a communist coup forced Daoud from power.

In December 1979 intending to support the pro-Soviet communist regime and install Soviet favorites in power, 75,000 to 80,000 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. The decade-long war that resulted killed approximately 1 million Afghans and forced another 5 to 6 million into exile in Iran and Pakistan.

The United States, under JIMMY CARTER, responded strongly. It withdrew consideration of the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) in the U.S. Senate, boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics, leveled economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, and increased U.S. aid to Pakistan. The United States committed to protecting the greater Persian Gulf region from outside intervention. The United States also started to funnel millions of dollars of aid through the CIA to rebel groups in Afghanistan.

The Soviets pulled out of Afghanistan in 1988 and 1989. By this time Soviet president MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, who had come to power in 1985, had decided that the costs of the Afghan war in both soldiers and finances outweighed the benefits. The Soviets faced a fierce insurgency within Afghanistan and a growing antiwar movement at home, as well as continued international pressure. The last Soviet troops left in February 1989.



Afghan and U.S. Army soldiers patrol a road outside of Forward Operating Base Kalagush, Afghanistan.

The communist regime in Afghanistan collapsed in April 1992. The early 1990s saw a struggle for control between the various forces within Afghanistan. In 1996 the TALIBAN—an extremist Islamic regime backed by Pakistan—captured power. The Taliban consisted of religious students and ethnic Pashtuns, as well as roughly 80,000 to 100,000 Pakistanis. They espoused an antimodernist plan to create a “pure” Islamic society in Afghanistan, which included repressive treatment of women. The Taliban allowed AL-QAEDA, an anti-American Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organization led by the Saudi Osama bin Laden, to establish bases in Afghanistan in return for moral and financial support.

In November 2001 after the Taliban rejected international pressure to hand over al-Qaeda leaders, the United States attacked al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Joining forces with the Northern Alliance—minority Tajiks and Uzbeks from the northern part of the country—

the United States defeated the Taliban and destroyed the al-Qaeda bases, although it failed in its mission to capture Osama bin Laden or to destroy al-Qaeda or the Taliban completely.

The December 2001 Bonn Agreements handed temporary power to HAMID KARZAI, a moderate Pashtun from a prominent and traditionalist family. A new constitution, written by the Loya Jirga (national assembly), was ratified in early 2004. In October 2004, an overwhelming popular vote elected Karzai president of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

After 2001 the country saw dramatic changes. Hundreds of thousands of refugees returned, pushing the population of Kabul from 1 million to 3 million. In 2005 5 million girls were attending school; four years earlier fewer than 1 million had been in school. The economy, however, was still weak and dependent upon international aid. Indeed, despite this aid in 2005, Afghanistan was moving toward becoming a narco-state. In that year roughly 2.3 million Afghanis (out of a population of 29 million) were involved in the production of poppies for opium and heroin. Poppy profits equaled 60 percent of the legal economy. Warfare also continued in isolated pockets of the country as U.S. soldiers tried to mop up remnant Taliban and al-Qaeda forces.

See also DISARMAMENT, NUCLEAR; ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

African National Congress (ANC)

Following a decade of political activism for the rights of blacks, Coloreds, and Indians in South Africa, the South African Native National Congress—later renamed the African National Congress (ANC)—was formed on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein. It unified the fragmented efforts of various organizations in the struggle against racial discrimination, political disenfranchisement, and economic exploitation of the majority of blacks in South Africa. Over the course of almost 80 years, the ANC used various means ranging

from writing letters to the British king, negotiations, strikes, and boycotts to armed struggles and nonviolent mass actions to fight the apartheid system. Change came only after South African president F. W. de Klerk outlawed the discriminatory apartheid laws in 1990. As the ban against the ANC was lifted, the organization became the first ruling party in a free and democratic South Africa in 1994 with NELSON MANDELA as its first black president.

The ANC began its long battle against the political disenfranchisement and socioeconomic marginalization of blacks in courts of South Africa. As an economic upswing hit South Africa and intensified the need for a black work force in the early 1920s, the ANC attempted to include the dwindling rights of workers in their agenda. But the economic depression and new legislation prevented this. New laws released by the government systematically stopped the economic rise of a small black bourgeoisie. With the Land Act, the government denied black Africans the right to own land and pushed them into economically dependent positions. The government initialized the foundation of the Native Representative Council, which was meant to represent the Africans but which was effectively controlled by the white government. It actually decentralized and weakened the movement to such an extent that some pronounced the ANC literally dead in the early 1930s.

The repressive legislation introduced by the government of Prime Minister Hertzog in 1935 led to renewed political activism on behalf of the ANC. In conjunction with 39 other organizations including those of coloreds, Communists, and Trotskyists, the ANC became active in the All Africa Convention (AAC) that fought racial discrimination and economic exploitation.

The conservative approach of the ANC lasted until the late 1940s. With the candidacy of Jan Smuts in the presidential race of 1948, there was hope that discrimination would cease and real change would take place. This hope evaporated when Smuts was defeated and an even more discriminatory legislation was introduced. With this new legislation racial discrimination was officially legitimized and the apartheid system was born. Marriages between whites and individuals of color were prohibited (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) forbade interracial sexual relations. The new legislation required a national roll according to racial classifications in the Population Registration Act (1950), and the Group Areas Act (1950) enacted demarcation of land use according to race, which secured the most fertile, resourceful, and beautiful

land for the whites and assigned marginalized areas of land to blacks as homelands.

When the apartheid laws were introduced in 1948, a conflict between the older and younger generations in the ANC deepened. While the old guard wanted to continue their struggle with the same methods, but only broaden its base, the ANC Youth League envisioned a much more radical change.

In 1952 the old guard of the ANC adopted the approach of the youth and joined other organizations in the National Defiance Campaign. In these campaigns the ANC activists deliberately broke the unjust apartheid laws to draw attention to them and have them examined in the courtroom. On June 26, 1955, the Congress of the People, which consisted of the ANC and other civil rights and antiapartheid organizations, formulated the so-called Freedom Charter at Kliptown. It demanded equal rights for people of all skin colors and no discrimination based on race. In 1956 the government arrested 156 leaders of the ANC and its allies and charged them with high treason using the Freedom Charter as the basis of its charge. All the accused were eventually acquitted.

In the spring of 1960, the ANC began its campaign against the pass laws, which had required all blacks to carry their identification card with them at all times to justify their presence in "white areas." On March 21 about 300 demonstrators marched peacefully against the law. The police first fired tear gas and then aimed directly at demonstrators; 69 people were killed and 180 injured. This incident became known as the Sharpeville Massacre.

Internationally, the apartheid regime of South Africa faced increasing opposition in the 1950s and 1960s. The newly independent states in Africa, organized since 1963 in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), used diplomatic and political pressure to help end apartheid. In the United States, the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT shed attention on global issues of segregation and discrimination. The leader of the ANC, Albert Lutuli, led millions of activists in the nonviolent campaigns and believed in the compatibility of the African and European cultures.

However, some of the ANC members concluded that nonviolent acts were not suitable for South Africa and that more aggressive actions had to be applied. In 1961 the ban on the ANC forced the movement to go underground. The military wing, Umkonto de Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), was formed to commit acts of sabotage. Mandela and nine other leaders of the ANC were arrested in 1962 and charged in the so-called Rivo-

nia Trial with 221 acts of sabotage initiated to stage a revolution. Mandela's verdict was imprisonment for life plus five years beginning in 1964. The rest of the leadership of the ANC was forced into exile.

The ANC had the backing of the masses and was able to stage actions of mass resistance against apartheid in the late 1970s and 1980s. It trained its guerrilla force in neighboring countries. In 1973 workers' strikes beginning in Durban spread to other parts of the nation. At the segregated black universities a new movement, similar to the black consciousness movement in the United States, emerged. Strikes and class boycotts at the University of Western Cape, at Turfloop near Pietersburg, and at the University of Zululand erupted. Resistance against the so-called Bantu education, which ordered that Africans were to be taught in Afrikaans, the language of the white oppressors, exploded in June 1976 in the Soweto Uprising. In the Soweto Uprising thousands of black students marched to protest the governmental decree. The police shot and killed at least 152 demonstrators. By the end of 1977, the government had killed over 700 young students in similar incidents. In the same year, the government retreated and decided that African schools did not need to instruct their students in Afrikaans any more.

During the 1980s the fight against apartheid included all areas of life. The armed wing of the ANC received increasing support for the guerrilla fight within South Africa and the organization used propaganda to create a mood for resistance. Grassroots organizations emerged all over South Africa and created the mass organization called the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. Finally, on February 2, 1990, new president F. W. de Klerk introduced change to the system. He had held secret conversations with the imprisoned Mandela before assuming the presidency. Once in office, he lifted the ban on the ANC and announced Nelson Mandela's imminent release after 27½ years of imprisonment. De Klerk not only ended the censorship of the press but also invited former liberation fighters to join the government at the negotiation table and to help prepare for a new multiracial constitution. Both Mandela and de Klerk were honored with the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1993.

Still, in the early 1990s, even after the end of apartheid, the armed struggle in South Africa had not ended. The black organization Inkatha, led by Gatsha Buthelezi, challenged the ANC. In 1994 the ANC became a registered political party and won the first elections, which were open to individuals from all races, with over 60 percent of the votes. Nelson Mandela became South

Africa's first postapartheid president and Thabo Mbeki followed him in 1999.

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UTA KRESSE RAINA

African Union

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed on May 23, 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by 32 decolonized African nations. Built on Ghana's president KWAME NKRUMAH's dream of Pan-Africanism, the OAU brought the opposing groups of African nations together in a single African organization. The founding members of the OAU envisaged this unity among African states as transcending racial, ethnic, and national differences. The main goal was not only to build an alliance between the African nations but also to provide financial, diplomatic, and economic assistance for those movements that were still fighting for liberation. OAU members guaranteed each other's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and economic independence and aspired to end all forms of colonialism and racism on the continent. The OAU officially agreed with the charter of the UNITED NATIONS and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By the time it was replaced by the African Union (AU) in 2002, the OAU counted 53 out of the 54 African nations as its members.

In the context of decolonization and the COLD WAR, the OAU saw itself as alternative. The alliance, cooperation, and unification of the numerous newly independent African states in the 1960s signified a period of emancipation and empowerment of Africa. It drew attention to the fact that solutions to problems that single member states faced after decolonization were transferable to others and made problem solving easier. It also decreased the possibility of Africa's falling back into political or economic dependency on the former European colonizing nations. The OAU wanted to provide newly liberated African nations with a platform of their own. In conjunction with the young nations of Asia that had achieved

national liberation they saw themselves as providing a third option beyond the ones of the superpowers.

While the organization promoted African culture, the agreements of cooperation also included other major fields such as politics, diplomacy, transport, and communication. Matters of health, sanitation, nutrition, science, defense, and security also became issues of joint concern. The agreement stated that disputes between states would be settled peacefully through negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration, while the organization condemned all forms of political assassination, any subversive activities of one state against another, and stood united in its battle against apartheid.

The OAU acted as referee in various border conflicts between neighboring African nations. For example, it helped to prevent the division of the national territory of Nigeria into separate countries due to armed battle between distinct ethnic groups in the BIAFRAN WAR from 1967 to 1970. The OAU used its diplomatic power to strongly condemn Israel's intervention in Egypt in the Six-Day War of 1967. It used political pressure, diplomacy, and economic boycotts to help end apartheid in South Africa. The democratic nation of South Africa joined the OAU in 1994 as the 53rd member nation.

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital and the host of the first OAU meeting, became the permanent headquarters of the OAU. The OAU assembly was made up of the heads of the individual African states. The organization employed over 600 staff members that were recruited from over 40 of its member states. The OAU had an annual budget in the range of \$27–\$30 million. In 1997 the OAU established the African Economic Community, which envisioned a common market for the entire continent of Africa.

After 39 years of existence, the OAU was criticized broadly for not having done enough for the African people. In its view it should have protected them from their own leaders who promoted corruption, persecuted political opponents, and created a new class of rich in their respective nations while the masses remained impoverished.

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UTA KRESSE RAINA

AIDS crisis

The AIDS epidemic has been considered one of the most important health emergencies in the contemporary world due to the destabilizing social, economic, and political consequences of its global spread and the unsuccessful attempts to develop vaccination against it. At the same time, some scientists have argued that the problem in tackling AIDS is not so much the insufficient scientific and medical developments, but the politics of the global response to the disease.

The acronym AIDS stands for acquired immunodeficiency syndrome. From a medical perspective, AIDS is not a singular disease, but a series of symptoms that occur for an individual person who has acquired the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV belongs to the family of retroviruses, first described in the 1970s. The characteristic trait of viruses from that family is that their genetic material is encoded in ribonucleic acid (RNA), which is located in the inner core of the viruses and surrounded by an outer membrane made up of the fatty material taken from the cells of the infected person. Furthermore, HIV belongs to the virus group of lentiviruses, which produce latent infections. This means that in the initial state of HIV infection, the virus remains inactive and asymptomatic, and its genetic material is hidden in the cell for a period of time. In some cases, HIV has remained inactive indefinitely. In most of the cases, after the inactive period, HIV does progressive damage to the immune and nervous systems.

The first stage of HIV activity in the body of an infected person is called AIDS-related complex (ARC). In ARC, only a partial deficiency of the immune system occurs. The second state of HIV activity is AIDS, which is a more advanced immunodeficiency. There are three main transmission modes of HIV: through sexual penetrative intercourse, the transfusion of blood or blood-related products, and from infected mother to child during birth or breast-feeding. Furthermore three important characteristics of the HIV infection have been identified. First, the condition is incurable. Second, the person with HIV is infectious for life, including during the initial (inactive) HIV infection period. Third, the effect of the HIV infection is the increased vulnerability to various infections due to the undermined immune system. Therefore HIV/AIDS has been linked with a series of other diseases such as pneumonia, various fungal and protozoa infections, lymphoma, and Kaposi sarcoma (a rare form of skin tissue cancer).

It is believed that the origins of HIV are linked to an HIV-related virus located in Africa. There are two different types of HIV: HIV-1 and HIV-2 (the latter is present almost exclusively in Africa). The first cases of AIDS infection were observed in 1977–80 by doctors in the United States, who identified clusters of a previously rare health disorder among members of the gay communities in San Francisco and New York. Because the first AIDS cases were diagnosed in gay communities, the condition was initially termed Gay-Related Immune Deficiency Syndrome (GRID). AIDS-related diseases were later observed also among hemophiliacs and recipients of blood transfusions, prostitutes, intravenous drug users, and infants of drug-using women. In 1984, the virus causing AIDS was identified by the French researcher Luc Montagnier of the Pasteur Institute in Paris and confirmed by an American researcher, Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute. Also in 1984 the first test for AIDS was developed. The first commonly used tests for AIDS were the ELISA test and the Western blot test.

After the 1980s the statistics of HIV epidemiology showed a constant rise in the number of infected persons and those directly affected by AIDS. The major group at risk was identified by the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) as sexually active adults and adolescents between 15 and 50 years. According to UNAIDS in 2005 there were approximately 40.3 million people living with AIDS, and over 150 million directly affected by AIDS. It is also important to place the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a broader demographic context. The statistics of the HIV/AIDS Department of the World Health Organization (WHO) showed that in sub-Saharan Africa, in Asia, and in the former Soviet republics young women with low incomes and living in rural areas constitute a particularly vulnerable social group, with the highest rate of new HIV infections.

Global and national responses to AIDS included various prevention and treatment policies. After 1996 the so-called antiretroviral drugs (ARVs), compounds that treat the virus infections, were in use. Antiretroviral drugs were available in single therapies, double therapies, and triple therapies. One example of an antiretroviral therapy was the Highly Active Anti-retroviral Therapy, which had a relatively high cost of between US\$10,000 and \$20,000 per patient per year. Most of the populations of the North American and western and central European regions could gain access to antiretroviral drugs and antiretroviral therapies. This systematically decreased the number of deaths due to AIDS-related diseases. As a result, in the Western

world living with AIDS was gradually transformed into an endurable and nonfatal condition. The costs of the drugs and treatments made them inaccessible for most of the world.

The 13th World AIDS Conference in Durban in 2000 marked a significant shift of global attention to AIDS treatment. In 2002 the UN set up the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) in order to spawn more generous international funding of AIDS-related programs and to increase the supplies of ARVs. GFATM functions as a platform for cooperation between the public sector, the private sector, and the civic society. Between 2003 and 2005 GFATM granted \$4.3 billion to various projects in 128 countries, including \$1.9 billion specifically to HIV-related projects. Other key donor organizations are the WORLD BANK's Multi-Country HIV/AIDS Program (MAP), the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the European Union HIV/AIDS Programme. There are also numerous private foundations, charities, and private-sector support networks that participate in the global struggle against HIV/AIDS. In 2003 UNAIDS and the World Health Organization initiated a campaign known as the "3 by 5" initiative, which aimed at making ARVs available to 3 million people in poor- and middle-income countries by 2005.

In 2003 an HIV vaccination clinical trial proved unsuccessful. The obstacles to developing a vaccination against HIV included mutability of the virus, what effective immunological reaction the vaccination should generate, and various practical problems in the testing of the vaccine. The Global HIV Vaccine Enterprise created a forum for public and private organizations, as well as research institutes, to cooperate and generate funding for the development of an HIV vaccine. Important organizations working on an HIV vaccine included the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative in New York.

In the Western world, in particular in the United States, where AIDS was initially linked to marginal social groups, it raised prejudices and contributed to their stigmatization and discrimination in employment, education, residence, and health care. The religious standpoint created a link between liberal sexual patterns and the spread of AIDS, which framed AIDS as an issue of personal morality, guilt, and punishment. In contrast, leftist standpoints phrased the AIDS issue as a problem of the protection of civil liberties and non-discrimination. In spite of contrary medical evidence, it was a widespread public belief in the 1980s that AIDS could be contracted by casual contact. This raised a

number of social and legal controversies where individual rights to privacy were weighed against the collective right to protection from the spread of the disease.

The main site of the AIDS epidemic remains sub-Saharan Africa, where the virus spread primarily through unprotected heterosexual intercourse and reuse of medical instruments and contaminated blood supplies. Experts suggested that the dynamics of the spread of AIDS and its social and geographical distribution in sub-Saharan Africa both reflected and exacerbated the systemic characteristics of the migration and mobility patterns, the social sexual behaviors, the social inequalities and impoverishment, and the breakdown of family structures in the region. A study by the investment bank ING Barings indicated that in South Africa HIV/AIDS policies cost over 15 percent of the country's GDP. The personal and collective consequences of the AIDS epidemic in Africa were equally disruptive. One of the most serious consequences of HIV/AIDS in Africa was the increased number of orphans, whose parents died due to AIDS-related diseases. It was predicted that by 2010 the number of orphans in Africa would reach 40 million, out of which approximately 50 percent would be orphaned by causes related to HIV/AIDS.

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MAGDALENA ZOLKOS

Akihito

(1933–) emperor of Japan

Akihito became Japan's 125th reigning emperor in 1989 upon the death of his father, Hirohito. According to Japanese mythology, the emperors, beginning with the legendary Jimmu, descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu, had ruled over the country since 660 B.C.E. Although the emperors had de jure powers, it was the shoguns who ruled over most of Japanese history. With the Meiji

Restoration in 1868, Emperor Meiji became the head of state, holding sovereign power. The postwar constitution of 1947 again reduced the role of the emperor to one of symbolism.

Akihito was born on December 23, 1933, the first male child of Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako. In keeping with the royal tradition, Akihito at the age of three was separated from his parents and was brought up by court attendants, tutors, chamberlains, and nurses. However, in a departure from custom, at the age of six Akihito was sent to school along with commoners. During World War II when the Allied countries, led by the United States, attacked Japan, Akihito was moved to other provincial cities far away from Tokyo for safety.

At the end of the war in 1945, when the U.S. Army occupied Japan, Akihito attended high school and college with the sons of the elite class. A Philadelphia Quaker, Elizabeth Gray Vining, was made Akihito's personal tutor and taught him Western customs and values. He also briefly studied politics and civics at Gakushuin University in Tokyo.

Akihito was invested as a crown prince in 1952, when he was 18. In 1959 he married Shoda Michiko; she was the first commoner to marry into the imperial family.

When his father died on January 7, 1989, at the age of 87, Akihito became the emperor and took his assigned role as the symbolic head of state.

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MOHAMMED BADRUL ALAM

Algerian revolution

The Algerian war against French colonialism lasted from 1954 to 1962, when Algeria gained its independence. In 1954 armed attacks occurred at 70 different points scattered throughout the nation. Having just suffered a humiliating defeat by the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu, the French army was determined to win in Algeria. The French colons (colonists) in Algeria were also determined to keep "Algérie Française." The tactics adopted by the Algerians and Vietnamese and the French

and the Americans were remarkably similar and brought similar results as well.

The Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) was an outgrowth of earlier nationalist movements. Ahmad Ben Bella (1916?–), in addition to Belkacem Krim, Muhammad Khidr, and Hussein Ait Ahmad, led the movement. Under the FLN Algeria was divided into six *wilayas*, or districts, each with an FLN organization and leader acting within a cell system. The top echelon of FLN leaders met periodically to coordinate strategy. The *wilayas* and the cell system provided flexibility and some degree of security in a war where the French enjoyed military superiority. As with other revolutions in developing countries the FLN adopted guerrilla warfare tactics, avoided direct confrontation with French troops, and attacked civilian targets as well as French military sites. With few advanced weapons, the FLN used the so-called bombs-in-baskets approach to inflict maximum damage on the French army and colons. Algerian women were also active in the movement, serving as lookouts, distributing food and arms to fighters, and sometimes participating in the fighting as well.

In 1954 the French had 50,000 soldiers in Algeria, by the war's end they had over half a million soldiers in Algeria and they were still not winning. The French had clear-cut superiority in armaments, including planes and advanced firepower, but the Algerians knew the terrain, had popular support, and were determined to fight in spite of high costs until they achieved the goal of independence.

The French used air strikes, napalm, pacification projects of rounding up civilians in rural areas and imprisoning them in internment camps, and burning villages. These tactics only increased local support for the FLN. The French army also tortured FLN captives. When word of the torture reached mainland France many turned against the war. In an attempt to focus their power in Algeria, the French granted Morocco and Tunisia independence in 1956, but when FLN fighters took refuge in these neighboring countries, the French attacked them. The war expanded much as the fighting in Vietnam spread into Laos and Cambodia. In 1956 French agents skyjacked the Moroccan plane carrying Ben Bella to a meeting of FLN leaders in Tunis and imprisoned him. One of the first skyjackings, the tactic was condemned by the international community but became more commonplace in subsequent decades. French forces defeated the FLN in Algiers but the FLN merely moved its operations elsewhere in the country, forcing French troops to move. Then the FLN slow-

ly reconstituted itself in Algiers and the French were forced to return to fighting in the same city where they had previously declared victory.

In 1958 General CHARLES DE GAULLE came to power in France with the support of the army and the colons, who believed he would win the war in Algeria. De Gaulle traveled to Algeria, where he pointedly did not speak about “Algérie Française.” De Gaulle realized that short of a full-scale, long-term war the French could not win in Algeria. Although he hoped for some sort of alliance between the two nations and access to the petroleum and mineral reserves in the Sahara, by 1960 de Gaulle was speaking of an Algerian Algeria. He opted for negotiations with the FLN at Evian in 1961. The negotiations dragged on and the war escalated as both sides attempted to improve their positions at the negotiating table by gaining victories on the battlefield. Furious with what they believed to be de Gaulle’s betrayal, dissident army officers led an abortive coup in 1961. The colons organized into the extremist Secret Army Organization (OAS) and attempted to bring the war home to France by trying to assassinate de Gaulle in 1961. The OAS even attempted to bomb the Eiffel Tower, a move that was thwarted by French intelligence services.

The war polarized French society between those who opposed the war—including intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre, students, and labor unions—and those, especially in the army, who supported the war effort.

In 1962 Algeria became formally independent, and Ben Bella returned as the first premier and later as president. The economy of Algeria was in ruins. As many as a million Algerians had perished in the war and another million had been made homeless. Refusing to live in independent Algeria, the colons left en masse, many moving to Spain rather than to France under de Gaulle.

Immediately following independence a form of spontaneous socialism, or *autogestion*, had evolved as homeless and unemployed Algerians took over abandoned farms and businesses and began to run them and share the profits. Initially Ben Bella supported the *autogestion* movement, but gradually the FLN-led government took over farms and factories along the Soviet state capitalism model. Ben Bella and his minister of defense, Houari Boumedienne (1925?–1978), championed the formal army rather than the more loosely organized guerrilla fighters and they outmaneuvered or eliminated potential rivals within the FLN leadership. Algeria adopted a neutral position in the COLD WAR and

sometimes, as in the 1979 U.S. hostage crisis in Iran, served as a mediator in disputes, as it was respected by both sides. Some of the Algerian infrastructure was rebuilt using petroleum revenues but the economy failed to keep pace with the population growth.

In 1965 Boumedienne ousted Ben Bella, who then spent number of years in Algerian prisons; he was not released until after Boumedienne’s death, when Chadli Benjedid became president. His regime was marked by economic stagnation and privatization. As unemployment rose—particularly among the youth born after independence—many young Algerians opposed the authoritarian FLN regime and turned increasingly toward ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS. When the Islamists seemed poised to win in the open and fair 1991 elections the FLN, with the support of France and the United States, cancelled the elections, thereby setting off a bloody civil war that lasted through the 1990s.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Allende, Salvador

(1908–1973) *Chilean politician*

Longtime politician, medical doctor, self-proclaimed Marxist, and president of Chile’s Popular Unity (Unidad Popular) government from 1970 to 1973, Salvador Allende occupies a highly controversial place in Chilean history. The country’s only democratically elected Marxist president, Allende instituted a range of reforms that sharpened the polarization of Chilean society and led to a series of economic and political crises. He was overthrown and died in office on September 11, 1973, by a coalition of military officers backed by the country’s leading economic interests, and in collusion with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). His ousting and death ushered in the period of military dictatorship led by army general AUGUSTO PINOCHET (1973–89).

Born in Valparaíso, Chile, on July 26, 1908, to a prominent leftist political family, Allende entered medical school and became active in the movement opposed

to the dictatorship of General Carlos Ibáñez (1927–31). Cofounder of the Chilean Socialist Party in 1933, he won a seat in the country's national legislature in 1937 and became minister of health in 1939. Making his first bid for the presidency in 1952, in which the former dictator Ibáñez triumphed, he finished a distant fourth. He ran again for president in 1958 and 1964 as the leader of the Communist-Socialist alliance (Frente de Acción Popular), founded in 1957, losing the elections but gaining a loyal political following that by 1964 comprised 39 percent of the electorate. Calling for socialism in Chile, sympathetic to the Communist regime of FIDEL CASTRO in Cuba, and in the context of the COLD WAR, Allende came to be viewed with deep suspicion by both the Chilean landowning and copper oligarchy and the U.S. government.

In the hotly contested 1970 elections, Allende and his Popular Unity coalition won with a slim plurality of 36.5 percent, defeating Conservative Jorge Alessandri (34.9 percent) and Christian Democrat Radomiro Tomic (27.8 percent). On taking office, Allende instituted a populist strategy of freezing prices and hiking wages, which boosted consumer spending and redistributed income to favor the urban and rural poor. He also followed through on his campaign pledge to pursue a "peaceful road to socialism" by nationalizing some 200 of the country's largest firms, many U.S.-owned, including banks and insurance companies, public utilities, and the copper, coal, and steel industries.

By 1971 opposition to the reforms grew, especially among the military, large landholders, and leading industrialists. By 1972 runaway inflation compounded the political backlash, the result of higher wages, a bloated government bureaucracy, and the growth of an underground economy in response to price controls. As popular discontent mounted and the Popular Unity coalition fractured into groups divided over the pace of change, pro-Allende guerrilla groups launched an armed campaign against conservative elements. From spring 1973 a wave of strikes by copper miners, truck drivers, shopkeepers, and others compounded the regime's mounting problems. Meanwhile, the U.S. administration of RICHARD NIXON and the CIA worked to undermine the regime, funding opposition groups and plotting with rightists for Allende's overthrow. On September 11, 1973, the military assaulted the presidential palace in Santiago. By the end of the day Allende was dead—whether by his own hand or the military's remaining a matter of dispute. Upwards of 5,000 people were killed in the coup and its aftermath, making it the bloodiest regime change in

20th-century South America. Revered by some, reviled by others, Allende and his short-lived socialist experiment, and the U.S. role in assisting the overthrow of a democratically elected president, left an enduring mark on modern Chilean and Latin American history.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Alliance for Progress

Announced by U.S. President JOHN F. KENNEDY on March 13, 1961, the Alliance for Progress was a massive U.S. foreign aid program for Latin America, the biggest aimed at the underdeveloped world up to that time. Likened to the MARSHALL PLAN in postwar Europe, its express intent was to promote economic and social development and democratic institutions across the Western Hemisphere; to raise living standards for the poorest of the poor; and to make leftist social revolution an unattractive alternative. "Those who make democracy impossible," warned President Kennedy in announcing the plan, "will make revolution inevitable."

Most commonly interpreted in the context of the COLD WAR between the United States and the Soviet Union, as a response to FIDEL CASTRO and the CUBAN REVOLUTION of 1959, and as the U.S. foreign policy establishment's effort to thwart the aspirations of leftist revolutionaries, the Alliance for Progress, despite some successes, is widely considered to have failed to meet its lofty goals. Pledging \$20 billion in aid over 10 years, the program actually distributed an estimated \$4.8 billion, the remainder of the approximately \$10 billion overall U.S. contribution from 1961 to 1969 going toward loan repayment and debt service. The program came to an effective end in 1969 under President RICHARD NIXON, who replaced it with a new agency called Action for Progress. A refurbished version was formulated by President RONALD REAGAN in 1981, in his CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE, which suffered many of the same shortcomings as its predecessor.

In August 1961 representatives from the United States and Latin American countries (save Cuba) met at

Punta del Este, Uruguay, to formulate specific objectives and targets for the program and ways to implement them. The most important of these objectives included raising per capita incomes by an average of 2.5 percent annually; land reform; trade diversification, mainly through export production; industrialization; educational reforms (including elimination of illiteracy by 1970); and price stability. The program's theoretical underpinnings owed much to the work of U.S. economist Walter W. Rostow, and his notion of "economic take-off" (articulated in his 1960 book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*). He was a member of the inter-American "board of experts" (dubbed "the nine wise men") that had final authority on the program's specific content.

The reasons for the program's overall failure have been the subject of much debate among scholars. Most agree that deepening U.S. commitments in the VIETNAM WAR diverted attention and resources away from Alliance programs and initiatives. Another frequently cited limitation concerns the difficulties inherent in promoting democratic institutions and land reform in societies dominated by stark divisions of social class and race, entrenched landholding oligarchies, and small groups of privileged economic and political elites. Another criticism concerns the top-down nature of the programs, which relied almost exclusively on active state support and failed to incorporate local community or grassroots organizations into their design and implementation. For these and other reasons, the Alliance for Progress achieved some successes but on the whole failed to achieve the goals articulated by President Kennedy in 1961.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)

In 1955 the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) joined to create the American Federation of Labor and Congress

of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The 54 national and international federated labor unions within the AFL-CIO are located in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Panama, and U.S. dependencies. Membership in the United States as of 2005 was over 9 million.

The major functions of the AFL-CIO are to lobby for the interests of organized labor and to mediate disagreements between member unions. A long-standing campaign of the federation is against the right-to-work laws that ban closed or union shops. A related issue is repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, which authorized right to work half a century ago. The AFL-CIO also works against other antilabor legislation and candidates.

The first leader of the AFL was Samuel Gompers, who modeled the AFL on the British Trade Union Congress. He was conservative politically and believed that unions should work within the economic system as it was rather than trying to alter it. Gompers was followed by William Green and George Meany. Under their guidance, the AFL grew to over 10 million members by the time of its merger with the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1955. The union's early accomplishments were significant. Union men gained higher wages, a shorter work week and work day, workers' compensation, laws regulating child labor, and exemption from antitrust laws.

The CIO dates only to the 1930s. Green had replaced Gompers as leader of the AFL in 1924, but he maintained Gompers's business unionism, based on crafts. By then the old crafts approach seemed outdated to some AFL members. The United States had industrialized, and mass production had replaced craftsmanship. Production workers in major industries such as steel, rubber, and automobiles lacked union protections. A strong minority of the AFL wanted the federation to begin organizing industrially. Within the AFL was a union leader with experience organizing an industry, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers (UMW) of America. In 1935 Lewis led the dissidents in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization. With the sympathetic New Deal Democrats in the White House, the unions had a rare opportunity to organize American labor with the government on their side. The committee organized, winning significant victories in automobiles and steel. The CIO challenged the authority of the AFL, and the AFL revoked the charters of the 10 CIO unions. The CIO became the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1938.

The independent CIO, under Lewis until 1940 and then under Philip Murray until 1952, was more militant than the AFL. It had a Political Action Committee, led by Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, that encouraged membership political



President Gerald Ford (left) meeting with AFL-CIO president George Meany at the White House in 1974.

activism. The CIO attempted a major southern organizing campaign that proved fruitless in the 1940s and internal discord led to the loss of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in 1938 and the mine workers in 1942. Still, in 1955, the CIO had 32 affiliated unions with approximately 5 million members.

Both unions had internal difficulties in the 1940s. The AFL had member unions dominated by organized crime. The CIO's radicalism brought into its member unions a number of communists. The CIO expelled 11 supposedly communist-dominated unions in 1949–50.

The end of World War II was the end of the close relationship with the federal government that had allowed the AFL to grow during the 1930s. The Republicans in Congress reversed that relationship, covering unions as well as employers under unfair labor practices legislation and prohibiting the closed shop as well as the organization of supervisors and campaign contributions by unions. Union leaders had to swear that they were not communists. Passed over Truman's veto, Taft-Hartley was a major blow to unionism. Clearly, the union leaders had reason to worry about the new Republican administration, and repeal of Taft-Hartley was an ongoing desire of the AFL-CIO.

Throughout the period of separation, at least some within both unions retained an interest in reuniting the two. After the election of Eisenhower, the two leaderships agreed that the first Republican administration in 20 years would probably be unfavorable to labor. Unity was desirable. George Meany, as head of the AFL, and Walter P. Reuther, as head of the CIO, worked to bring about a merger, which occurred in 1955.

The first AFL-CIO convention elected Meany as president. In 1957 it enacted anti-racket codes and expelled the Teamsters Union for failure to meet ethical standards. In 1961 the AFL-CIO implemented mandatory arbitration of internal disputes. That failed to prevent a dust-up between Meany and Reuther, who regarded Meany as dictatorial and wanted the AFL-CIO to involve itself in civil rights and social welfare issues. Reuther wanted to be president of the AFL-CIO and felt that Meany had outlived his usefulness.

Reuther's United Automobile Workers (UAW) left the AFL-CIO in 1968. In 1969 the UAW and the Teamsters formed the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), which sought to organize the unorganized, students, and intellectuals. Reuther died in a plane crash in 1970. Without his strong leadership, the ALA disbanded in December 1971 after proving unsuccessful as an alternative to the AFL-CIO.

Meany retired in 1979, and his replacement was Lane Kirkland, the secretary-treasurer. Kirkland inherited a union in decline in an economy turning away from organized labor. It brought the UAW back into the fold in 1981, the Teamsters in 1988, and the UMW in 1989. The tide would not turn, however, and Kirkland retired under pressure in 1995.

Thomas R. Donahue, secretary-treasurer become interim president, was challenged by John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), who won the first contested election in AFL-CIO history. Sweeney and United Mine Workers president Richard Trumka represented a new generation of activist union leaders, potentially a force for changing the decline of organized labor. Under Sweeney the AFL-CIO supported Democratic candidates, including BILL CLINTON, and gained a sympathetic ear in the White House. Sweeney proved unable to reverse the decline in unionism due to deindustrialization and the loss of high-paying or skilled jobs in traditional union industries. Critics charged that Sweeney was exhausting the union's funds without anything substantial to show for it.

In 2005 Andrew Stern of the SEIU led an effort to force Sweeney's retirement. Stern proposed consolidating the AFL-CIO's member unions into 20 super unions organized by sector of the economy. He also wanted reemphasis on the organization of unrepresented workers. Failing to reform the AFL-CIO or force Sweeney out, the SEIU left the federation and created the Change to Win Federation.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

American Indian Movement (AIM)

Relations between Native peoples and U.S. federal and state governments soon after World War II swung between paternalism and indifference. Native Americans responded with a new militancy that echoed the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and, by 1968, produced the American Indian Movement (AIM). “Red power,” expressed in lawsuits, sit-ins, and demonstrations—some of them violent—created greater awareness of Native rights and fostered new economic and educational initiatives. But many Indians remained desperately poor and isolated.

In the 1950s federal policies reverted to a pre-New Deal relationship with Native tribes. Indians were once again urged to assimilate, giving up tribal political rights and long-standing land claims. Natives were encouraged to relocate from reservations to urban areas. More than 100 tribes were stripped of their sovereignty and benefits. The federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), never beloved but still useful to Native groups, lost much of its mission.

This again changed dramatically in 1962 when President JOHN F. KENNEDY ushered in what became known as the Self-Determination Era. Kennedy was first in a series of presidents of both parties to take Indian cultural and economic claims more seriously. Natives benefited from GREAT SOCIETY programs. President RICHARD NIXON played a major role as a proponent of the 1974 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.

By then the American Indian Movement was well under way. In 1969 AIM members occupied Alcatraz, the San Francisco Bay island formerly used as a federal prison. They would remain there, reclaiming Alcatraz as Indian land, for almost two years. In 1971 protesters briefly occupied Mount Rushmore, the South Dakota presidential monument near the 1876 site of a Sioux rout of General George Custer.

Not all AIM protests were peaceful. In 1973 a violent clash at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, killed two activists and badly wounded a federal agent. It ended

after 73 days when the Nixon administration promised to review an 1868 treaty. AIM activist Leonard Peltier, who grew up on North Dakota’s Anishinabe Turtle Mountain Reservation, received two life sentences for murdering two federal agents during a 1975 shoot-out on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Human rights groups maintain his innocence.

The overall trajectory of U.S.-Native relations was toward greater autonomy and respect. Some “terminated” tribes, like the Menominee of the northern Great Lakes, had their authority restored. A 1971 Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act and a 2000 restoration of 84,000 acres to Utah’s Ute tribe (accompanied by an official apology) advanced self-determination. During the presidency of GEORGE H. W. BUSH, almost 90 percent of BIA staff had tribal roots. U.S. courts, dusting off long-ignored treaties, restored many Native rights related to fishing, farming, travel, and sovereignty.

In 1979 Florida’s Seminole were the first to use court-affirmed rights to run bingo games. By the mid-1990s more than 100 casinos were operating on reservation lands across the United States. Gaming and other new businesses, including tax-free sales of tobacco and other highly taxed products, enriched many tribes. Some assimilated Natives reaffiliated with their tribes to participate in this new economy. But reliance on the greed of non-Indians proved no solution for fundamental inequities. Approximately 28,000 residents of Pine Ridge, the 3,500-square-mile Oglala Sioux reservation, live with high unemployment and annual family incomes below \$4,000. High suicide and infant mortality rates have made life expectancy at Pine Ridge the nation’s shortest.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Angola, Republic of

The Republic of Angola is situated in south-central Africa. The country is bounded by the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the northeast, Zambia to the east, Namibia to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. It has an area of 1,246,700 square kilometers and its capital city is Luanda. It is divided into 18 provinces,

but one of them, Cabinda, is an enclave, separated from the rest of the country by the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The topography varies from arid coastal areas and dry savannas in the interior south to rain forests in the north and a wet interior highland. On the plateau, heavy rainfall causes periodic flooding. Overuse and degradation of water resources have led to inadequate supplies of potable water. Other current environmental issues are deforestation of the tropical rain forest, overuse of pastures, soil erosion, and desertification, which results in a loss of biodiversity.

Angola had approximately 12,127,071 inhabitants in 2006. There were around 90 ethnic groups in the country, and although Portuguese was the official language, Bantu and other African languages were spoken by a high percentage of the population. Although Roman Catholicism remained the dominant religion, there were evangelist and indigenous religions that were very strong.

Angola's socioeconomic conditions rank in the bottom 10 in the world. Health conditions are inadequate because of years of insurgency. There is a high prevalence of HIV, vectorborne diseases like malaria, and other waterborne diseases. Although the agricultural sector was formerly the mainstay of the economy, it contributed only a small percentage of GDP, because of the disruption caused by civil war. The products derived from this sector are bananas, sugarcane, coffee, sisal, corn, cotton, manioc (tapioca), tobacco, vegetables, and plantains. It also has forest products and fish. Food must be imported in large quantities.

Angola is one of Africa's major oil producers. The oil industry is the most important sector of the economy and it constitutes the majority of the country's exports. Angola has minerals: diamonds, iron, uranium, phosphates, feldspar, bauxite, and gold. But Angola is classified as one of the world's poorest countries despite abundant natural resources. The reasons lie in the history of this country, which has suffered a 27-year civil war that was caused not only by ethnic factors but also by disputes over natural resources.

Angola was a Portuguese colony. In the 1960s liberation movements such as Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) began to call for independence. In 1961 the native Angolans rose in a revolt that was repressed. In 1964 a group inside of the FNLA separated and created the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). During the mid-1960s and 1970s there were a series of guerrilla actions,

which finished with the negotiation for independence in 1975.

But the postindependence period was distinguished by instability. The MPLA declared itself the government of the country so soon after independence that a civil war broke out between MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA, exacerbated by foreign intervention during the COLD WAR. Angola, like many African countries, became involved in the struggle between the superpowers and many African political leaders resorted to U.S. or Soviet aid. The MPLA government received large amounts of aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union, while the United States supported first the FNLA and then UNITA.

In 1976 the FNLA was defeated by Cuban troops, leaving the competition for government control and access to natural resources to MPLA and UNITA. By the end of the cold war era, in 1991, a cease-fire was signed between the government and UNITA and both agreed to make Angola a multiparty state and called for elections. In 1992 the MPLA was elected to lead the nation but UNITA disagreed and charged MPLA with fraud. This situation caused tensions and the war continued until 1994, when negotiations began, helped by South Africa and the UNITED NATIONS (UN). The war finished in 2002 when Jonas Savimbi, the president of UNITA, was killed in battle.

As a result of the civil war, up to 1.5 million lives were lost and 4 million people were displaced. Since the war Angola has been slowly rebuilding, increasing foreign exchange and implementing reforms recommended by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND.

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VERÓNICA M. ZILIOOTTO

ANZUS Treaty

The ANZUS Security Treaty binds together Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. ANZUS was signed in San Francisco on September 1, 1951, and

took effect on April 28, 1952. It remains in force, although it has increasingly come under attack by both Australia and New Zealand since the 1980s and New Zealand has essentially withdrawn from the alliance.

Beginning in the late 1940s the United States abandoned the isolationist impulse that had directed its foreign policy in previous decades to form and maintain a global network of alliances. U.S. policy makers in the COLD WAR were especially interested in opposing the rise of communism. Following the outbreak of the KOREAN WAR in 1950, the United States became concerned with constructing a series of regional security arrangements to guard against communist attacks. For Australia and New Zealand, alliances were a necessity because of their need for protection, particularly from Communist China, the Soviet Union, and due to the problems associated with decolonization in Asia and the Pacific. Both countries were also concerned about the return of Japan to sovereign status, and sought a replacement for Great Britain as a dependable security guarantor. The United States offered exactly what both sought.

The ANZUS Treaty stipulates that an armed attack on New Zealand, Australia, or the United States would be dangerous to each signatory's own peace and safety. Accordingly, each country would act to meet the common danger in step with its constitutional processes. In the early and mid-1950s the United States rejected Australian efforts to move toward more security cooperation such as cooperative and systematic military planning and the designation of national security units that might fall under the ANZUS name and assignment, similar to the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) model.

After the ANZUS pact was signed, nonsecurity ties between the three countries grew, paralleling the building of their security relations. Commercial, cultural, and other forms of U.S. influence were largely welcomed during the cold war years. The great disparity of size and power generated irritation within Australia and New Zealand, however, and both countries complained about the way they were treated by the United States, although both developed close military cooperation with the United States. Australia, in particular, became a valuable site for U.S. communication and surveillance facilities and naval ship visits.

As the cold war began to wind down in the 1980s, the threat from outside sources lessened. Citizens of the two nations, particularly among members of the labor, began to question the elaborate security ties with the United States. Citizens of New Zealand and Australia

challenged ANZUS as more a method for the United States to enlist support for its military agenda than a means of providing security for them.

In 1984 New Zealand banned the entry of U.S. Navy ships into its ports in the belief that the ships were carrying nuclear weapons or were nuclear powered. The United States argued that New Zealand's action compromised U.S. military operations. Additionally, Americans were offended by the manner in which New Zealand presented its differences with U.S. policy makers.

When President RONALD REAGAN announced in 1986 that the United States would decline to abide by the provisions of the unratified Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) II that restricted nuclear weapons, New Zealand stated that the United States had not been negotiating in good faith. The United States responded by rescinding its ANZUS-based security obligations toward New Zealand in 1986.

The future of ANZUS is in doubt. New Zealand has shown no indication that it wants to resume the partnership. For Australia, the alliance with the United States has continued to be a foundation of its defense policy.

See also SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO).

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CARYN E. NEUMANN

appropriate technology

Appropriate technology is an approach of using environmentally conscious, cost-effective, small projects rather than high technology and huge expensive projects to improve the lives of people around the world. Mohandas K. Gandhi was an early advocate of appropriate technology use, arguing that the massive Indian population could not afford the waste and expense involved with many development projects advocated in the West. Gunnar (d. 1987) and Alva Myrdal (d. 1986), an economist and a diplomat from Sweden, also supported the use of appropriate technology in

Third World or Global South development projects. In *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations and the Challenge of World Poverty: A World Anti-Poverty Outline*, Gunnar Myrdal focused on ways to break out of the cycle of poverty whereby low productivity led to low income that in turn contributed to low savings and low capital.

A number of countries and individual development experts have successfully utilized appropriate technology. In the poor West African nation of Burkina Faso numbers of young people were given short training courses in administering shots; they then went out to rural centers in the countryside, where they gave shots to children. Thus at low cost the nation's children were inoculated for the five major childhood diseases.

The Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy (d. 1989) attempted to solve the problem of providing low-cost housing by using cheap mud brick that was easily available and aesthetically pleasing. After World War II he built an experimental village, Gourni, in southern Egypt, entirely of mud brick structures; unfortunately the project was mired in bureaucratic and political problems, and Fathy's approach was only adopted by some artists in Egypt and wealthy Americans in the Southwest.

In 1977 Wangari Muta Maathai of Kenya initiated the Green Belt movement, in which women were mobilized to reforest degraded land; she also fought for the cancellation of African debt and an end to political corruption. Her work for the environment was recognized with the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. In another small but successful project pest-resistant grasses were planted around crops to increase productivity and the grasses were fed to livestock, increasing profits from both crops. In the field of health care President Carter's center in Atlanta, Georgia, aimed to eliminate guinea worm disease, which afflicted many poor people, especially in western Africa. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the richest private philanthropic organization, established programs to raise vaccination rates and eliminate other virulent diseases.

In Asia microfinance projects such as the Grameen Bank provided loans for poor women (who had a more reliable rate of repayment than men) for start-up money for small businesses or the purchase of farm animals such as chickens, goats, and cows that provided much-needed income and protein to supplement meager diets.

Until late in the 20th century the WORLD BANK and other aid organizations tended to fund high-tech projects such as dams, factories, or roads. Toward the end of the century agencies shifted their priorities but, politi-

cians preferred larger, more visible projects with investment from the top rather than on the grassroots level. Although advocates of appropriate technology and environmentalists argued that bigger was not always better, that it was not necessary to build the world's highest skyscraper or biggest dam, nations as diverse as Egypt, Turkey, and China went ahead with the huge ASWÂN DAM, Atatürk Dam, and Three Gorges Dam, and others continued the construction of environmentally damaging projects.

See also THIRD WORLD/GLOBAL SOUTH.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arab-Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations

Five major wars and numerous peace negotiations have failed to resolve the ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians over land and statehood. Israel declared its independence and won the first war against opposing Arab states and the Palestinians in 1948. The 1949 armistice mediated by Ralph Bunche, a U.S. diplomat to the United Nations, ended the hostilities but did not result in an actual peace treaty, and technically a state of war still existed. Although the Arab states refused to recognize Israel, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER of Egypt supported behind-the-scenes secret negotiations in the early 1950s, but when Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion demanded face-to-face negotiations, the diplomatic efforts failed.

After the 1956 war, the United Nations, with Egypt's agreement, placed peacekeeping forces in the Sinai Peninsula (Egyptian territory) at strategic locations along the borders between Israel and Egypt. Their removal at Egypt's request was the ostensible cause of the 1967 war in which Israel decisively defeated the surrounding Arab nations and occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights (Syrian territory), and the Sinai Peninsula (Egyptian territory). Following this major victory, Israel expected the Arabs to

sue for peace and that some border modifications would be made. However, the Arabs refused to negotiate until Israel had withdrawn from all the territory occupied in the 1967 war and that some resolution of the Palestinian refugee issue and demands for self-determination had been achieved. Following the 1967 war, the Palestinians concluded that only armed struggle against Israel would achieve their national aspirations, and the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) emerged as their sole political and military representative. Israel and its U.S. ally both considered the PLO a terrorist organization and refused to negotiate with it. Various diplomatic settlements were suggested but all failed to break the impasse.

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY

To regain the Sinai and to bring the United States in as a mediator to the dispute, Anwar Sadat of Egypt launched a surprise attack against the Israeli forces occupying Sinai in 1973. Although Israel suffered some initial defeats, its military soon recovered and regained the offensive. With U.S. and UN diplomacy, a cease-fire was declared, and both sides announced they had won the war. The U.S. secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, then embarked on shuttle diplomacy between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Israel in an attempt to reach a settlement to the conflict. He envisioned a step-by-step process that the U.S. would control. As a result, various phased withdrawals of Israeli forces from the Sinai were agreed upon and were to be guaranteed by U.S. forces stationed in the peninsula, but the overall cause of the conflict, namely the conflicting claims of Israel and the Palestinians, remained unresolved.

Sadat attempted to revive the process by making a dramatic visit to Israel, where he spoke before the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, in 1977. Sadat was the first Arab leader publicly to visit Israel, and his gesture altered the psychological dimensions of the conflict and made it appear that peace between the Arabs and Israel was possible. In 1978 the U.S. president JIMMY CARTER brought Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Sadat together for 13 days of occasionally acrimonious negotiations at Camp David. These negotiations led to the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel that was signed at a well-publicized ceremony hosted by Carter on the White House lawn in 1979. The treaty provided for the gradual withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai and full diplomatic recognition between the two states. Carter anticipated that further negotiations to resolve the differences between Israel and the Palestinians, the cessation of Israeli settlements in the

Occupied Territories, and the return of some land for an overall peace settlement would follow. The Arab states and the Palestinians rejected the treaty because it did not resolve most of the basic issues, and Israel continued to build settlements in the territories, further angering the Palestinians. In 1981 Egyptian Islamists who opposed the treaty assassinated Sadat; however, his successor, Hosni Mubarak, maintained the treaty in what has been called a "cold peace" between Egypt and Israel. In 1984 a full peace treaty between Israel and Jordan under King Hussein was signed. Hussein and then Israeli prime minister YITZHAK RABIN, both military officers, had a cordial relationship, and this treaty has also held.

During the 1970s the PLO also gained recognition from a number of nations around the world. In spite of Israel's opposition, YASIR ARAFAT even addressed the UN General Assembly in New York City. Israel attempted to eliminate the PLO by attacking its power base in Lebanon in 1982. The war seriously damaged the PLO infrastructure but did not destroy the organization that, with international assent, moved its base of operations to Tunisia. UN peace-keeping forces remained in southern Lebanon along the Israeli border, but a new indigenous Lebanese Islamist movement, HIZBOLLAH, then began attacks on Israeli forces both in Lebanon and Israel.

As early as 1974 the PLO hinted at the acceptance of a two state solution, or the so-called Palestinian mini-state comprising East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. The Arab governments also made gestures regarding acceptance of Israel; the Fahd Plan of 1982, sponsored by Saudi Arabia, called for all the states in the region to live in peace. The Fez Plan of 1982 reiterated the Arab states' willingness to consider trading land for peace as long as some form of Palestinian self-determination was achieved. These overtures were largely ignored by both Israel and its major ally, the United States, although the United States did have some secret contacts with the PLO. After 1988, when the PLO and Arafat agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, to recognize UN Resolution 242, and to renounce terrorism, the United States agreed publicly to negotiate with it as the representative of the Palestinians.

The PLO and Arafat were further weakened by their support for Saddam Hussein during the First Gulf War; in retaliation the Gulf States, especially Kuwait, halted financial support for the PLO, and Kuwait ousted tens of thousands of Palestinians who then generally took refuge in Jordan. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the PLO also lost a key ally. With the end of the

COLD WAR, the United States became the major mediator in the long-running dispute. In 1991 U.S. Secretary of State James Baker succeeded in bringing all of the parties to the conflict—Jordanians, Syrians, Israelis, and Palestinians—together for the first time for direct negotiations. The Palestinians were represented by a delegation from the Occupied Territories who unofficially represented the PLO. The Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir of Likud, the hard-line Right party, was a reluctant participant, and the negotiations dragged on without appreciable progress until 1993.

DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS

At the same time, in 1993 the new Israeli Labor Party government under Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres agreed to direct negotiations with PLO representatives. These top secret talks were held in Norway, a respected neutral party, and resulted in the first Oslo Accords. The accords included the Declaration of Principles (DOP) and letters of mutual recognition that were publicly signed in September 1993 on the White House lawn with President BILL CLINTON as host. The occasion culminated with a famous handshake between the two old enemies, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat. Under Oslo I, Israel agreed to withdraw from Jericho and most of the Gaza Strip, and a five-year process of negotiations for further withdrawals was to result in the creation of what the Palestinians believed would be an independent Palestinian state. The PLO was to maintain order in its territories and prevent attacks on Israelis.

The territories were then turned over to the Palestine Authority under the PLO. In 1994 a Jewish settler massacred Palestinian worshippers in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron; and Hamas, the main Palestinian Islamist group, retaliated with a car bomb in Israel that killed Israeli civilians. Arafat condemned suicide attacks, but they continued. Meanwhile, the PA was also charged with corruption and inefficiency and lost much popular support among the Palestinians.

Under Oslo II in 1995, Israel began a phased withdrawal from Ramallah, Nablus, and Bethlehem on the West Bank. However, the issues of Israeli settlements, the final status of Jerusalem, and the refugees remained undecided. Militants on both sides opposed these agreements, and in 1995 an Israeli radical assassinated Rabin. Meanwhile, violence in the territories continued. None of these negotiations settled the dispute between Israel and Syria regarding the Golan Heights.

The Likud, under Binyamin Netanyahu, won the elections following Rabin's death, and once again the

negotiations stalled. Israel withdrew from Hebron in 1997, one year past the agreed upon time frame. In the Wye Memorandum of 1998 (named after the Wye Plantation in Maryland where the talks were held) the United States mediated further Israeli withdrawals, and Arafat pledged to combat terrorism and to take steps to ensure further Israeli security. However, Netanyahu's government collapsed owing to mounting opposition from within his own party, and the withdrawals were delayed. Thus the expected deadline of 1999 passed without the establishment of a viable independent Palestinian state on the 22 percent of historic Palestine proposed for it. In addition, new Jewish settlements continued to be built or enlarged within the territories still held by Israel.

In a popular move within Israel, Prime Minister Ehud Barak withdrew Israeli troops from southern Lebanon in spring 2000. In the summer Barak met with President Clinton and Arafat at Camp David. At Camp David Barak presented an offer for a final settlement that involved the Israeli withdrawal from much of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; Israeli control over the airspace, water aquifers and all of Jerusalem; the denial of the right of return of Palestinian refugees; and the continuation of some of the settlements. Although Clinton pressured Arafat to accept the proposal, Arafat knew he could not agree to give up the right of return and some Palestinian control over East Jerusalem, particularly the holy site of Haram al-Sharif, and survive politically. He rejected the offer but failed or refused to present a counter offer, and the talks failed.

Shortly thereafter a Palestinian uprising, the AL-AQSA INTIFADA, broke out. As the violence mounted, many Israelis lost confidence in the peace process and Barak. A last attempt to revive the process was made at Taba (in the Sinai Peninsula close to the Israeli border) in January 2001. Under the Taba proposals, Israeli would retain about 6 percent of the West Bank, reduce the number of settlements, and the Palestinians would receive a state. But the two sides could not agree on the status of Jerusalem, the right of return, or the Israeli settlement near Jericho that effectively split the Palestinian West Bank into two parts. The Likud Party under Ariel Sharon won the ensuing Israeli elections, and Sharon became the new prime minister in 2001; he supported the crushing of the al-Aqsa uprising by military means.

The Arab states adopted the Saudi peace initiative whereby they would recognize Israel in exchange for the creation of a Palestinian state in the territories in 2002. In 2003 some former Israeli officials and leading PLO

members proposed the Geneva Plan. Rather than adopting the step-by-step process that had not succeeded, this plan was a full comprehensive agreement, in which the end game was known.

The plan provided for a Palestinian state in most of the West Bank and all of the Gaza Strip and Israeli control over three settlement blocs in the West Bank and around Jerusalem. Palestinians would control the Haram al-Sharif in East Jerusalem, and Jews would control the Wailing Wall.

The refugees would receive some compensation and the freedom to return to the Palestinian state. Provisions were made for mediation of disputes, and the Palestinians were to have a security force, not an army. Israel would keep two monitoring posts as an early warning system on the West Bank for no more than 15 years. Sharon rejected the plan although it received some muted political support within Israel. Arafat did not give full assent for the plan but did not openly reject it. Nor did other states, especially the United States, adopt the plan, and it died for want of support.

Sharon and his successor, Ehud Olmert, adopted a policy of unilateral disengagement whereby Israel made decisions without negotiations or discussions with the Palestinians. Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip and dismantled the settlements, but periodically launched military attacks into the territory and retained control over its borders, thereby cutting it off from trade and outside support. The Bush administration's support for Israel and Sharon lessened the credibility of the U.S. as a neutral mediator to the dispute among Palestinians and other Arabs. After Hamas won the Palestinian elections in 2006 negotiations broke down entirely. Although Hamas suggested implementing a long-term cease-fire, it refused to recognize Israel's right to exist. Israel considered Hamas, which continued suicide bomb attacks against Israelis within the territories and Israel proper, a terrorist organization and rejected all negotiations with it.

As the peace process dragged on, a generation of disillusioned and angry Palestinians grew up under Israeli military occupation. Conversely, many Israelis knew the Palestinians only as suicide bombers or violent opponents.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1967); ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1973); ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1982).

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arab-Israeli War (1956)

The nationalization of the Suez Canal was the ostensible cause for the 1956 Arab-Israeli War. After the United States refused aid for building the ASWĀN DAM on July 26, the anniversary of the 1952 revolution, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER nationalized the Suez Canal to finance building of the dam, Nasser's dream project. Egypt managed to keep the canal running, much to the consternation of France and Britain. In announcing the canal's nationalization, Nasser had carefully adhered to international law. The United States, especially the secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, an expert in international law, opposed the use of force to retake the canal and instead proposed a diplomatic settlement.

The oil shipped through the canal was vital to the British and French economies, and it was apparent that the United States, then self-sufficient in oil, did not intend to supplement any possible oil losses to its European allies. Great Britain and France were determined to take back the canal by force. The British prime minister, Anthony Eden, personally detested Nasser, and his conservative Tory government was reluctant to cede British imperial control. The French were angry over Nasser's support for the Algerians in the ongoing war there. Israelis feared Nasser's growing popularity in the Arab world and wanted him removed from power before he could unify the Arabs and possibly form a united front to attack them. The Israelis secretly approached the French with a proposal for a joint military action against Egypt; the French then brought Great Britain into the plan. Although some British cabinet members opposed joining the alliance, Eden was determined to bring Nasser's regime down, and the tripartite agreement of the French, British, and Israelis was concluded.

According to the plan Israel was to launch a tri-pronged attack across the Sinai Peninsula, quickly take the territory, and stop the offensive prior to reaching the canal. The British and French would bombard Egyptian airfields and parachute forces along the canal on the supposed excuse that they were there to stop the war between Egypt and Israel. The Israelis launched the attack in October 1956, quickly

cut through Egyptian defense lines, took the Sinai, but then stopped before reaching the banks of the canal. The British and French were late in launching their attack but ultimately took control of the canal. The war was a clear-cut military victory for Israel, Britain, and France, but Nasser immediately accused the three nations of collusion. Although Eden and the French for years publicly denied any collusion, ultimately firsthand accounts by Israeli and other military and political leaders revealed the secret agreement.

With some justification, Nasser argued that the attack proved that Britain and France still had imperialist designs on the Arab world and that Israel was also a threat to its Arab neighbors. Nasser thus turned a military defeat into a political victory and became the most popular man in the Arab world. Contrary to Western and Israeli hopes, Nasser was not overthrown, and he consolidated power after the 1956 war.

The war placed the United States in the awkward position of having to condemn its closest allies in the UNITED NATIONS. The Soviets gained popularity in the Arab world by supporting Egypt. The war also diverted world attention away from the brutal suppression of the 1956 HUNGARIAN REVOLT by Soviet forces. In the face of international condemnation, Britain and France were forced to withdraw in December 1956, and the canal reverted to Egyptian control. Subsequently Eden, suffering from ill health in part brought on by the stress of the conflict, stepped down as prime minister. The Israelis were reluctant to withdraw from the strategic area of Sharm al-Sheikh in the south of Sinai and the Gaza Strip. President Eisenhower intervened and threatened to cut off all U.S. economic aid if they did not return all the territories to Egypt. Israeli forces finally left in March 1957. However, Israel did gain a unilateral agreement from the United States that the Gulf of Aqaba up to the southern Israeli port of Elath was to be considered an international waterway. Egypt and the Arab states never recognized the legality of Aqaba as an international waterway but for a decade did not challenge Israeli shipping through the gulf. Israel made it clear that any future closure of the waterway would be *casus belli*, or cause for war, and its threatened closure was one cause of the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

See also ALGERIAN REVOLUTION.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arab-Israeli War (1967)

The 1967 Arab-Israeli War lasted six days and was a resounding military victory for Israel but failed to achieve a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1966 border incidents and incursions into Israel by Fatah Palestinian guerrilla fighters increased, and Israeli launched a major military raid into Jordan in the fall of 1966. In spring 1967 the Israeli prime minister, Levi Eshkol—a dove by Israeli political standards—responded to demands for a stronger stance against Arab provocations by agreeing to the cultivation of demilitarized zones along the border with Syria. Predictably Syria opened fire, and Israel retaliated by shooting down a number of Syrian jet fighters. The Syrians, presumably encouraged by their Soviet allies, believed they were about to be attacked by Israel and appealed to their ally GAMAL ABDEL NASSER in Egypt for help.

In an attempt to gain diplomatic support and to look like he was doing something for his Arab allies, on May 16 Nasser asked that the UN withdraw its peacekeeping troops from the frontier posts in the Sinai Peninsula. Nasser mistakenly believed that a protracted period of negotiations would follow; however, according to the UN Charter troops could only be placed in a territory at the invitation of the host country. Consequently, the UN secretary-general U Thant promptly acceded to the Egyptian request and ordered the withdrawal of the peacekeeping force. Egyptian units occupied the posts including the vital Sharm al-Sheikh position along the Gulf of Aqaba, on May 21. Nasser then gave conflicting statements as to whether the waterway would be closed to shipping going to the southern Israeli port of Elath. After the 1956 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Israel had announced that it would view any closure of the waterway as *casus belli*, or cause for war. On May 23 U.S. president LYNDON B. JOHNSON publicly announced that the United States considered the waterway an international one, thereby supporting the Israeli position.

Eshkol advised caution in an attempt to avoid full-scale war, but military leaders and hawks in Israel favored immediate action. A flurry of diplomatic activity ensued, with Nasser seeing UN and U.S. representatives in Cairo and Abba Eban of Israel touring the Great Powers to secure their support in the event of

war. The Soviets feared a full-scale war that might escalate into a confrontation between the superpowers and used the hotline to Washington to prevent either power from becoming directly involved.

After receiving notes from both Johnson and the Soviets urging calm, Eshkol convinced most of the Israeli cabinet ministers on May 28 that all diplomatic measures should be used before recourse to war. However, irresponsible rhetoric by Arab leaders inflamed fears among Israelis that they were about to be overrun by Arab forces and also convinced Arabs that their militaries would win any war with Israel. Although the CIA and other experts predicted that Israel, with its military superiority, would quickly win any war with its Arab neighbors, the general public in the West, especially in the United States, was also convinced that Israel was in peril.

On May 30 Egypt and Jordan joined in a joint defense pact, and the PLO was allowed to open offices in Jordan. Iraq also joined the pact. Nasser was approached by both the Soviets and the United States urging a diplomatic settlement and apparently believed that Israel would not attack as long as diplomatic negotiations were in process.

On May 31 General Moshe Dayan, a noted hawk, became the Israeli defense minister, and war seemed likely. On June 5 the Israeli air force launched surprise attacks against Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. Within two hours over 400 Arab planes had been destroyed, almost all on the ground. In spite of the boasts by Arab leaders, their militaries had not been prepared for war. With total air superiority Israel launched a three-pronged attack (almost a repeat of the military action in the 1956 war) and easily cut through the Egyptian forces, taking the Gaza Strip (administered by Egypt) and also moved across Sinai to the east bank of the Suez Canal. On June 8 Israel and Egypt agreed to a cease-fire in the Sinai. On June 5 Israeli forces also moved against Jordanian forces in the West Bank, taking all of the West Bank and East Jerusalem by June 7. Over 100,000 more Palestinians became refugees as thousands fled across the Jordan River to escape the war. On June 27 the Knesset agreed to a proclamation that Jerusalem was one city.

On June 8 Israeli forces moved against Syria in the north while the UN was still negotiating a cease-fire. In a still unexplained attack, Israel, on the same day, torpedoed the USS *Liberty*, a spy ship deployed in the eastern Mediterranean. By June 9 Israel had taken the Golan Heights from Syria, and a cease-fire was agreed to on June 10.

Taking responsibility for the disastrous defeat, Nasser resigned on June 9 but was brought back to power by popular acclaim. In support of their Arab allies the Soviet bloc severed diplomatic relations with Israel in the following days. In the war, the Arabs suffered over 26,000 killed, wounded, captured, or missing and lost over 1,200 tanks. Israel lost 6,000 killed, wounded, captured, or missing; 100 tanks; and 40 airplanes.

UN Resolution 242 called for the return of territories taken in war but pointedly did not specify all of the territories; this would become a point of contention in future negotiations. The war had been a humiliating loss for the Arab states. Owing to its decisive victory, Israel expected a full settlement, but no Arab government could hope to survive if it accepted an agreement with Israel that did not provide for the return of the newly conquered territory and the recognition of some form of Palestinian state. The impacts of the war were far-reaching and continue to reverberate in the region to the present day.

After the war, Israel announced that it would only accept face-to-face negotiations with the Arabs. From June 14 to 16, Arab leaders met at Khartoum, Sudan, and forged a united front. They announced that there would be no negotiations with Israel until it withdrew from the Occupied Territories and that no separate peace would be made by any individual Arab state. This caused Egypt's ostracism from the Arab world following Sadat's unilateral peace treaty with Israel in 1979. As a consequence of the impasse, Israel continued to occupy all of the Sinai Peninsula (Egyptian territory), the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights (Syrian territory).

The Soviets rearmed Egypt and Syria and increased their presence in the region. From 1968 to 1970 Nasser waged a war of attrition along the canal, and the Israelis built what they believed to be an impregnable defense line on the east bank of the canal. The line was breached by an Egyptian offensive in the 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

Initially Israel was probably willing to return most of the Occupied Territories in exchange for a full peace and recognition by the Arab states. The longer Israel held the territories and the more Israeli settlements were established, the less land it was willing to trade for peace.

As a result of the war Palestinians concluded that the Arab governments would not be able to achieve their goal of an independent Palestinian state and that they would have to rely on themselves. This directly contributed to the growth of the PALESTINE LIBERATION

ORGANIZATION (PLO) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. It also set the stage for a cycle of violence between Palestinian and Israeli forces that continued into the 21st century.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arab-Israeli War (1973)

The 1973 Arab-Israeli War (October 6–26), known as the Yom Kippur War in Israel and the Ramadan War among Arabs, was the fourth major military conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. During the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Israel occupied Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian-Palestinian territories; despite international efforts by U.S. secretary of state William Rogers and UN special envoy Gunnar Jarring, no peace agreement was reached, and Israel continued to occupy the territories taken in 1967. Although in March 1972 Syrian president HAFEZ AL-ASSAD publicly expressed his readiness to accept UN Resolution 242 recognizing Israel with the return of all of the Syrian Golan Heights, Israeli policy remained unchanged.

Syria and Egypt, with the support of Saudi Arabia, therefore decided to initiate a limited war in order to break the political stalemate. The Egyptian president, Anwar el-Sadat, was also anxious to relieve domestic discontent and to force the Soviet Union to supply Egypt with more advanced weaponry. It appears that Sadat and al-Assad began the secret planning of a joint strategy in 1971 and by the end of the year had reached an agreement on a broad strategy of action. In August 1973 the Egyptian chief of staff, Lieutenant General Saad el-Shazly, and his Syrian counterpart, Yusuf Shakkur, formally agreed on two possible dates for the war: September 7–11 or October 5–10. Less than a week later Egypt and Syria agreed on October 6. At the time, in spite of Arab military preparations, Israeli military

intelligence did not believe that war was imminent. The possibility of Israel's being taken by surprise was not seriously considered, nor was the thought accepted as valid that Arabs might launch a limited war to force serious political negotiations.

The Egyptian and Syrian attack on October 6 was therefore an unpleasant and shocking surprise for Israel. Hostilities began when the Syrians attacked the Golan Heights and the Egyptian army surprised Israel by crossing the Suez Canal on a pontoon bridge and by breaching the supposedly impregnable Israeli Bar Lev Defense Line in Sinai. Syrian armored and infantry divisions stormed the Golan plateau but were stopped several miles from the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias and the River Jordan.

On October 8 the Israeli defense minister, Moshe Dayan, ordered the deployment of Israeli nuclear weapons, fearing that the “third temple” (the state of Israel) might be in danger. His fears proved premature; the Israeli army regained the initiative, and General Ariel Sharon launched a counteroffensive and established a bridgehead on the east bank of the Suez Canal, only 60 miles from Cairo. A cease-fire was agreed upon on October 24. The situation was similar in the north, where Syrian advances on the Golan were reversed, and the outskirts of Damascus came into range of Israeli artillery.

Three major factors enabled the Israeli forces to reverse their initial losses. First, once the superior Israeli military forces had been fully mobilized they retook initiatives on both fronts. Second, a crucial role was played by an enormous airlift of U.S. military supplies. The airlift, larger than the Berlin airlift, provided Israel with some 24,000 tons of arms, ammunition, tanks, missiles, and howitzers. A third and crucial factor was the differing political and strategic goals of Sadat and al-Assad. Sadat had started a limited war to shatter the status quo and pressure the United States to mediate the dispute in order to regain the Sinai Peninsula. Assad wanted to retake the entire Golan and put pressure on Israel to give up the occupied Palestinian territories. After two days of successful advances, the Egyptian forces were ordered to adopt a defensive stance by Sadat, but, in reaction to Syrian setbacks in the north and the U.S. airlift, Egyptian forces reinitiated the attack against Israel on October 14. However, they failed to regain the initiative.

The Soviet Union was reluctant to become further involved, and U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger's skillful diplomacy resulted in a political gain for

the United States and the drawing closer together of the United States and Sadat. On October 22 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 338 calling on “all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity . . . to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242 in all of its parts aimed at establishing just and durable peace in the Middle East.” Sadat accepted the cease-fire, and Syria officially recognized it on October 23.

Israel continued its military action against Egypt, however, and on the evening of October 23 Soviet leader LEONID BREZHNEV sent a letter to U.S. president RICHARD NIXON proposing joint U.S.-Soviet intervention to ensure the cease-fire. He also threatened that if the United States did not take action, the Soviet Union would be faced with the urgent necessity to “consider taking appropriate steps unilaterally.” In response Kissinger put U.S. forces on full nuclear alert on October 24.

The Soviets did not intervene and over the next few days the cease-fire was implemented. Although Israel proved victorious in the end, the war had been a great shock to the state. For the Arabs, the war was a limited success and seemed to rehabilitate the Egyptian army after its disastrous defeat in the 1967 war.

In May 1974 Syria and Israel reached a disengagement agreement, and Israel agreed to withdraw from parts of the Golan and the town of Quneitra but continued to occupy the rest of the Golan. Assad’s achievements improved his image in Syria. The war also increased U.S. power and weakened Soviet influence in the region. The United States subsequently mediated negotiations between Egypt and Israel, leading toward the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS; BERLIN BLOCKADE/AIRLIFT.

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ANDREJ KREUTZ

Arab-Israeli War (1982)

In 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon in an attempt to eliminate the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) once and for all. In 1970, following Black September, when Palestinian forces were defeated in Jordan, the PLO moved its base of operations to Lebanon. The presence of large numbers of Palestinians further disrupted the fragile Lebanese political system, which was based on a confessional system reflecting the many different religious communities in the country. When the PLO launched attacks from southern Lebanon, Israel often retaliated by attacking Lebanon and demanding that Lebanon control the PLO. Some Lebanese, particularly the Maronite Christians who held the preponderance of political power, blamed the PLO for the problems with Israel and for Lebanon’s domestic instability. They also wanted the PLO out of the country.

After civil war broke out in Lebanon in 1975 the central government ceased to be effective, and the PLO was able to establish a state within a state. Although the PLO was not the major cause for the civil war—internal political contradictions in Lebanon were—it was a contributing factor. Initially the PLO attempted to remain neutral in the war, but as violence throughout the country escalated, it was drawn into the fighting on the side of the Sunni Muslims, who, unlike other groups in Lebanon, largely lacked their own military militias. The PLO also provided social services and militarily trained some Shi’i in the south, who traditionally had been the poorest and least powerful group in the country. However, PLO fighters were often arrogant, and gradually Shi’i communities came to resent their presence.

Following increased attacks by the PLO, including terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians in the north, Israel occupied southern Lebanon for 120 straight days in 1978. During this time Israel trained and financed a surrogate force, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), commanded by a former officer of the Lebanese army. It continued to operate as a pro-Israeli force in South Lebanon into the 1990s. The Israeli attacks depopulated much of South Lebanon, as over 200,000 people, mostly Shi’i villagers, fled to South Beirut, where they settled in slum areas and refugee camps. During the LEBANESE CIVIL WAR Israel also established direct ties with Maronite Christian forces, the Phalange or Kataeb, led by Bashir Gemayel, who was intent on removing the Palestinians from Lebanon and establishing Maronite control over the government.

By 1982 the PLO feared a major Israeli attack in Lebanon and moderated its incursions across the border. But the hard-line Likud government, under Prime Minister Menachem Begin, was determined to crush the PLO. In June 1982 the Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal organization, whose leader had been condemned to death by Arafat and the PLO, attempted to assassinate the Israeli ambassador, Shlomo Argov, in London. The Israelis retaliated with a full-scale invasion of Lebanon. Although the Israeli cabinet had approved an invasion 25 miles into Lebanon, the hawkish Israeli defense minister and war hero General Ariel Sharon ordered troops that had little difficulty securing the south to advance directly on to Beirut. As the Israelis advanced, the PLO forces also moved north toward Beirut. Within a week Israeli forces had linked up with Bashir Gemayel's militia in East Beirut and besieged West Beirut, home to about 1 million civilians and also the PLO headquarters. The Israeli air force and navy bombarded the city, and as the siege dragged on, the Israeli military attempted but failed to take the city.

The war resulted in a heavy loss of civilian life, and the international community, appalled by the carnage, demanded a cease-fire. Negotiations led to the withdrawal of PLO leaders, including Yasir Arafat and many fighters, to Tunis on August 16. International forces, including French, U.S., and Italian, moved in to protect the civilian population in West Beirut, but within two weeks president RONALD REAGAN declared the war over and removed U.S. troops.

On August 23 Bashir Gemayel was elected president of Lebanon, but to the dismay of Sharon, he refused to sign a peace treaty with Israel. Several days later Gemayel was killed in his headquarters, and his brother ultimately became the new Lebanese president. In retaliation for the killing—which they blamed on the Palestinians—Lebanese militias, under the observation of Israeli troops, entered the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut, and from September 16 to 18 massacred several thousand people, mostly Palestinian women and children. In Israel major demonstrations against the government erupted for having allowed such attacks. Although Sharon was held accountable for the massacre and forced to resign, he returned to politics and in 2001 became the Israeli prime minister. In the aftermath of the massacre international forces, including U.S. Marines, returned to Lebanon. They, too, were drawn into the Lebanese civil war and became targets for suicide bombers. Thus, even without the presence of the PLO, the war continued.

In 1983 suicide bombers killed 17 Americans and 40 others at the U.S. embassy, 58 French soldiers in a car bomb, and 241 U.S. Marines in a truck bombing at the supposedly safe Beirut airport. When more attacks and kidnappings followed, the international forces withdrew. Israeli forces also gradually withdrew from Beirut but remained in South Lebanon. Lebanon descended into greater anarchy until the civil war ended under the 1989 Taif Agreement, brokered by Saudi Arabia and supported by other Arab states. The 1982 war was a military defeat for the PLO and damaged much of its social and welfare infrastructure in Lebanon, but it did not destroy the organization. Tunisia remained the PLO headquarters until the signing of the 1993 Oslo Accords, when it moved to Gaza and Jericho in the West Bank.

Initially the Shi'i in South Lebanon welcomed the Israelis but gradually they turned against them when the troops remained. HIZBOLLAH (Party of God), which formed as a result of the 1982 war, became the major Shi'i group to fight against the Israeli occupation. Israel was to sustain more deaths and casualties from the struggle with Hizbollah in Lebanon than from the PLO. In May 2000 Israel pulled out of southern Lebanon except for Shaba Farms claimed by Syria and as Lebanese territory by Hizbollah. However, confrontations between Israeli and Hizbollah forces continued over the disputed area and in 2006 Israel again bombarded and invaded Lebanon, this time in an attempt to destroy Hizbollah.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arafat, Yasir (Yasser Arafat)

(1929–2004) *Palestinian leader*

Yasir Arafat (full name, Muhammad Abdul Rauf Arafat al-Qudwa) was born to Palestinian parents in Cairo in 1929, although he claimed Jerusalem as his birthplace. Educated in Egypt, Arafat earned an engineering degree in 1956. While a student he met other Palestinians, especially Salah Khalaf (1932–91) and Khalil al-Wazir (1935–88), who would become leaders

in the nationalist movement. Although it is not certain that Arafat ever became a full-fledged member, he had contacts with the Muslim Brotherhood, and some of his associates did join the brotherhood. Arafat served as president of the Union of Palestinian Students and, later, the larger General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) from 1952 to 1956.

After graduation Arafat, along with several other key allies, moved to Kuwait, where in 1957 he cofounded, with Khalaf and al-Wazir, Fatah (Harakat Tahrir Filastin, or Palestine National Liberation Movement). In Arabic the acronym meant victory. Al-Asifah was its military arm. Wazir's wife, Intissar, also took an active role in the group. Fatah's first operation against Israel was an attack on a water pump station in 1965. Along with many other nationalist leaders in the mid-20th century, Arafat and Fatah members were influenced by the Algerian War. On the basis of that struggle they concluded that an independent Palestinian state could only be established through armed struggle with Israel. Arafat's stated goal was the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in all of historic Palestine. He took the name Abu Ammar as his nom de guerre; al-Wazir became Abu Jihad; and Khalaf became Abu Iyad. The three leaders were known among Arabs as the *abus*, or fathers.

The Battle of Karameh in 1968 was a major turning point for Arafat and Fatah. In an attempt to crush Fatah, Israeli forces moved into Jordan and attacked the Fatah base at Karameh. Surprised when Fatah fighters fought back, the Israelis withdrew somewhat hastily. Young Palestinians and others who had been dispirited after the major defeats in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR then flocked to join Fatah in the struggle against Israel. As a result Fatah became the largest and most powerful of the Palestinian factions and in 1969 Arafat became chairman of the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO), the umbrella organization for a number of diverse Palestinian groups. He served in that capacity until 2004. Under Arafat's leadership the PLO accommodated political factions on the Left and Right and refused to be aligned with any one Arab government.

The mounting power of the PLO posed an open challenge to the Jordanian monarchy. Consequently in September 1970 King Hussein's forces attacked the PLO forces and Palestinian refugee camps, driving the PLO and Arafat out of Jordan. Black September, the group that subsequently attacked and assassinated Jordanian officials and Israelis, took its name from the war in Jordan. Although Israel and others alleged that Black Sep-

tember and other organizations that engaged in terror attacks were controlled by Arafat, he denied the charges. By 1974 Arafat ordered that PLO attacks be concentrated only in Israel and the Occupied Territories of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In 1974 Arafat achieved international recognition and spoke before the General Assembly of the UNITED NATIONS. In subsequent years Arab states and most other countries, with the notable exceptions of Israel and the United States, recognized the PLO as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians."

After being ousted from Jordan, Arafat and the PLO moved the headquarters of their military, political, and social welfare activities to Lebanon. As the central Lebanese government imploded in the course of the civil war in the mid-1970s, the PLO became a state within a state. The PLO infrastructure of schools, hospitals, businesses, and cultural institutions grew. Fearing major Israeli attacks into Lebanon, Arafat attempted to moderate PLO invasions into Israel along Lebanon's southern borders, but as the PLO's political and diplomatic efforts became more effective, Israel was determined to eliminate the dangers the PLO posed.

In June 1982 Israel launched a full-scale invasion into Lebanon with the purpose of destroying the PLO. Arafat and the PLO were quickly besieged in Beirut, where they held out against massive Israeli bombardments from the sea, land, and air. Negotiations by the international community resulted in the withdrawal of Arafat and the PLO leadership from Lebanon and their relocation to Tunis.

Israel attacked PLO headquarters in Tunis in 1985, but Arafat escaped; he also was almost killed in a plane crash in 1992. He and the PLO remained headquartered in Tunisia until 1993. Late in life Arafat married Suha Tawil, from a notable Palestinian Christian family, with whom he had one daughter. His brother Fatih Arafat, a medical doctor, headed the Palestinian Red Crescent for many years.

Arafat was a master at maneuvering among the Arab leaders, with whom he often had difficult relations, as well as among conflicting Palestinian factions, often playing one against the other. In 1988 the Palestine National Council (the equivalent of the Palestinian parliament) declared a Palestinian state with Arafat as the president. By this time Arafat supported the so-called ministate solution, whereby the Palestinian state would include the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, all territory taken by Israel in the 1967 war and occupied by its military forces since that time.

Following secret talks between Israeli and PLO representatives in Norway, Arafat agreed to the 1993 Oslo Accords, which provided for the phased withdrawal of Israeli forces from parts of the Occupied Territories and PLO recognition of Israel. The accords were signed by Arafat and Israeli leaders YITZHAK RABIN and Shimon Peres in a much-publicized ceremony in Washington, D.C. Arafat shared the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize with Rabin and Peres.

Israel withdrew from portions of the Gaza Strip and Jericho, and Arafat returned to what Palestinians hoped would be the gradual creation of a fully independent state. Arafat was elected president of the new Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in 1993 and held the position until his death. Although he personally lived a simple life, Arafat was accused of allowing corruption among high-level Palestinian officials in the PNA and within Fatah. He retained a patriarchal hold on power.

As negotiations faltered, Arafat became increasingly isolated. At the 2000 Camp David negotiations Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak offered to return much of the Occupied Territories in return for an end to conflict, with no terms for the resettlement of the refugees. Arafat rejected the offer but failed to make a counteroffer. Negotiations broke down completely, and many young Palestinians turned to the Islamic nationalist organization HAMAS, which launched attacks—including suicide missions—within Israel and the Occupied Territories. In 2000 and 2001 a new intifada (the AL-AQSA INTIFADA), or Palestinian uprising, broke out. Israel retaliated by reoccupying territory it had previously vacated. Israeli forces surrounded Arafat in his compound in Ramallah, and for the last two years of his life, he remained under what amounted to house arrest.

After some time of failing health he was moved to a hospital in Paris, where he died of uncertain causes in 2004. After Israel rejected Arafat's wish to be buried in Jerusalem, his body was brought back to Ramallah for burial amid massive scenes of mourning among Palestinians. Although Arafat had failed to achieve an independent Palestinian state, he remained the leader who had made the existence of the Palestinian people and their quest for self-determination a matter of international concern.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS; ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1982).

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JANICE J. TERRY

Arévalo, Juan José

(1904–1990) *Guatemalan president and reformer*

From 1944 to 1954 Guatemala experienced an unprecedented democratic opening that began with the overthrow of the 13-year dictatorship of Jorge Ubico (1931–44) and ended with a coup d'état against president Jacobo Arbenz (1951–54), orchestrated by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Serving as president during the first six years of that democratic opening (March 15, 1945, to March 15, 1951), and instituting far-reaching constitutional, social, and labor reforms, was the former university professor and “spiritual socialist” Juan José Arévalo. In the early 1940s a protest movement against Ubico erupted in Guatemala, centered on the cities and spearheaded by university students, professionals, and disgruntled military officers. Ubico resigned on July 1, 1944. The three-man military junta that assumed power oversaw national elections, widely considered the fairest in Guatemalan history up to that time. Arévalo won around 85 percent of the vote.

Arévalo was born in Taxisco, Guatemala, on September 10, 1904. At age 30, he traveled to Argentina, earning a doctorate in philosophy and teaching at the University of Tucumán. With Ubico's overthrow, Arévalo returned to Guatemala and became the favorite of the protest movements that had ousted Ubico. In his inaugural address he outlined his vision of the “spiritual socialism” that would guide his administration. A complex and not entirely coherent political philosophy, Arévalo's spiritual socialism emphasized the interests of working people, social justice, individual and collective rights, and respect for the dignity of ordinary people, including Guatemala's large indigenous population. One of his administration's first steps was to promulgate the constitution of 1945, which expanded the franchise to all illiterate males and literate females age 18 and older; forbade presidential reelection; and guaranteed the autonomy of Guatemala City's University of San Carlos, with funding at 2 percent of the national budget.

There followed a series of broad-ranging reforms in public health, social security, education, and labor relations akin to the New Deal in the United States. Gov-

ernment expenditures on public health, including rural health clinics and potable water projects, expanded dramatically. The Social Security Law of 1946 created the Guatemalan Social Security Institute. Spending on education, literacy programs, and school construction rose 155 percent from 1946 to 1950.

The 1947 Labor Code guaranteed workers' rights to unionize, strike, and bargain collectively; mandated minimum wages; and limited child and female wage labor. An especially delicate issue on which Arévalo tread lightly was land reform. Most of the country's arable land was owned by a small landowning elite and, on the Caribbean littoral, by the United Fruit Company, with its huge banana plantations. Establishing an Agrarian Studies Commission in 1947, and guaranteeing certain rights for rural laborers in wages, rents, and housing, for the most part Arévalo left the land tenure issue alone. His successor, Jacobo Arbenz, instituted major agrarian reforms, provoking the opposition of powerful conservative elements within Guatemala, the United Fruit Company, and the Eisenhower administration. Arbenz was ousted in a coup in June 1954, ushering in a prolonged period of military dictatorship. Arévalo died in Guatemala City on October 6, 1990.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Argentina, Madres de Plaza de Mayo

One of the best-known human rights organizations to emerge in response to the dirty wars in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s, the Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Association of Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) began its silent vigils on April 30, 1977, protesting against and demanding accountability for the disappearance of their children during the Argentine military dictatorship (1976–83; it is estimated that during this period the military disappeared between 15,000 and 30,000 persons).

Every Thursday afternoon, from 3:30 to 4:00 P.M., the Mothers would gather at the May Pyramid (Pirámide de Mayo) in the Plaza de Mayo in front of the presidential palace, wearing white head scarves, often carrying

photographs of their missing children, and walk slowly in circles, demanding government accountability for their disappeared sons and daughters. The founding members of the organization included Azucena Villafior Devincenti (its first president); Berta Braverman; Haydée García Buelas; the four sisters María Adela Gard de Antokoletz, Julia Gard, María Mercedes Gard, Cándida Gard; Delicia González; Pepa Noia; Mirta Baravalle; Kety Neuhaus; Raquel Arcushin; and Señora De Caimi. The Mothers' Association slowly grew, despite the detention and disappearance of some of its founding members, including its first president, Azucena Devincenti. By the early 1980s the Madres had grown to several thousand members and garnered the support of key international human rights groups, including Amnesty International and the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Many consider that the Madres played an important role in delegitimizing the military dictatorship and helping to usher in the period of democratic rule from 1983. The Madres have continued their weekly vigils from 1977 to the present writing, demanding that the government account for their missing children and that the responsible parties be subjected to criminal prosecution, and refusing government offers of monetary compensation (*reparación económica*) if not accompanied by acknowledgment of responsibility. In 1986 the group split into two main factions: the Mothers of the Founding Line (Linea Fundadora), led by Hebe de Bonafini, and the Madres; each currently maintains its own Web site. The group has received international accolades for advancing the cause of human rights, including the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought (1992), the United Nations Prize for Peace Education (1999), and the United Nations Prize in the Field of Human Rights (2003).

The Mothers of the Founding Line has been criticized by some for its lack of internal democracy, cults of personality, and other factors. The Madres also spawned the formation of related groups, including the Association of Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Asociación Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo). Both factions of the Madres continue to demand government accountability for crimes perpetrated during the dirty war, and remain active in the field of human rights.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Aristide, Jean-Bertrand

(1953–) *Haitian priest, politician, and president*

A major and highly controversial figure in the modern history of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide was born in Douyon in southern Haiti on July 15, 1953. After being orphaned as an infant, he was raised by the Society of Saint Frances de Sales (the Salesians), a Roman Catholic religious order. Educated at Salesian schools, including the Collège Notre-Dame, from which he graduated with honors in 1974, he continued his education at a number of religious schools in Europe, North America, the Middle East, and elsewhere, and at the University of Haiti, before his ordination as a Roman Catholic priest in 1982. A gifted orator and organizer, he was especially influenced by liberation theology, a strand of Roman Catholicism that became prominent from the 1960s and emphasized issues of social justice and political activism in alleviating the poverty and oppression of the poor and marginalized. In 1983 he was appointed to a parish in a Port-au-Prince slum, where he worked in a medical clinic and a halfway house for street children. His activism and charisma attracted a large following and helped him build a social base for his subsequent political career. In 1986 popular uprisings led to the end of the DUVALIER DICTATORSHIP, creating a political opening Aristide would soon exploit. His fiery oratory and social radicalism alienated the church hierarchy, leading to his expulsion from the Salesian order in 1988.

In 1990 in the first genuinely democratic elections in Haitian history, Aristide captured the presidency with two-thirds of the popular vote. He called his supporters “Lavalas,” which translates from the Haitian Creole as “cleansing flood” or “avalanche.” His first tenure as president lasted less than eight months—from his inauguration on February 7, 1991, to the military coup that ousted him on September 30. Going into exile in Venezuela and the United States, he was returned to power following a U.S. military intervention in 1994. During the same year he renounced his priesthood, marrying U.S. citizen Mildred Trouillot two years later. Constitutionally barred from running in the elections of December 1995, won by Raoul Cédras, in 2000 he won a second term. Political gridlock followed, and after a long period of political unrest, he was overthrown in a



Jean-Bertrand Aristide returns triumphantly to the National Palace at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, during Operation Uphold Democracy.

military coup in February 2004 and compelled to leave the country. From exile in South Africa he proclaimed himself the legitimate president of Haiti. Denounced by his opponents as a self-serving agitator who advocates violence in the pursuit of political power, and revered by his many supporters as the embodiment of the aspirations of Haiti's poor and oppressed, he remains a polarizing and controversial figure in the modern history of the Western Hemisphere's poorest country.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Armenia and Azerbaijan

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic were constituent members of the Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991 when

the former became the Republic of Armenia and the latter the Azerbaijani Republic.

Armenia, as a part of the Soviet Union, saw a considerable period of peace. However, the intelligentsia of the area had suffered greatly during the rule of Joseph Stalin, with tens of thousands of Armenians being executed or deported. The tensions eased with the death of Stalin and the emergence of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. The next 25 years saw rising standards of living, with improvements in education and health care. Many of those exiled were also able to return. From the 1970s Western tourists started to visit Yerevan and some other parts of Armenia. With glasnost during the 1980s, the situation improved considerably.

Similarly, in Azerbaijan, there was suffering under Stalin, with some Azerbaijanis having supported the Germans during World War II. This also led to mass executions and deportations. During the 1950s Azerbaijan was transformed with the enlarging of the oil industry. This continued throughout the 1960s and helped provide money for an increase in civil engineering projects and infrastructure.

In 1988 the governing council of Karabakh, officially the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, an enclave in Azerbaijan with 180,000 people, voted for unification with Armenia. Azerbaijanis, largely Shi'ite Muslims, then attacked the predominantly Christian Armenians at the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait. There was an upsurge in nationalist sentiment in both republics, with 250,000 Azerbaijanis living in Armenia and 500,000 Armenians in Azerbaijan at the start of the dispute. Many of these fled, and to make the situation worse still, in December 1998, an earthquake hit northern Armenia, destroying most of the town of Spitak, and also hitting Leninakan and Kirovakan, killing 25,000 and leaving 500,000 homeless.

With a rise in Azerbaijani nationalism in 1989, the local government started blockading Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. In January 1990 the border between Nakhichevan and Iranian Azerbaijan was torn down, and Armenians in Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, were massacred. With weapons stolen from army bases and depots, Armenian and Azerbaijani militia were soon fighting each other. The Soviet army was sent in and managed to fight its way into Baku, with hundreds dying. The Communists won the elections for the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet (parliament) in 1990, and on August 30, 1991, Azerbaijan declared independence. Armenia followed suit on September 23. Full independence came about on December 25, with the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov, leader under the Communists, became president, remaining in that position until May 18, 1992, when Isa Gambarov took over as acting president. On June 16, 1992, Abulfaz Elchibey became president, being replaced on June 24, 1993, by Heydar Aliyev, who was acting president until September 1, when he became president in his own right. The former Soviet politician Aliyev started to exploit the oil reserves of the country. He managed to reduce unemployment and establish closer relations with Turkey. As he was dying, on October 15, 2003, his son, Ilham Aliyev, won the presidential election, for which he was the only candidate, and was sworn in as president 16 days later. In 1994 Azerbaijan became a member of the NATO Partnership for Peace, allying itself closely with the West, and since 2001 has been a member of the Council of Europe. In 2004 Azerbaijan joined the NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan.

Nearly 99 percent of the 94 percent who voted in the 1991 referendum supported independence for Armenia. It became an independent country later that year but suffered greatly from a blockade by Azerbaijan. This was made worse when Turkey also blockaded the country in April 1993 after Armenian forces launched a military offensive against Azerbaijan. As Azerbaijan sought closer ties with the West, Armenia sought more engagement with the Russian Federation. Through intermediaries from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), there has been an end to fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh, although there has been much political ferment with increasing unemployment and some 600,000 people leaving the country between 1992 and 1998.

Robert Kocharyan became acting president when Levon Ter-Petrosyan stepped down and has been president from April 9, 1998. During his time in office, there has been increasing dissatisfaction with the authoritarian way in which the country has been run, with dissidents being jailed and opposition parties banned. In recent years, with economic problems plaguing the country, there has been the emergence of the Union of Right-Wing Forces that was founded in Yerevan on May 29, 2000. On March 21, 2002, at the Permanent Council meeting of the OSCE, Armenia once again reiterated its claims to Nagorno-Karabakh, with both governments now determined on a peaceful solution.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

arms race/atomic weapons

Atomic weapons and the arms race were inseparable from the inception of the former: Developments in physics in the 1930s led physicists to believe that nuclear fission could be used as a weapon, and when World War II began, scientists stopped publishing on the topic of fission in order to avoid sharing information with the enemy. No one was yet sure what form a fission-based weapon would take, but the Allied nations were concerned that Nazi Germany would develop it first. In the United States the Manhattan Project was supported by enormous resources beginning in 1942. Research occurred at various sites across North America and was overseen and organized at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the desert provided safe sites for weapons testing. Though British scientists participated, as did many European exiles, the Soviet Union was not included in the project.

Not until after Germany's surrender did the Manhattan Project finish its work. The first test, code-named Trinity, was conducted on July 16, 1945. The first nuclear explosive, a nondeployable bomb nicknamed the Gadget, was a sphere of high explosive covered with surface detonators that directed the explosion inward, compressing a plutonium core in order to start a nuclear chain reaction that grew at an exponential rate. The Gadget exploded with a blast equal in force to about 18 thousand tons of TNT—tonnage of TNT became the standard measure of nuclear bombs thenceforth.

The test was a success. Aural and visual evidence of the explosion reached as far as 200 miles away. Almost immediately two bombs were prepared for the ongoing war in the Pacific: Fat Man, a plutonium bomb like the Gadget, was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, on August 9; three days earlier at Hiroshima, Little Boy, a uranium "gun-type" bomb that worked by shooting one piece of uranium into another to start the chain reaction, had been dropped. Little Boy was the first gun-type nuclear bomb used, and while it seemed likely to work, it was



U.S. troops witness an atomic bomb test. Atomic weaponry shaped the international political landscape of the cold war.

at that time untested. Hundreds of thousands died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, prompting a Japanese surrender a week later.

Future warfare would have to acknowledge the existence of nuclear weapons. Though the Soviets had been left out of the Manhattan Project and the United States was the only country with the capability to produce nuclear arms, the Soviet Union had been receiving information about the project throughout its duration thanks to its espionage efforts. Development of Soviet nuclear weapons had to be conducted without the extraordinary brain trust of Los Alamos, but had the advantage of requiring less innovation. Penal mining provided uranium, and on August 29, 1949, the Soviets successfully detonated First Lightning, a 22 kiloton Fat Man-style fission bomb. Four years after the start of the "Atomic Age," and years before U.S. military intelligence had predicted the Soviets would succeed, the nuclear arms race was under way.

In the aftermath of World War II the United States and the Soviet Union became the most significant and resourceful superpowers. New international alliances like the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) and the WARSAW PACT transpired along ideological lines as much as geographical ones. The arms race was, on one level, simple one-upmanship: a competition through

which tensions could be worked out, as they were in the Olympics and the space race. Though both the United States and the Soviet Union quickly acquired the necessary means to do significant and catastrophic damage to their opponents, escalation continued as the arms race drove them both. The United States countered the Soviet acquisition of “the bomb” by developing the hydrogen bomb—also called the fusion bomb or the thermonuclear bomb. While the first generation of nuclear weapons used fission, the hydrogen bomb relied on nuclear fusion: the process of nuclei fusing into a larger nucleus and releasing energy as a by-product, the same process that fuels the Sun.

On May 9, 1951, in the United States, Operation Greenhouse detonated a thermonuclear device code-named George, with an explosive yield of 225 kilotons. Like the Gadget, George was a nondeployable device used to test the basic principles that would be involved in the design of its successors; a year later, Ivy Mike was detonated with a yield of 10.4 megatons (10,000 kilotons), and the hydrogen bomb officially became part of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. The Soviets kept pace, detonating a preliminary fusion device in the summer of 1953 and a full-scale thermonuclear bomb in 1954. The destructive force of these new bombs was commonly measured in megatons, making the first atomic bombs seem almost trivial in comparison. A Fat Man-type bomb could eliminate a smaller city like Nagasaki; a hydrogen bomb could eliminate a major city and its infrastructure and produce considerably more fallout.

Secrecy was part of the world of nuclear weaponry from the start. In the COLD WAR years, new policies regulated information relevant to the design of nuclear arms: The 1946 Atomic Energy Act put nuclear technology under civilian control and banned the divulging of information related to such to any foreign nation. Eight years later a new act went substantially further: All nuclear technology was “born secret,” which is to say that it was automatically classified without need for evaluation. Nuclear technology was deemed to be a matter of national security. It is widely speculated that the born secret policy is unconstitutional, but the Supreme Court has yet to hear a case pertaining to it.

Throughout the 1950s much of the innovation of the arms race was concerned with methods of deployment. The B-47 Stratojet and B-52 Stratofortress—strategic U.S. bomber jets designed to penetrate Soviet borders—and interceptor aircraft designed to intercept and eliminate bombers were early examples of such innovations. Bomb deployment was also made more user-friendly, requiring fewer specialists and bringing the utility of

nuclear weapons closer to that of conventional explosives, which required limited instruction on the part of the soldiers deploying them. Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) allowed rival nations to deploy nuclear payloads without needing a pilot at all, and the United States proceeded to build missile installations throughout Europe, while the threat of Soviet missiles in Cuba sparked the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS of 1962.

Some attention, of course, was paid to defense against nuclear attacks, not only the fallout shelters and cautionary films that became prevalent in the 1950s, but also antiballistic missiles to shoot down ICBMs before they struck their target, anti-aircraft artillery and fighter jets to intercept bombers, and increasingly sophisticated radar systems to detect incoming attacks. These preventative measures could not keep up with the offensive capabilities of a nuclear arsenal, though, and the development of nuclear submarines, which could launch a missile from the ocean—far from tactical targets—provided each side in the cold war with second-strike capability: the ability to ensure a retaliatory attack in the event of the other side’s first strike. Given the destructiveness of megaton bombs and the amount of fallout that would result from their wide-scale implementation, second-strike capability led to a state of what was called mutually assured destruction (MAD).

As a defense strategy, MAD calls for the development and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction in order to force a situation in which it is infeasible for either side to attack, because of the certainty of devastating retaliation. What may have at first seemed counterintuitive was nevertheless a critical component of cold war thinking that led to the détente, or eased tensions, of the 1970s. Meanwhile, as the United States and the Soviet Union remained dominant in the nuclear field, other nations developed programs of their own: Among the NATO allies, the United Kingdom and France both became nuclear powers by the end of 1960, while the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA followed suit in 1964, at a time when Sino-Soviet relations were at enough of an ebb that China was a potential threat to either the United States or the Soviet Union.

During détente, the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT) was signed by by a number of states, though it was not until 1992 that France and the People’s Republic of China signed. The NNPT limited the spread of nuclear capability by permitting only those five states then possessing them—which also happened to be the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—to own nuclear weapons. It further permitted the use of nuclear power by other states, but

only under conditions that would limit their ability to manufacture nuclear weapons. Any states not explicitly granted rights under this treaty would have to apply to the International Atomic Energy Agency, a regulatory branch of the UNITED NATIONS, to pursue any nuclear technology activity.

The easing of tensions also led to armament control treaties in the late 1960s and early 1970s. SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), held in Helsinki, Finland, between the Soviet Union and the United States, restricted the production of strategic ballistic missile launchers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and further treaties limited nuclear testing and forbade nuclear weapons in space. Détente ended when the Soviets invaded AFGHANISTAN in 1979. When RONALD REAGAN was elected president in 1980 he returned anti-Soviet rhetoric to pre-détente levels, calling for massive escalations in order to force the Soviet Union into economic collapse as a result of defense spending.

One of his initiatives threatened the balance of MAD: The Strategic Defense Initiative, nicknamed Star Wars, would employ a space-based system to deflect missiles en route to the United States, thus limiting the Soviet second-strike capability. Though the system was never fully developed or employed, aspects of it were adopted by every subsequent administration, even after the cold war ended.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START) further limited nuclear arms, and periodic treaties continue to reduce the number of nuclear warheads in operation. The arms race effectively ended when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Though no one possesses the resources of the cold war superpowers, the rest of the world has begun to catch up to the nuclear states: In the post-cold war years India, Pakistan, and North Korea have all tested nuclear devices (North Korea withdrew from the NNPT in 2003; India and Pakistan never signed), and more are sure to follow. The International Atomic Energy Agency estimates that, as of 2006, 40 nonnuclear countries possessed the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons if they desired to.

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BILL KTE'PI

art and architecture

World War II had changed the nature of the world, and after postwar reconstruction had finished, there were important new trends in art and architecture that were to influence the latter half of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century.

From about 1950, a large number of artistic movements started flourishing in the United States and elsewhere. An early one was the abstract expressionism movement, which started in New York—the phrase first being coined by the art critic Robert Coates in 1946. Drawing from surrealism and also from Mexican social realists such as Diego Rivera and David Siqueiros, it was stylistically similar to some of the work of the Soviet artist Wassily Kandinsky. Abstract expressionism tended to rely on a spontaneous or subconscious creation, with early painters in this style being Jackson Pollock and Max Ernst. Mark Tobey from the northwest United States also produced paintings that developed further from some of Pollock's style. Developing from abstract expressionism, and especially from the work of Jackson Pollock, the abstract style of color field painting involved covering canvases with large areas of solid color. The canvases, such as those by Mark Rothko, tended to be large, with other artists such as Clyfford Still, Hans Hofmann, Morris Louis, and Larry Zox using the same style.

The beginning of pop art emerged in Great Britain in the mid-1950s, and quickly spread to the United States. The term *pop art* was coined by the art critic Lawrence Alloway. As well as paintings, the field included advertising material and comics. Many pop art works were made from plastic, and subsequently become regarded as kitsch, being aimed at a large audience. Notable pop artists include David Hockney, Roy Lichtenstein, George Segal, and Andy Warhol. Developments in pop art often spring from the availability of new materials or old materials in new forms.

The name op art, derived from pop art but totally different in style, was a contraction of the term *optical art*, which highlights styles in geometric abstraction, often developing interesting optical perspectives. This grew, in some ways, from the Bauhaus movement of the 1930s, with the term being first used in October

1964. The Hungarian-born artist Victor Vasarely was perhaps one of the better-known artists in this field. Op art used straight and curved edges, and the next trend was Hard-Edge painting, which was largely a reaction to abstract expressionism. With its creative center being California through the 1960s, artists include Lorse Fietelson, his wife Helen Lundeborg, and was heavily promoted by Peter Selz, a professor at Claremont College in California.

Minimal art was introduced in the late 1960s by Donald Judd, Carl Andre, Richard Serra, and others at the same time that Robert Bresson was directing films and Samuel Beckett was writing plays, also in a minimalist way. The trend toward minimalism continued through the early 1970s, being mirrored in architecture and design. The influence of minimalism led to a new trend of postminimalism, with grids and seriality adding a human element to the work. Tom Friedman, Eva Hesse, Anish Kapoor, Joel Shapiro, and Richard Tuttle were some whose work conveyed the essence of postminimalism.

From the late 1960s a new trend of lyrical abstraction started to emerge from the abstract art movement, primarily in New York and Los Angeles, developing in Toronto, Canada, and London. It drew from *tachisme*, which had been popular as a French art style from 1945 until 1960, and also from abstract impressionism, the term *lyrical abstraction* being first coined by Robert Pincus-Witten in 1969.

A greater environmental awareness from the late 1950s and early 1960s helped influence land art, which started in the late 1960s, whereby artworks were made from rocks, sticks, plants and soil from nature. Many of these works were made outdoors and have not survived, although they were recorded in photographs. Some artists were influenced by the photographs brought back from the Moon by Apollo missions, and there have been extensive outdoor projects by Latin American artists. Some ideas from this field have been expressed in conceptual art, which involved objects taking precedence over many aesthetic concerns. By the late 1960s the concept of photorealism



Campbell's Soup Cans by Andy Warhol, 1962, displayed in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Warhol was an American artist who became a central figure in the movement known as Pop Art.

painting saw a return to the styles of the 17th and 18th centuries, in trying to create the look of a photograph in a painting.

From the 1970s the trends were toward new fields called either contemporary art or postmodern art. This involved adapting the modernist ideas, and often incorporated some elements of popular culture, and even performance art, into newer designs or incorporating new material.

ARCHITECTURE

The period immediately after World War II saw the construction of many war memorials and the painting of artwork commemorating sacrifice in war. Gradually this gave way to civil engineering projects for Olympic and other sporting occasions and also many ambitious airport complexes. Architects were also involved in designing large bridges, such as those over the Bosphorus (Turkey), the Tagus (Portugal), the Humber Bridge (UK), and from the Malaysian mainland to Penang Island. There has also been the construction of large numbers of buildings for international organizations, such as the UNITED NATIONS buildings in New York, the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, Interpol in Paris, and the headquarters of the World Health Organization in Geneva. The period also saw many countries and cities competing to have the tallest habitable building, the tallest telecommunications tower, the tallest mast, and even the highest public observatory. But New York remained the city with the most skyscrapers, followed by Chicago, and then Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tokyo, Houston, Singapore, Los Angeles, Dallas, and then Sydney, Australia.

The starting of UNESCO World Heritage listing helped preserve architecture in some parts of the world but did not prevent major damage to some important structures, such as the Mostar Bridge (Bosnia) in 1992 and the Bamiyan Buddhas (Afghanistan) in 2001. Mention should also be made of UNESCO's involvement in the moving of ancient Egyptian structures at Abu Simbel to construct the Aswān Dam, and the restoration of the Borobudur Buddhist monument in Java, Indonesia.

WESTERN EUROPE

After World War II, there was a major change in British architecture. Many new buildings were required due to war damage. The government focused initially on schools, as only 50 of the 1,000 schools in London survived the war undamaged. Additionally, the private sector involved itself in what became known as dormitory suburbs such as Basildon, Crawley, Harlow and Stevenage. The building



After World War II, many buildings were built for international organizations, such as the United Nations buildings in New York.

of Slough, near Windsor, to the west of London, became celebrated when the British poet laureate Sir John Betje-man denounced the city, suggesting that the easiest way of improving it was to bomb it, writing poetry to that effect. Other developments at the time included Telford, a large conurbation to the west of Birmingham, bringing together a number of villages; and the council flat developments in many inner cities, including some in central Glasgow, Scotland; and the Poplar housing estate in London built after the Festival of Britain in 1951.

Gradually the trend became the construction of large numbers of modernist buildings. The four new cathedrals built in Britain incorporated much of the modern design, as seen in Liverpool Cathedral (started in 1903, completed in 1978, the architect Giles Gilbert Scott having died in 1960), Guildford Cathedral (started in 1936, consecrated in 1961), Coventry Cathedral (consecrated in 1962), and the Roman Catholic cathedral at Liverpool (consecrated in 1967). Sussex and York Universities were also functional in their design, with the stepped nature of parts of the University of East Anglia giving rise to it being known as the typewriter building. A reaction against this type of

design arose in 1984 when Prince Charles was critical of a “ultra-modern wing” to be added to the National Gallery on London’s Trafalgar Square—he called it a “monstrous carbuncle on the face of a much-loved friend”—resulting in an outcry from some architects who felt that Prince Charles should not have spoken out against the project and support from many people who disliked the new design. Other important landmark architectural projects in London include the Telecom Building, Canary Wharf, the London Eye, and the new Wembley Stadium.

British sculpture during this period revolved around Henry Moore (1898–1986), and a number of painters emerged, with the most famous probably being the Anglo-Irish figurative painter Francis Bacon (1909–92) and L. S. Lowry (1887–1976), who painted the industrial north of England. Peter Blake, R. B. Kitaj, and David Hockney became innovators in pop art.

In Europe, the designs ranged from the traditional to the modernist. In France, the most famous modern designs included the Pompidou Center, also known as the Centre Beaubourg. It was designed by architects Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, and engineers Peter Rice and Edmund Happold. Named after the former president of France, it was opened in 1977 and is well known for its exterior. Also controversial was the glass pyramid that marks the entrance to the Louvre Museum, 21 meters tall, designed by the China-born American architect I. M. Pei. Other important architectural sites include the new National Library of France, opened in 1996; refurbishment of the Gare du Nord into a gallery; and the building of the satellite town and business district of La Défense to the west of Paris. In Brussels, the capital of Belgium, the Atomium, built for the 1958 Brussels World Fair, is unique.

In Spain, art and architecture were intensely conservative until the death of the dictator Francisco Franco in 1975. The Valle de los Caídos, outside Madrid, has a massive cross dominating a hill, with a basilica tunneled into the rocks at its base. A memorial to the dead of the Spanish civil war, it also became the resting place of Franco when he died. The entrance to the Queen Sophia Art Center in Madrid, where Picasso’s *Guernica* (1937) is displayed—the painting returning to Spain in 1981—is an example of post-Francoist modernism. The gallery also exhibits some of the more famous pictures by Salvador Dalí (1904–89). Work also began again on completing Gaudí’s La Sagrada Família in Barcelona, before the Olympic Games in the city in 1992, and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, designed by U.S. architect Frank Gehry, opened in September 1997 with both the building and its contents receiving much acclaim. In

southern Spain, the tourist developments at Marbella, the Costa del Sol, and other places have also been an important part of Spain’s recent architectural development. Similar apartment complexes have also been built in Greece, Malta, and other tourist sites around the Mediterranean.

The postwar Italian governments have been active in urban development in many parts of the country, but have aimed at retaining the Renaissance core of cities such as Florence. The Palazzetto dello Sport and Stadio Flaminio, constructed for the 1960 Rome Olympics, are still used. The Pirelli Tower in Milan, built in 1958, and the tomb of Pope John XXIII (d. 1963) and Rome Railway Station are all important architectural statements. Pier Luigi Nervi, introducing the use of concrete reinforced with mesh, helped influence architectural design around the world. After World War II, the rebuilding of Monte Cassino was notable; and in recent years the cleaning of the Sistine Chapel, and the work on preserving early modern artwork such as Leonardo da Vinci’s *The Last Supper* have been important. Mention should also be made of the art of the surrealist Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978), Sandro Chia (b. 1946), and Francesco Clemente (b. 1952).

In Germany, the rebuilding of the country saw a large number of new buildings, many functional civic buildings, or repairs to others, such as the reconstruction of the Berlin Cathedral, opened again in 1993, and the rebuilding of the Reichstag with a glass dome completed in 1999, overseen by the architect British Norman Foster. After the end of Nazi rule, artwork became much freer, with the graffiti and painting on the Berlin Wall being part of the new expressive artistic climate. The construction of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, designed by Daniel Libeskind, incorporated many new architectural features aimed at not responding to functional requirements in the same manner as many other museums. In Austria, the maverick architect Friedensreich Hundertwasser worked in Vienna, where he applied his modernist principles in his design of the Hundertwasserhaus, an apartment block, trying to challenge existing architectural designs by not having straight lines. He has also been involved in painting and in designing some Austrian postage stamps.

EASTERN EUROPE

In eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, devastated by World War II, the rebuilding of many of the cities required large housing estates to be hurriedly built. With the city planners in Moscow anxious to restrict the growth of the city, some of these apartment blocks were built taller than the original architects had planned. For

civic buildings, there were many in what became known as Stalinist Gothic, the most famous outside the Soviet Union being the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. The most grandiose was undoubtedly the Palace of the People in Bucharest, Romania, which is one of the largest buildings in the world. Art during the Communist era hailed socialist endeavor or, within the exiled communities or underground, championed the resistance to the Communist government. In an effort to break away from this, there was a recent effort expended in Tiranë, Albania, to paint the graying apartment buildings in bright colors. The breakup of former Yugoslavia saw the shelling of Dubrovnik, which led to an international outcry—the international community contributing to the rebuilding of the Mostar Bridge.

In the Soviet Union, the Communist government embarked on massive building projects, with war memorials, television towers, and civic buildings, as well as apartment blocks being built throughout the country, often decorated with revolutionary art. The *Motherland* statue in Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) is perhaps the most famous work of revolutionary art. Since the end of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism, there has been a trend to adopt pre-1917 artistic styles. Great care and expense was lavished on restoring the czarist palaces and monuments, which, in Moscow, was reflected in the rebuilding of the Cathedral Church of Christ the Savior in the same style and on the same site as the building destroyed by Stalin.

ASIA

In China, the victory of the Communists in the Chinese civil war saw major changes throughout the country, the first being the destruction of the city walls around Beijing and numerous other cities. Large numbers of hospitals, schools, and other modest buildings were constructed throughout the country, with a number of important Communist landmarks—the most famous being around TIANANMEN SQUARE—with the building of the new Chinese Parliament, the Great Hall of the People, on the west side of the square, and the Museum of the People on the east side, with Mao's Mausoleum later built at the southern end. Other major projects included the building of the Beijing subway and the construction of the nuclear fallout tunnel system under Beijing. Communist revolutionary art was famous for its telling of the heroic efforts of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and other Communist leaders, as well as important revolutionary actions.

From the late 1980s, Beijing, as with other cities in China, saw a massive building boom, with office buildings, apartment blocks, and hotels being constructed at a

frenetic rate. For Shanghai, Pudong, which had been the location of many market gardens, was transformed with skyscrapers dwarfing those on the Bund, which they face across the river. The Oriental Pearl Tower, located there, is now the tallest building in Asia and the third-tallest in the world. Many of the designs in the skyscrapers throughout China can trace their roots to the massive urban development of Hong Kong from the 1960s. The Bank of China Tower in Hong Kong, designed by I. M. Pei, built in 1989, is important. Mention should also be made of the new Hong Kong Airport, and airports throughout China, as well as tourist sites such as the Tianjin History Museum. Many new buildings are being constructed for the Beijing Olympics. In Taiwan, the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial in Taipei and the National Palace Museum are two of the outstanding architectural sites on the island.

During the KOREAN WAR (1950–53), much of the Korean Peninsula was devastated, and after the war both Pyongyang and Seoul needed extensive reconstruction. In Pyongyang, massive edifices were built such as the Kumsusan Memorial Palace, formerly the residence of the North Korean leader KIM IL SUNG, now his resting place. The Mansudae Grand Monument, the Monument to the Juche Idea, the Great People's Study House (the library), and the unfinished Ryugyong Hotel (now the tallest unoccupied building in the world) are all important architectural projects. Artists in North Korea not only produce communist propaganda art but also have been involved in working on Western animated films such as *The Lion King* (1994).

In Japan, the rebuilding after the war was quickly dwarfed by the property boom of the 1970s and the 1980s, which saw massive buildings constructed in all of Japan's major cities. Architects in Japan have long been involved in designing buildings to withstand earthquakes, and this was shown to have been important during the Kobe earthquake of 1995.

In Southeast Asia, Vietnam has seen the construction of the HO CHI MINH Mausoleum in Hanoi, and the functional modernist Presidential Palace in Saigon (the scene of the final surrender of the South Vietnamese government). The Cu Chi Tunnels outside Saigon are also great architectural feats from the Vietnam War, which saw the destruction of much of the country, including large sections of the Imperial Palace at Hue. In Thailand, the tourist boom and the wealth that flowed into the country from the 1960s saw the construction of massive hotel complexes and condominiums in Bangkok and some other cities, leading to major traffic problems and pollution. Artwork in Thailand has

tended to remain rather traditional, and much appeals to the tourist market, with paintings by elephants now becoming popular.

In Malaysia, the incredible wealth in the country from the 1980s led to the construction of the Petronas Towers (1996), the Masjid Wilayah Persekutuan (Federal Territory Mosque) in Kuala Lumpur (1998–2000), and the massive national expressway through western Malaysia. The Kuala Lumpur airport was also, for a short period, the largest airport in the world. In Singapore, the 1950s saw the start of the construction of many apartment blocks throughout the island by the Singapore Housing and Development Board. During the 1970s “Garden Cities” were created, and during the 1980s many skyscrapers were built, the two most well-known ones being possibly the UOB Building and the OCBC Building, both headquarters for banks. In Brunei, the Istana Nurul Iman in Bandar Seri Begawan, the official residence of the sultan, is larger than the Vatican—and is the largest residential palace in the world—designed by Filipino architect Leandro V. Locsin, and boasts 1,788 rooms. The Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque, also in Brunei, was built in 1958 by a Malay architectural firm from Kuala Lumpur and dominates the central part of Bandar Seri Begawan.

In Indonesia, the Monas Tower in Jakarta—built from 1961 until 1975 in Italian marble—and many civic buildings throughout the country demonstrate the increasing prosperity of the country, with Jakarta International Airport being designed in the traditional Javanese style (with heavy use of carved wooden features). The tourist boom has also seen a large number of hotels and guest houses of varying designs in Bali and in other places. The Imax Cinemas at Keong Mas in Jakarta once had the largest Imax screen in the world, taking its name the Golden Snail Theatre from its shape. The Komodo Natural History Museum—in the shape of its residents, Komodo dragons—is also worth mentioning. In Manila, the capital of the Philippines, the “Metro Manila” phase of the 1970s saw First Lady Imelda Marcos being responsible for the construction of massive buildings, with critics claiming that she was suffering from an “edifice complex.” There has even been a recent upsurge in building in Myanmar (formerly Burma), where Naypyidaw became the country’s capital on November 6, 2005.

THE REST OF THE WORLD

Artistic endeavor in India has followed the traditional Hindu myths, with Rama, Sita, and other characters from the *Ramayana* remaining popular, but also artwork which portrays India as a regional power. The massive wealth of India has seen the emergence of large areas of apartments

and lavish homes, with the billionaire Mukesh Ambani’s 173-meter tower in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) being perhaps the most extravagant. In Pakistan the major architectural projects in the country centered on the moving of the country’s capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi and then to Islamabad, the project designed by the Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis.

In Australia, the most famous building built during this period was the Sydney Opera House, designed by Jørn Utzon and opened in 1973. The Eureka Tower in Melbourne, opened in 2006, is now the tallest residential building in the world. On the art scene, aboriginal art has become extremely popular both within Australia and also overseas.

The incredible wealth in the Middle East from oil led to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain affording some of the best architects in the world and building iconic structures such as the Kuwait Towers and the Burj Al Aran Hotel in Dubai. In Baghdad, Iraq, the massive swords across the main road celebrating Saddam Hussein’s achievements outlived him, as did the shah’s monumental arch in Tehran, Iran.

Throughout Africa, many European and indigenous architects have worked on the numerous civic buildings that were constructed by the newly emerging nations. The Cairo Tower in Egypt, built by GAMAL ABDEL NASSER in 1956–61, remains an important site in central Cairo. The construction of numerous civic buildings and presidential palaces throughout the continent is also worth mentioning, as is the Sun City complex in South Africa.

In the United States, countless skyscrapers have been built, the most famous being the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, designed by Minoru Yamasaki, completed in 1972, and destroyed on September 11, 2001. Other important landmarks include Chicago’s Sears Tower—at one point the world’s tallest building—completed in 1974, and Seattle’s Space Needle, built in 1962 for the Seattle World’s Fair. Mention should also be made of the Glass Cathedral of Oral Roberts and the strange deconstructionist cityscape of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Stata Center. For art, in the United States many artists have turned to episodes in U.S. history, with countless scenes of the Native Americans, the American Revolutionary War (especially around the anniversary in 1976), and the American Civil War. Commemorations of more recent conflicts, such as the U.S.M.C. War Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and the Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., have risen as well.

In Latin America, the massive enlargement of the cities of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile has seen architects designing apartments and also civic amenities.

The moving of the Brazilian capital to Brasília in 1960, with plans designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer, the landscape architect Burle Max, and the urban planner Lucio Costahas, is one example. From the 1980s there has also been the construction of large parliament buildings, such as the Chilean parliament in Valparaíso and the Paraguayan parliament in Asunción. In terms of art, many painters return to traditional themes, but there have also been many new painting techniques, exemplified by the later works of Diego Rivera (1886–1957) and the surrealist style of David Siqueiros (1896–1974), both from Mexico, which have influenced many artists throughout Latin America.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Asian Development Bank

The Asian Development Bank (ADB), a nongovernmental organization headquartered in Manila, the Philippines, was founded to provide aid, funding, and various forms of financial and technical support to countries in Asia and the Pacific. The ADB started operations in 1966 and initially represented a group of 31 states. As of 2006 it had grown to have 66 members. This included 47 states from inside the zone and 19 countries elsewhere.

The bank's stated goal is to improve the lives of the peoples of the region by helping them develop economically and socially. This is a major task given the depths of poverty encountered in some regions. Many area peoples live on less than \$2.00 per day. The bank has a specific commitment to helping less-developed and poorer Asian countries to advance economically. This help can take several forms and affect regional, subregional, and local projects and programs.

The goals of the ADB are varied and include developments to foster economic growth and projects to reduce

poverty. The organization also attempts to assist in the improvement of conditions that affect women and children as well as to implement strategies that encourage human resource development and to promote environmentally friendly strategies for growth.

The total lending volume is around \$6 billion in the early 2000s, with technical assistance programs totaling \$180 million a year. These financial programs can involve both public and private investments. In terms of economic development, the bank evaluates requests for help and then determines where its assistance is most appropriate. It favors proposals that offer a combination of social and economic development. It hopes that at least 50 percent of the projects will produce social or environmental benefits. Its other priorities are geared to economic growth and development. The bank also attempts to match its lending with governmental contributions.

The ADB's work encompasses many different activities and embraces many diverse areas. For example, the bank's efforts affect agriculture and resources, finance, transport and communications, economic and social infrastructure, industrial investment, and mineral extraction projects. The ADB receives numerous proposals from its members for particular projects, which it assesses to determine their relative merits. It analyses the viability, value for money, economic and social impact, technical realities, provisions for accounting oversight, and contract and bidding implementation as well as openness and overall development priorities. After a thorough review and analysis—which can include review by outside agencies and consultants—worthy projects receive the bank's approval, and a schedule for completion is determined that also details performance guidelines and expectations.

The ADB is directed by a board of governors with one representative drawn from each member country. This board then elects a 12-member board of directors, with eight of the 12 coming from Asian-Pacific countries. The governors also elect a bank president, who acts as chairperson for the board of directors and whose term is five years, with the possibility of reelection. Traditionally the president has been a Japanese. This choice reflects Japan's heavy investment in the bank of approximately 13 percent of its shares, a figure matched only by U.S. investment. Countries that withdraw from the organization have their investment reimbursed.

In 2006 there were projects and feasibility studies in areas such as road development in Afghanistan, infra-

structure and transport strategies for India, telecommunications investment in Cambodia, road improvements in the Solomon Islands, water management programs in China, and regional efforts in energy-related areas.

In recent years the bank has developed anticorruption initiatives. As in related institutions such as the WORLD BANK, corruption can work against the developmental interests of poor countries. In theory, all projects must undergo regular and intensive ADB audits, yet issues still remain as to the misuse or misappropriation of funds and the wasteful use of project money. There are also concerns that there have been projects approved that do not help the poor as they should.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

APEC is an organization that aims to promote free trade and economic cooperation throughout the Asia-Pacific region. It was created in 1989 because of the growing interdependence of Asia-Pacific economies and the establishment of regional economic blocs such as the EUROPEAN UNION and the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT. APEC intends to improve living standards and education levels through sustainable economic growth and to promote a sense of community and an appreciation of common values among Asia-Pacific countries. APEC's membership includes 21 states, called "member economies." Of these, 12 are founding members—Australia, Brunei, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States—while Chile, China, Hong Kong, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Russia, Taiwan, and Vietnam joined at a later phase. APEC has no treaty obligations of its participants. Decisions made within APEC are reached by consensus, and commitments are undertaken on a voluntary basis. APEC's membership accounts for approx-

imately 40 percent of the world's population, approximately 56 percent of world GDP, and about 48 percent of world trade.

The first APEC Leaders' Meeting occurred in 1993 and was organized by BILL CLINTON in Blake Island, Washington. At its 1994 summit meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, APEC set an ambitious schedule to achieve free trade and raise the level of investments throughout the Asia-Pacific region by 2010 for members with developed economies and by 2020 for members with developing ones. The Osaka Action Agenda was adopted a year later and was designed to implement APEC's goals of liberalizing trade and investment, facilitating business activities, and promoting economic and technical cooperation. The procedure that all APEC's decisions had to be taken by consensus and preferably passed unanimously limited the effectiveness of APEC. In addition, although decisions can be taken in the absence of unanimity, they are not legally binding on member governments. In 1997 at the annual summit in Vancouver, Canada, police forces violently clashed with demonstrators objecting to the presence of Indonesian president SUHARTO.

APEC is organized into numerous committees, special task commissions, working groups, and a business advisory council. The committees meet twice per year. The working groups are led by experts and consider specific issues, including energy, tourism, fishing, transportation, and telecommunications. Every year one of the member economies hosts an economic leaders' meeting, selected ministerial meetings, senior officials meetings, the APEC Business Advisory Council and the APEC Study Centres Consortium, and also fills the executive director position at the APEC secretariat. The deputy executive director changes every year, as the position is given to a senior diplomat of the country who will be the APEC chair the following year. The APEC secretariat, established in 1993 and based in Singapore, provides coordination as well as technical and advisory support for all the organization's initiatives.

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LUCA PRONO

Assad, Hafez al-

(1930–2000) *Syrian leader*

Hafez al-Assad was born in Qardaha in northern Syria to peasant parents. The Assad family was from the Alawite Muslim minority (a breakaway sect from Twelver Shi'ism), traditionally the poorest and least powerful group in Syria. Assad became a member of the Ba'ath socialist party, as a teenager in 1946. Like many young Alawites, Assad received a free education in the Syrian military academy.

While at the academy, Hafez al-Assad became life-long friends with Mustafa Tlass, who would become the Syrian defense minister in the Assad regime. Assad was trained in the Soviet Union, and although he supported pan-Arabism, he opposed the 1958 union with Egypt to create the UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (UAR) because of GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's dominance of it.

Syria dropped out of the UAR in 1961 with the support of the BA'ATH PARTY. As the fortunes of the Ba'ath Party rose, Assad was made head of the Syrian air force in 1964. The Ba'ath Party came to power in a bloodless coup in 1966. In a series of complex inter-party rivalries Assad supported the military wing, versus Salah Jadid, who advocated a more radical socialist program. In the so-called corrective revolution of 1970, Assad defeated Jadid and seized power. In the 1971 referendum Assad was overwhelmingly elected president, a position he held until his death. Assad consolidated power by appointing close friends and fellow Alawites, who then owed their advancement directly to him to key positions within the military, intelligence services, and government offices.

The Assad regime, a one-party state with a cult of personality surrounding Assad, proved to be remarkably stable. The infrastructure, including transportation and communication systems, was improved, and the government invested heavily in education, health care, and a huge dam on the Euphrates backed by Lake Assad to increase agricultural productivity and provide electricity for the country. The regime also spent heavily on the military, the backbone of its support. The status of women was also improved. Syria experienced economic growth in the 1970s, but stagnation set in during the 1980s. Assad was closely allied with the Soviet Union and, after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, suffered a loss of military supplies as well as international support.

Although Assad continued publicly to advocate pan-Arabism, he increasingly adopted a Syrian nationalist stance in regional politics. During the LEBANESE CIVIL WAR Syria was asked by various Lebanese factions

and Arab nations to intervene militarily in 1976. However, after the civil war ended, Syrians troops remained in Lebanon, and Damascus continued to exercise considerable influence over Lebanese politics. In the face of mounting international pressure Syrian troops ultimately withdrew from Lebanon in 2005.

The Assad regime was secular and proclaimed that Syria was a "democratic, popular, socialist state." The Muslim Brotherhood, dominated by Sunni Muslims, opposed Assad's secular state and in the early 1980s mounted a bombing campaign of bus stations, military installations, and other targets with the aim of bringing down the regime. Following a massive uprising in Hama, a brotherhood stronghold north of Damascus, Assad ordered Syrian troops to bombard the city and crush the rebellion in 1982. The brotherhood was defeated, but thousands were killed and much of the old city was destroyed.

Assad strongly supported the Palestinian cause for self-determination, although he frequently clashed with the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION under YASIR ARAFAT, whom Assad disliked. In negotiations with the United States and Israel, Assad was remarkably consistent. He demanded the full return of the Golan Heights, Syrian territory lost to Israel in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR and not fully regained in the 1973 war, in exchange for a peace settlement. Owing in part to his long rivalry with SADDAM HUSSEIN in Iraq and support for the revolutionary regime in Iran, Assad supported the coalition invasion of Iraq in the FIRST GULF WAR in 1991 but opposed the U.S. invasion in 2003.

Assad suffered a near-fatal heart attack in 1983, and, while he was still ill, his brother Rifaat attempted a coup. After Assad rallied loyal troops, the coup failed, and Rifaat was sent into exile and by 1988 removed from all official positions.

Assad's son Basil was initially groomed for succession, but after he died in an automobile accident in 1994, another son, Bashar, an ophthalmologist by training, was picked to follow his father as president. Hafez al-Assad was a pragmatic, authoritarian, and consistent political leader. After Hafez al-Assad's death in 2000 Bashar was elected president. He followed his father's general policies but loosened political controls and attempted to liberalize the system. He encouraged technological developments, particularly the Internet and computer technology. Bashar had to balance the desires of old Ba'ath hard-liners, however, who were loath to give up the privileges and power enjoyed under his father with political liberalization.

Owing in part to increased oil revenues, the Syrian economy grew in the 1990s. Like his father, Bashar demanded the return of the Golan Heights, and Israeli-Syrian negotiations failed to resolve the impasse. By 2006 Bashar faced mounting opposition from Israel and the United States for his support of HIZBOLLAH, the Islamist Lebanese movement that continued to confront Israel along its northern border. The Assad regime seemed threatened by possible military attack from both Israel and the United States. In September 2007 Israel conducted an airraid on a possible Syrian nuclear cache.

See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—with Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand as original members—was established on August 8, 1967. As outlined in the Bangkok declaration of ASEAN, it was formed to strive for the peace and prosperity of the region. An important regional organization, ASEAN, whose member countries have a population of more than 500 million, strove for regional cooperation to benefit its member countries. It encompassed the rest of the countries of Southeast Asia over time with the admission of Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos and Myanmar (1997), and Cambodia (1999). The Meeting of the ASEAN Heads of State and Government is the top decision-making body of the ASEAN. Every year, ASEAN Summit and ASEAN Ministerial meetings are held. The term of the secretary-general is five years, and he advises on and implements various ASEAN programs. The cooperation of member countries is through specialized bodies pertaining to education, energy, police, meteorology, and other areas.

Against the changing backdrop of the geopolitical situation, the ASEAN countries saw the necessity of regional cooperation on matters of common interest. The ASEAN was established during the VIETNAM WAR, and the member countries were bound together by fear of North Vietnam and China. The victory of communists in Indochina in the early 1970s and diminishing

American involvement made the ASEAN states fearful of communism. The Kuala Lumpur declaration of November 22, 1971, called for the creation of a Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in Southeast Asia aimed at neutralization of the region. The triumph of communism in the three Indochinese states of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam in 1975 spurred the ASEAN into action. Fearful of a militant and expanding communism, the ASEAN countries signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation at the First ASEAN Summit held at Bali, Indonesia, on February 24, 1976.

It called for renunciation of the use of force, cooperation among the nations in Southeast Asia, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the COLD WAR, ASEAN moved in a new direction to meet with the challenges of globalization. The three Indochinese states became members.

From the early 1990s ASEAN looked for increasing economic cooperation among member countries. At the Fourth ASEAN Summit held in Singapore in January 1992 an agreement was signed for the creation of an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) within 15 years. The 1995 Bangkok Summit passed a resolution on the Agenda for Greater Economic Integration. The time frame of AFTA was reduced to 10 years. The ASEAN Vision 2020, adopted in 1997, envisaged an ASEAN Economic Region. There would be closer economic integration along with reduction of poverty and removal of economic disparities. The Framework Agreement for the Integration of Priority Sectors and its Protocols of 1999 called for the creation of a single market and production base.

In 1994 the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was established with non-ASEAN countries like the United States, Russia, China, India, and others to discuss security issues and take steps in confidence building. There was an agenda for an enhanced role of the ARF in matters of security dialogue and cooperation. Meetings on this topic were held in the Cambodian capital and in Potsdam, Germany, in 2004 and 2005 respectively. The December 2005 ASEAN Summit, held in Kuala Lumpur, noted with satisfaction progress toward a Free Trade Area, with such countries as Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand, India, and the Republic of Korea. ASEAN cooperates with the East Asian nations of China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea, which were accorded the special status of ASEAN Plus Three. They expected to have a free-trade agreement by the year 2010. India enjoys a special standing with ASEAN. An ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace and Progress was signed at the Third ASEAN-India Summit in November 2004.

The ASEAN and its member countries have taken steps, through treaties, conventions, and communiqués, to prevent different types of organized crime with regional and international dimensions, such as TERRORISM, terrorist financing, money laundering, human trafficking, and drug smuggling. On February 24, 1976, the ASEAN countries declared that they would cooperate with one another and with international organizations to check illegal trafficking of drugs. The ASEAN Vision 2020 resolved to tackle the problems of drug trafficking, trafficking of women, and other transnational crimes. Through organizations like the ARF, Ministerial Meetings, the ASEAN Chiefs of Police (ASEANAPOL), the ASEAN Centre for Combating Transnational Crime (ACTC), the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC), and the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC), steps were taken to prevent various forms of crimes affecting Southeast Asia in particular and the world in general. The Vientiane Action Program of November 2004 contained measures to tackle the problem of terrorism.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Aswān Dam

The Aswān Dam was the cornerstone of GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's program for Egyptian economic development. Nasser described the project as "more magnificent and seventeen times greater than the Pyramids." The dam was to improve the living standard for Egyptians by increasing agricultural output and providing electricity for Egyptian villages and power for industrialization. The dam increased reclaimed agricultural land by one-third and provided 10,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity. Nasser Lake, one of the world's largest artificial lakes at about 300 miles long, was created as a result of the dam.

The dam was over 120 feet high and a mile wide and was one of the most extensive projects in the world at the time. However, the dam also had some unforeseen ecological impacts. Because it was no longer flushed by annual floodwater, Egyptian agricultural land increased

in salinity. The decrease of Nile floodwater into the Mediterranean resulted in a decrease of plankton, organic carbons, and fish. Advocates of smaller, more cost-effective projects argued that the massive amounts of money expended in construction of the dam might have been better spent in more APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY projects.

The dam provided Egyptians with a sense of pride, however, and from Nasser's viewpoint was a project around which Egyptians could be rallied for other political and economic programs. Originally money and technology to build the dam was to come from the WORLD BANK and Western nations, particularly the United States. But after Nasser adopted a policy of neutralism in the COLD WAR, recognized the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, and signed an arms deal with Czechoslovakia, John Foster Dulles, the U.S. secretary of state in the Eisenhower administration, concluded that Nasser was not a reliable ally.

Consequently Dulles withdrew U.S. aid for the project and publicly criticized Egypt's economic stability. Dulles hoped that the failure to secure economic aid for the dam would result in Nasser's overthrow. On the contrary Nasser retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal, announcing that the income from the canal would be used to build the dam. The nationalization infuriated Great Britain and France and helped to precipitate the 1956 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

Ultimately the Soviet Union provided the money and technicians to build the dam. The dam was completed in the early 1970s after Nasser's death. But Soviet influence over Egypt was short-lived for President Anwar el-Sadat, Nasser's successor, ousted the Soviets shortly after the dam's completion and turned instead toward the West and the United States.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Aung San Suu Kyi

(1945–) Nobel laureate and pro-democracy activist

Aung San Suu Kyi was born to diplomat Daw Khin Kyi and Burmese (Myanmar) national hero Bogyoke Aung San on June 19, 1945. She was educated in Yangon, New Delhi, Oxford, and London. In 1969 she worked

in the United Nations Secretariat in New York and afterward in Bhutan. She was married to British academic Michael Aris in 1972, and the couple had two sons. In March 1988, Suu Kyi returned to Myanmar to take care of her ailing mother, and she became a pro-democracy political activist.

Suu Kyi was destined to take the leadership in a country under the military dominance since 1962 of General NE WIN, who was also the leader of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). Her status as daughter of Aung San and her sound knowledge about her country's culture contributed to her immense popularity.

Ne Win resigned on July 23, 1988, but the military retained power and brutally crushed a popular uprising. The military junta then created the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and changed its name to the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) in 1997. Suu Kyi and her associates established the National League for Democracy (NLD), which called for non-violent protests and appealed to the United Nations to intervene on their behalf. Her status as a national leader made her position formidable. She adhered to her non-violent ideals in spite of the brutality, intimidation, and slander directed against her by the SLORC.

Suu Kyi criticized the violation of human rights by the military junta, calling for free and fair elections. Her meetings throughout the country attracted many people and caused the junta to put her under house arrest and to reject her candidature for the forthcoming elections. Despite this, her party won the May 1990 elections with 82 percent of the legislative seats. The international pressure forced the junta to release Suu Kyi in July 1995, but she was barred from leaving Yangon. In the same year her NLD delegates were expelled from the national convention, which was preparing a draft constitution. The convention itself was suspended in March 1996. In September 2000, Suu Kyi and 92 NLD members were put under house arrest again. There was another secret meeting between Suu Kyi and the junta in 2002 that resulted in the release of NLD prisoners due to increasing criticism of the regime from many lands over the world. She was released from house arrest on May 6, 2002, and was permitted to travel in Myanmar. But she was jailed again in 2003 and remained in jail in 2008. Her international standing remained high. The European Parliament awarded her the Sakharov prize for freedom of thought in July 1990. In October 1991 the Nobel Committee awarded her the Nobel Peace Prize, calling her "an outstanding example of the power of the powerless." She donated the \$1.3 million prize money to set up a trust for the

health and education for her people. She was also given the Nehru Peace Award in 1995 by the government of India. Suu Kyi remained the undisputed leader of Myanmar for her ceaseless efforts to restore democracy and against the abuse of human rights.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Awami League

The Awami League, a political party founded by lawyer and politician H. S. Suhrawardy in 1956, was at the forefront of the political developments that led to the creation of BANGLADESH (formerly East Pakistan) in 1971. When the British left India in 1947, they had left behind two sovereign nations: India and Pakistan. In the years that followed independence, questions of national identity arose between East and West Pakistan and were taken up by the Awami League on the behalf of East Pakistan. The Awami League advocated that Bengali, spoken in East Pakistan, be given the status of national language alongside Urdu, which was spoken in West Pakistan and had been declared the national language in 1947. The league also promoted greater representation of Bengalis in central government, since Bengalis in central civilian services in West Pakistan did not possess a strong base of power within the region, and higher posts in military and government in East Pakistan were often held by West Pakistanis.

During the military rule of General AYUB KHAN (1958–69), there had been economic growth in both wings of the country, but the disparity between the wealth of West Pakistan and the poverty of East Pakistan had also been on the rise. Furthermore a war with India in 1965 had left East Pakistan undefended, because the constitution of the country provided for troops to be stationed only in West Pakistan. Under the leadership of SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, the Awami League formulated a six-point demand as a means of

addressing the disadvantages faced by Bengalis in economic and national affairs. The six-point demand was to become a cornerstone of the nationalist movement for Bangladesh.

Mujibur Rahman's six-point demand wanted a parliamentary form of government in the country with representation based on population. The federal government was to be in charge of defense and foreign affairs only, and there were to be either two different currencies or one currency, in the event of which federal banks were to prevent the flight of capital from one region to the other. Fiscal policy was to be the responsibility of the federating units, and each unit was to have separate foreign exchange accounts. Lastly, in the interests of national security, both East and West Pakistan were to have a militia and a paramilitary force. The popularity of the Awami League as the representative of the Bengalis was attested by the results of the 1970 national elections, in which the Awami League captured 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan, and 38 percent of the national vote. Meanwhile, the majority of seats in West Pakistan, and 20 percent of the national vote, went to the PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY led by ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO. When the time came for the two parties to form a government, tensions between the two wings of the country came to a head.

The Awami League wanted the six points to be part of the new constitution, but met with resistance from Bhutto. General Yahya Khan, the president at the time, encouraged meetings between the two parties. The People's Party under Bhutto began a campaign to discredit the Awami League by attacking the six-point demand and delaying the meeting of the National Assembly as a means of pressurizing the Awami League into a compromise. The delays in the meeting of the National Assembly, and Bhutto's campaign against Mujibur Rahman, were seen as evidence of bad faith by East Pakistanis, and led to widespread public demonstrations and riots. By accepting Bhutto's postponement of the meeting, Yahya had implicitly accepted Bhutto's political authority. When Yahya called an all-party conference without consulting the Awami League, the Awami League called a strike and refused to attend the meeting.

In the months between the election and the all-party conference, the Awami League had assumed authority and exercised powers of government in East Pakistan. When the league refused to attend the conference, and successive negotiations between Yahya and Mujibur Rahman failed, General Yahya accused the Awami League of treason and announced military intervention in East Pakistan, along with the arrest of all prominent

persons within the league. During the consequent civil war between East and West Pakistan, the Awami League formed the government-in-exile of the Republic of Bangladesh across the border in India. Repeated Indian insurgency into Pakistani soil and Indian support of the Bangladeshi freedom fighters led to a declaration of war on India by Pakistan. On December 17, 1971, a cease-fire was declared, and Pakistani troops surrendered. Mujibur Rahman was released by the new government of Pakistan under Bhutto and went on to become the first prime minister of Bangladesh.

The Awami League emphasized nationalism, democracy, socialism, and secularism. Reconstruction efforts in a war-torn country, however, proved to be challenging to the new government. In the face of criticism and opposition, Mujibur Rahman declared Bangladesh a one-party state and gave himself the powers of president. Rahman was assassinated by a military officer in 1975, and martial law was imposed by Ziaur Rahman, the chief of army staff. In the 1980s the Awami League was revitalized by Mujibur Rahman's daughter, SHEIKH HASINA WAJID, who won the elections of 1986 and stayed in power until her term ended in 1990. The Awami League today remains a powerful and vocal opposition party in Bangladesh into the 21st century, and consistently opposes the role of the military in government.

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TAYMIYA R. ZAMAN

Ayub Khan, Muhammad

(1907–1974) *Pakistani leader*

Muhammad Ayub Khan, a military leader and the second president of Pakistan, was born on May 14, 1907, in the village of Rehana. His father, Mir Dad Khan, served in the British Indian Army. After finishing his military training at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in England, Ayub joined the army as an officer. He fought against the Japanese in Burma in World War II. After the partition of India in 1947, he became

the general commanding officer in East Pakistan. He was an able administrator and noncontroversial in politics, attributes that were instrumental in making him the first Pakistani commander in chief on January 17, 1951. In the COLD WAR period, Ayub supported Pakistan's joining U.S.-sponsored military alliances, and Pakistan received massive military and economic assistance from the United States. When President Iskander Mirza (1899–1969) imposed martial law on October 7, 1958, Ayub became the chief martial law administrator. Eleven days afterward, he deposed Iskander and proclaimed himself president.

The presidency of Ayub was eventful in the history of Pakistan. There were reforms in the agricultural and industrial sectors with land reforms and job creation. There was construction of new dams and power stations. The Indus Water Treaty with India in 1960 settled disputes over the waters of six rivers of the Punjab. The Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 tried to empower women in matters relating to polygamy, marriage, and divorce. Islamabad became the new capital in 1962; Ayub lifted martial law in the same year.

Ayub promulgated a new constitution in 1962, introducing democracy with indirect elections. But his policy alienated the Bengalis of eastern Pakistan, who felt marginalized and whose leader, SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, was imprisoned and prosecuted.

Ayub's capital received a severe jolt from the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. There were border skirmishes beginning in March in the Rann of Kutch region, but they did not escalate because of British mediation. In August, Ayub began Operation Gibraltar by sending infiltrators to Kashmir, a bone of contention between Pakistan and India in the original conflict. India regained the territory occupied by Pakistan in the north and proceeded toward Lahore. Fearful of a widening

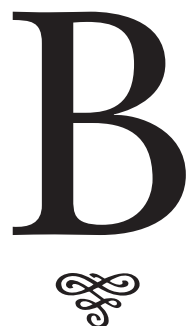
conflict, the United Nations Security Council arranged for a cease-fire on September 22, and Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin invited Ayub and the Indian premier LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI to Tashkent to negotiate. The signing of the TASHKENT AGREEMENT on January 10, 1965, saw both the armies going back to the positions they had held before the conflict. The Cease-Fire Line (CFL) would become the de facto border. India and Pakistan agreed to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and not to interfere in each other's internal affairs.

There was adverse reaction to the Tashkent Agreement in Pakistan. The opposition parties blamed him for sacrificing Pakistan's interests, and the foreign minister ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO (1928–79) resigned, forming an opposition PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY in 1967. There were strikes and demonstrations throughout Pakistan. The army was called in in many cities. By the end of 1968, Ayub had lost the support of the majority of the population and a Democratic Action Committee was formed in January 1979 to restore democracy in Pakistan. The only course left for Ayub was resignation.

Martial law was proclaimed once again on March 25, 1969, and General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan (1917–80) was named the chief martial law administrator. Six days afterward he became the president. Ayub died on April 19, 1974.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA



Ba'ath Party

The Ba'ath ("Renaissance" in Arabic) was a pan-Arab political party founded by Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din Bitar. From Syria, Aflaq (1910–89) came from a Greek Orthodox family; he studied at the Sorbonne and became a teacher in a well-known secondary school in Damascus. Bitar (1912–80), from a prominent Damascene Sunni Muslim family, also studied in France and taught at the same school as Aflaq. In 1940 they led a small group known as the Movement of Arab Renaissance, or Ba'ath, that professed a pan-Arab, anti-imperialism program. Aflaq was the preeminent ideologue of the party, which published a series of papers dealing with Arab nationalism, Arab union, and Arab socialism, as opposed to a strictly Marxist ideology. The party's motto was "Unity, Freedom, Socialism."

In 1947 the group merged with another nationalist party to form the Arab Ba'ath Party. The new party attracted members including nationalistic youth; disaffected minorities, especially the Alawites in Syria; and young army officers. In 1953 the party unified with Akram Hourani's Arab Socialist Party to become the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party. A popular nationalist, Hourani had a far wider following than Aflaq, and his participation in the party enlarged its support and membership.

The party was organized into cells on the grassroots level, giving it considerable flexibility. Groups of cells (two to seven) were formed into party divisions that merged into party sections representing entire towns or rural districts and, at the highest level, party branches.

At periodic party congresses all the party branches met. The national command was the executive that exercised considerable power from the top down.

In 1958 the Ba'ath strongly supported the creation of the UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC but became disenchanted with having to take a secondary role to that of Nasser and Egypt. The Ba'ath supported Syria's withdrawal from the union in 1961, and a military coup in 1963 brought the Ba'ath into power. Bitar and Aflaq both supported the so-called civilian wing of the party versus the military wing, but they were outmaneuvered in 1966. Although he retained the title of secretary-general of the party, Aflaq held no real power and went into exile. He ultimately moved to Baghdad in 1974, where he enjoyed considerable respect but no real power. In 1989 Aflaq died, whereupon the Iraqi regime announced that he had converted to Islam prior to his death. After considerable infighting among Ba'athist officers in Syria, HAFEZ AL-ASSAD seized power in 1970 and proceeded to establish a regime that lasted into the 21st century. Bitar split from the party owing to disagreements with the Assad regime; he went into exile in Paris, where he was assassinated—possibly by Syrian intelligence—in 1980.

The Ba'ath established branches in Jordan, Lebanon, North and South Yemen, and other Arab states. Al-Saiqa was the Palestinian branch of the Ba'ath under control of Syria. Although these separate branches played some limited political roles in their respective countries, Syria and Iraq remained the centers of the party's power.

In Iraq the Ba'ath Party came to power in 1963 under Abd al-Salem Arif, but internal disputes again led to its

loss of power. Under General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, who led a military coup in 1968, the Ba'ath returned to power. Although most Iraqi Ba'athists were not professional soldiers, they attracted considerable support from the military. Bakr's main protégé, SADDAM HUSSEIN, a committed Ba'athist, ousted his mentor from power in 1979. Assad in Syria and Hussein in Iraq became bitter rivals, but both claimed to represent the real Ba'ath Party. Although both leaders professed their commitment to pan-Arabism, they adopted increasingly nationalistic policies to retain power. The Ba'ath Party in Iraq was dismantled after the U.S. invasion in 2003 but remained in power under Bashar al-Assad in Syria.

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JANICE J. TERRY

baby boom, U.S.

The term *baby boom* refers to the dramatic increase in the population of certain industrialized nations in the years following the end of World War II. In the United States, the population grew from 141 million to 179 million—an increase of 27 percent between 1947 and 1960—at a time when immigration to the United States was limited by restrictive laws. By contrast, the population of the United States grew just 13 percent between 1960 and 1970. This increased birthrate generally affected all social classes and reversed a population decline that had been going on for 150 years. In Canada, the birthrate increased from 24.3 per thousand in 1945 to 28.9 in 1947, and did not return to lower rates until 1963.

The boom in the United States can be explained by demographic and ideological factors. Although the age of marriage for both men and women dropped between 1930 and 1950, Great Depression uncertainties and massive social dislocations caused by war put a damper on reproduction. Both of these concerns had lifted by the late 1940s. By 1960, 97 percent of Americans over 18 had been married at least once; this was perhaps a product of postwar affluence but possibly also a response to a fear of nonmarital sexuality that had

been produced by wartime. The so-called nuclear family became a symbol of U.S. freedom.

Ideological factors also contributed to the boom. Partly to ease the reentry of men returning from the war, women who had been engaged in war work were encouraged to leave the workplace and to concentrate on making a home for their families. This was accompanied by a preference for more than one child and a concurrent belief that childlessness demonstrated socially dysfunctional behavior. Women who married in the 1940s and 1950s generally had most of their children before they were 30 and allowed child-rearing to become their career.

The G.I. Bill and SUBURBANIZATION in the late 1940s and the 1950s helped establish the nuclear family ideal. The boom influenced the form of suburbanization by making the construction of schools and playgrounds necessary and caused an expansion in college and university construction. The baby boomers were the first generation to consider television their birthright, and several of the television programs of the 1950s depicted idealized versions of their family life. The idea that the nuclear family of the 1950s, as seen on television, represented “traditional family values” persisted into the 21st century.

As baby boomers entered adolescence, many of them became associated with the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, other STUDENT MOVEMENTS of the 1960s, and the so-called hippie counterculture. Members of the baby boom invented the slogan “Don’t trust anyone over thirty.” By the 1990s baby boomers were the “establishment” in the United States. Born in 1946, BILL CLINTON, who served as president from 1992 to 2000, was America’s first baby-boomer president.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Baghdad Pact/CENTO

The Baghdad Pact, also known as the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), was a mutual defense treaty that aimed to encircle the southwestern flank of the Soviet Union. The United States viewed the treaty, similar to

NATO, as a means to prevent possible Soviet expansion into the vital oil-producing region of the Middle East during the COLD WAR. It also enabled the United States to establish a military presence in member nations.

CENTO began with a series of treaties of mutual cooperation between the United States, Pakistan, and Turkey in 1954 and a military assistance agreement with Iraq in the same year. In 1955 Turkey and Iraq signed a mutual defense treaty creating the foundation for the Baghdad Pact. In the same year Britain, Iran, and Pakistan joined the Baghdad Pact, which guaranteed economic and military assistance to any country in the pact that was threatened by communism. In 1958 a coup in Iraq ousted the pro-Western government, and the following year Iraq withdrew from the treaty, prompting the change of its name to the Central Treaty Organization. The effectiveness of CENTO was lessened during the INDO-PAKISTANI WARS of 1965 and 1971; neither party to the treaty rushed to assist Pakistan even though India was at the time an ally of the Soviet Union. Following the overthrow of the pro-Western Pahlavi dynasty and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, Iran also withdrew from CENTO. Along with the failure of CENTO members to assist Pakistan, the withdrawal of Iran and Iraq from the treaty led to the treaty's demise.

See also NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL.

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RAMZI ABOU ZEINEDDINE

Balkans (1991–present)

Since 1991 the region of the Balkans has been a place of dynamic change. The region (excluding Greece) has been divided into two subregions: the Western Balkans, consisting of Albania and the entities that emerged from the breakup of Yugoslavia—Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Montenegro, and Bulgaria and Romania. The division of the Balkans into two subregions reflects the distinct dynamics in the two sets of states. For instance, the Western Balkans were subjected post-1991 to the dynamics of building nation-states, while Bulgaria and Romania embarked

on the path of postcommunist consolidation of democracy, marked by free elections, market liberalization, and the strengthening of civil society. However, the underlying feature characterizing the developments in all Balkan countries was the uncertainty of their transition process. This may be the main reason why Slovenia, which emerged from the dissolution of Yugoslavia, not only managed to distance itself from the Balkans with its domestic and foreign policy objectives but also ultimately “left” the region altogether.

Ambiguity dominated the Balkan states for the better part of the 1990s. This pattern changed as a result of the Kosovo crisis of 1999 for two reasons. First, and perhaps tragically, by that time the nation-state-building projects in the western Balkans had reached a plateau of stability, which allowed the countries from that subregion to focus on their democratization. The uneven transition processes in Bulgaria and Romania had led to the establishment of the first reformist governments in those countries. Second, in the aftermath of the Kosovo crisis the two dominant international institutions in Europe—the EUROPEAN UNION (EU) and the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)—altered their perceptions of the Balkans. After 1999 they recognized the candidate status of Bulgaria and Romania and outlined the prospect of membership for the countries of the Western Balkans. Such twin alteration of the intraregional and extraregional trends in the Balkans informed the 21st-century processes in the region.

BULGARIA

Despite their being lumped together, the postcommunist development trajectories of Bulgaria and Romania were characterized by quite different dynamics. The transition in Bulgaria, which began on November 10, 1989, with the removal of Todor Zhivkov as head of state, was in effect an internal coup within the Bulgarian Communist Party. These developments set up the background for a rather unpredictable transformation process, one that was initiated from “above” and did not reflect a significant social anxiety with the communist status quo. The pattern of power up to 1997 was marked by governments that came, tried their policies, and were ousted by either the corrective of popular unrest or a change of allegiance of coalition partners. After 1997, however, governments followed the road of democratization and market reforms fairly consistently and pursued the objectives of EU and NATO integration. As a result, on March 29, 2004, Bulgaria became a member of NATO and joined the EU on January 1, 2007.



Personnel with the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia collect weapons seized during Operation Harvest. The steel plant melts the weapons and renders them as harmless metal.

ROMANIA

In Romania, the transition process began with a series of violent protests across the country in December 1989, which culminated with the execution of the communist dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu on Christmas night, 1989. During the winter of 1989–90 a new political formation emerged, which called itself the National Salvation Front (NSF). It established itself as the vanguard of the revolution and ruled in Romania until 1996. During this period the government was afflicted by internal dissent as a result of the authoritarian tendencies of the NSF leader Ion Iliescu and domestic unrest caused by both the interethnic tensions with the substantial Hungarian minority located in Transylvania and the social disorder caused by the miners' uprising during 1991. Another set of problems was associated with the NSF's wavering foreign policy. After the elections in 1996, however, consecutive governments did away with the uncertainty characterizing the country's initial transition process. Thus, like Bulgaria, Romania joined NATO on March 29, 2004, and joined the EU on January 1, 2007.

ALBANIA

The post-1991 period in the subregion of the western Balkans was in many respects even more heterogeneous than the one in Bulgaria and Romania. Although all countries in the subregion experienced violent upheavals of one sort or another, they dealt with their effects differently. Albania was the only country from the western Balkans that did not emerge from the dissolution of former Yugoslavia. Yet internal conflict beleaguered its postcommunist development. The period up to the 1992 elections was generally characterized by chaos, which led to an exacerbation of the division between the north and the south of the country, rapid growth of organized crime, and the beginning of large-scale emigration fueled by the economic deterioration. Subsequent governments failed to address these problems, which led to a severe crisis in the country during 1997. It was spurred by the collapse of several financial pyramid schemes, which wiped out the savings of the majority of the Albanian population. During the unrest, military depots were raided and scores of weapons were looted. Order was restored only after the international

community dispatched a military force to the country during Operation Alba. Albania did not fully recover from this crisis, and in 2006 continued to be the poorest country in Europe.

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

The transition of the other countries from the western Balkans was marked by the wars of Yugoslav dissolution. Unlike the other republics of former Yugoslavia, however, Macedonia succeeded to gain its independence peacefully after a referendum on September 8, 1991. The country's transition, however, was hampered by the embargo on former Yugoslavia imposed by the international community. At the same time the country faced an embargo from Greece, which refused to recognize the country by its constitutional name and continued to refer to it as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Concurrently the existence of the Macedonian nation and language was challenged by Bulgaria. Furthermore the ecumenical independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church continued to be challenged by the Serbian Orthodox Church. None of these challenges threatened the existence of the Macedonian state as much as the tension caused by the conflict with the substantial Albanian minority in the country. In the wake of the Kosovo conflict the nearly 25 percent of Albanians living in Macedonia demanded greater recognition of their cultural and political rights. This led to violence during 2001. The conflict was settled under pressure from the international community with the signing of the Ohrid Peace Accords in August 2001. As a result of the implementation of these accords the EU recognized Macedonia as a candidate country in December 2005. It became a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace program in 1995.

CROATIA

The beginning of the democratic transition in Croatia is usually dated to the electoral victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in the first multiparty elections in April 1990. The vote for the HDZ, led by Franjo Tudjman, was also a vote for independence from Yugoslavia. The subsequent Homeland War lasted until 1995 and witnessed the territorial consolidation of the country and the exodus of the Serbian minority, as well as the military involvement of Croatia in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The authoritarian rule of President Tudjman, which lasted until his death in 1999, was characterized by nepotism, criminal privatization, and subversion of constitutional practices. It was only after the parliamentary and presidential elections in

2000 that Croatia began affiliating itself with European institutions. On May 25, 2000, it became a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace program. In terms of its relations with the EU, Croatia was the most advanced country from the subregion of the western Balkans. On November 13, 2005, it began its accession negotiations, which were the final stage in gaining membership to the Brussels-based bloc.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The development of Bosnia-Herzegovina after 1991 was marked by war, which ravaged the country until 1995. During this time, over 250,000 people lost their lives and many more were either internally displaced or fled the country altogether. After the signing of the General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Accords) in 1995, Bosnia-Herzegovina became a virtual protectorate of the international community with a rotating presidency between the representatives of the three dominant ethnic groups—Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. However, decision-making in the country was overseen by a High Representative of the International Community, who could intervene in the domestic affairs of the state and remove elected officials. Bosnia-Herzegovina gradually overcame the division between the three ethnic communities and progressed with the consolidation of its statehood.

SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Until the Kosovo crisis of 1999, the political process in Serbia and Montenegro was driven by the extreme nationalism propagated by Slobodan Milošević, which fuelled the breakup of Yugoslavia. As a result Serbia and Montenegro were involved in several wars and subjected to international sanctions. Milošević's ouster during the elections of 2000 and his subsequent arrest and transfer to the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia in 2001 seemed to suggest that the country was distancing itself from the policies of the 1990s. However the murder of the reformist Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindjic on March 12, 2003, reflected the continuing legacy of the wars.

Montenegro held a referendum on its independence in May 2006 where its citizens voted to become an independent nation. Montenegro declared its independence on June 3, 2006, followed by Serbia's declaration of independence on June 5, 2006. A further complication was the status of Kosovo, which after the 1999 conflict remained a protectorate of the UN, although still formally a province of Serbia. In 2006 representatives of the international community, the Serbs, and the Kosovar

Albanians conducted talks however, on the status of the province. The talk yielded little progress, as the Kosovo citizens favored independence, which was formally declared in February 2008, despite Serbia's objectives.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI

Baltic States (1991–present)

In 1985, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, the newly elected general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, introduced two concepts to his country and its satellite states that would fundamentally change the course of human history: *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Glasnost, which literally means “openness,” allowed the citizens of the Soviet Union and its satellite states greater freedom of expression. Perestroika was about restructuring the Soviet economy, shifting from rigid, centralized state planning to a more flexible approach to combat chronic shortages of consumer goods. These two reforms, coupled with struggles between moderate and hard-line Communists within the Politburo, the economic strain of the war in AFGHANISTAN, the renewal of the arms race with the West, and the revolutions that swept through the satellite states in 1989, furthered the calls for secession from the Soviet Union by the three Baltic states: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The desire for independence from the Soviet Union had deep roots, stretching back to their annexation in 1940 per the terms of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, signed in August 1939 by Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler, provided for the three Baltic states and the eastern third of Poland to fall under a Soviet sphere of influence in exchange for the Soviet Union's neutrality upon the German invasion of western Poland. Following the annexations, tens of thousands of Balts were deported from their homelands by Soviet authorities and shipped eastward, a process repeated in the late 1940s. The aim of the wide-sweeping deportations

was to remove those most likely to resist Soviet occupation and communism.

From the early 1950s until the mid-1980s, protests against Soviet control were limited and brutally crushed by government forces. However the freedom promised by Gorbachev's reforms led, by 1987, to popular demonstrations in major cities such as Tallinn (Estonia), Riga (Latvia), and Vilnius (Lithuania) against Soviet rule. In 1988, these spurred the establishment of popular nationalist organizations in Estonia (April), Lithuania (June), and Latvia (October).

The first official cracks in the forced relationship between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union began to appear in late 1988 when the Estonian Supreme Soviet declared Estonia's sovereignty. This proclamation was quickly followed by similar declarations by its counterparts in Lithuania and Latvia in May 1989. On August 23, 1989, the Balts demanded independence from Soviet control by forming a continuous human chain of more than 2 million people, 370 miles long, that linked their capital cities. When the Soviet Union responded with force to demonstrations in Vilnius and Riga in January 1991, the response of Baltic citizens was swift and decisive. Between February and March of 1991 all three states held referenda regarding independence. In contrast, referenda held by the Soviets testing the willingness to continue the union were predominantly boycotted by the Baltic population. In August 1991, all three Baltic states officially declared their independence, received external recognition of such, and were admitted by the UNITED NATIONS as independent nations. On September 6, 1991, in the aftermath of the failed hard-line coup attempt to replace Gorbachev in August, the Soviet Union recognized the three Baltic states.

Having successfully won their independence, each of the Baltic states then had multiple issues to address: politically, the formation of new governments, the foundation of political parties, and the drafting of constitutions; economically, restoring private property, releasing state control of industrial development and collectivization of farms, transitioning to an independent currency, and securing a solid and independent economic base; and socially, restructuring the school system and curriculum, restoring traditional institutions, including churches, and dealing with issues of citizenship and ethnicity. The Baltic states were more difficult given that they were literally controlled by Moscow. They lacked independent institutions from which they could begin to build.

The Estonians officially adopted their new constitution by referendum on June 28, 1992. This was soon

followed by elections for their parliament, the Riigikogu, in September, which brought a center-right coalition into power, led by the Fatherland Party (Isamaa). Elections for Lithuania's parliament, the Seimas, occurred in October 1992 and resulted in a majority victory for the Lithuanian Democrat Labor Party. The same month a new Lithuanian constitution, establishing a democratic republic, was adopted by popular referendum and endorsed by the newly elected parliament. Latvians held the first national elections for their parliament, the Saeima, in June of 1993, leading to the victory of the centrist party, Latvia's Way (Latvijas Cels), at the polls.

The question of citizenship for non-Balts continued to be a major point of contention. In 1989 Lithuania had the smallest percentage of Russians among its population at 9.4 percent; therefore it chose a more inclusive approach to citizenship. However Latvia's Russian minority was 34 percent of its overall population and Estonia's Russian population made up approximately 30 percent. In November 1991 Estonia was the first Baltic state to establish specific divisions between citizens, as native Estonians and predominantly Russian immigrants who would have to undergo a process of naturalization before they were granted citizenship. Initially, Latvia passed a strict citizenship bill in 1994, establishing a quota of 2,000 maximum naturalizations per year. This quota provision was eliminated.

Following freedom from Soviet rule, economic productivity fell dramatically across Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The new governments struggled to transition from state-controlled, command economies to market capitalism. Industrial production in Estonia fell by more than 50 percent in 1992, whereas in Latvia it fell by 33 percent, and in Lithuania by about 40 percent. The vast majority of workers maintained employment, indicating that worker productivity fell sharply as well.

Given the backward nature of factories, transportation systems, and communication networks due to the impoverished Soviet system as a whole, the Baltic nations grappled with reforming their economies and developing markets in the West. They were also at a disadvantage in terms of learning basic capitalist business techniques such as marketing, packaging, and design. The Balts needed to retool not only their machinery but their economic mentality as well. Another psychological barrier to embracing capitalism was the long-lasting legacy of bitterness toward those who profited and operated on the black market under the communist system. Often those who privatized larger businesses first were the Soviet managers of these plants and factories, continuing their pattern of economic exploita-

tion. Privatization on the smaller scale occurred with less corruption.

Within the agricultural sector, the transition from collectivized farms to privatization was extremely difficult. Two additional negative elements were the lack of an adequate supply of farm machinery and the problems generated by a firm commitment to returning lands to those from whom they were taken during the process of collectivization. In addition, during 1992 a severe drought wreaked havoc on both food production and the stability of the livestock population. Disaster was averted only through the infusion of large amounts of Western aid. But the prices of native agricultural products rose sharply, resulting in stronger competition with food imports from the West. This led farmers to lobby their governments to institute protective tariffs for native-grown products, a tactic that would then harm the drive to increase exports of Baltic products to Western markets, which was connected to their desire to be integrated into Western economic entities.

Estonia was the first of the three Baltic States to reestablish an independent currency, the *kroon*, in June of 1992, and it led the charge for economic reform. Latvia soon followed with limited circulation of the *lat* in March of 1993, and Lithuania unveiled the *litas* in June of 1993. Although an important symbolic step on the path to complete autonomy, the emergence of independent currencies also emphasized some of the weaknesses within the economic structure. Another source of instability was the lack of hard currency held by the respective governments. This weakness was remedied in part by the restoration of gold reserves by Western nations; these reserves had been sent west in 1940 as the Soviet occupation had begun. By 1993 Estonia and Lithuania gained membership in the Council of Europe; Latvia soon followed suit in 1995. By late 1995 all three had applied to join the EUROPEAN UNION; by March 2004 all three had officially joined.

Another important means of securing full independence from the Soviet Union was the development of national militaries and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Baltic soil. These national militaries began as all-volunteer forces and were hampered by a lack of well-trained Balts, given that few Balts had wanted to become officers in the Soviet military. In addition, during the transition period, government funds for training and equipping soldiers and for securing weaponry were scarce. Russian forces withdrew from Lithuania in August 1993; in August 1994 they withdrew from both Latvia and Estonia. All three Baltic states joined NATO in 2004.

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LAURA J. HILTON

Banda, Hastings

(1896?–1997) *Malawian president*

Dr. Hastings Banda was a physician and prime minister, founding president, and former dictator of the African country of Malawi. After leading the country's independence movement against the British, Banda became prime minister in 1963. An authoritarian ruler, Banda became president in 1966 and president for life in 1971. In 1994 Banda authorized democratic elections. He was defeated. Banda died in a South African hospital in 1997; he was rumored to have been 101 years old.

The name "Malawi" was given to the country formerly named Nyasaland by Dr. Banda. Having read a French map that called the dominating lake of the country "Lake Maravi," Banda decided he liked the sound and appearance of the name and chose a similar name.

Because of tribal migrations, several tribes make Malawi their home. The Tumbuka from the Congo and the Chewa from Zambia moved into Malawi during the 14th through the 16th centuries and remain there today. The Bantu peoples flourished in Malawi during the 18th century and the Yao moved into southern Malawi in the 19th century. It is thought that the Yao used firearms taken from Arabian traders to capture weaker tribes for the growing slave trade. Although slave trading had existed in Africa for centuries, the international transatlantic slave trade drastically increased the practice.

The first Europeans in Malawi were Portuguese explorers, but the most famous explorer was the Brit-

ish Dr. David Livingstone in 1846. Dr. Livingstone would return to Malawi twice more to help establish trade routes and mission sites before his death in 1873. Livingstone's Malawian legacy was the increased trade and missionary presence in Malawi, which eventually became a trade center. During the late 19th century, Malawi became a British protectorate. During the next few decades, the British government officials in Malawi battled slave traders, oversaw the growth of European settlers, constructed a postal system, and built a railway line.

Local Malawian peoples were dissatisfied under the British colonial system and in 1915, the Reverend John Chilembwe led a violent uprising against European settlers living on formerly Malawian farmlands. By 1944 the growing elite consisting of Europeans, Americans, and Africans organized the Nyasaland African Congress in order to protect their new holdings. Britain joined the Central African Federation, a white-dominated organization, in 1953.

When he was young, Hastings Banda left Malawi for Rhodesia and South Africa. The son of peasants, Banda went to work in the South African gold mines and by 1925 had enough money to head to America for college. He studied on a scholarship at the Wilberforce Institute in Ohio and then went to the University of Chicago. After graduation, Banda went to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee. Although he graduated in 1937, Banda was required to earn a second medical degree in order to practice medicine in the British Empire. In 1941 he graduated from the School of Medicine of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of Edinburgh.

After World War II, Banda established his medical practice in Scotland and London. His office soon became a meeting place for exiled African leaders. However, in 1953 Dr. Banda chose to return to Africa, establishing a medical practice in Ghana. By 1958, Banda had returned to Malawi to campaign against the Central African Federation. In 1959 he spent time in prison for his political activities but was released in April 1960. In 1963, Banda and his Malawi Congress Party won the elections in a landslide victory. Dr. Hastings Banda became the prime minister on February 1, 1963.

The British still controlled all of Malawi's financial, security, and judicial systems. In May 1963 a new constitution took effect, winning Malawi its independence from Britain. In 1966 Malawi became a republic with Banda as its president. Banda became increasingly autocratic, making himself president for life in 1971. Opponents were jailed, sent into exile, or killed. The foreign

press was barred from entering the country. In addition to gaining almost total control of Malawi's economics, Banda also made economic trade ties with South Africa. During apartheid in South Africa, Malawi was the country's only African public trade partner.

Following rioting and the suspension of Western aid in 1992, Banda had no choice but to abandon the idea of one-party rule and even his life presidency in 1993. Open democratic elections were held in 1994, and Bakili Muluzi easily defeated Banda. Calculations report Banda accumulated over \$320 million in personal assets during his rule. Another calculation reports that during his rule, over 250,000 people went missing or were murdered in connection with the government.

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MELISSA BENNE

Bandung Conference (Asian-African Conference)

The Bandung Conference, or Asian-African Conference, attended by 29 primarily newly independent nations, was held in 1955. The Indonesian leader AHMED SUKARNO hosted the conference of so-called Third World nations, most of which had become independent after World War II and were generally poor, agricultural, and economically underdeveloped. They represented over half the world's population.

India's leader JAWAHARLAL NEHRU played a key role in the conference that adopted his principles of opposing imperialism and focusing on the development of local economies rather than reliance on either the Western world led by the United States or the Soviet bloc dominated by the Soviet Union. Participants of the conference also raised issues of race, religion, and world peace. Most were, however, authoritarian in their political orientations.

The Chinese prime minister, ZHOU ENLAI (CHOU EN-LAI), was another key spokesperson at the conference. Aware of the different political and economic approaches of the participants, Zhou wisely did not

push an aggressive communist program and succeeded in establishing ties with other Asian and African leaders. Other leaders at the conference included KWAME NKRUMAH, prime minister of the Gold Coast (Ghana); HO CHI MINH, the North Vietnamese prime minister; and President GAMAL ABDEL NASSER of Egypt. The nations of North Africa also attended and condemned French imperialism. Nasser spoke about the role of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism as well as the cause of Palestinian self-determination. Nasser, Nehru, and President Tito of Yugoslavia subsequently became personal friends and exchanged state visits with one another.

Many of the participants of the Bandung Conference became leaders of the Nonaligned Movement in the early 1960s. The Nonaligned Movement sought to steer a middle or neutral course between the United States and the Soviet Union in the COLD WAR. Neither superpower endorsed the Nonaligned Movement, although the United States tended to be more hostile to the neutralism of nations seeking to maximize their own benefits rather than adopting policies that mirrored that of either superpower. Many leaders of African and Asian nations attended a conference in both Bandung and Jakarta marking the 50th anniversary of the conference in 2005.

See also THIRD WORLD/GLOBAL SOUTH.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Bangladesh, People's Republic of

Bangladesh—officially known as the People's Republic of Bangladesh—is a country of 55,598 square miles in South Asia. Bangladesh translates as the “Country of Bengal.” Geographically Bangladesh shares a small border with Myanmar in the southeast, and the rest is surrounded by India except for the Bay of Bengal to the south. Bangladesh, whose capital is Dhaka, had an estimated 2005 population of over 141,800,000. Officially the government is a parliamentary republic that declared independence from Pakistan on March 26, 1971. (The total population of Bangladesh recently ranked eighth in the world but the land area 94th. Hence the

population density ranks near the top of all countries in the world. Its climate is marked by frequent monsoons and cyclones.)

The partition of India in 1947 resulted in the division of Bengal according to religion. The western section of Bengal went to India and the eastern to Pakistan as a province that would become East Pakistan. During the 1960s, East Pakistan began to push for autonomy. A 1970 cyclone, according to many experts, may have acted as a tipping point in the push for an independent East Pakistan. Many charged that the central government responded poorly to the disaster. Unrest spread when the AWAMI LEAGUE and SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN won a majority in parliamentary elections but were not permitted to take office. These events led to the Bengali Liberation War that lasted for nine months. Support from Indian armed forces in December of 1971 led to independence and the establishment of Bangladesh.

Politically Bangladesh has two major parties—the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the Bangladesh Awami League. The BNP gains support from a number of radical Islamic parties including Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh and Islami Oikya Jot. The rivalry between the BNP and the Awami League has often led to protests and violence. Students are quite active in politics and reflect the historical legacy of liberation politics. In February of 2005 two Islamic parties—Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) and Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB)—were banned after a series of terrorist attacks and bombings.

Bangladesh is located on the Ganges Delta. Most of Bangladesh is no more than 10 meters above sea level. Therefore some scientists suggest that a rise of the water only one meter above sea level would flood approximately 10 percent of the land in the country. The country is underdeveloped and overpopulated, with recent per capita income of only approximately \$440. WORLD BANK reports, however, have praised Bangladesh for progress in literacy, gains in education, and the reduction of population growth. Between 1990 and 1996 the economy grew at an annual rate of 5 percent. Its economic development is stymied by cyclones and floods, inefficient state enterprises, lack of power as well as corruption, and a rapidly growing population.

See also GANDHI, INDIRA.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Bay of Pigs

In April 1961 putting into effect a plan initially formulated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration, U.S. President JOHN F. KENNEDY authorized the Bay of Pigs invasion to topple Cuban revolutionary FIDEL CASTRO. The plan was for a U.S.-trained and equipped force of Cuban exiles to invade Playa Girón in the Bahía de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on the south coast and spark a popular uprising against Castro, which would overthrow his regime and end Cuba's Communist experiment. Ill-conceived from its inception, and plagued by mishaps and missteps, the invasion failed, becoming a major foreign policy embarrassment for Kennedy and solidifying popular support for Castro within Cuba. A few months later, Cuban revolutionary leader CHE GUEVARA thanked a Kennedy aide for the invasion, which Guevara claimed “enabled [us] to consolidate” the revolution and “transformed [us] from an aggrieved little country to an equal.” The Bay of Pigs fiasco also had major repercussions for the COLD WAR, helping to precipitate the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, convincing the Kremlin that Kennedy was weak and indecisive, and steeling Kennedy's resolve to stand up to the perceived menace of global communism.

Operational planning for the invasion began in March 1960, headed by Vice President RICHARD NIXON. This was in the wake of the successful CIA-sponsored incursions into Iran (1953) and Guatemala (1954), which resulted in the installation of governments friendly to the United States. The CIA secretly recruited a Cuban exile force of some 1,000 men, called Brigade 2506, which underwent training in south Florida and Guatemala. The original landing site near Trinidad, Cuba, was later changed to the Bay of Pigs. Operations began on April 15 with a failed effort to destroy the Cuban Revolutionary Air Force.

Two days later, four privately chartered ships transported 1,511 Cuban exiles to the Bay of Pigs, accompanied by CIA-owned landing crafts carrying supplies. Fighting was fierce and lasted for four days (April 17–21). Casualties are estimated at 2,000 to 5,000

Cubans and 200–300 invading exiles. Kennedy refused to send in air support or the marines, fearing the consequences of clear evidence of direct U.S. involvement. The Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces soon killed or captured most of the invading force. Soon afterward, 1,209 captive exiles were put on trial. Around 20 were executed or otherwise killed, the remainder being released within two years in exchange for \$53 million in medicine and food.

The botched invasion was a major blow to the Kennedy administration and gave a major boost to Castro at home and abroad. Kennedy's vacillating leadership during the Bay of Pigs prompted Soviet Premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to challenge the U.S. administration more directly by placing nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba, leading to the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. Until his assassination in November 1963, Kennedy endeavored to demonstrate his strength in confronting the Soviet Union and its allies in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, a foreign policy stance attributable in large part to the Bay of Pigs debacle.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Beat movement

Every generation has its own avant-garde movement, and the Beats were the avant-garde of the 1950s in the United States, providing an acerbic critique of what they believed was a bland, conformist, and frivolous society. The writers associated with the movement had a disproportionate influence for their numbers. They worked outside traditional creative forms and behavior, placing immense value on personal freedom and spontaneity and viewing themselves as poets in a philistine nation. They used their immediate raw experience—sometimes drug fueled—as the basis for their writing, and used patterns of plain American speech but also adopted the rhythms of progressive jazz and bebop.

The movement began in 1945, when Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, students at Columbia Universi-

ty, met William S. Burroughs in New York City. The movement got its name from an article that John Clellon Brown, a novelist of the movement, wrote for the *New York Times* in 1952. In the article Brown talked of a "new vision" invented from the everyday surroundings of the writers that sustained their "perfect craving to believe" in the U.S. promise of freedom in the tense COLD WAR years.

The movement made headlines in 1956 when Lawrence Ferlinghetti, a poet and the proprietor of San Francisco's City Lights Bookstore, published Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems*, which was promptly seized by a customs agent and became the basis for an obscenity trial. *Howl* would sell 100,000 copies in the next 10 years. The same year, Kerouac's *On the Road*, written in 1951 on teletype paper as a single 120-foot-long paragraph, became a best seller. Burroughs published *Naked Lunch* in 1960. It had been impounded when published in serial form, but was declared not obscene a year later.

The Beat writers were not taken seriously by many outside observers. Critics in the print media—and there were many—called the group "beatniks," a term created by San Francisco columnist Herb Caen, suggesting an unsavory connection to the Soviet Union's shocking 1957 launch of *Sputnik*. Mainstream media portrayed them as hipsters and slackers: the men wearing goatees and sunglasses and carrying a book of poetry, the women with long straight hair and heavy eye makeup.

Although the principal figures of the movement had scattered by the early 1960s, Beat remained a fully realized subculture in urban areas like Greenwich Village and the Venice District of Los Angeles. In San Francisco, the Beat movement had left its haunts in North Beach and relocated to a multiracial working-class neighborhood farther west, called Haight-Ashbury, leading commentators to believe that the Beat ethos was responsible for the "hippie" movement of the late 1960s. The Beat movement did inform the politics of the New Left to a degree, and it can be credited with creating the atmosphere of freedom of expression in which the protest movements of the 1960s developed.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Berlin blockade/airlift

The Berlin blockade was a diplomatic crisis and military operation during the COLD WAR precipitated by the Soviet Union's blockade of the city of Berlin from June 18, 1948, to May 12, 1949, and the subsequent relief effort launched by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to provide provisions for the western half of the city. The Berlin blockade was one of the first major diplomatic crises of the cold war. The Western Allies' ability to provide for the city proved to be a major diplomatic victory and ensured the creation of a pro-Western West German state. However, it also ensured the division of Germany and Berlin for the next four decades.

The diplomatic struggle over Berlin in 1948–49 had its origins in the final months of World War II and the agreements made among the Allied powers over the division of postwar Germany. Germany's capital, Berlin, although deep within the proposed Soviet zone, would also be divided into four sectors of occupation. Although each power would be given sole control of its respective zone, an Allied Control Council based in Berlin would be assembled to coordinate and plan policy for all of Germany. These plans were made under the assumption that the occupation of Germany would be temporary and that Germany would be reunified relatively soon after the war's end. Critically, the agreements were also made under the assumption of continued inter-Allied cooperation.

Within days of Nazi Germany's defeat, the Soviets undertook efforts to ensure the dominance of sympathetic German communists in their zone, especially in Berlin, which the Soviets claimed was an integral part of their zone. Their overall aim was the reunification of a pro-communist German state, a goal that placed it at odds with the Western Allies. In 1946 the Soviet Union sponsored the forced merger of the German Communist Party and the Social Democrats (SPD) of its zone into the Socialist Unity Party (SED). Censorship of the press was instituted and members of noncommunist parties were frequently arrested in the Soviet zone. In Berlin agitators working for the SED frequently disrupted the meetings of the democratically elected city council. In 1946 the election of the Social Democrat Ernst Reuter to the office of lord mayor of Berlin was vetoed by the Soviets. However, the Soviets were unable to gain control of Berlin outside their zone or the rest of Germany.

Over the course of the next three years, hopes of inter-Allied cooperation quickly faded as it became

increasingly apparent that neither the Soviets nor the Western Allies would come to an agreement on either a postwar settlement or reunifying Germany. In 1947 the British and the United States united their two zones to create the Bizone, or Bizonia. Although it was created as an economic union, the Bizone would eventually form the nucleus of what was to become West Germany. In the spring of 1948—the three Western Allies—along with Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—assembled at the London Conference to plan for the future of the three west German zones.

In 1948 with reunification unlikely, the British and the Americans made moves to sponsor the creation of a Western-oriented German state in their zones. Together with the French they created the deutsche mark to replace the inflated reichsmark. This currency reform took effect in the three western zones and the three western sectors of Berlin. The Soviets argued that this violated postwar agreements made at the Potsdam Conference and their rights to all of Berlin. They subsequently ordered a blockade of all rail, road, and barge traffic into and out of the three western sectors of Berlin.

The Soviets' aim was to halt the creation of a West German state and force the Western Allies out of Berlin. It became apparent to the Allied powers that any compromise or appearance of backing down before Soviet intimidation would be diplomatically disastrous. Although several U.S. generals argued that Berlin was not strategically important enough to risk a confrontation and pressed for withdrawal, President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall felt that Berlin was critical to maintaining a strong front against the spread of communism. The Western Allies affirmed their support for their respective sectors in Berlin.

However, there were few actions that they could take. With only 15,000 Allied troops in West Berlin, a fight was not possible. General Clay advocated using an armed convoy to break the blockade. But both the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon saw this as both too risky and unworkable. The option of an airlift became increasingly attractive, as it would demonstrate Allied determination to remain in Berlin and provide it with much-needed provisions and supplies. Also, whereas the rights for land access to Berlin were left undefined, the Western Allies and the Soviets had concluded an agreement guaranteeing access by air. Thus the likelihood of war resulting from an airlift was much smaller than if the Allies were to force the blockade.

Between June 1948 and May 1949 almost all the provisions for the western zones of Berlin were shipped



The “Last Vittles” flight left Rhein Main Air Base on September 30, 1949, as sister planes of the airlift flew overhead in formation, marking the end of a dramatic chapter in air history, the Berlin airlift.

in by air, using aircraft such as the C-47 Dakota and C-54 Skymaster. The operation was given the code name “Vittles” and was commanded by General William H. Tunner. Tunner, who had experience transporting goods over the Himalayas during World War II, organized an extremely complex operation. During the summer months the airlift was able to provide only between 3,000 and 4,000 tons of goods a day. By the onset of winter, Vittles was providing between 5,000 and 6,000 tons a day.

The Allies were also blessed by a winter marked by frequently clear skies. During the spring of 1949 an aircraft landed at one of the three airports in the western zone once every two minutes. The citizens of Berlin greatly appreciated the Allied efforts and many West Berliners aided in distributing supplies throughout the city. Children called the planes *Rosinenbombers* (“Raisin Bombers”), and the name became a popular appellation for the aircraft throughout the city. Ernst Reuter, unofficially mayor of the western sectors and spokesman for the western half of the city, made great efforts to improve morale and win world sympathy for the city. What supplies the airlift could not provide were often

found on the black market in the east and through legal East-West trade.

By the spring of 1949 it had become apparent that the western sectors could be sustained with the necessary provisions, so long as the Soviet military did not interfere. However, it had come at a cost: 31 Americans, 40 Britons, and 5 Germans lost their lives to air-related accidents during the course of the airlift.

On May 12, the Soviets, aware they would neither force the Western Allies to back down on the issue of currency reform nor end their support for a West German state, ended the blockade. Fearful that the Soviets might try to renew the blockade, the Allies continued airlifting provisions into September of 1949. The blockade was a disastrous diplomatic defeat for the Soviet Union. In the short-term it had failed to accomplish its two primary goals: to prevent the creation of a pro-Western German state and to expel the Allies from Berlin. The French, who had initially opposed the creation of a western Germany, joined their zone to the Bizone in 1949. That same year, both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic were proclaimed.

The chief long-term effect was the prolonged division of Germany. The Western Allies had confronted the Soviets and had maintained their commitments without having to resort to armed action. The blockade also proved damaging to world opinion of the Soviet Union. Berlin, long perceived as a bastion of German-Prussian militarism, had been transformed into a symbol of freedom. The allied presence in Berlin would be the source of almost constant difficulty for the East German state, as it provided an enclave of Western liberalism and economic prosperity that was a constant source of enticement for the citizens of the communist state. West Berlin would be a popular destination for East German emigrants over the course of the next decade, their massive flight from the east stopped only by the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

See also COLD WAR.

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NICHOLAS J. SCHLOSSER

Betancourt, Rómulo

(1908–1981) *Venezuelan president*

One of the leading figures of 20th-century Venezuelan history, Rómulo Betancourt is generally credited with playing a pivotal role in helping to establish viable and sustainable democratic institutions in Venezuela that endured from his second presidency (1959–64) to the 2000s. A moderate social reformer and forerunner of latter-day Venezuelan president HUGO CHÁVEZ in his advocacy of populist social democracy focusing on the needs of the poor, Betancourt founded the political party Democratic Action (Acción Democrática, AD) in 1941, which would play a major role in subsequent Venezuelan political life. Threading a difficult line between the far Left, the far Right, and the omnipresent specter of

U.S. intromission in this oil-rich country, Betancourt contributed in enduring ways to the institutionalization of Venezuelan democracy.

Born in the town of Guatire in the state of Miranda to a family of modest means, he starting working at 14 years of age to put himself through high school, college, and law school. In 1928 he participated in student protests against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez, events marking him as a leading member of the “Generation of 28” dedicated to democratization and social reform. After being jailed by the Gómez regime he went into exile and became active in various leftist political groups, including the Communist Party of Costa Rica.

At age 23 he penned the Plan of Barranquilla, a Marxist-inspired document outlining his vision of his homeland's political future. After Gómez's death in 1936, he returned clandestinely to Venezuela and became engaged in political activity against the military regime. In 1940 he went into exile in Chile, where he published *Venezuelan Problems* (*Problemas Venezolanos*). A year later he returned to Venezuela and founded AD, gathering around him a team committed to reform that formed the nucleus of the party and skillfully using the press and other media to disseminate his ideas.

On October 19, 1945, a coalition of AD reformers and disgruntled army officers overthrew the military regime and installed Betancourt as president of a provisional government. During his first presidency (1945–48), Betancourt's government instituted a wide range of political, economic, and social reforms, including universal suffrage; mechanisms for free and fair elections; an accord with foreign oil companies that guaranteed a reasonable profit, decent wages, and ensured labor peace; agrarian reform; expansion of public education and public health facilities; and related initiatives. Declining to run for a second successive term, in 1948 he transferred power to his successor, the novelist and activist Rómulo Gallegos. Later that year, in December, the military in collusion with conservative elements overthrew the Gallegos government, ruling Venezuela for the next 10 years under General Marcos Pérez Jiménez.

In 1958 a resurgent coalition of reformers and army officers overthrew the Jiménez regime, installing a democratic AD-dominated government, with Betancourt again as president, which broadened and deepened the reforms of the 1940s. Since 1958 Venezuela has been ruled by a succession of democratically elected governments. Surviving an assassination attempt

by Dominican dictator RAFAEL TRUJILLO in 1960, and promulgating the Betancourt Doctrine that denied diplomatic recognition to regimes coming to power by military force, Betancourt died on September 28, 1981, in Doctor's Hospital in New York City.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is a nationalist party of India. It grew out of a Hindu nationalist organization, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS, National Volunteer Organization), which was founded in 1925 by K. B. Hedgewar as a reaction to Muslim fundamentalism. That organization was dedicated to propagating orthodox Hindu religious practices and building Hindu unity.

In 1947 upon independence the Indian subcontinent was divided into two separate states, India and Pakistan. Although most Muslims remained in Pakistan and most Hindus stayed in India, some Muslims lived in India while some Hindus continued living in Pakistan. This situation, along with a territorial dispute over the Kashmir region, created tensions between the two nations.

In 1951 Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS)—a political wing of RSS that grew during the 1950s and 1960s—was established. In 1971 East Pakistan seceded and created a new nation, Bangladesh. The BJS supported the movement for the creation of Bangladesh.

In 1977 the BJS joined the Janata Party, a coalition of opposition parties that defeated INDIRA GANDHI and the Congress Party in parliamentary elections and formed a government that lasted through the end of 1979, when Gandhi returned to the government.

In 1980 BJS was renamed and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was born. The principles of the BJP are inspired by Hindu nationalism and the main objectives are to build up India as a strong, unified, and prosperous nation.

In 1984 the BJP separated from the RSS; it became the main opposition to the Congress Party. In the 1991 elections the BJP became an effective opposition party

winning so many seats that the Congress Party had to govern with a coalition. In 1996 the BJP emerged as the largest party in Parliament.

When parliamentary elections were held in 1998, again the BJP and some opposition parties won the largest number of seats and formed a government. This government lasted only one year but during that time the administration fulfilled an electoral promise and carried out the country's first nuclear tests, making India a nuclear power. As a consequence, Pakistan also conducted nuclear tests, making both countries nuclear.

The BJP administration faced a new conflict with Pakistan whose soldiers had occupied ground on the Indian side of the line of control demarcated by the United Nations in Kashmir. However, peace was restored in 2001.

Under the BJP government, India's economy became decentralized and market-oriented with privatizations of government corporations, increasing foreign investment, and the liberalization of trade under World Trade Organization rules. There was improvement in infrastructure and production and the middle class grew. However, there was little improvement for the rural and poor classes.

In February 2002 a series of violent incidents in Gujarat State discredited the BJP government. Many activists and members of the BJP were accused of leading the violence against the Muslim minority in that state. In the 2004 elections the Congress Party coalition won the elections and the BJP became the opposition party.

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VERÓNICA M. ZILIOOTTO

Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX)

(1927–) *Thai king*

Bhumibol Adulyadej, Rama IX of the Chakri dynasty, is the reigning king of Thailand and the longest-ruling monarch in the world. His bespectacled visage is

a familiar sight in Thailand, where photographs of the king and his queen consort, Sirikit, adorn the walls of many homes.

Political developments ended absolute monarchy in Thailand in 1932, and Bhumibol's uncle King Pradjadhipok abdicated three years later, elevating 10-year-old Ananda Mahidol to the throne. On June 9, 1946, the 21-one-year-old King Ananda was found in the royal chamber dead of a gunshot wound. Three palace aides were eventually executed for their involvement. Bhumibol Adulyadej, still a minor, ascended to the throne the next day but returned to Switzerland to continue his education. In 1950 Bhumibol returned temporarily for his wedding and official coronation. He married his fiancée, the 17-year-old M. R. Sirikit Kityakara, whom he had met in Paris while her father was the Thai ambassador to France. The royal couple returned to take up permanent residence in Thailand in 1951.

Between 1951 and 1957, King Bhumibol and the royal household found themselves subject to a "royal containment" policy. The government, headed by the antiroyalist prime minister Phibun and dominated by the military, vigorously circumscribed the influence of the monarch, restricting him primarily to a symbolic role in traditional and religious ceremonies.

The situation changed in 1957 when a rival military faction, led by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, worked with a royalist faction to topple the Phibun government. Sarit and his coconspirators apparently had sought an audience with the king to inform him of their plans. In turn, King Bhumibol designated Sarit the military protector of Bangkok during the period of upheaval. This marked the beginning of a partnership between Sarit and the king.

Field Marshal Sarit and the king enjoyed a cordial working relationship. Sarit, who appreciated the value of promoting King Bhumibol both as a rallying point in Thai political life and as an antidote to communist influence, astutely included the monarch as a junior partner in governance. Consequently, King Bhumibol's role in Thailand became increasingly visible and influential. He and Queen Sirikit toured the country, visited foreign nations, and in general became prominent symbols of Thailand. His popularity in the country remains unquestioned.

Even though the king is generally above politics, he has used his stature to intervene in political crises. In 1992 a political crisis brewed when demonstrators protested the appointment as prime minister a leader of the military coup that had ousted a democratically

elected government the previous year. The king intervened, mediating a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

King Bhumibol's popularity in the country is also the result of his and the royal family's efforts to improve the livelihood of ordinary Thai citizens. The king and other members of his family have been closely involved with agricultural, environmental, and social welfare projects that have endeared them to the populace.

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SOO CHUN LU

Bhutto, Benazir

(1953–2007) *Pakistani leader*

Benazir Bhutto was the first female to lead a modern Muslim country; she was prime minister of Pakistan from December 1988 to August 1990 and again from October 1993 to November 1996. Bhutto's father was ZULFIKAR BHUTTO, who founded the PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (PPP).

Benazir Bhutto was born on June 21, 1953, in Karachi, Pakistan. She attended Harvard's Radcliffe College starting in 1969 and graduated, cum laude, in 1973. She then attended Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford University, where she studied politics, philosophy, and economics until 1977. She was elected president of the Oxford Union and became the first Asian woman to lead their debating society. She returned to Pakistan in 1977.

Shortly after her return to Pakistan, a military coup led by General Zia overthrew her father's government, imprisoned him, and hanged him two years later. Over the next seven years, until her exile in 1984, she was imprisoned several times because of her opposition to Zia. In January 1984 she went into exile in London. From there she worked to build the PPP's strength and in January 1986, after martial law was lifted, she returned. Because Pakistan is a Muslim country, she decided that she needed to be married and arranged a marriage to Asif Ali Zardari in December 1987.

With Zia's death in August 1988, elections were held and Bhutto ran for prime minister. The PPP was unable to win a majority of the seats in parliament, but did put together a coalition government with Bhutto as the prime minister. Bhutto and the PPP worked to improve the conditions of the poor of Pakistan as well as to improve social justice in the country. She also believed in a free economy and private control of business. She worked to improve human rights in Pakistan.

Throughout Bhutto's term, the opposition tried to get her removed from office. Their attempts had been unsuccessful until 1990 when violence broke out in several cities in Pakistan. This violence, along with support from the military, gave the Pakistani president the excuse he needed to dismiss the government. Thus on August 6, 1990, Bhutto was removed from office and charged with corruption, nepotism, and misuse of her office. In elections in October the PPP lost all but a few of the seats it held in parliament.

Bhutto spent the next several years improving her reputation. The government that replaced her coalition proved unable to deal with the problems of Pakistan and new elections were held in 1993. The PPP, while holding a large number of seats, did not have a majority. When a PPP candidate was elected president, it appeared that the government would be stable. However, corruption and criminal activity by politicians continued to be a problem. She was dismissed as prime minister in 1996 and went into exile. Bhutto vowed she would triumph in new elections scheduled for February 1997, but she lost to Nawaz Sharif, whom she had replaced in 1993. In January 1998 corruption charges against Bhutto and her husband widened. Bhutto denied the charges and said they were politically motivated, but during her five years in office, Pakistan's treasury was drained, and she was unable to deliver the programs she had promised. In spite of the charges, Bhutto maintained her position as leader of Pakistan's major opposition party, the PPP.

In 1999, Bhutto fled Pakistan to avoid corruption charges, and she was convicted in absentia by a Pakistani court. In October of that year, Sharif lost power when General PERVEZ MUSHARRAF took over the country in a military coup. Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 2007 after President Musharrarf granted her and others amnesty from corruption charges. She was assassinated shortly after.

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Zulfikar Bhutto was one of the prominent leaders of Pakistani politics and founder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Bhutto, Zulfikar

(1928–1979) *Pakistani leader*

Zulfikar Bhutto, one of the prominent leaders of Pakistani politics and founder of the PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (PPP) was born on January 5, 1928, in Larkna, Sind. He was the son of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, a wealthy landowner. Bhutto was close to President MUHAMMAD AYUB KHAN (1907–74) and held the important portfolio of foreign affairs. He was an excellent orator and represented Pakistan in various world capitals and the UNITED NATIONS with conviction. He left the company

of Ayub after the INDO-PAKISTANI WAR of 1965 and formed the PPP on November 2, 1967, in Lahore.

The PPP catered to the needs of diverse constituencies in Pakistan, attracting people from various walks of life. In the political turmoil of the last days of Ayub, Bhutto and his PPP tried to oust Ayub. General Agha Muhammad YAHYA KHAN, the successor of Ayub, ordered the elections based on adult franchise on December 7, 1970. With the slogan “Food, Shelter and Clothing,” the PPP emerged victorious in west Pakistan, whereas the AWAMI LEAGUE of SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN gained an absolute majority in the whole of Pakistan. The PPP prevailed upon Yahya Khan in not allowing Mujibur to form a government.

Bhutto called the National Assembly to prepare the third constitution for Pakistan. It became operative on August 12, 1973. The parliamentary system was adopted and the prime minister became the most powerful official. He was also the commander in chief of the armed forces.

Comparative stability entered the politics of Pakistan. Pakistan also recognized the independence of Bangladesh in the first amendment of the constitution. Bhutto carried out reforms in industry, agriculture, and the civil services, and ordered the nationalization of banks along with rice, flour, and cotton mills.

Bhutto had a fair amount of success in international relations. He tried his best to revive the image of Pakistan after its humiliation due to the secession of East Pakistan. He cemented the country's relations with other Islamic countries. Under him both India and Pakistan recognized the Line of Control (LOC) that had been established after their war of 1971 and agreed to refrain from the use of force against each other. Pakistan gained back the territory lost in the war. The accords prevented any major conflagration between the two until 1999.

Bhutto announced in January 1977 that elections were to be held for the National Assembly two months later. The PPP emerged victorious with 155 seats and the combined opposition; the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) secured only 36 seats. The PNA then launched a mass movement against Bhutto, claiming that the elections were rigged. Bhutto was arrested and released a month later.

In September, he was arrested on charges of authorizing the murder of an opponent three years previously. He was found guilty of murder and he was hanged on April 4, 1979. The PPP again came to power in 1988 with BENAIZIR BHUTTO the daughter of Zulfikar Bhutto, becoming prime minister.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Biafran War (1967–1970)

The Biafran War, also known as the Nigerian Civil War, was a political conflict waged from July 6, 1967, to January 13, 1970. It was a war rooted in ethnic conflicts between three main tribes in the country: the Igbo in the southeast, the Yoruba in the west, and the Hausa/Fulani in the north.

The war came about as a result of events that followed the independence of Nigeria in 1963. In 1964 elections were held, which were afterward condemned by non-northern Nigerians as fraudulent. In January 1966 a coup d'état was staged by mostly Igbo officers that put Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi in power at the head of a government that gave more favor to Igbo-related officers. A counter coup was then staged by Lieutenant Colonel Murtala Mohammed that placed Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon (a northerner) in power on July 29, 1966. Because Igbos became suspect for the problems caused by the first coup, social unrest started that led to massacres of Igbo people, continuing into September of the same year. Around 30,000 Igbo civilians were killed, and over 1 million Igbos began to relocate to the southeast to escape persecution. At the same time Hausas and other non-Igbos were killed in Igbo lands, causing a counter-exodus to escape retaliation.

Oil had been discovered in Nigeria in 1958, and the country's oil industry was based in the Igbo-dominated southeast. Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, military governor of the eastern region, became the leader for the Igbo side. Based on Igbo appeals for secession from the federal government, he declared the independence of the Republic of Biafra on May 30, 1966. Unwilling to lose the oil industry, the FMG advanced into Biafra on July 6, 1967, to force Biafra back into the fold of Nigeria. The Biafran forces

repulsed the advance, then launched a counterinvasion into FMG territories, seizing key strategic locations. At the end of 1967 however, the FMG regained these territories, and the Biafran forces were again looking for breakthroughs into Nigeria.

For most of 1968 the forces were stalemated. The Biafran military enjoyed much support from foreign countries. French doctors and other volunteer groups airlifted supplies and medical assistance into Biafra. The Swedish eccentric Carl Gustav von Rosen fought as a mercenary on the Biafran side.

When Biafra was declared, the country was formally recognized by only Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, South Africa, and Ivory Coast. Other African countries refused to recognize Biafra because they were opposed to South Africa.

FMG forces later took the town of Owerri, the capital of the Igbo heartland, and thought that victory was close. But Biafran forces reclaimed it later on, and the stalemate held again. By April 1969 the Biafran forces were heavily reduced, but they continued fighting. Ojukwu's appeals for UNITED NATIONS intervention in October were unsuccessful. The final push of FMG forces started in December of 1969. On January 6, 1970, Owerri again fell to the FMG. On January 10 Ojukwu admitted defeat and fled Nigeria for the Ivory Coast. He left the country to the commander of the Biafran Army, Philip Effiong, who led a delegation to Lagos and formally surrendered on January 15, 1970, thus ending the existence of Biafra.

The Biafran War ended with 100,000 military casualties, while between 500,000 and 3 million Biafran civilians became casualties from starvation during the war. After the war, ethnic tensions continued to be a problem in Nigerian politics.

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biblical inerrancy

The doctrine of biblical inerrancy asserts that the original texts or teachings of the Bible contain no errors. The word *infallibility* sometimes appears as a synonym for inerrancy, but strictly speaking, the term infallibility has a slightly different sense, namely, that the claims of a religious authority cannot fail.

A good case can be made that all major branches of the Christian faith historically embraced biblical inerrancy or its equivalent, yet also that the definition of biblical inerrancy took on additional connotations and significance for Protestant evangelicals in the late 19th century. Roman Catholics generally prefer to discuss religious authority in terms of the infallibility of the Church, which entails the teachings of its councils, leaders (especially the pope), and official documents, including the Bible. Eastern Orthodoxy looks particularly to the religious authority of the seven ecumenical Church councils.

For some Protestants, biblical inerrancy provides a litmus test for determining who is an evangelical. Thus biblical inerrancy became the theological basis for founding both the National Association of Evangelicals (1942) and the Evangelical Theological Society (1949). While the most widely accepted evangelical confession of the 20th century, the *Lausanne Covenant* (1974), states that the Bible is "without error in all that it affirms," the phrase implicitly allows some ambiguity since there are serious debates over what in fact the Bible actually affirms. Hence, while many evangelicals would agree with the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, the meaning and implications of that belief have often been contested.

The *Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy* (1978) was an attempt by certain evangelical theologians to articulate clearly and delimit the meaning of biblical inerrancy. Nevertheless, there are at least four rather different senses in which the doctrine of biblical inerrancy has been understood by those who embrace it. For some, biblical inerrancy means that every propositional statement in the Bible—including statements bearing upon science or history—must be accepted as a divinely sanctioned literal truth.

For others, the Bible is still in some important sense true when referring to nonreligious domains, but such references should not be pressed too literally, especially when they are merely describing human experiences of the physical world. A third approach turns the focus upon the reliability of the Bible's *religious* teachings. The fourth way of understanding biblical inerrancy emphasizes the Bible's overall purpose of bringing people into

fellowship with God, rather than asking whether this or that proposition is true.

The doctrine of biblical inerrancy is frequently defended by one or more of the following arguments: an appeal to the nature of God (God cannot lie and the Bible is his divine word), the teachings of Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth about the trustworthiness of Scripture, the Bible's own self-authenticating claims, the threat to religious authority if the Bible is errant, or the analysis of test cases to show that apparent errors in the biblical text are instead true and that supposed contradictions are actually in harmony with each other.

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TIMOTHY PAUL ERDEL

Black Power movement

Influential from 1960 to 1976, the Black Power movement was a conscious endeavor to liberate the blacks from white political, social, and cultural institutional clutches. As a radical political philosophy, the Black Power movement advocated ethnic integrity, self-sufficiency, and self-assertion with an aim to maximize black opportunities. During a march to Mississippi, Stokely Carmichael is believed to have articulated the blueprint of the movement.

Although MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., with his philosophy of nonviolence and brotherhood, succeeded in the pursuit of equality, blacks felt that they had been alienated and discriminated against in many social institutions. It was this disappointment with King's approach to the African-American condition that persuaded Huey Newton, MALCOLM X, and Stokely Carmichael to look for an alternative model. Accordingly, they insisted on the need to advance black freedom through force.

In its initial stages, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was the only organization that supported the Black Power movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) denounced Black Power, though it reportedly generated support later. Interestingly, the impact of the Black Power movement in America surfaced in the United Kingdom. Organizations such as the Racial Adjustment Action Society and the Universal Coloured People's Association fervently propagated the ideologies of the



A recruiting poster for the Black Panthers, one of the best-known and militant Black Power organizations.

Black Power movement. Carmichael visited London in 1967 and was deported for inciting racial hatred.

In 1966 Black Power reached new prominence in the form of the Black Panther movement. Founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, the Black Panthers fashioned their views after FRANTZ FANON, Mao Zedong, and Malcolm X. With their "rhetoric of the gun," the Black Panthers, like the Black Power movement, strove to advance the rights of blacks through violence and force.

But the most intense and successful manifestation of the Black Power movement is the Black Arts movement. Drawing inspiration from the ideological specifics of the Black Power movement, the Black Arts movement ardently rejected white literary standards and sought to define a new black aesthetic. Prominent members of the Black Arts

movement, among others, include Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), Harold Cruse, Sonia Sanchez, Haki Madhubuti, Ed Bullins, Dudley Randall, Ed Spriggs, Nikki Giovanni, Conrad Rivers, and Mari Evans. Two prominent contributions of the Black Arts movement are the growth of theater groups and black poetry performance. Baraka, a prominent Black Arts practitioner, established Black Arts Repertory Theatre and School in Harlem. Another prominent playwright of this era was Ed Bullins. Unlike Ellison, Ed Bullins—true to the spirit of the Black Arts and Black Power movements—denied the whites in his plays. Poets such as Haki Madhubuti, Sonia Sanchez, and Angela Jackson experimented with verse forms with the intention of differentiating from white literary culture and thus asserting cultural autonomy. Though the radical political agenda of the Black Arts movement was severely criticized by the later artists, the movement's thrust toward cultural autonomy brought black creativity to new heights.

Eventually, the Black Power movement was increasingly met with violence from white counterparts. Strict government measures such as Cointelpro and IRS probes later disrupted the activities of the Black Power movement. Finally, though the Black Power movement failed to enact concrete political changes, it marked a crucial phase in the evolution of African-American politics on the eve of the civil rights era.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, U.S.

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SATHYARAJ VENKATESAN

Bolivian revolution (1952–1964)

Beginning in 1952 Bolivia underwent a social and economic revolution, spearheaded by the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, MNR), a political party founded in 1941 and led by the economist VÍCTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO and the lawyer and former president's son Hernán Siles Zuazo. The roots of the revolution can be traced to Bolivia's

humiliating defeat by Paraguay in the Chaco War (1932–35); decades of military dictatorship and politically exclusionary rule by the landowning and military elite; the country's long history of class and racial inequality and extreme poverty among its mostly indigenous population; and the emergence of new leftist political forces from the early 1940s, particularly its labor unions, peasant leagues, and Marxist-oriented political parties.

Coming to power through both electoral victory and popular mobilizations, after 1952 the MNR instituted a range of far-reaching social and economic reforms. By the late 1950s the revolutionary process stalled in consequence of mounting conservative opposition, growing factionalism and corruption within the MNR, and U.S. support to conservative elements. In 1964 the MNR was overthrown in a military coup. The Bolivian revolution left an enduring legacy, with much of the popular unrest and indigenous political organizing of the 1990s and 2000s finding important antecedents in the revolutionary period half a century before.

Coming to power on April 16, 1952, after a wave of strikes and street protests, the MNR under Paz Estenssoro launched an ambitious program of land, labor, and social reform. Establishing universal suffrage in July, the regime expanded the electorate from around 200,000 to over one million voters. It also slashed the size and power of the military.

In October it nationalized the country's largest tin mines and established the state-run Mining Corporation of Bolivia (Corporación Minera de Bolivia, COMIBOL). The act fulfilled a longtime goal of the Union Federation of Bolivian Tin Workers (Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia, FSTMB), founded in 1944 and led by Juan Lechín, the country's largest labor union with some 60,000 members. Following the MNR's assumption of power, in 1952 Bolivian trade unions formed the Bolivian Workers' Center (Central Obrera Boliviana, COB), with the FSTMB as its largest affiliate. The COB exercised a major political influence throughout the period of MNR rule.

In August 1953 the MNR initiated a sweeping program of agrarian reform in an attempt to eliminate forced labor and address the country's extremely unequal landowning patterns. Before 1953, 6 percent of landowners controlled upwards of 90 percent of the nation's arable land, and 60 percent of landowners controlled 0.2 percent.

While not all of the provisions of the 1953 Agrarian Reform Law were implemented, in later years land ownership became significantly less unequal. Peasant leagues, forming armed militias, exerted considerable influence

on the revolutionary government, partly through their representation in the new Ministry of Peasant Affairs.

By the end of Paz Estenssoro's first term (1952–56), the revolutionary process had slowed in consequence of mounting opposition from conservative elements, growing polarization within the multiclass ruling coalition, economic decline in the tin and farming industries, and skyrocketing inflation due to increased government spending. Under the presidency of Siles Zuazo (1956–60), the United States stepped up its efforts to moderate the regime through increased flows of economic assistance, heightening the country's political polarization. By Paz Estenssoro's second term (1960–64), the MNR's more radical elements faced mounting internal and external opposition. In 1964 a resurgent military overthrew the regime, followed by a series of military dictatorships that ruled until 1982.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Bosch, Juan

(1909–2001) *Dominican president*

Poet, scholar, educator, activist, politician, and the first democratically elected president of the Dominican Republic after the long dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo, Juan Emilio Bosch y Gaviño is most remembered for championing the rights and dignity of ordinary Dominicans through his writings and his progressive liberal-democratic politics. His tenure as president was brief, lasting only seven months—from February to September 1963—when he was overthrown by a coalition of conservative forces. He nonetheless continued to play a major role in Dominican politics, running for president and losing repeatedly to U.S.-supported candidates (1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994), becoming the standard-bearer of the country's populist left and pushing the national political discourse toward the promotion of liberal democracy, civil rights, and the political enfranchisement of the poor and working class.

Born on June 30, 1909, in the Dominican town of La Vega to a Puerto Rican mother and Catalanian father, at age 28 Bosch went into exile in Cuba to escape the repression of the Trujillo regime. Two years later, in 1939 in Havana, he cofounded the Dominican

Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, PRD), which would later play a major role in Dominican politics. Devoting much of his time to poetry and writing, in 1933 he published his first collection of stories, *Camino Real*; from 1935 to 1963 he published no fewer than 13 novels, anthologies, and works of nonfiction (from *Indios* [1935] and *La mañosa* [1936] to *David, biografía de un rey* [1963]). After Trujillo's assassination on May 30, 1961, he returned to the Dominican Republic, and, after a tempestuous interlude characterized by widespread popular mobilization and abiding U.S. concern relating to the COLD WAR and the radicalization of the CUBAN REVOLUTION, Bosch was elected president in the national elections of December 20, 1962, with 64 percent of the vote.

Assuming the presidency on February 27, 1963, he embarked on an ambitious program of economic, political, and social reform. His administration promulgated a new liberal constitution in April that secularized the government; guaranteed civil rights for all citizens; imposed civilian control on the military; and inaugurated a far-reaching program of agrarian reform. The reforms alienated the most powerful sectors of Dominican society, including the Catholic Church, the military, industrialists, and large landowners. In the context of the intensifying cold war, the stage was set for a U.S.-supported conservative coup, which came on September 25, 1963.

Going into exile in Puerto Rico, he returned to the Dominican Republic in September 1965 after the U.S. military intervention of April that ended an emerging civil war between pro-PRD and anti-PRD factions. He ran again for president in 1966, but was defeated by the U.S.-supported Joaquín Balaguer. While he never regained the presidency, he became renowned for his left-populist rhetoric, the acuity of his social criticism, and his determination to improve the lot of ordinary Dominicans. In 1973 he founded a new political party, the Dominican Liberation Party (Partido de la Liberación Dominicana, PLD), which since the mid-1990s has drifted to the center-right. The author of at least 36 publications translated into many languages, and popularly revered as a national hero, he died on November 1, 2001, in Santo Domingo.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Bourguiba, Habib

(1903–2000) *Tunisian leader*

Habib Bourguiba, known as the Supreme Warrior, was born in Monastir, Tunisia, in 1903 and died in April 2000 while under house arrest in his hometown. Bourguiba attended Sadiqi College in Tunis, where he graduated in 1924. He then went to France to study law and political science at the University of Paris. Upon graduation in 1927 Bourguiba returned to Tunisia; a year later he was writing for multiple political newspapers on issues involving Tunisian nationalism. Bourguiba was a member of the Executive Committee of the Destour Party, but his disagreements with the party's political approach led to his resignation. He formed the breakaway Neo-Destour Party in 1934.

The French colonial authorities reacted to Bourguiba's growing power by exiling him for two years. This would prove to be the first of many times Bourguiba would be imprisoned and released by the French during the struggle for Tunisian independence.

In April 1938 pro-nationalist demonstrations broke out in Tunisia and the French authorities opened fire on the crowds. Shortly thereafter, Bourguiba was imprisoned by the French on charges of sedition. In 1945 as the war ended, Bourguiba embarked on a series of tours through Arab nations, the United States, and parts of Europe to publicize the Tunisian cause. When Bourguiba returned to Tunisia, he reorganized and resumed control of the Neo-Destour Party. In January 1952 armed resistance broke out in parts of Tunisia and Bourguiba was again arrested and imprisoned in France. Beleaguered by the ongoing war in Algeria, the French released Bourguiba in 1955 and granted independence to Tunisia in 1956. Bourguiba became Tunisia's first president. He promptly embarked on a program of reform and development. Tunisia's constitution called for a secular state. Women were granted equality, and ambitious educational and health care programs were instituted; however, early attempts to collectivize agriculture failed and economic difficulties beset the nation.

Bourguiba was sympathetic to independence movements in developing countries, but his calls for negotiations with Israel in the mid-1960s led to riots in Jordan and Lebanon. In 1975 Bourguiba was named

president for life. He was seen by many as a passionate orator with a charismatic personality but he also had a reputation as a shrewd politician who outmaneuvered his political opponents.

The economy continued to decline during the 1980s as Islamist political groups gained support. As his health failed, Bourguiba seemed increasingly unable to deal with the mounting political, economic, and social problems of the nation. In November 1987 a bloodless coup led by Zine el Abidine Ben Ali took over the government and ousted Bourguiba. Ben Ali proclaimed that Bourguiba, at the age of 84, was too old and senile to serve as president. Bourguiba lived under house arrest for 13 years until his death in 2000. Although Ben Ali promised a return to democracy and held elections, he too became increasingly authoritarian and continued to rule Tunisia into the 21st century.

See also ALGERIAN REVOLUTION.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Bracero Program (1942–1964)

The Bracero Program, begun in August 1942 at the height of World War II in response to war-induced labor shortages in the United States, was a joint U.S.-Mexican agreement to bring temporary Mexican male laborers to work in the U.S. agricultural, railroad, and related industries. While the program was conceived as a temporary wartime expedient, commercial fruit, vegetable, and cotton growers in the U.S. Southwest found the program so profitable that they persuaded the U.S. Congress and Mexican governments to extend it for nearly two decades after the end of the war. In the 22 years during which the program was operational, an estimated 5 million Mexican men worked as *braceros* (a term roughly synonymous with “*jornaleros*,” or “day laborers”). Repeatedly condemned by human rights activists as abusive and exploitive, the Bracero Program had a major impact on the economic, social, and cultural history of both Mexico and the United States.

The program provided millions of poor Mexicans with legal entrée into the United States, familiarizing them with the land, its people, its wage structure, and its employment opportunities. For some it provided



Mexican workers at the border await legal employment in the United States, February 3, 1954.

an opportunity to reconnect with kin on the U.S. side of the border. After completing the terms of their contracts, many braceros opted to stay in the United States illegally or to return to Mexico and cross the border clandestinely at a later time. The program also made major contributions to the development of commercial agriculture in the U.S. Southwest.

While the terms of the original agreement mandated a minimum wage of 30 cents per hour, humane working conditions, and free round-trip transportation between Mexico and sites of employment, in practice the U.S. companies hiring bracero laborers frequently failed to adhere to these requirements. Unauthorized and sometimes exorbitant deductions for food, housing, medical attention, and other necessities were common, as were abusive practices such as substandard food and housing, poor sanitary conditions, physical intimidation, and violence. The program was briefly halted in 1948 in response to a decision by Texas cotton growers to pay braceros \$2.50 per hundred weight, while non-braceros earned \$3.00.

The Mexican government responded by suspending the program, an impasse resolved with a U.S. government apology and a new agreement in 1951 under U.S. Public Law 78 (sometimes called the “second” Bracero Program), which continued until 1964 (with successive “temporary” extensions in 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1961). Through the 1950s, an estimated 300,000 Mexicans worked as braceros annually. In order to combat illegal immigration and the tendency of many braceros

to remain in the United States without authorization, in 1954 the U.S. government launched “Operation Wet-back,” a program intended to repatriate unauthorized Mexicans, which also resulted in the deportation of some U.S. citizens. By the mid-1950s such repatriations reached a high of 3.8 million.

The Bracero Program is the subject of an expansive literature. The most rigorous early scholarly investigation was by the Mexican-American scholar and activist Dr. Ernesto Galarza, whose book *Merchants of Labor* (1964) is considered a classic in the field. Testifying repeatedly before the U.S. Congress and other government bodies, Galarza and others finally persuaded lawmakers to end the program. The program’s termination coincided with the rise of the National Farmworkers Association (later United Farmworkers of America, UFW), led by labor organizer Cesar Chavez. In many ways, the ending of the Bracero Program—and the glut of cheap migrant labor it provided—made possible the rise of the UFW.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Brazil, military dictatorship in (1964–1985)

Following a recurring pattern in Brazilian history (1889, 1930, 1937, 1945), in 1964 a group of military officers overthrew the civilian government of João Goulart (1961–64), installing a military dictatorship that ruled for the next 21 years. The roots of the crisis prompting the coup have been traced to a confluence of events from the mid-1950s. These included a dramatic upsurge in leftist political movements, parties, and unions among urban and rural dwellers, encouraged by civilian leaders and intensifying after the 1959 CUBAN REVOLUTION, combined with a growing economic crisis marked by high inflation (nearly 90 percent in 1964) and foreign debt (\$3 billion), huge budget deficits (\$1.1 billion in 1964); declining foreign investment, and eroding middle-class support.

With U.S. backing, on March 31, 1964, a group of officers headed by General Humberto Castello Branco seized power. Castello Branco ruled as president until 1967, his principal goal economic stabilization. Reforms

introduced by his planning minister, the neo-orthodox technocrat Roberto Campos, partly achieved this aim. The regime also reformed the nation's banking system and reduced unions' bargaining power. From 1968 to 1974 years of the so-called Brazilian miracle, foreign investment soared, industry boomed, and the economy grew at an average annual rate of 11 percent, though inflation still averaged around 23 percent. Relatively moderate, Castello Branco and his successor, General Artur Costa e Silva (1967–69), tolerated a degree of organized dissent, though when opposition leaders launched a series of protests and strikes in 1967–68, Costa e Silva cracked down, arresting and jailing hundreds. In September 1969 he suffered a stroke and was replaced by hard-liner General Emilio Garrastazu Médici (1969–74).

By 1969 there emerged in the country's major cities more than a dozen guerrilla groups, composed of perhaps 500 members altogether and akin to the MONTONEROS in Argentina, that for the next four years waged a losing battle against the dictatorship. Robbing banks and kidnapping foreign diplomats, the guerrillas found inspiration in the writings of Carlos Marighela, especially his *Mini-manual of the Urban Guerrilla*. The years of Brazil's Dirty War (1969–73) were marked by mass jailings, institutionalized torture, and upwards of 333 disappearances, far fewer than in neighboring Argentina and Uruguay. By 1973 the urban guerrilla groups had been eradicated. In 1974 the more moderate General Ernesto Geisel (1974–79) assumed the presidency.

Inclined toward a return to civilian rule, in October he allowed opposition parties to run in congressional elections, resulting in their landslide victory, thus stalling further democratization. In the economic sphere, the steep OPEC oil price hikes in 1973 and 1979 returned Brazil to high deficits, ballooning debt, and climbing inflation, which reached 110 percent in 1980. The abundance of cheap petrodollars on world markets delayed the day of economic reckoning, but in 1981 a global recession and credit squeeze compelled Brazil to default on its commercial bank loans, decisively ending the economic boom.

The fifth and last of the general-presidents was João Figueiredo (1979–85), who, facing mounting popular opposition and a ravaged economy, pledged a return to civilian rule. Local, state, and federal congressional elections in 1982 were followed by presidential elections in 1985, won by Tancredo Neves, governor of the state of Minas Gerais. Since 1985 Brazil has been governed by a succession of democratically elected governments.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Brezhnev, Leonid Ilyich

(1906–1982) *Soviet politician*

On October 15, 1964, Leonid Brezhnev became first secretary (later renamed general secretary) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), a position he held until his death on November 10, 1982. For the last five years of his life, as well as from 1960 to 1964, he was also president of the Soviet Union. As a result, during the 18 years that Brezhnev was the undisputed leader of the Soviet Union the country went through a period of economic stagnation and, although at his death it remained a superpower, its military power was being sapped by its long occupation of AFGHANISTAN. The Soviet Union was also unable to exert as much influence in Eastern Europe as it had 20 years earlier.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was born in 1906 in the village of Kamenskoye in the Ukraine. It was an iron and steel center and both his grandfather and his father had worked in the iron and steel plant. After completing his education at a local school, Brezhnev also went to work in the local factories. When he was 17 he joined the Young Communist League, became interested in farm collectivization, and went to study in Kursk. He then left the Ukraine to work as a land-use specialist in Byelorussia and the Urals.

When he was 25, Brezhnev returned to his hometown and studied metallurgy, graduating from the local institute in 1935. Four years later he was elected secretary of the Communist Party Committee for the Dnepropetrovsk region, at that time one of the largest industrial centers in the Soviet Union. In 1941 at the outbreak of World War II in the USSR, Brezhnev joined the army as a political officer, holding the rank of brigade commissar. In 1944 he was promoted to major general and marched with the 4th Ukrainian Army Group in the June 1945 Red Square Victory Parade.

At the conclusion of the war he was put in charge of the Carpathian military district. He then became leader of the Communist Party in Moldavia, the smallest of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union, and then became a member of the party's central committee and a candidate member of the presidium, losing all these positions in the shakeup that followed the death of Joseph Stalin in 1954.

Brezhnev spent the next two years in Kazakhstan, where he became involved in developing new lands for agriculture. According to official Soviet government publications, Brezhnev greatly enjoyed his time there. It was during his time in Kazakhstan that Brezhnev became an ally of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and in 1957 succeeded Kliment Voroshilov as chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, and thus the chief of state—or president of the Soviet Union—from May 7, 1960, until he resigned on July 15, 1964, to take a more active part in Communist Party affairs.

On October 14, 1964, Brezhnev took part in the ousting of Khrushchev as first secretary of the CPSU and took his place, with a strong ally in Alexei Kosygin, the chairman of the council of ministers during most of Brezhnev's time in power. Brezhnev and Kosygin pledged themselves to reinvigorating the economy of the Soviet Union and ensuring that it remained one of the superpowers. In contrast to Khrushchev, who made personal decisions on most issues, Brezhnev operated a more collective form of leadership and gradually tended to concentrate on larger foreign and defense matters.

Nikolai V. Podgorny's retirement as chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet (in essence head of state) meant that Brezhnev was able to assume that position as well, making it the first time the general secretary of the Communist Party was also head of state; Yuri Andropov, Konstantin Chernenko, and MIKHAIL GORBACHEV were later to combine both roles. On an organizational level, Brezhnev was keen to reduce membership of the CPSU, which had expanded under Khrushchev. He always felt that the larger the party the more unwieldy it could become.

Like many people at the time, Brezhnev was fascinated by the achievements of Yuri Gagarin, and he poured much government energy and resources into space research. However, he was quickly diverted by political machinations. With the PRAGUE SPRING of 1968 threatening Soviet control of the country, Brezhnev reacted quickly. When he could not persuade Czechoslovak Communist Party leaders to change their positions, he ordered Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia. This was later justified by the "Brezhnev Doctrine," with the Soviet Union stating publicly that it could intervene in countries within its sphere of influence. But Brezhnev was careful to be seen as acting multilaterally and soldiers from other Warsaw Pact countries were also involved. It was a move decried in the West but Brezhnev saw the political storm in western Europe as a price he had to pay for what he genuinely did regard as a threat to Soviet hegemony in eastern Europe.



Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (right) meets with U.S. president Gerald Ford in the mid-1970s.

Soon afterward, Brezhnev entered with U.S. president RICHARD NIXON into a period of détente. Nixon visited the Soviet Union in 1972 and the two signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1) on May 26, 1972, at a summit meeting in Moscow. In 1973, Brezhnev traveled to the United States.

In November 1976, JIMMY CARTER was elected U.S. president and there was a greater focus on human rights. There was much Western press coverage of dissidents such as Anatoly Sharansky and Andrey Sakharov, as well as the use of Soviet mental asylums for holding critics of the government. However, the presence of more Western tourists in the Soviet Union also tended to lessen tensions and to open up the country considerably. They naturally visited Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg), and began to travel to Kazakhstan and other parts of Central Asia, admittedly on tours organized by the Soviet travel bureau Intourist.

After his health declined in late 1979, Brezhnev was seen in public less often, although he did visit Yugoslavia for the death of MARSHAL TITO in May 1980. Pictures of a seemingly robust Brezhnev meeting with Jimmy Carter reassured many of the Soviet leader's health. By this time the Soviet Union was embroiled in a major conflict in Afghanistan. The Soviet government clearly did not expect the major storm of protests from the West, although the West's reactions to the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in December 1978 should have prepared it for this. Brezhnev saw it as the Soviet Union aiding a neighboring government that was about to succumb to Muslim fundamentalists. Brezhnev's actions in Afghanistan became one of the most criticized aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

The next big test for Brezhnev was over the founding of the independent trade union, Solidarity, which was established in POLAND in September 1980. When by the following year Solidarity boasted a membership of 10 million, Brezhnev was keen on the Polish authorities' acting quickly. On December 13, 1981, the Polish government imposed martial law and declared the Solidarity trade union illegal. Its leader, Lech Wałęsa, was arrested and his release only days after Brezhnev's death clearly indicated Brezhnev's role in the crackdown.

When Brezhnev died on November 10, 1982, in Moscow, he was buried in Red Square. Apparently the team that had embalmed Lenin and had looked after Lenin's body for decades expected to be asked to embalm Brezhnev, but this was not the case. For many years Brezhnev had been a familiar figure on the international stage. He had also received more public honors than most Soviet leaders, including the Lenin Peace Prize in 1973, the title of marshal of the Soviet Union in 1976, the Order of Victory (the highest military honor) in 1978, and the Lenin Prize for Literature (for his memoirs) in 1979. In hindsight, however, the Brezhnev era was regarded as one of economic stagnation. Although published economic figures showed that the economy was improving, and that economic growth had accelerated, the truth was that the Soviet infrastructure was wearing out, and its military was unable to keep up with new technology being designed in the United States. The Brezhnev years represented a decline in initiative, and the economy was largely maintained through the country's massive natural resources.

Brezhnev's successor as general secretary of the CPSU was Yuri Andropov, who, although he had been head of the feared KGB, was determined to overcome the malaise that had taken place during the 1970s. He had been the man who had actually carried out Brezhnev's policies of putting dissidents in mental asylums and forced internal exile. In a surprise move, Andropov immediately launched a crackdown on official corruption. Andropov also tried to repair relations with China, but died after only 15 months as general secretary. He was replaced by one of Brezhnev's staunchest supporters, Konstantin Chernenko. On Chernenko's death after 13 months as general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the CPSU.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Brown v. Board of Education

The unanimous May 17, 1954, U.S. Supreme Court decision known informally as *Brown* sent shock waves through a deeply segregated nation and strengthened the growing African-American CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Intended to end the racial segregation of public schools, the *Brown* decision made important inroads, but educational equality for minorities remained elusive.

By 1948 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund, headed by lawyer THURGOOD MARSHALL, was focusing on dramatically unequal public schools. Eventually they would bring to the nation's highest court a group of five lawsuits initiated by African-American parents from South Carolina; Virginia; Washington, DC; Delaware; and Topeka, Kansas.

The *Brown* case was named for Oliver Brown, the pastor father of Linda, a seven-year-old third-grader. She daily navigated a Topeka rail yard and busy roads to attend an all-black school although a white school was nearby. Compared to other school systems in the *Brown* case, Topeka provided relatively equal facilities to its tiny black population; community activists emphasized that racial separation made black children there feel inferior.

The combined cases reached the Supreme Court in 1952, but its ruling was postponed in anticipation of a rehearing. By then the Court had a newly appointed chief justice, Earl Warren, a former Republican governor of California. *Brown* would become the first of many cases that made the Warren Court a byword for judicial activism on behalf of America's disenfranchised.

Warren read the 11-page decision aloud. It invoked the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment in support of equal protection for minorities. It marshaled sociological and psychological evidence showing that racial separation, especially of children, rendered them "inherently unequal." And *Brown* invalidated *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 ruling that had affirmed the doctrine of "separate but equal." In 1955 with a decision dubbed *Brown II*, the Court urged federal judges to undo school segregation "with all deliberate speed."

By then a forceful white backlash had emerged. Although some southern and border states began to

educate black and white children together, many districts defied the Court's suggestions. In 1956 a "Southern Manifesto," initiated by South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond, accused the Court of abusing its power and vowed to reverse *Brown*. It was signed by 19 of 22 southern senators and 77 of 105 representatives.

In cities like Charlotte and New Orleans efforts to enroll black children in white schools were met with hostility and outright violence. In Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 an attempt by nine carefully chosen black students to attend Central High School was met with spitting, kicking, and death threats, encouraged by Governor Orval Faubus. Reluctantly President Dwight D. Eisenhower ordered army and national guard troops into Little Rock to restore order. By 1964 only 1.2 percent of black children in 11 southern states were attending school with white children. Many whites left public schools for nominally "private" academies.

The situation "up north" was hardly better. There, segregation occurred not by law (*de jure*), but by long-standing patterns of racial housing discrimination (*de facto*). In the 1970s a Boston judicial plan to bus black students to predominantly white schools triggered violent protests not unlike those in Little Rock, as white families fled to suburban schools.

Meanwhile African-American parents, most at first delighted by *Brown*, questioned the aims of racial integration and doubted its realization. They argued that adequate school budgets and resources were more important than seating their children next to whites in the classroom.

In 1967 the NAACP's Thurgood Marshall became the first African-American justice appointed to the Supreme Court, but the racial equality he had worked to achieve remained only partially implemented when *Brown's* 50th anniversary was celebrated in 2004.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Bush, George H. W.

(1924–) U.S. president

George Herbert Walker Bush (b. June 12, 1924) was president of the United States from 1989 to 1993 after

serving as RONALD REAGAN's vice president for the previous eight years. He was born in Massachusetts, the son of Prescott Bush, a banker and future senator whose indirect financial ties to the Nazi Party remain controversial. He followed in his father's footsteps by entering military service on his 18th birthday, in the midst of World War II, and became the country's youngest naval aviator; by the time he was discharged at the end of the war three years later, he had received three Air Medals, the Distinguished Flying Cross, and the Presidential Unit Citation. He entered Yale University, where he majored in economics, joined the Skull and Bones society as his father had, and captained the baseball team in the first College World Series.

In 1964, the year after Prescott finished his second and final year as senator from Connecticut, Bush ran for the Senate in Texas, winning the Republican nomination but losing the election. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1966, where he served until again losing the senatorial election in 1970. In the 1970s, he served as the United States ambassador to the UNITED NATIONS and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, an appointment that confirmed for many people the suspicions that he had been involved with the agency since his days at Yale. In fact, CIA documents have admitted that Bush's business partner in Zapata Petroleum, the oil business he started, was a covert agent. The extent of Bush's other ties with the agency have not been established.

In 1980 Bush was Ronald Reagan's principal opponent in the Republican primaries and the one who coined the derisive term "voodoo economics" to refer to Reagan's fiscal policy. When Reagan won the Republican nomination, he made Bush his running mate; the two won decisively in both 1980 and 1984. In 1988 Bush became one of the few vice presidents to succeed his president.

Over the course of the Reagan presidency, the COLD WAR had all but ended, and during Bush's term, the Berlin Wall was taken down, Germany reunified, the Soviet Union dissolved, and many Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain began holding elections or overthrew their communist governments. In 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait, Bush led the United Nations coalition in operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, liberating Kuwait but stopping short of invading Iraq; it was, Bush said, not a war for oil but a war against aggression. Significantly, it was also a televised war, the first major American military action conducted under the watch of cable news. Americans whose parents had been the first to see footage of war on the evening news were now the first to see their war broadcast live.



George H. W. Bush and King Fahd (seated, right) meet in the Royal Pavilion in Saudi Arabia to discuss the situation in Iraq in 1990.

In the 1992 election Bush lost to Governor BILL CLINTON, an election notable for the involvement of Texas billionaire and third-party candidate Ross Perot, who won nearly a fifth of the popular vote despite frequent decisions not to run. Key to Bush's loss were the recession, the perception that he was out of touch with the common man (particularly when compared with the genial Clinton), and the desire for change to reflect a new state of affairs in the wake of the cold war.

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BILL KTE'PI

Bush, George W.

(1946–) U.S. president

George Walker Bush was the 43rd president of the United States, elected in 2000 and serving from 2001 to 2008. His presidency began and remained in controversy, from the issues surrounding the 2000 election to the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The oldest son of President GEORGE H. W. BUSH, Bush was raised in Texas where his father had moved to start his Zapata Oil corporation, and like other men in his family, attended Yale University where he earned a degree in history and was a member of the Skull and Bones society. While his father and grandfather had served in the navy during wartime, he served in the Air National Guard during the VIETNAM WAR. Bush has described this period of his life as irresponsible and informed by bad choices, characterized by excessive drinking. After a failed congressional bid, he spent most of the 1980s working in the oil industry before purchasing a share of the Texas Rangers baseball team, of which he served as general manager from 1989 to 1994.

He ran for governor of Texas in 1994, the same year his younger brother Jeb ran for governor of Florida; Jeb lost, but was elected in 1998, the same year George won his reelection by a landslide. As governor of Texas, Bush was a noted conservative. State executions rose to higher levels than any other state in modern American history, and the line between church and state was worn thin when Bush declared June 10, 2000, to be "Jesus Day," a state holiday in memory of Jesus and encouraging reaching out to those in need. At the time, Bush was running for president; in an early debate preceding the Republican primaries, he named Jesus (identifying him only by the religious title "Christ") as the political philosopher he most identified with. He won the Republican nomination, picking Dick Cheney—his father's secretary of defense—as his running mate.

Voting irregularities in Florida, where Jeb was still governor, made it difficult to determine whether Bush or Clinton's vice president, Al Gore, had won the state, and the electoral vote in the rest of the country was close enough that the Florida votes would be the tiebreakers. Less than one-tenth of 1 percent separated the two candidates, requiring a series of recounts both by hand and machine, and precipitating a national controversy over reports of vote tampering, problematic ballot designs and the handling of overseas ballots, and the coincidence of a Bush governing the state. The U.S. Supreme Court finally ruled that with no time remaining to require a thorough and uniform recount, the state's then-official count—in favor of Bush—would be upheld. Gore conceded the election rather than fight the matter further.

More than any other president in recent memory, even in light of RONALD REAGAN'S COLD WAR rhetoric and its resemblance to "fire and brimstone" sermons, Bush has worn his faith on his sleeve, making frequent reference to God and Christian matters in his speeches. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Bush



Black smoke billows from Ground Zero at the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001. Merely months into his presidency, the events of September 11 proved pivotal for the rest of George W. Bush's two terms.

declared a “war on terrorism,” and shortly identified an “axis of evil” (Iran, Iraq, and North Korea) as those states most guilty of sponsoring terrorist activity. Both terms of his presidency have been defined by this initiative. While foreign policy led to war with AFGHANISTAN and a protracted war in Iraq, domestic policy was affected by the USA Patriot Act and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. The Office of Strategic Influence was created in secret to develop psychological means of furthering the war on TERRORISM, changing its name once the public discovered its existence.

Bush and his administration have come under constant criticism. He has positioned himself as his father's successor, staffing his cabinet with several men associated with the elder Bush and repeatedly referring to an Iraqi assassination attempt (“they tried to kill my dad”) as part of his justification for the war in Iraq. His approval rating has dipped as low as 28 percent, among the lowest presidential approval ratings in history, and several

prominent movements have called for his impeachment, usually in response to the controversy surrounding the National Security Agency's warrant-less surveillance. His slow response to the failure of the levees in New Orleans when Hurricane Katrina struck in 2005 has also come under fire, particularly given his support of the clearly ineffective Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

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Canada after 1950

Since the mid-20th century Canada has been a constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy with a federal system of parliamentary government. Canada's constitution governs the legal framework of the country and consists of written text and unwritten traditions and conventions.

Until November 1981 Canada's government retained strong ties to the British parliament; the Canadian constitution could only be amended by an act of Great Britain's parliament. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s negotiations between the provinces and the federal government that were designed to patriate the constitution and provide an amending procedure were unsuccessful. These negotiations between the federal government and the English-speaking provinces finally bore fruit in 1981, giving Canada full amendment powers over its own constitution.

Prior to this, Queen Elizabeth II of England had been the chief of state, and despite the patriation of the constitution, ties between Canada and the COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS remain close. On September 27, 2005, Michaëlle Jean was appointed by the queen, on the advice of the prime minister, as governor-general of Canada for a five-year term.

In February 2006 Stephen Harper became prime minister. This position belongs to the leader of the political party that can obtain the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons, whose members are elected by the citizens by simple plurality in one electoral

district. General elections are called by the governor-general when the prime minister so advises, and must occur every five years or less.

Ever since its founding, Canada has had two official languages, English and French, which are the mother tongues of 56 percent and 28 percent of the population, respectively. On July 7, 1969, the Official Languages Act was proclaimed, and French was made commensurate to English throughout the federal government. This started a process that led to Canada's redefining itself as a "bilingual" nation. French is mostly spoken in Quebec province, parts of New Brunswick, eastern and northern Ontario, Saskatchewan, the south of Nova Scotia, and the southern Manitoba province. Several aboriginal languages also have official status in the Northwest Territories. Inuktitut is the majority language in NUNAVUT and has official status there.

Since the mid-20th century religion patterns have not changed much. They changed with the arrival of new immigrants, as they did during the country's early days. Seventy-seven percent of Canadians identify themselves as Christians, and of that Catholics make up the largest group (43 percent). The largest Protestant denomination is the United Church of Canada; about 17 percent of Canadians have no religious affiliation; and the remaining 6 or 7 percent practice religions other than Christianity.

Canada's entertainment industry grew alongside the United States's leading film and music industry, having had a quick development during the 1950s and 1960s, but the most rapid development after the 1990s. For

decades the Canadian film market was dominated by the American film industry, but then Canadians developed a vigorous film industry that produced a variety of well-known films, actors, and directors.

Canada's film industry is in full expansion as a site for Hollywood productions. The series *The X-Files* was famously shot in Vancouver, as was *Stargate*, the 2003 version of *Battlestar Galactica*, and *The Outer Limits*. The American series *Queer as Folk* was filmed in Toronto. After the 1980s Canada—and Vancouver in particular—became known as Hollywood North.

Canadian literature shows a mixture of French and Anglo-Saxon trends. After the mid-20th century there were many advances in literature, mainly since the 1980s. But before those years Canada's literature also had some important authors. Whether written in English or French, Canadian literature reflects three main parts of the Canadian experience: nature and the relation with the sea, frontier life, and Canada's position in the world.

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DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

Caribbean Basin Initiative

Launched by U.S. president RONALD REAGAN in 1983, the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) built on the legacy of the ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS (1961–69) to foster free trade, open markets, economic growth, and export diversification throughout the circum-Caribbean, including Central America.

Formally called the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA), and going into effect on January 1, 1984, the program was made permanent in the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act (CBI II) in 1990 and was expanded substantially in 2000 under President BILL CLINTON in the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBTPA). The CBTPA, set to expire in 2008, includes 24 countries in a regional trading bloc akin to that created by the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA). Measured in

terms of the dollar values of goods exchanged, the initiative has proven successful. In 2004 the total value of CBI exports to the United States more than tripled from 1984, reaching \$27.8 billion, while U.S. exports to CBI countries reached \$24.5 billion, 1.6 percent of total U.S. exports, making the CBI region the eighth largest recipient of U.S. exports.

The CBI was launched during a period of escalating tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, when the U.S. foreign policy establishment was deeply concerned with the growth of leftist and revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean. By 1983 the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua was entering its fourth year; the leftist FDR-FMLN political and guerrilla movements in El Salvador posed a serious challenge to that country's U.S.-supported government; and the Guatemalan military's U.S.-supported war against several guerrilla groups and genocidal campaign against the country's indigenous peoples had already peaked.

The October 1983 U.S. invasion of GRENADA to oust that country's anti-imperialist, Marxist-oriented government further underscored the geopolitical concerns of U.S. foreign policymakers. The CBI, which excluded Nicaragua until the Sandinista electoral defeat in 1990, was thus similar to Kennedy's ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS in its goal of weakening Soviet and Cuban influence, preventing leftist movements and governments from expanding their power, and tightening the economic integration between the United States and the nation-states of its historic "backyard."

Scholarly interpretations of the CBI's economic and social impact vary widely. All observers agree that the CBI has expanded trade and promoted economic growth, but disagree over whether that growth has fostered sustainable economic development, diminished inequalities, alleviated poverty, or enhanced the social well-being of the majority. Critics charge that the CBI's export-led model of growth has done little to improve living standards and has perpetuated structural inequalities within CBI member countries and between them and the United States.

The CBI's supporters argue that economic growth remains the sine qua non of poverty alleviation and improved social conditions. While it is difficult to disaggregate the effects of CBI-induced economic changes from other factors, the evidence indicates that poverty rates, socioeconomic differentiation, and indices of social well-being in most CBI countries have seen marginal improvements at best since 1984. All observers agree that the CBI and related U.S. laws

will continue to have a major impact on the region's economies and inhabitants.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Carter, Jimmy

(1924–) U.S. president

James Earl Carter, Jr., was the president of the United States from 1977 to 1981, succeeding GERALD FORD. Though he only served a single term, his was a significant presidency in both foreign and domestic affairs, and he presided over a tumultuous time in American history.

Like his predecessor, he was a gifted student and athlete and a navy officer. He resigned from the navy in 1953 immediately following the death of his father and worked on his family's Georgia peanut farm for the rest of the decade, becoming active in local politics. In 1962 he was elected to the State Senate, and he ran for governor only four years later, losing, but winning the 1970 election. During the election, he seemed to pay lip service to segregationists, but he condemned segregation immediately upon attaining office. He was the first southern governor to condemn segregation, and he underscored his point by appointing blacks to many state offices. A reform-minded pragmatist, he worked at streamlining state government, condensing programs and agencies while increasing school funding, especially in the poorer parts of the state.

But nothing in his governorship brought him to national attention, and when he ran for president in 1976, he was almost a complete unknown. He made his reorganization of state government the centerpiece of his national campaign, and his soft-spoken charisma, southernness, and traditional moral character (Carter had taught Sunday school for years, and his sister Ruth was a well-known evangelist) were well received in the aftermath of Nixon's corruption and Ford's irrelevance. Though his opposition to segregation distanced him from the Dixiecrats, he was conservative for a Democrat and had criticized 1972 Democratic candidate George McGovern for being too liberal. Sentiment was against Ford sufficiently for Carter to win the election,

albeit by a slim (2 percent) margin. He was the first southerner elected president since 1848.

As president, Carter inherited a difficult economic situation. Stagflation and the 1973 oil crisis had discouraged growth for too long, after the lengthy healthy period to which Americans had become accustomed after World War II. The 1979 energy crisis followed the IRANIAN REVOLUTION, when the (previously American-supported) shah of Iran fled his country and allowed the AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI to seize power. Inflation reached double digits, and although many of Carter's fixes were probably effective, the results were not seen until after he had lost the 1980 election.

Where Carter excelled was in diplomacy. In September 1978 he brought Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat to Camp David, to continue and finalize peace negotiations that had been ongoing for months in the wake of the Yom Kippur War and the other Middle Eastern conflicts of the decade. The Camp David accords remain one of the most important developments in modern Middle Eastern relations, setting a precedent for Arab-Israeli diplomacy while segregating powerful Egypt from its Arab allies.

Carter's foreign policy was driven by his respect for human rights, which may have influenced his decision to deny the shah's request for help during the Iranian Revolution. Though the shah's reign had begun with American support immediately after World War II, and his governance remained more liberal and Western-friendly than any other in the region, his social policies were still a far cry from what even conservative Westerners would support, and by the late '70s, this gap was more pronounced than it had been 30 years earlier. Carter did eventually grant the exiled shah entry to the United States for cancer treatment in October 1979. In response, Iranian militants seized the American embassy in Tehran and held 53 hostages for more than a year. There is widespread speculation that the final negotiations were delayed by parties seeking RONALD REAGAN's election; the hostages were released on the day of his inauguration.

The combination of the failing economy and the hostage crisis led to Carter's loss to Reagan in the 1980 election. For years he was considered something of a joke, emblematic of a weak Democratic Party unable to contend with the 12-year Reagan-Bush era. He remained active in humanitarian work, especially in the areas of human rights and public health, and was only the third U.S. president to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Since the 1990s he has taken on a role as occasional diplomat, visiting countries such as North Korea and Venezuela, and was the first president to visit Cuba

since the 1959 revolution. He has also been active with the charity Habitat for Humanity.

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BILL KTE'PI

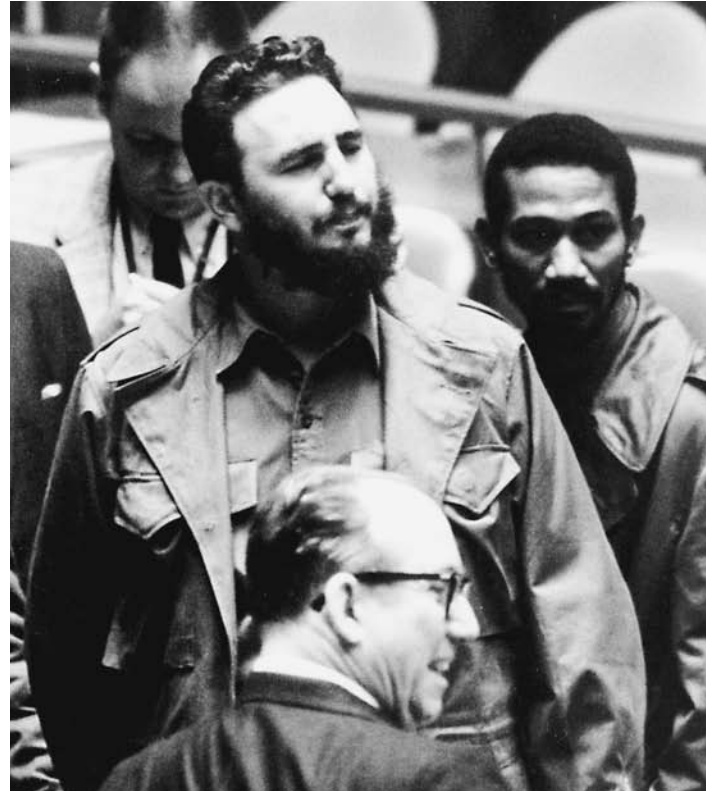
Castro, Fidel

(1926–) *Cuban revolutionary leader*

Head of the Cuban Communist Party and leader of the CUBAN REVOLUTION, Fidel Castro is one of the major world figures of the second half of the 20th century. One of the longest-lived heads of state in modern times, and one of the most controversial, Castro was born out of wedlock on August 13, 1926, a few kilometers south of the Bay of Nipe in then-Oriente province (present-day Holguín) in eastern Cuba. His father, Angel Castro y Argiz, was a Galician immigrant and owner of a large sugar estate; his mother, Lina Ruz González, was a servant in Angel's house and, after Fidel's 17th birthday, Angel's second wife. As an adult, Fidel grew estranged from his parents, maintaining close relations mainly with his younger brother Raúl, who also became one of the revolution's premier leaders.

Graduating from the Jesuit high school Belén in Havana in 1945, Castro entered the University of Havana the same year. In 1947 he joined the moderately reformist and anti-imperialist Orthodox Party (Partido Ortodoxo), led by Eduardo Chibás. In 1948 he traveled to Bogotá, Colombia, for a student conference being held alongside the ninth meeting of the Pan-American Union. There he witnessed and participated in the extraordinary events of the Bogotazo, in which liberal leader JORGE GAITÁN was assassinated and Bogotá erupted in massive street violence. The events are considered to have had a major impact on his thinking on the role of violence and popular insurrection in sparking social change.

Returning to Cuba, he married Mirta Díaz Balart, daughter of a wealthy Cuban family. He earned his law



Fidel Castro in his early days in power. He was the undisputed leader of Cuba from 1959 until 2008.

degree in 1950 and joined a small firm in Havana whose work focused mainly on the poor. Intensely interested in politics, he became a parliamentary candidate in 1952, only to see the elections cancelled following the coup by General Fulgencio Batista.

Determined to challenge the regime, he and his brother Raúl plotted and carried out an assault on the Moncada barracks in eastern Cuba on July 26, 1953. The assault proved a military defeat but a political victory, with his four-hour "History will absolve me" speech at his October 1953 trial propelling him into national prominence. Imprisoned for less than 20 months of a 15-year sentence (released in May 1955 in a general amnesty), he went into exile in Mexico and began organizing his 26 July Movement, composed of Cuban exiles and other Latin Americans, including ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA.

Forming the nucleus of a guerrilla army, he and his followers returned clandestinely to eastern Cuba on December 2, 1956, where for the next two years they waged a guerrilla war against the Batista regime. Seizing power on January 1, 1959, he was still vague about his ideology, which by his public statements could be

characterized as broadly nationalist and focused on issues of social justice. From 1959 to 1961 the revolution radicalized and became integral to the COLD WAR. In December 1961 he announced, "I am a Marxist-Leninist." Since 1959 he was the undisputed leader of the Cuban revolution and government—revered by some, despised by others (especially the Miami-based Cuban exile community)—and renowned for his volcanic energy, hours-long speeches, and hands-on leadership style. In early 2007 his death appeared imminent, but he remained in power until his resignation in February 2008.

See also BAY OF PIGS.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Central Asia after 1991

The former Soviet Republics of Central Asia consist of the present-day states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. All five of the so-called stans received their independence during the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. Often the five former Soviet republics are considered collectively because they share many of the same challenges and problems.

One challenge commonly faced by the states of Central Asia is the rise of radical Islam. The geographic center of the movement is the Fergana Valley. The valley is shared by Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, and has hosted a centuries-long tradition of independent Islamic thinking. Namangan, a key city in the valley, is also the home of a key founding member of the radical terrorist group the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU): Juma Namangani.

Another typical problem in the region is one of effective governance. Recent WORLD BANK ratings attest to the regional governance dilemma. Quantitative scores for variables such as voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption rank near the bottom third for each state.

Another significant problem in Central Asia is the environment. Cities in the region face water shortages and contaminated water, pollution, and radioactive and toxic waste issues. Radon and uranium levels are nota-

bly high in the region. Many have suggested that the chronic environmental problems have been inherited from the Soviet regime. During the 1930s Joseph Stalin attempted to increase Soviet cotton production by constructing new canals in order to irrigate Central Asian lands. Water from the Aral continues to be diverted to the existing irrigation systems. As a result, a contemporary ecological problem is the constant shrinking of the Aral Sea. In addition, land surrounding the Aral Sea faces desertification, which jeopardizes homes and businesses near the water. Airborne pollutants have resulted in high levels of tuberculosis, viral hepatitis, and cardiovascular and liver diseases.

Although each of the former Soviet Central Asian republics face similar challenges, each state also offers a different narrative, and generalizations do not tell the entire story. Indeed, each of the five former Soviet republics has embarked on different paths since independence.

KAZAKHSTAN

The formal name for Kazakhstan and the successor to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic is the Republic of Kazakhstan. The capital is Astana. Kazakhstan is 1,049,155 square miles (about twice the size of Alaska). Figures from 2004 show a population of 15,143,704. Approximately 47 percent of all Kazakhs are Muslim. The predominant languages are Kazak and Russian. Kazakhstan neighbors Russia to the west and north, China to the east, and Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan to the south. President Nursultan Nazarbayev has served as the chief of state since before the December 16, 1991, day of independence.

A sense of identity in Kazakhstan developed during the Soviet era. Ethnic Kazakh Dinmukhamed Kunaev served as the first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party from 1956 to December 1986. MIKHAIL GORBACHEV replaced Kunaev with a Slav named Gennady Kolbin. The violence and rioting that followed forced Gorbachev to turn to another Kazakh in order to placate Kazakh opinion. During the August 1991 putsch against Gorbachev, Nazarbayev supported Gorbachev. Shortly afterward Nazarbayev banned all political activity in the government as well as in the courts and police. As the Soviet Union disintegrated, the Kazakh president was one of the last to push for independence from the Soviet Union.

Economically, Kazakhstan enjoys a prosperous grain agribusiness in the north and raises stock in the south. Many extractive minerals can be found in the northeast: coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, copper, chromite, nickel, molybdenum, and tin. In addition, Kazakhstan

enjoys large deposits of oil and gas. The rich natural resources have, in addition, made Kazakhstan an attractive destination for foreign direct investment. In fact, from 1991 to 2002, direct foreign investment in Kazakhstan was over \$13 billion. Kazakhstan boasts 4 billion tons of provable and recoverable oil reserves and 2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. Estimates suggest that Kazakhstan may be able to produce about 3 million barrels of oil a day by the year 2015.

Kazakhstan's constitution dates to 1993. The system is a presidential-parliamentary model similar to that in Russia. The executive was to be popularly elected. In March 1994 the Constitutional Court found that the method previously used to elect representatives to the lower house of parliament was illegal. A change was made so that the lower house, the Majlis, would be elected and the upper house, the Senate, would be appointed. The president controlled seven appointments to the Senate, and indirect elections of a joint session of all representative bodies of all local government units filled the other 32. By December 1995 new parliamentary elections were held. Nazarbayev constructed his own political party, Otan, in 1999. That same year, 44 of 67 members in the lower house of parliament joined the Otan Party. The process for filling seats in the lower house was again changed. This time, 10 of the 67 possible seats were reserved for proportional representation for parties meeting a 7 percent threshold.

Under pressure from Nazarbayev during October 1998, the parliament moved elections scheduled for December 2000 to January 1999. Ultimately Nazarbayev won the elections and received more than 79 percent of the vote. However, many questions existed about the fairness of the 1999 elections. Former prime minister Akezhan Kazhegeldin, a significant opponent of the regime, was not allowed to run. Nazarbayev was re-elected in 2005 by more than 90 percent of the vote. Outsiders again criticized the election as unfair.

Overall, Kazakhstan operates in the tradition of strong presidential governments in the region, with a great deal of control in the hands of Nazarbayev and his family.

KYRGYZSTAN

The formal name of the independent successor to the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic is the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The capital is Bishkek. Kyrgyzstan is 76,640 square miles in total area (a bit smaller than Nebraska). Figures from 2004 indicate a population of 5,081,429. Approximately 75 percent of the Kyrgyzstan population is Muslim. The prominent languages are Kyrgyz

and Russian. Kyrgyzstan is bordered by Kazakhstan in the north, Uzbekistan to the west, Tajikistan to the west and southwest, and China to the east. Until the Soviet years, many in Kyrgyzstan were primarily nomadic. Life under the Soviet Union led to more modern life and movement to cities. Like many republics in the former Soviet Union, the late 1980s and early 1990s brought questions of identity to Kyrgyzstan.

Gorbachev's program of perestroika led to ethnic riots in 1990. In an area bordering Uzbekistan, riots led to the deaths of some 200 civilians. The leader of the Kyrgyz Communist Party, Absamat Masaliev, called for the Supreme Soviet to elect him as president. The movement called Democratic Kyrgyzstan emerged in opposition to Masaliev, and Askar Akayev was chosen as president.

Early in its history, Kyrgyzstan was seen by many as the most progressive of all Central Asian governments. In fact, the United States symbolically opened its first Central Asian embassy in Bishkek on February 1, 1992. By 1993 Kyrgyzstan was receiving the highest per-capita aid from the United States of any of the Central Asian states. In 1988 Kyrgyzstan was the first of the new Central Asian states to be invited to join the World Trade Organization. Bishkek has had fairly warm relations with Russia, which include the presence of Russian troops in Kyrgyzstan. The Central Asian state also offered bases to U.S. forces and allowed military flights into the Manas International Airport in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Since independence, Kyrgyzstan has distributed free land to approximately 700,000 citizens. Much of the industry is devoted to extractive ventures. Mining of antimony and mercury ores are a source of revenue, and lead, zinc, and coal are all mined as well. Most of the economy, however, still relies on agriculture.

Akayev led Kyrgyzstan on a path of political liberalization. Eventually, opposition to market reforms from the legislature led to Akayev's calling for a referendum for February 1994. In that referendum, 96 percent of respondents favored Akayev and his economic program. He responded by dissolving a leftover from the Soviet era, the 350-seat Supreme Soviet. In its place Akayev created a bicameral legislature called the Assembly of the People of Kyrgyzstan. Elections were set for February 5, 1995. In those elections, more than 1,000 candidates ran for the 105 seats in the assembly. Approximately 80 percent of the candidates ran as independents and, ultimately, created an assembly very receptive to Akayev's policies.



Civic education students listen to a visiting local religious leader, or mullah, in Kyrgyzstan.

After the 1995 elections, Akayev began to increase his own power through a number of constitutional amendments. A policy of privatization resulted in about 61 percent of all state-owned enterprises being privatized by May 1997. At that time Akayev became convinced that state assets were being sold too quickly, and a one-year ban on privatization resulted. In April 1998 the legislature approved further privatization. Many within the political opposition, however, claim that members of the legislature personally profited from the privatization process. As the parliamentary elections of February–March 2000 grew nearer, the Kyrgyz government made a concerted effort to minimize the turnout of opposition parties. In fact, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe criticized the elections as being unfair. Scheduled presidential elections in October 2000 created another challenge for Akayev. Akayev's most significant opposition was widely believed to be Feliks Kulov, a former vice president. Kulov, however, was arrested, acquitted, and rearrested on what many felt were fabricated charges, and eventually he pulled out of the race. Akayev was reelected with 74.47 percent of the vote.

After the election Feliks Kulov called for cooperation with Akayev's government. In spite of this, Kulov was arrested once again in 2001. In November that year, the opposition parties formed a "People's Congress" and, in what was mainly a symbolic move, elected Kulov chair. Opposition continued to grow when, in January 2002, a parliament deputy from southern Kyrgyzstan, Azimbek Beknazarov, was arrested. Clash-

es between protesters and government authorities in March resulted in the deaths of six individuals. In April Kyrgyz authorities launched an investigation into the deaths. In May, as the commission released its report, protests calling for the resignation of Akayev spread throughout Kyrgyzstan. Akayev ordered the release of Beknazarov and even replaced the prime minister. Participation exceeded 86 percent. The referendum found that 75.5 percent supported the notion that Akayev serve until the completion of his term—in 2005. But 12 opposition parties refused to participate in the referendum. The most significant change in the constitution was the movement from a bicameral to unicameral legislature, to be effective at the end of the legislative term.

On March 24, 2005, Akayev bowed to widespread protests and the will of the people and resigned. The "Tulip Revolution" was seen by many as the result of Akayev's inability to address growing levels of crime and corruption as well as questions concerning his reelection. In the political shakeup that ensued, Kurmanbek Bakiev became president, and Omurbek Tekebaev became speaker of the Jogorku Kenesh, the parliament of Kyrgyzstan. Bakiev and Tekebaev engaged in a power struggle of their own.

TAJIKISTAN

The formal name for Tajikistan is the Republic of Tajikistan, which is the independent successor state to the former Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic. Tajikistan's 2004 figures placed the population at 7,011,556. The predominant language is Tajik. Tajikistan is neighbored by China to the east, Afghanistan to the south, Uzbekistan to the west and north, and Kyrgyzstan to the north. Approximately 85 percent of Tajiks are Muslim. A large number of Tajikistan's Muslims are Sunni from the Hanafi School. Mountain Tajiks boast a number of Shi'ite communities. During the Soviet period, very few mosques were allowed. In addition, 80 percent of the population is Tajik, with the next-largest group being Uzbek at about 15 percent. The capital city of Tajikistan is Dushanbe.

During the Soviet period, Tajikistan was typically ruled by leaders sent by Moscow. As late as 1990 Tajiks were a minority in the Tajik Communist Party. The programs of perestroika and glasnost introduced by Gorbachev changed the dynamics of Tajik politics. In August 1990 the Tajik Supreme Soviet claimed sovereignty. The Tajik Communist Party leader and chair of the Supreme Soviet, Kakhar Makhkamov, resigned in August 1991 because of his support for

the hard-liner coup against Gorbachev. Makhkamov was replaced by Kadriddin Aslonov. Upon his appointment, Aslonov immediately resigned from the Politburo of the Tajik Communist Party and used a decree to ban the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from Tajik territory. The Tajik Supreme Soviet responded by ousting Aslonov as chair and electing Rakhmon Nabiyeu. Nabiyeu resigned as the chair of the Supreme Soviet on October 6. Elections set by the Supreme Soviet on November 24 initially featured 10 candidates—ultimately 7 would vie for the position. Rakhmon Nabiyeu won of the November 1991 election with 56.9 percent of the vote.

By the spring of 1992 opposition to Nabiyeu came in the form of the Islamic-led Union of Popular Forces. The union pushed for multiparty elections, greater freedom of religion, and the removal of Nabiyeu. The Tajik parliament gave Nabiyeu the use of decree in order to strengthen the hand of the executive. Political protests continued, and Nabiyeu resorted to the use of a state of emergency. In May opposition forces seized the capital and created a revolutionary council. Nabiyeu lifted the state of emergency and promised to form a government of reconciliation. Eight seats in the new government were reserved for a coalition of democrats and moderate Islamists and the Islamic Revival Party.

The compromise government only brought a brief period of peace. Nabiyeu now not only faced criticism from Islamic opponents but also found himself under attack from ex-communists who insisted that he had ceded too much to the opposition. The central government quickly lost control of the countryside. Former communists began to seize local governments in the north, and the Islamists seized local governments in the south and the east. Nabiyeu requested international peacekeepers from the Commonwealth of Independent States, while opposition forces declared an open rebellion. Nabiyeu was captured as he attempted to flee Dushanbe and was forced to resign. A new Islamic-democratic coalition government, led by Akbarsho Iskandarov, claimed control. The end result, at least for a time, was that the most developed regions of Tajikistan—the north—fell under the power of ex-communists aligned with Nabiyeu. Forces loyal to Nabiyeu took over Dushanbe on December 10 and installed Emomali Rakhmonov as acting president. The Islamic forces fled to the mountainous regions of Tajikistan and to areas over the border in Afghanistan. The Tajik civil war was in full swing.

As the war continued, the Tajik government received a great deal of financial and military sup-

port from Russia. By the fall of 1993 there were some 20,000 Russian troops in Tajikistan. Russian finances were providing an estimated 50 percent of the Tajik budget as well. The nearby government of Uzbekistan also provided a significant amount of support. In the summer of 1994 talks between the rebels and the Tajik government, held in Islamabad, led to a cessation of hostilities. In November 1994 presidential elections were held between Rakhmonov and former prime minister Abdumalik Abdulajanov. The new constitution was approved, and Rakhmonov won reelection with 60 percent of the vote.

By early 1996 President Rakhmonov faced accusations of corruption. Russia informed Rakhmonov that they would not intervene again to save the regime. Rakhmonov began negotiations with the rebels and dismissed several high-ranking government officials. Under a great deal of pressure from the Russians, Rakhmonov traveled to Moscow in December 1996 to meet with the Islamic Renaissance Party, the largest party within the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). A peace agreement was reached, and a Reconciliation Council was formed. Once Rakhmonov returned to Dushanbe, however, he was unable to convince political allies to sign off on the agreement. Again, after tremendous pressure from Russia, Rakhmonov returned to Moscow in the spring of 1997 to negotiate with the UTO. Rakhmonov agreed to allow opposition troops into the Tajik armed forces. Meetings followed in Tehran in April 1997 and in Moscow in June 1997. The two political parties that supported the government—the People's Party and the Political and Economic Renewal Party—combined to form the National Unity Movement. Tajik politics were set to be a contest between two different parties: one in support of President Rakhmonov and one opposition party. The movement to a two-party system, it was hoped, would have the effect of limiting the violence inherent heretofore in Tajik politics.

The late 1990s were characterized by a number of political assassinations. In 1998 opposition politician Otakhon Latifi was killed, and a former prosecutor general, Tolib Boboyev, was killed in early 1999. The 1997 agreement called for parliamentary elections by 1998, but the ban on Islamic political parties retarded rapid reconciliation. The Tajik people, by 1999, faced three crucial amendments: the establishment of Islamic political parties, the creation of an upper chamber of parliament, and a single seven-year presidential term. All three amendments were approved on September 26. Presidential elections were scheduled for November 6,

1999, and lower-house parliamentary elections for February 27, 2000.

Three potential presidential candidates were not allowed on the ballot based on the claim that they had not achieved the required number of signatures. The Islamic Renaissance Party—a key member of the UTO—called for a boycott of the presidential elections. The end result was that Rakhmonov only faced nominal resistance and was reelected with 96 percent of the vote. Parliamentary elections were just as complicated. In fact, the Supreme Court used various legal machinations to suppress opposition. The only parties to meet the 5 percent parliamentary threshold were the People's Democratic Party, the Communist Party, and the Islamic Renaissance Party. Elections for the newly created upper house, the Majlisi Milli, were held on March 23, 2000. In the Tajik system of governance, the Majlisi Milli theoretically serves as a stabilizing factor in domestic politics.

As in other states in the region, one of the primary concerns of the Tajik government is the specter of radical Islam. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), which was headquartered in AFGHANISTAN, launched incursions into Kyrgyzstan via Tajikistan in 1999 and 2000. The Hizb ut-Tahrir later became a concern as well. Hizb ut-Tahrir called for an Islamic state in Central Asia. In 2002 President Rakhmonov stepped up attacks and surveillance of Islamic groups. Another significant modern problem facing Tajikistan is the transit of illegal drugs and associated problems.

As a result of the 1992 to 1997 Tajik civil war, Tajikistan's relations with Russia have been close. Even after the civil war ended, Russian troops remained in order to protect the Tajik border with Afghanistan. During the reign of the TALIBAN in Afghanistan, Tajikistan offered sanctuary to a Tajik commander and his troops. Ultimately, Tajikistan feared the potential spread of radical Islam from Afghanistan. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the United States, Tajikistan was among the first to offer cooperation with the United States—despite the relatively warm relationship between Tajikistan and Russia. Tajikistan permitted the use of the Dushanbe Airport and allowed the basing of a small contingent of U.S. troops within its sovereign borders.

Tajikistan boasts a presidential-parliamentary government. The president is popularly elected within a multiparty system and fills both the ceremonial role of head of state and the policy-creating role of a chief executive officer. The prime minister is appointed by the president and is confirmed by the lower chamber

of parliament. The prime minister and the cabinet control the day-to-day operations of the government. President Rakhmonov and many of his political allies are former members of the Tajik Communist Party. The power-sharing arrangement of 1997 guaranteed 30 percent of government and local posts to opposition parties. Key to this arrangement is the reality that all geographic areas are represented. The power-sharing agreement was renewed in 1999 and then again, indefinitely, in 2002.

Most of the Tajik economy is agricultural, and cotton is the most dominant agricultural product. Industrially, Tajikistan is mostly involved in the light manufacturing segments of cotton and silk processing. But Tajikistan is rich in nonferrous metals. Mining of coal, iron, lead, zinc, antimony, mercury, gold, tin, and tungsten are the most common extractive industries. Some deposits of oil and natural gas have also been discovered. Over three-quarters of Tajiks live at or near the poverty line. Politically, the uneasy peace that lasted since the end of the Tajik civil war offered some optimism for the future of that state.

TURKMENISTAN

The formal name for Turkmenistan is the Republic of Turkmenistan, which is the successor to the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. Figures from 2004 indicated a population in Turkmenistan of 7,011,556. Muslims account for 85 percent of the population in Turkmenistan, which is 186,400 square miles in area. The capital city is Ashgabat, and Turkmenistan is bordered by Kazakhstan to the north, Uzbekistan to the north and east, and Iran and Afghanistan to the south. The Caspian Sea lies to the west. The Turkmen landmass is dominated by the Kara Kum Desert, also referred to as the Black Sand Desert. The Kara Kum Canal is the largest irrigation and shipping canal in the world. Approximately three-fourths of all citizens of Turkmenistan are Turkmen, with the next-largest ethnic groups being Uzbek, at about 9 percent, and Russian, at 6.7 percent. Since independence, a significant problem has been the flight of Russians.

Although loyal to the Soviet Union, the Turkmen Supreme Soviet declared sovereignty in August 1990. Saparmurat Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party, was elected to the office of president in October 1990. After the coup attempt on Gorbachev, in 1991, Niyazov declared Turkmen independence and scheduled a referendum for October 26. In the referendum 94 percent favored independence. The next day Niyazov made independence

official and seized all assets of the Soviet Communist Party. The Turkmen Communist Party was renamed the Turkmen Democratic Party and elected Niyazov as chair.

Niyazov served as president until late December 2006. Turkmen foreign policy is based upon a number of bilateral agreements and does not allow multilateral agreements. In terms of domestic policy, Niyazov engaged in a strategy to enhance the Turkmen culture. He adopted the name the Great Turkmenbashi and claimed a "monopoly on wisdom." Attempts to isolate Turkmenistan included the banning of opera, the closing of concert halls and the circus, ending the Academy of Sciences, and institution of Turkmen-only language laws. In addition, Turkmenistan had no recognized opposition parties. A referendum held in January 1994 on whether Niyazov's term should be extended to 2002 resulted in a reported 1,959,408 for, 212 against, and 13 spoiled ballots. In November 2002, however, Niyazov survived an assassination attempt. In 2003 Niyazov constructed penal colonies in the Karakum desert in an effort to, according to Niyazov, make society healthier by cleansing society. Niyazov died in late December 2006 and was succeeded by Deputy Prime Minister Gurbangali Berdimukhamedov.

Initial elections were held in December 1994. During the legislative elections, no opposition party was able to meet the standards required for registration. Hence the vast majority of the 1994 victors were all members of the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan—and ran unopposed. In December 1999 parliamentary elections were held once again. This time 102 candidates competed for 50 seats. Again—other than a few scattered independents—the candidates were almost exclusively members of the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan.

In 2002 the former chair of the Turkmen Central Bank, Hudaiberdi Orazov, joined the anti-Niyazov forces. Orazov was fired as deputy prime minister in 2000. Characterizing himself as a reformer, Orazov lost some credibility when he was charged with embezzling money from the Turkmen government. Orazov later admitted partially to the charges and even returned \$100,000 in funds. All three major political opponents ended up living in Moscow. Niyazov followed with a purge of the National Security Committee in March 2002. Defense Minister Kurbandurdy Begendjev was also fired, as were a number of other high-ranking officials on the National Security Committee. A month later, in May 2002, the former head of the National Security Committee and 21 of his subordinates were accused of a number of crimes that included murder, hiring prosti-

tutes, accepting bribes, and corruption. Also charged with corruption was ex-defense minister Begendjev. The trials proceeded very rapidly and led to long prison sentences. Purges also led to the dismissals of the chair of the National Bank, the head of the country's main television outlet, the chair of the Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and the rector of the Institute of Culture.

Perhaps one of the most mysterious developments in Turkmenistan's politics was the attempted assassination of Niyazov on November 25, 2002. A number of conflicting accounts emerged, but what they all shared was that an armed attempt was made on Niyazov and that his car escaped untouched. Some political opponents accused Niyazov of masterminding the attack himself in some sort of effort to enhance his political position both domestically and internationally. Niyazov used the attack as an excuse to crack down on the opposition again. The assassination attempt was followed by the arrests of hundreds—including a number of foreign citizens. Niyazov raided the Uzbek embassy and accused them of harboring assassination conspirators, and then expelled the Uzbek ambassador. Somewhat ironically, regime opponent and former foreign minister Boris Shikhmuradov was arrested several days before the assassination attempt while attempting to secretly enter Turkmenistan from Uzbekistan. Shikhmuradov was sentenced to life in prison. In early 2003 Niyazov was pursuing law enforcement and security officials because of the assassination attempt.

Turkmenistan utilized the Soviet-era government system until December 1994. At that point Turkmenistan created a new system in which the president is the head of state and head of government. The legislative arm of Turkmenistan is the Majlis and consists of 50 members elected for a five-year term. Niyazov dominated the legislative branch.

The Turkmen system also includes constitutional and supreme courts. The constitution of Turkmenistan also calls for a body called the Khalk Maslakhaty (People's Supreme Council). The People's Supreme Council is the country's supreme consultation body. Theoretically, the People's Supreme Council is to meet annually, but it met for the first time in three years in August 2002. The council includes cabinet members, local executive bodies, judges, and members of some nongovernmental organizations. At the 2003 annual meeting the Khalk Maslakhaty took over many of the functions previously entrusted to the Majlis.

Economically, Niyazov spoke in favor of private property. In December 1996 Niyazov began a program

of leasing that allowed farmers to receive land from state farms free of rent for a period of 15 years. Cotton is a leading agricultural product, but grain is also produced. Industry in Turkmenistan is limited mainly to extractive ventures and, specifically, oil and gas. Turkmenistan has the third-largest natural gas reserves in the world, and its Caspian Sea oil deposits are topped only by those in Kazakhstan. Foreign investment, in large part due to the nature of Niyazov's regime, has been very slow. Major markets for Turkmen gas now include western Europe, Russia, Ukraine, and Iran.

The growth of Turkmenistan has been slow and painful. Energy sales provided needed funds, but these funds were almost all spent by Niyazov in efforts to enhance his own cult of personality. Ultimately, Turkmenistan's future was clouded by the possibilities of political instability, made even more cogent with the death of Niyazov on December 21, 2006. In February 2007 Gurbungali Berdymukhamedov was elected president.

UZBEKISTAN

Officially the Republic of Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan is the former Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and is the most populated of all the Central Asian states. Uzbekistan celebrated its independence on September 1, 1991. Tashkent is the capital city of Uzbekistan. Figures from 2004 showed an Uzbek population of 26,410,416. Approximately 88 percent of all Uzbeks are Muslim. In terms of area, Uzbekistan is 186,400 square miles, which makes it about the size of California. Uzbekistan is bordered by Kazakhstan on the west and south, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to the east, Afghanistan to the south, and Turkmenistan to the south and west. Principal languages are both Uzbek and Russian. Uzbeks make up about 80 percent of the total population and are followed by Russians (5.5 percent) and Tajik (5 percent). Geographically, Uzbekistan boasts parts of the Amu Dar'ya River Valley and the Kysyl-Kum Desert. In eastern Uzbekistan the landscape includes the Tien Shan Mountain Range and the politically significant Fergana Valley. Uzbekistan also borders the environmentally troubled Aral Sea. Since 1936 Uzbekistan has also included the Kara-Kalpakia Autonomous Republic. Approximately 1.2 million people live in the Kara-Kalpakia Region.

Uzbekistan's Soviet era was most notable for its impact on regional agriculture. During the 1950s the Soviets completed large irrigation projects that transformed present-day Uzbekistan into a large cotton producer. During the Soviet era, the Communist Party

controlled the politics of Uzbekistan. However, with Gorbachev's perestroika came a nascent nationalist movement. In June 1990 the Uzbek Supreme Soviet passed a resolution of sovereignty. After the failed coup of 1991 against Gorbachev, the leader of the Uzbek Communist Party, Islam Karimov, remained silent until it was clear the putsch would be defeated. Then Karimov condemned the coup and quickly acted to ban the Communist Party in the police and the armed forces. In August of that same year, Uzbekistan declared independence. By September, Karimov had changed the Uzbek Communist Party to the People's Democratic Party.

Upon independence Karimov began to utilize a strategy of nationalism. Under Karimov's direction, the Uzbek Supreme Soviet called for elections for December 29, 1991. Although opposition political parties were allowed, they were not permitted to act freely. In fact, Birlik, a popular opposition party, was not permitted to field a candidate for the December elections. Uzbek authorities banned the Islamic Renaissance Movement, which called for the formation of an Islamic state. Only the Erk Democratic Party provided an opposition candidate to Karimov. In the December elections, Karimov won 86 percent of the vote and the Erk candidate 12.4 percent. Soon after the election, the Erk Democratic Party was banned, and leadership in the party fled to Turkey.

December 1994 brought parliamentary elections to Uzbekistan. The recently amended constitution called for 250 deputies—in place of the 500 formerly seated. Political opposition was not permitted. The two main political parties were the ruling People's Democratic Party, which won 205 seats, and the government-created National Progress Party, which won six seats. Presidential elections scheduled for 1996 were postponed until 2000 with a 1995 referendum. Karimov won another five-year term in January 2000 with 91.9 percent of the popular vote. The only other option for voters was Karimov's hand-selected opposition, Abdulhafiz Dzhahalov. Dzhahalov headed the People's Democratic Party—the party Karimov ran until 1996. Another referendum followed in January 2002 and delayed the scheduled 2005 elections until 2007.

A critical issue facing Uzbekistan is militant Islam. In his first few years in office, Karimov encouraged Islam. However, a 1997 attack on four policemen in the city of Namangan placed the Karimov regime on notice that radical Islam might be a potential problem. The Islamic threat became even more pronounced following a February 1999 assassination attempt on Karimov. On the way to a cabinet meeting, Karimov's

motorcade was attacked. Although the president was uninjured, 16 were killed and 80 others wounded. The government immediately placed blame on Islamic extremism. Observers of the Uzbek government claimed that the Islamic threat was one that was exaggerated by Karimov in order to rationalize further crackdowns on Islam.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Islam Karimov was one of the first to offer his country's support. Uzbekistan ultimately offered use of its airspace and modern air bases and allowed the United States limited basing privileges. For its part, the United States served Uzbek interests with its attack on the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Islamic militants launched a number of suicide bombings in Tashkent from March 28, 2004, to April 1, 2004. Security officials claim that the attackers were trained in Pakistan and had links to AL-QAEDA. In addition, wider attacks were most certainly planned, as law enforcement seized 50 suicide belts from one Uzbek woman. Government figures claim that the attacks resulted in the death of 47, including 10 policemen and 33 militants. Initially the government blamed the Hizb ut-Tahrir. Soon after, a theory emerged that the attacks were the result of a resurgent IMU. Law enforcement officials finally settled on the arrest of members of Jamoat, which translates into "community." Jamoat is believed to be the remnants of IMU cadres. In July 2004 further attacks commenced against the Israeli and U.S. embassies and the Uzbek General Prosecutor's Office.

The relationship between Uzbekistan and the United States certainly was strained in May 2005. During that month Uzbekistan is said to have massacred demonstrators in the Fergana town of Andijhan. Karimov claimed that the uprising was a result of the United States's and nongovernmental organizations' attempts to replicate the successful revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan. By July 2005 Karimov served notice that the United States should cease operations at the Uzbek air base at Karshi-Khanabad within 180 days.

The government of Uzbekistan is a presidential-parliamentary system, but the president has been dominant since independence. Karimov ruled initially through the Uzbek Communist Party and then changed its name to the People's Democratic Party. Karimov resigned party leadership in 1996 in order to show a semblance of pluralism. However, all five political parties represented in the Oliy Majlis—the parliament—are from parties created by Karimov. In addition, of the 250 seats in the Oliy Majlis, the largest bloc is reserved for local government representatives.

Uzbekistan is heavily reliant on agriculture and, in particular, on the growth of cotton. The majority of its cotton ends up being exported. Uzbek cotton also accounts for two-thirds of all Central Asian cotton, and Uzbekistan is the second-largest exporter of cotton in the world. Most of the food consumed by Uzbeks is produced in the many small farms throughout the country. All Uzbek agriculture is heavily dependent upon the irrigation system, a remnant from the Soviet era.

Uzbekistan also boasts large reserves of coal, natural gas, and petroleum. Russia is a large consumer of Uzbek gas. Mining of gold is also a source of income for Uzbekistan. In 2001 gold exports made up 9.6 percent of the Uzbek GDP. Copper, zinc, and lead ores are mined, and uranium is also produced in Uzbekistan. The partnership between Uzbekistan and the United States in the war on terror brought economic relief to Uzbekistan. In November 2001 the United States offered Karimov a \$100 million grant in order to make Uzbek currency fully convertible. James Wolfensohn of the WORLD BANK visited Tashkent in April 2002 and offered \$350 million to fund infrastructure projects over two years and \$40 million to aid in improving water supplies. Yet the economy of Uzbekistan, like those of others in Central Asia, is troubled and operates at levels considerably lower than it did during the Soviet era.

See also SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Chávez, Hugo

(1954–) *Venezuelan president and revolutionary*

Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías, president of Venezuela from February 1999 to the present writing in 2008, ranks as one of the most influential and controversial

figures in post-COLD WAR Latin America. Distinguished by his left-populist policies, strident anti-imperialism and anti-neoliberalism, promotion of Latin American integration—often bombastic and polarizing rhetoric—and volcanic energy, and the driving force behind Venezuela's so-called Bolivarian revolution, Chávez elicits strong emotions among both supporters and detractors. A key debate among scholars is whether his “democratic socialism” will lead to a populist dictatorship characteristic of Latin America in the 20th century, or whether his government can pursue a populist social revolution while maintaining the democratic political structures that have endured since the days of RÓMULO BETANCOURT in the late 1950s.

Born on July 28, 1954, in the city of Sabaneta (pop. 20,000), capital of the southwestern plains state of Barinas, and of Spanish, Indian, and African ancestry, he was the second son of school teachers, receiving a good education. At age 17 he entered the Venezuelan Academy of Military Sciences, where he graduated four years later as a sub-lieutenant. He attended Simón Bolívar University in Caracas, sharpening his political views on pan-American nationalism (“Bolivarianism”), socialism, and anti-imperialism. For the next 17 years he served in the military, rising from counterinsurgency paratrooper and platoon commander to lieutenant colonel and instructor at the Venezuelan Military Academy. On July 24, 1983, on the bicentennial of the birth of Simón Bolívar, Chávez and his comrades secretly founded the Bolivarian Revolutionary Army (Ejército Revolucionario Bolivariano, or ERB-200) with the goal of launching a Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela.

On February 4, 1992, in the midst of widespread popular disaffection for the government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez and his free-market reforms (manifest most dramatically in the massive street protests and riots known as El Caracazo, in February 1989), the ERB launched a failed coup attempt. Appearing on national television, Chávez became an overnight celebrity for his vigorous denunciations of the government's corruption and cronyism before he and other coup leaders were jailed. Two years later he was released in an amnesty by the government of President Rafael Caldera. Reorganizing the ERB as the Fifth Republic Movement (Movimiento Quinto República, or MQR) and campaigning on his Bolivarian platform, in December 1998 he won the presidency with 56 percent of the popular vote.

Once in office, Chávez embarked on a wide-ranging program of social, economic, and political

reforms. In 1999, after seeing many of his initiatives blocked by the National Assembly, he oversaw the writing and promulgation of a new constitution, which granted the executive greater powers and renamed the country the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (República Bolivariana de Venezuela). Reelected in July 2000 to a six-year term, he deepened the reforms of his first months in office.

In spring 2002 an opposition movement coalesced demanding his ouster, and between April 11 and April 13, he was briefly removed from office before massive street protests led to his reinstatement. In August 2004 he triumphed decisively in a national referendum intended to recall him, and in December 2006 won a second six-year presidential term with 63 percent of the vote. In a December 2007 referendum, voters rejected Chávez's proposed changes to Venezuela's constitution, hurting the momentum of his socialist program.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Chiang Ching-kuo

(1910–1988) *Chinese political leader and reformer*

Chiang Ching-kuo was Chiang Kai-shek's eldest son. In 1925 he set out to study in the Soviet Union with other young Chinese men and women during a period when the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) was allied with the Soviet Union and a United Front with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Chiang Ching-kuo's fortunes changed dramatically in 1927 when his father ended the United Front and purged the CCP from the KMT.

In retaliation, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin refused to allow Ching-kuo to return to China, although other students were allowed to repatriate. Thus he remained in the Soviet Union, where he worked in various factories and mines and married a Russian woman. Early in 1937 he was suddenly summoned to Moscow and was told by top Soviet officials that he could return to China. The reason was Japan's

imminent attack on China and the Soviet realization that if China fell, the Soviet Union would be Japan's next victim.

Chiang Kai-shek immediately began to train his son in government, initially at the county level in regions just behind the battlefield during World War II and then progressively promoting him to bigger tasks both on the mainland and, after the Nationalists lost the civil war to the CCP in 1949, on Taiwan. In 1965 he was appointed minister of defense; later he was appointed vice-premier, and he became premier in 1972, from which post he initiated many important projects that promoted Taiwan's rapid economic growth while ensuring an equitable distribution of income. Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975 during his fifth term as president of the Republic of China. Vice President Yen Chia-kan served out the remaining years of Chiang Kai-shek's term and retired. Chiang Ching-kuo was elected president by the National Assembly in 1978 and was reelected for a second six-year term in 1984.

Chiang Ching-kuo's stay in the Soviet Union made him an opponent of the communist system. His many years as a laborer also gave him a populist outlook. He was an approachable and popular leader. More important, he began political reforms during his second term. He saw the political turmoil against the autocratic regimes of the Philippines and South Korea and understood that the prosperous and educated people of Taiwan yearned for democracy. Thus he initiated overall political reforms that ended martial law and censorship, legalized opposition political parties, and implemented free elections. Finally, with his health failing, he promised that none of his family would succeed him as political leader.

After Chiang Ching-kuo's death, political reforms continued on Taiwan that made it into a democracy, in notable contrast to the communist government of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. Although Taiwan's economic miracle began under Chiang Kai-shek, the credit for its continuation and peaceful political reforms belongs to Chiang Ching-kuo.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

"Chicago Boys" (Chilean economists, 1973–1980s)

A group of some 25 like-minded Chilean economists trained mainly at the School of Economy at the Pontifical Catholic University (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile) in Santiago, and, steeped in the free-market theories of U.S. economist and Nobel laureate Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of Economics, the "Chicago Boys" played a pivotal role in transforming Chile's economy during the dictatorship of General AUGUSTO PINOCHET. Chicago School economists were influential throughout much of Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s, a period witnessing the growing influence of neoliberalism as espoused by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) and other U.S.-dominated transnational financial institutions. The Chicago Boys, like the IMF, decried the fiscal excesses of populist and socialist governments and promoted open markets, privatization of state-owned industries, reduced government expenditures, deregulation, limiting the rights and bargaining power of labor unions, and increased foreign investment as ways to promote economic growth and national development. These years saw similar developments in the United States and Europe, personified in U.S. president RONALD REAGAN and British prime minister MARGARET THATCHER.

Among the most influential of the Chicago Boys were Jorge Cauas, minister of finance (MF), 1975–77; Sergio de Castro (MF), 1977–82; Pablo Baraona, minister of economy (ME), 1976–79; Roberto Kelly, ME, 1978–79; José Piñera, minister of labor and pensions, 1978–80, and minister of mining, 1980–81; Álvaro Bardón, ME, 1982–83; Hernán Büchi, MF, 1985–89; Juan Carlos Méndez, Budget Director (BD), 1975–81; Emilio Sanfuentes, adviser to Central Bank; Juan Villalaz, BD, 1974–75; and Sergio de la Cuadra, MF, 1982–83. Following their policy prescriptions, the Chilean government under Pinochet privatized social security, pensions, banks, and most state industries; slashed public subsidies and services; and cut taxes, especially for upper-income brackets. Their reforms generated a severe economic contraction and sharply curtailed inflation in the mid-1970s, followed by robust growth in the late 1970s, a deep recession (following a broader global economic downturn) in the early 1980s, and renewed growth in the mid- and late 1980s. The average growth rate from 1973 to 1990 was 3.5 percent, nominally higher than in most Latin American countries. By 1990 the economy was growing rapidly, though economic

inequality had increased, along with economic hardship among the bottom income brackets, with 44 percent of families living below the poverty line.

These and related results of the Chicago Boys' radical laissez-faire economic restructurings have sparked wide-ranging debates among scholars, while Chileans have continued to grapple with the effects of the free-market reforms. Neoliberalism's defenders looked to Chile's privatization of social security as a model for other countries, for example, while its critics pointed to the system's gaps and insufficient coverage for roughly half of the country's labor force. In early 2005 all of the candidates in Chile's presidential campaign agreed that "the country's much vaunted and much copied privatized pension system needs immediate repair."

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

China, human rights and dissidents in

In 1949 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC), a totalitarian regime. Although the CCP denied human rights, as understood in the West, to all its citizens, it had a particularly hostile relationship with the intellectuals, whom it distrusted. The repression was especially severe during Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung's) rule.

Mao died in 1976 and bequeathed a bankrupt nation to his successor, DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). Deng sought to pull China out of its economic disaster by reforms called the "Four Modernizations"—of agriculture, industry, science, and defense. He also somewhat relaxed intellectual controls in 1978 by allowing a Democracy Wall in the capital city Beijing (Peking), where citizens could air their grievances. Deng was surprised by the extent and bitterness of the complaints and stunned by an article posted by a young man named Wei Jingsheng entitled "The Fifth Modernization: Democracy." Wei (born 1950) was the son of committed communist parents and had lived a privileged life in Beijing.

His travels during the Cultural Revolution exposed him to the horrors and inequities of a regime that condemned millions to death by man-made famines and that denied justice to ordinary people. His article argued that the Four Modernizations were not enough without a fifth—democracy. For this he was arrested, convicted of "counterrevolution" in a show trial, and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor. He became China's most famous political prisoner. Wei was released in 1993, one-and-a-half years short of serving his full term—not because the regime had come to accept international standards of human rights but because it wanted to host the 2000 Olympics in Beijing. He was rearrested and sentenced to another long jail term in 1994 for speaking out for human rights, but was released in 1997 and exiled to the United States.

Countless other Chinese were tortured, imprisoned, and killed for seeking religious freedom or for other perceived offenses against the Communist Party. One was Harry Wu (born 1937), who began to suffer severe persecution as a college student. After becoming a U.S. citizen, Wu worked to expose the Chinese government practice of imprisoning political dissenters in brutal labor camps and selling their products and the organs of the prisoners to the United States and other nations.

Two world-famous victims were intellectual leaders Fang Lizhi (Fang Li-tzu, born 1936) and Liu Binyan (Liu Ping-yen, born 1925). Fang was China's leading astrophysicist and vice president of the prestigious Chinese University of Science and Technology. For supporting students' demands for genuine elections, for advocating democracy and intellectual freedom, and for demanding that Wei Jingsheng be released, he was dismissed from his positions in 1987 and expelled from the CCP. When President GEORGE H. W. BUSH invited Fang and his wife to a state dinner that he hosted during a visit to China in 1989, the Chinese leaders sent police to prevent them from attending.

Liu Binyan was a famous literary figure and also an investigative reporter for the newspaper the *People's Daily*. For exposing the massive abuses of power by the CCP, he was dismissed from the party. Their fame protected Fang and Liu from arrest, but both were exiled—to Great Britain and the United States, respectively. Among the four, Wei, Fang, and Liu began as committed communists and later became determined opponents of communism. Wei and Wu suffered long and harsh imprisonment. Millions of other Chinese, named and unnamed, continued to suffer the denial of their human rights.

See also GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA (1966–1976); HUNDRED FLOWERS CAMPAIGN IN CHINA (1956–1957).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

China, People's Republic of

On October 1, 1949, the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) upon victory over the Kuomintang in a civil war. Beijing (Peking) became the capital of the new government. Since then, the CCP has ruled China as a one-party state, although several minor political parties were allowed to exist.

The PRC aligned itself with the Soviet Union in foreign policy, signing a treaty of alliance and mutual aid in 1950 under which China received loans and technical help from the Soviet Union. The Beijing-Moscow axis began to crack toward the end of the 1950s because of multiple reasons; by the mid-1960s border conflicts had broken out between them. To counterbalance the Soviet threat, China began a rapprochement with the United States that culminated in a visit by President RICHARD NIXON to China in 1972 and the establishment of full diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1979. The PRC also joined the UNITED NATIONS in 1971 as a permanent member of the Security Council, replacing the Republic of China (ROC), or Taiwan. Since the 1970s the PRC has replaced the ROC in most international organizations.

Upon its establishment, the CCP immediately undertook violent land reform, killing millions of landlords and redistributing land to the cultivators. However, the peasants were forced to give up their newly acquired land in 1953 to join collective farms under the First Five-Year Plan, copied from that of the Soviet Union. Collective farming continued in varied formats until Mao's death in 1976. Due to China's failing economy

and the severe distress of the farming population, Mao's successor, DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), dismantled the collective farms and allowed individual farmers to work private plots, although the state continued to own the land. Productivity and the standard of living among farmers increased dramatically as a result. With the adoption of private enterprise in most industries, however, the standard of living of Chinese farmers lagged far behind that of people in the rapidly expanding urban sector, especially in the advanced coastal provinces.

China underwent catastrophic political and economic turmoil under Mao's radical leadership, most notably during the GREAT LEAP FORWARD and the GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION. Deng Xiaoping was, by contrast to Mao, pragmatic in dealing with the economy, but he brooked no political opposition, as the bloody repression of student protesters in the TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE in 1989 demonstrated. After Deng ousted several putative successors who failed to conform to his ideas, the succession among CCP leaders was peaceful. In 2002 HU JINTAO became chairman of the CCP and president of China. In 2005 China had an estimated population of 1.3 billion people; the largest military in the world, comprising 2.25 million soldiers; and the third-largest and fastest-growing economy in the world.

See also HUNDRED FLOWERS CAMPAIGN IN CHINA (1956–1957); SINO-SOVIET TREATY (1950).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Chinese-Vietnamese conflict

For over 2,000 years China directly or indirectly ruled Vietnam until 1885. The close relationship between the two peoples led to the sinicizing of Vietnamese society. After the end of World War II and the establishment of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA in 1949, the example



Chinese vice premier Deng Xiaoping (right) at the White House in 1979, the same year China attacked Vietnam.

of the Chinese revolution persuaded many Vietnamese that they could liberate their country with similar political goals. During the subsequent wars against the French and the Americans, Communist North Vietnam received material as well as political support from China. Some among the Chinese leadership felt that the Vietnamese had been insufficiently grateful for the aid they had received. Assistance from China and other Communist-bloc countries contributed to Communist North Vietnam's victory over South Vietnam in 1975. Unified Vietnam became the dominant power in Indochina. In 1979 Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia to oust the Khmer Rouge regime in that country.

China viewed this as an example of Vietnamese expansionism. China also resented Vietnam's ill treatment of ethnic Chinese residents in the country, and Vietnam's closeness to the Soviet Union, China's rival for leadership in the Communist bloc.

Thus the Chinese army (the People's Liberation Army, or PLA) attacked Vietnam in February 1979. Caught by surprise, the Vietnamese army lost ground, and the PLA successfully achieved the first part of its plan, which was to capture the provincial towns of Cao Bang and Lao Cai and then advance on Lang

Son. About 250,000 Chinese troops were deployed, together with militia, the air force, and a naval detachment, to the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea in the event of Soviet intervention to aid Vietnam. All of the fighting took place in the forested mountainous region that marks the border. Eventually the battle-hardened Vietnamese regrouped against the advance of the PLA. The Soviet Union declined to respond to Vietnamese requests for aid. After a limited advance China declared that it had punished Vietnam and withdrew. It threatened to return, however, should Vietnam's actions warrant further punishment. This showed that Communist nations harbored historic resentments against one another: Vietnam's territorial ambition in Southeast Asia, and China's attitude toward small states in areas of its historic influence. The conflict put Vietnam firmly in the Soviet camp until the end of the COLD WAR. The fighting continued at a low level along the border.

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JOHN WALSH

Civil Rights movement, U.S.

When Harry Truman assumed the presidency after the death of Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, he had more important concerns than civil rights. His first priority was finishing the wars in Europe and the Far East. He also confronted the decision over whether or not to use the atomic bomb. The end of World War II saw the onset of the COLD WAR. Still, in 1945 and 1946, civil rights was not totally forgotten.

In 1945 the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)—established by Roosevelt through executive order under pressure from A. Philip Randolph's threatened March on Washington—was involved in trying to end discrimination in a Washington, D.C., transportation company. Truman was unable to convince Congress to finance the FEPC. He did, however, establish a committee in 1946 to examine violence against African Americans. The committee, stacked with liberals Truman expected would develop a strong to shocking civil rights statement, issued "To Secure These Rights" in October 1947. The report called for the extension of

full citizenship rights to all Americans, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

In his State of the Union speeches of 1947 and 1948, Truman called for adoption of the committee's recommendations. For Truman, it was a matter of justice in a world divided between free and communist states.

On July 26, 1948, Truman issued Executive Order 9981, ending segregation in the armed forces, and Executive Order 9980, mandating fair employment in the civil service. After resisting the presidential order for two years, the military began implementing desegregation, but discrimination in the officer corps remained strong, and few blacks served as officers. In the KOREAN WAR, many more blacks served in integrated units than had served in World War II. A further executive order in 1951 established the Committee on Government Contract Compliance (CGCC), which was to require that all potential suppliers of goods to the Department of Defense have an equal employment policy. The CGCC lacked enforcement powers.

For many, a major turning point in how African Americans were viewed by the country at large came with the ending of segregation in Major League Baseball in 1947. When he took the field on April 15 for the Brooklyn Dodgers that year, Jackie Robinson became the first African American to play professional Major League Baseball in the modern era. While Robinson endured abuse from fans, other teams, and even his own teammates, he went on to win the first-ever Rookie of the Year award, and over the course of his career, was named to the All-Star team six times.

The American scene, however, was changing slowly. Murders and lynchings of African Americans still occurred in the 1950s, and commonly the murders went unpunished. Emmett Till, a teenager from Chicago, was visiting Money, Mississippi, in 1955. Till purportedly whistled at a white woman. For that offense, he was murdered brutally. His mother had an open-casket funeral so the mourners could see the beating the boy had endured before his two white abductors threw him into the Tallahatchie River on August 28. Till's murderers were quickly arrested and acquitted. This blatant disregard for justice fired northern sentiment for reform.

Before 1955 the Civil Rights movement had focused on the courts. Although the approach had won the landmark victory in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* in 1954, the Supreme Court had failed to provide any implementation target or tools. Local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

chapters in the South attempted to register voters and protest discrimination, but their efforts were usually uncoordinated and unsuccessful in the face of intimidation and harassment by local authorities.

Rosa Parks further fired the impulse for change. On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, she was arrested for failure to yield her bus seat to white passengers. Her trial and conviction for violating the local segregated transit ordinance catalyzed the local black community. Fifty African-American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association, which led the 381-day Montgomery Bus Boycott that resulted in the repeal of the ordinance. The success in Montgomery was followed by a successful boycott in Tallahassee, Florida, but its greater importance is that it brought national prominence to the minister brought in to lead it, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The successful boycott encouraged civil rights leaders to shift from the old civil rights tactic of litigation to a greater emphasis on direct action. Direct action required mass mobilization, led by local churches and community organizations, and nonviolent resistance as well as civil disobedience. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was an early success. Sit-ins, freedom rides, and other local action followed during the decade between 1955 and 1965.

After Montgomery, the Montgomery Improvement Association—veteran leaders of the Baton Rouge and Tallahassee boycotts—and other black activists created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. The SCLC eschewed the chapter structure of the NAACP, instead providing ad hoc training to those who fought segregation at the local level.

In 1957, in the South Carolina Sea Islands, Septima Clark, Bernice Robinson, and Esau Jenkins began the first Citizenship Schools to give blacks the literacy they needed to pass voting tests. The number of eligible voters on St. John Island tripled. The SCLC took over the program and spread it to Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

That same year, the Little Rock, Arkansas, school board decided to integrate in accordance with *Brown*. The NAACP had put pressure on Little Rock because the civil rights organization thought a test case would have better success there than in the Deep South. Arkansas had desegregated a couple of small towns, including Fayetteville and Hoxie, and it had a progressive reputation. It also had a governor with a progressive reputation. Orval Faubus, however, caved in to the conservative wing of the state Democratic Party and called the Arkansas National Guard to prevent deseg-



A group of African Americans march on Washington, D.C., in 1963 in protest against discrimination, for equal rights, and for an end to segregation. Martin Luther King, Jr., influenced such marches with his policy of nonviolent protest.

regation of the high school. President Eisenhower was committed to preventing the usurpation of a federal power, so Faubus's resistance in Little Rock led to a federal-state confrontation resulting in the nationalization of the National Guard. Eventually, after Faubus backed off and then shut down the schools, integration was pushed through.

The sit-in movement began in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960 and spread to Nashville, Tennessee; Atlanta, Georgia; and elsewhere in the South—as well as to the North and West. The initial spark was the decision of local college students to eat where they shopped. Complying with local law, counter personnel refused to serve them. The demonstrators suffered arrest and physical abuse, but they refused to post bail so that the local jails would feel the financial burden. When released from jail, civil rights activists returned to the lunch counters again and again until finally the counters desegregated. Sit-ins spread from lunch counters to beaches, libraries, and everywhere that blacks were denied access on account of race.

Some sit-in veterans created the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960. SNCC began freedom rides in 1961, which were bus trips through the Deep South to force desegregation of bus terminals as required by federal law. The riders faced a bus bombing in Anniston, Alabama; an attack by Klansmen in Birmingham; and a mob assault in Montgomery. There were injuries—some serious—but the riders persisted. In Jackson, Mississippi, they were jailed in squalor—and occasionally beaten. Other riders had to do forced labor in 100-degree heat. Some ended up in Parchman Penitentiary.

In 1962 the movement shifted to Mississippi, where the SNCC representative, Robert Moses, united all the state civil rights organizations into the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) for the purpose of door-to-door voter education and student recruitment. While the COFO effort was underway, James Meredith won the legal right to attend the University of Mississippi. Three times he tried to enter, and three times Governor Ross R. Barnett refused him. The Fifth Circuit Court of

Appeals found Barnett and his lieutenant governor in contempt, and U.S. marshals escorted Meredith onto the campus. White riots ensued. Two people died, 28 marshals were shot, and 160 others were injured. The Mississippi highway patrol withdrew from the campus, so President JOHN F. KENNEDY sent the army to control the campus and allow Meredith to attend classes.

In 1961 and 1962 King went to Albany, Georgia, to assist in the Albany Movement, which aimed at ending segregation in all phases of the city. The police in Albany reacted not with violence but with mass arrests, including King in December 1961. City leaders came to an agreement with local prominent African Americans: If King left Albany, the city would—among other things—desegregate the buses and set up a biracial committee. King left, and the city did not fulfill its promises, forcing King's return. He was arrested again in July 1962, and in August agreed to leave the city and stop the protests. He blamed the failure of the Albany Movement on its broad scope rather than a specific aspect of segregation and discrimination.

With Albany dogging him, King needed a victory. He went to Birmingham in 1963 with the Albany lessons in mind. Rather than total desegregation, the SCLC sought a more limited desegregation of downtown businesses. The local commissioner of public safety was Eugene "Bull" Connor. The SCLC used sit-ins, kneel-ins, marches, and other nonviolent techniques. The city obtained an injunction, the SCLC refused to quit, and King and others were arrested on April 12, 1963. King wrote his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" on April 16, but the campaign was faltering until organizers, desperate for bodies, decided to put high school students on the streets. On May 2, over 1,000 students demonstrated, and over 600 ended up in jail. The next day another 1,000 students appeared, and Connor ordered dogs and fire hoses to be turned on them. Television covered it all. Kennedy forced the SCLC and local businesses to reach a settlement. On May 10 they agreed: Downtown public accommodations were to be desegregated and a committee established to end discrimination in hiring. Also, the prisoners were released, and black-white communications channels were established. Four months later, Klansmen bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four girls.

The summer of 1963 saw George Wallace's attempt to prevent desegregation of the University of Alabama and Kennedy's sending sufficient force to enroll two students. The evening that the University of Alabama desegregated, on June 11, Kennedy made a major civil rights address on television and radio. The next day

Medgar Evers, who had fought to desegregate the University of Mississippi law school, was murdered. On June 19, Kennedy submitted his long-awaited Civil Rights Bill.

In August A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin led the March on Washington—from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial—despite Kennedy's efforts to get them to call the march off. All the major civil rights and progressive labor organizations were involved, as were other liberal leaders. The demands were "meaningful civil rights laws, a massive federal works program, full and fair employment, decent housing, the right to vote, and adequate integrated education." Most important was the new civil rights law, which was stalled in Congress. More than 200,000 gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial to hear King's "I Have a Dream" speech and other speeches criticizing the administration's failure to enact civil rights laws and to protect southern civil rights workers. After the march, Kennedy had King and other leaders over to the White House for a chat.

POLITICAL WEIGHT

The Civil Rights Bill was going nowhere until Kennedy died on November 22, 1963, and LYNDON B. JOHNSON put all his political weight (and Kennedy's martyrdom) behind its passage.

In 1964 COFO continued its dangerous work in Mississippi. "Freedom Summer" involved locals and northern students in voter registration and voter education (Freedom Schools), and the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). Three civil rights workers were murdered in Neshoba County on June 21, 1964. An FBI investigation found not only the three bodies but also others of blacks who had disappeared over the years without attracting more than local attention. During the six weeks between the disappearance of the three and the discovery of their bodies, Johnson used the case to bring pressure for enactment of the Civil Rights Act, which passed on July 2. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 barred discrimination in public accommodations, employment, and education.

At Selma, Alabama, the SCLC intervened in 1965 after locals struggled to get voters registered through a SNCC campaign. Hosea Williams of the SCLC and John Lewis of the SNCC attempted to lead a march to Montgomery, but they were stopped at the Edmund Pettus Bridge by state and local officers, who attacked with clubs, tear gas, and whips. National coverage matched that of the Birmingham children's campaign.

Local reaction included a murder by whites. Johnson used the violence to push enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Signed into law on August 6, the act outlawed poll taxes and literacy tests and other devices to bar voting by blacks.

It provided for federal supervision of voter registration in states and districts with a pattern of discrimination. Within months, a quarter of a million new black voters were created, mostly by federal examiners who replaced local registrars. Voter registration in the South more than doubled in four years. Mississippi's black turnout in 1965 was 74 percent. Black turnout in 1969 was 92 percent in Tennessee, almost 78 percent in Arkansas, and 73 percent in Texas.

Blacks began voting out those who had plagued them during their struggles against segregation. And they began voting in blacks they hoped were more sympathetic to their needs. In 1989 there were 7,200 elected black officials in the United States, more than 4,800 of them in the South. In 1965 about 100 were in elective office in all of the United States. Blacks were sheriffs, mayors, and county, state, and national officials.

RADICALIZATION

Voting rights failed to provide jobs. As the nation turned from civil rights to the war in Vietnam, and as King and other civil rights leaders split with the Johnson administration over foreign policy and the failure of economic justice at home, the Civil Rights movement faded. Blacks radicalized—SNCC threw out its white members, and the Black Panthers stressed not only BLACK POWER but black self-help. Blacks rioted in American cities between 1965 and 1968. When King went to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968 to support a sanitation workers' strike, he was murdered.

By 1967 22 percent of black students in southern and border states were in integrated schools. Still, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders of 1968 reported that the United States was continuing to move toward a two-society status, separate and unequal. Housing segregation was addressed in the Civil Rights Act of 1968. RICHARD NIXON's administration slowed integration by leaving it to the courts rather than his administration.

After the Supreme Court ruled in *Miliken v. Bradley* (1974) that cities could not expect to use suburbs to desegregate, white flight began resegregating America's major cities. The absence of federal assistance and persistent residential segregation contributed to resegregation. By the late 1990s, a third of black students were in schools that were 90 percent nonwhite.

During World War II, many African Americans migrated north, following jobs in war industries, but most of the jobs they were able to get were menial and paid very little. This created greater racial problems in these northern cities; blacks were forced by de facto segregation into slums that were plagued by high unemployment and crime. Additionally, the slum areas were patrolled by predominantly white police forces who many felt threatened rather than protected the neighborhood. The area schools tended to be all black and terribly underfunded. Frustrated by these conditions, urban African Americans rose in protest.

The first riot was in Harlem in the summer of 1964. A white policeman shot a black youth, and a mob demanded the suspension of the officer. When that did not happen, the mob rampaged through the neighborhood and destroyed Jewish-owned stores and much else that was not black-owned. Brooklyn's black Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had riots for similar reasons that year.

After passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, expectations were that there would be celebration. Instead there was violence. California was among the states that refused to implement the fair housing element of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 required fair housing. MALCOLM X was killed in 1965. The black ghetto riots were the most prolonged period of civil disturbance in the United States since the Civil War. Tens of thousands of National Guardsmen were required to reestablish order.

Blacks began taking out their frustrations on police by murdering racist and brutal "honkies" and "pigs." In 1966 nearly all major U.S. cities endured riots by blacks taking an independent "black power" stance, no longer following the white-black integrated approach of the NAACP and SCLC. Black power was the slogan of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the SNCC. Its approach was similar to that of the Black Panthers, formed in Oakland in 1966 and nationally prominent by 1968.

Racial stereotyping and simple personal racism remains. Interracial tension and social problems remain, which are especially pronounced in the inner cities. Sometimes the cities erupt, as in New Jersey in the late 1990s where racial profiling led to public controversy. And riots do still occur. Note the 1992 riots in Los Angeles after the Rodney King verdict.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Clinton, Bill (1946–) and Hillary Rodham (1947–)

U.S. politicians

Bill (William Jefferson) Clinton was the 42nd president of the United States, in office from 1993 until 2001. Hillary Clinton was the First Lady during that time, and was a Democratic Party candidate in the 2008 presidential elections.

William Jefferson Clinton was born on August 19, 1946, as William Jefferson Blythe III, in Hope, Arkansas. His father, William Jefferson Blythe, Jr., was a traveling salesman who died in a car accident some three months before his son was born. After his death, his widow, Virginia Dell, married Roger Clinton, who was a partner in an automobile dealership, and when he was 14, Bill adopted his stepfather's surname. It was meeting JOHN F. KENNEDY and listening to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s *I “Have a Dream”* speech in 1963 that convinced him that he should enter politics.

Bill Clinton went to the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, receiving a bachelor of science in foreign service in 1968. He then was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford University in England. On his return to the United States, Clinton went to Yale Law School, where he met Hillary Rodham. They were married on October 11, 1975, and their only child, Chelsea, was born on February 27, 1980.

Hillary Diane Rodham was born on October 26, 1947, at Edgewater Hospital, Chicago, Illinois. She attended Maine South High School and grew up in a conservative Republican family. At the age of 16 she campaigned for Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. Hillary Rodham then went to Wellesley College, where she developed liberal inclinations and graduated in 1969. In 1971 she worked for Senator Walter Mondale's subcommittee on migrant workers and in 1972 started working for Senator George McGovern's 1972 presidential election campaign.

The Clintons returned to Arkansas after completing their studies at Yale, and Bill became a law professor at the University of Arkansas. In the following year, 1974, he ran for the House of Representatives but was defeated. In 1976



Despite his popularity, Bill Clinton's second term in the White House was beset by scandal (with wife, Hillary, at right).

Clinton was elected attorney general of Arkansas without opposition. Two years later he was elected governor of Arkansas and, at the age of 32, was the youngest governor in the country. He spent his first term as governor working on improving schools and roads, but became unpopular over the motor vehicle tax and the escape of Cuban prisoners. In 1980 Republican Frank D. White defeated Clinton. However, in 1982 Clinton was reelected as governor and remained in office until 1992. He used these 10 years to transform Arkansas by dramatically improving the education system and introducing welfare reforms.

By 1988 Clinton was being suggested as a possible presidential candidate, given his high profile in American liberal circles. He decided not to run, although he did speak at the Democratic National Convention, gaining a much wider national profile. Following the defeat of the Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis in the 1988 elections, some Democratic Party organizers felt that Clinton should run in 1992. In that election it was thought that the incumbent GEORGE H. W. BUSH would win easily because of his recent victory in the GULF WAR. Clinton managed a major victory in the New York primaries, and even defeated California governor Jerry Brown in his home state. The result was that Clinton easily won the Democratic Party primaries.

In 1994 the Democratic Party lost control of Congress at the midterm elections, the first time in 40 years they lost control of both houses. It was the start of a bitter battle between Clinton and his new adversary Newt Gingrich. Despite losing control of Congress to the Republican Party in the middle of his first term, in 1996 Clinton easily won the presidential election,

becoming the first Democrat since Franklin D. Roosevelt to be reelected.

Clinton's second term in office was preoccupied, on the foreign policy front, by his attempts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. In July 2000 Clinton brought both Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority chairman YASIR ARAFAT to Camp David, but the negotiations failed. On the economic front, Clinton managed to balance the federal budget for the first time since 1969. His second term in office was overshadowed by the controversy over Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Hillary Clinton stood by her husband throughout the crisis. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives voted to impeach Clinton for lying under oath in his denial of the affair, but the Senate voted to acquit Clinton, and he remained in office until the end of his term, which he ended with a popularity approval rating of 65 percent. The result of the Monica Lewinsky affair was that Bill Clinton had to abandon his plans for reforms of the health-care system, which had been heavily supported by his wife.

Throughout his presidency, Bill Clinton did much to improve the life of African Americans, who became some of his most loyal supporters. Certainly Clinton saw as one of his major successes the implementation of majority rule in South Africa, with the election of the NELSON MANDELA government after a peaceful transition of power. Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, was also able to engage with North Korea and reduce tensions in Northeast Asia.

After completing his second term as president, Bill Clinton opened his office in the Harlem district of New York, showing his affinity for African Americans, and helped Hillary Clinton when she campaigned for a Senate seat for New York State. Since then, Bill Clinton has been active in campaigning for measures to prevent climate change, speaking at the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Montreal, Canada, on December 9, 2005, in which he was critical of the Bush administration. Through the William J. Clinton Foundation, he has also raised money for HIV/AIDS research through the Clinton Foundation HIV/AIDS Initiative (CHAI).

Hillary Clinton was elected to the U.S. Senate on November 7, 2000, winning 55 percent of the vote to 43 percent for her Republican opponent, Rick Lazio. During her time as First Lady, many Americans openly hated Hillary Clinton, with large numbers of Internet hate sites being established. However, her election victory proved that she was popular in her own right. She not only won in the traditionally Democratic Party base of New York City by a large majority, but she also car-

ried suburban Westchester County and even did well in Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, with Lazio winning in his home-base area of Long Island.

In the Senate, initially Hillary Clinton took a low profile. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Hillary Clinton was active in gaining funding for rebuilding projects. Hillary Clinton urged for the United States to take strong military action against AFGHANISTAN, also highlighting the ill-treatment of women in that country by the TALIBAN. She voted in favor of the Iraq War Resolution, but subsequently came to disagree with the prosecution of the war in Iraq.

On domestic issues, Hillary Clinton followed the same liberal traditions that had characterized her husband's presidency. On January 20, 2007, Hillary Clinton announced that she was forming a presidential exploratory committee to run as a candidate in the 2008 presidential elections and later officially pursued her electoral bid.

See also PRESIDENTIAL IMPEACHMENT, U.S.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

cold war

The cold war was the decade-long conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, especially characterized by its constant tensions, arms escalation, and lack of direct warfare. First coined by author George Orwell to describe a state of permanent and unresolvable war, *cold war* was applied to the U.S.-Soviet conflict in 1947 by Bernard Baruch, the U.S. representative to the UN Atomic Energy Commission and influential adviser to both Franklin Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Both sides often phrased the conflict as one between capitalism and communism, not simply between two states. Picking its endpoints requires some arbitrary choices, but it essentially lasted from shortly after World War II to the 1991 DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION.

Long before even the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, there were significant differences between Russia and the West—Russia was a latecomer to capitalism, abolishing serfdom only in 1861—and the transition was an awkward one that created enough ill will to make a radical revolution appealing. Before the 20th century, Russia's imperial designs threatened those of Great Britain—a maritime rival—and Spain, which encouraged settlement in California out of fear that Russian colonists would settle the west coast traveling south from Alaska. In both cases the Western nations may have been exaggerating or misperceiving the extent of Russia's expansionist interests—just as was likely the case with Western perceptions of the Soviet Union during the cold war.

In the 20th century, the old European empires had lost their power, and the most powerful countries were the ideologically opposed Soviet Union and the United States, with its close ally the United Kingdom. These were the two world leaders that developing nations would be shaped by and recovering nations would have to ally themselves with. Given the size and power of the countries—with perhaps as an additional factor the youth of their governments, relative to those of old Europe—some historians consider the conflict inevitable.

World War II had broken the faith that the Soviet Union had in the rest of the world's willingness to leave communist states alone, and so Stalin sought to spread communism to neighboring countries in eastern Europe—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Poland—but remained uninvolved with communist interests in Finland, Greece, and Czechoslovakia, at least directly. Winston Churchill was the first to refer to this band of communist countries as the “Iron Curtain,” referring not only to the fortified borders between the capitalist and communist nations of Europe but to the Soviet Union's protective layer of communist states shielding it from capitalist Europe.

Meanwhile, communism grew in popularity in China, France, India, Italy, Japan, and Vietnam. Very quickly the West began to perceive communist victories as Soviet victories, and communist nations as Soviet satellites, officially or otherwise. The United Kingdom could no longer afford to govern overseas and in the 1947 partition of India had granted independence to that holding, which led to the formation of the states of India and Pakistan. The United States began increasing its overseas influence as that of the British waned.

For the first few decades after World War II, the dominant focus of U.S. foreign policy was that of “con-

tainment”; the U.S. took pains to limit communist and Soviet influence to the states where it was already present and to prevent its “leaking out” to others. Many believed that, so contained, communist governments would wither and die—in contrast, the domino theory proclaimed that if one capitalist government fell, its neighbors would be next, a proposition that motivated U.S. involvement in the VIETNAM WAR, which was proclaimed a war not just over Vietnam but over all of Southeast Asia, which notably included former British and French holdings.

When civil war broke out in China, the Soviet Union aided the Communists, and the United States armed and funded the Nationalists. The new PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, formed on October 1, 1949, became a valuable Soviet ally, while the Nationalists took control of the island of Taiwan, from where they retained their seat in the UNITED NATIONS. The Soviets boycotted the United Nations Security Council as a result, and so were unable to veto Truman's request for UN aid in prosecuting an attack on the Soviet-supported North Korean forces invading U.S.-supported South Korea. The KOREAN WAR that followed lasted three years, ending in a stalemate; into the 21st century no peace treaty had been formed between the two Koreas.

As the lines between the two sides became more clearly drawn, 12 nations formed the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In response to this and the rearmament of West Germany, Stalin's successor, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, formed a similar alliance of eastern European states called the WARSAW PACT: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union.

EISENHOWER TO REAGAN

From President Eisenhower in the 1950s to President RONALD REAGAN in the 1980s the guiding light of military spending was deterrence theory, ensuring that retaliation would be swift and extraordinary. The specter of nuclear warfare dominated U.S. consciousness in these decades. In the 1950s fallout shelters were built in many towns and private homes, and educational film shorts shown in schools included the famous “Duck and Cover,” in which a talking turtle advises children to seek shelter in the event of nuclear war. Many schools and town governments held duck-and-cover drills, which likely served no real purpose except to heighten fears.

Eisenhower openly worried about the inertia of the military-industrial complex as well as escalating military spending. Perhaps seeking to avoid future military conflicts, he was the first to use the CIA to overthrow governments in developing or less powerful nations that were unfriendly to U.S. policy, replacing them with nominally democratic ones. Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America became more important to the cold war than Europe. In Latin America, the United States had been involved in national politics since the 19th century, but the cold war gave a new lift to foreign policy. As the increasingly powerful lower classes in many Latin American countries gave rise to a strong left wing and socialist concerns, the United States targeted revolutions and instigated coups against left-leaning governments.

FIDEL CASTRO led the communist revolution in Cuba, only miles from the U.S. coast. The United States responded by dispatching a group of CIA-trained Cuban expatriates to land at Cuba's BAY OF PIGS and attempt to oust Castro from power. The invasion was a significant failure and provided the Soviets with a further excuse to install nuclear missiles in Cuba—balancing out those the United States had installed in Turkey and western Europe. Only when President Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba and to remove missiles from Turkey—close to the USSR—did the Soviets back down. It is still considered the moment when the two nations came closest to direct warfare.

BERLIN WALL

In 1961 the Berlin Wall was built and quickly became the most vivid symbol of the cold war: The 28 miles of wall, barbed wire, and minefields separated Soviet-controlled East Berlin from U.S.-supported West Berlin. Passage across the border was heavily restricted. Families were divided, and some East Berliners were no longer able to commute to work. About 200 people died trying to cross into West Berlin; some 5,000 more succeeded. It would be nearly 30 years before the wall came down.

By the end of the 1960s the prevalence of deterrence theory had led to a state of “mutually assured destruction” (MAD), in which an attack by either side would result in the destruction of both sides. Theoretically such assurance prevents that first strike, which was the logic behind limiting antiballistic missiles. Talks and, later, agreements on strategic nuclear arms (SALT I and SALT II) began in 1969. President Reagan's SDI program in the early 1980s would be a significant step away from the MAD model toward the goal of a winnable nuclear war.

The word *détente*—“warming”—is often used to describe the improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations from

the late 1960s to the early 1980s, a time when military parity between the two had all but been achieved. Both nations' economies suffered—the United States from the expense of the Vietnam War, and the Soviets from that of catching up to the United States in the nuclear arms race. In order to encourage Soviet reforms, U.S. president GERALD FORD signed into law the Jackson-Vanik Amendment in 1975, which tied U.S.-Soviet trade relations to the conditions of Soviet human rights.

The Soviets had lost their alliance with China because they had failed to strongly support China during border disputes with India and the invasion of Tibet. The prospect of facing a Chinese-U.S. alliance—however unlikely it may have seemed to Americans—discouraged the Soviets as much as MAD did, and contributed to their willingness to participate in summits such as those that resulted in the Outer Space Treaty, banning the presence of nuclear weapons in space.

As they recovered from World War II, western Europe and Japan became more relevant again to the international scene, as did Communist China. Especially from the 1970s on, the U.S.-Soviet domination of international affairs eroded. The United States began to come under more frequent and serious criticism for the choices it had made in its opposition to communism, especially for its support of dictatorial or oppressive right-wing governments.

Meanwhile, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, more and more developing nations adopted the policy of nonalignment. The Middle Eastern nations, their influence bolstered by oil and the increasing consumption thereof, became a particular factor, and the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), which increased oil prices in 1973 by 400 percent, was a leading player in the West's economic troubles. As more countries joined the United Nations, the Western majority was broken. In 1979 the secular democratic regime of the shah in Iran—supported by the United States and restored in 1953 with the CIA's help—fell to an alliance of liberal and religious rebels, who installed the religious leader the AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI as the new head of state. Outraged at the involvement of the United States in Iranian affairs, a group of Iranian students held 66 Americans hostage for 14 months, until 20 minutes after President Reagan's inauguration.

Détente ended as the 1980s began, with the IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS and the 1979 Soviet invasion of AFGHANISTAN. Hard-line right-wingers had been elected in both the United Kingdom (MARGARET THATCHER) and the United States (Reagan in 1981), and many neoconservatives characterized the détente of the previous decade as

too permissive, and too soft on communism. Just as the United States had come under criticism for its support of certain governments, the Soviets lost a good deal of international respect not only over Afghanistan but also when they shot down a Korean commercial airliner (Korean Air Flight 007, in 1983) that passed into Soviet airspace. The first years of the 1980s saw an escalation in the arms race for the first time since the SALT talks began. The Strategic Defense Initiative, proposed by the Reagan administration in 1983, was a space- and ground-based antimissile defense system that would have completely abandoned the MAD model. Significant work went into it, seeking a winnable nuclear war, unthinkable in previous decades.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

In 1985 the Soviet Politburo elected reformist MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, the leader of a generation who had grown up not under Stalin but under the more reform-minded Khrushchev. Gorbachev was savvy, sharp, and politically aware in a way many Soviet politicians were not. The keystones of his reforms were glasnost and perestroika, policies almost encapsulated by catchphrases widely repeated both in the Soviet Union and in Western newspapers.

Glasnost, a policy instituted in 1985, simply meant “openness,” but referred not just to freedom of speech and the press but to making the mechanics of government visible and open to question by the public. Perestroika, which began in 1987, meant “restructuring.” Perestroika consisted of major economic reforms, significant shifts away from pure communism, allowing private ownership of businesses and much wider foreign trade.

Two years after the start of perestroika, eastern European communism began to collapse under protests and uprisings, culminating in reformist revolutions in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Several Soviet states sought independence from the Soviet Union, and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence. The period culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989.

After years of public pressure, East Germany finally agreed to lift the restrictions on border traffic for those with proper visas. East Germany had little choice but to abandon the wall. They did nothing to stop the Mauer-spechte (“wall chippers”) who arrived with sledgehammers to demolish the wall and claim souvenirs from it, and began the rehabilitation of the roads that the wall’s construction had destroyed. By the end of the year free travel was allowed throughout the city, without need

of visas or paperwork. A year later East and West Germany reunified.

In 1991 radical communists in the Soviet Union seized power for three days in August, while Gorbachev was on vacation. BORIS YELTSIN, the president of Russia, denounced the coup loudly and visibly—standing on a tank and addressing the public with a megaphone. The majority of the military quickly sided with him and the other opponents of the coup, which ended with little violence. But it was clear that the Soviet Union would not last—it was soon dissolved, becoming 15 independent states.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union the cold war was technically over, effective immediately, but a “cold war mentality” continued. The United States continued to involve itself in international affairs in similar ways, sometimes being accused of acting like a world policeman—a role the United Kingdom had enjoyed before the world wars. The apparatus of espionage found new subjects, with the ECHELON system of signals intelligence—monitoring telephone and electronic communication—eventually repurposed for the war on terror following the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Contrary to every expectation, the cold war ended without direct warfare and without the use of nuclear weapons.

See also EASTERN BLOC, COLLAPSE OF THE; PINOCHET UGARTE, AUGUSTO.

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BILL KTE’PI

Colombia, La Violencia in (1946–1966)

Known simply as “The Violence” (La Violencia), the period of widespread political violence and civil war that wracked Colombia from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s (conventionally dated from 1946 to 1966, but also from 1948 to 1958, and 1948 to early 1970s) was rooted in conservative efforts to quell liberal challenges to continuing conservative political dominance, and liberal

resistance to the Conservative campaign of persecution and terror. Upwards of 200,000 people were killed from 1948 to 1958, the bloodiest years of The Violence, and perhaps 300,000 people from 1946 to 1966.

The longer-term origins of La Violencia can be traced to Colombia's long history of internecine political conflict, especially its "War of the Thousand Days" (1899–1902) between Liberals and Conservatives, the longest and bloodiest of Latin America's 19th-century civil wars, in which some 100,000 people were killed, of a population of around 4 million. In the shorter term, La Violencia originated in rising Liberal-populist challenges to oligarchic liberal-conservative rule spearheaded by liberal dissident JORGE ELIÉCER GAITÁN from the 1930s, and especially from 1946. In that year's presidential election, the Liberal Party split between the left-leaning populist reformer Gaitán and official candidate Alberto Lleras Camargo, permitting a plurality victory by conservative Mariano Ospina Pérez.

In the context of rising popular support for a more open political system, democratic reforms, and more equitable sharing of the nation's resources, the regime of Ospina Pérez stepped up the persecution of liberals and other moderate elements. Violence exploded after April 9, 1948, when Gaitán, widely considered the leading contender for the 1950 presidential elections, was assassinated in Bogotá. The city exploded in violence against property, with days of pillaging, burning, and political protesting across the length and breadth of the city, in what has come to be known as The Bogotazo (loosely, "the Bogotá Smash"). Liberal insurrections soon spread across much of the country, including provincial capitals and rural areas. Conservative elements responded by launching counterinsurgency actions, which by mid-1948 had crushed most overt resistance. Most Liberals withdrew from the government and refused to participate in the 1950 elections, which brought to power the ultraconservative Laureano Gómez (1950–53). Tensions ran high, as many Liberals continued organizing and mobilizing.

With the support of most large landowners, the army and police, the church, conservative peasants, and the United States, the Gómez regime unleashed a reign of terror in city and countryside. The spiraling violence reached into almost every city, town, village, community, and family, with political partisanship at fever pitch and often accompanied by gruesome tortures and murders. Especially hard hit were Andean coffee-growing regions dominated by smallholding peasants—especially Boyacá, Antioquia, the Satanders, Valle del Cauca, and Cauca. Hit squads and assassins (*pájaros*, or "birds")

were paid handsomely for eliminating targeted enemies, protected by the authorities and dense networks of supporters. In response, guerrilla resistance armies emerged in many areas, often led by lower-class partisans.

In 1953 the Gómez regime was ousted in a coup led by General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who launched a pacification campaign based on amnesty and public works projects. By 1955 the pacification effort had largely failed, and the violence and atrocities continued. In 1958 a national plebiscite brought to power the National Front, a Liberal-Conservative power-sharing arrangement that stemmed much of the violence, which continued to simmer in many areas, often in the form of rural banditry. By 1966, with the regime of Liberal Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1966–70), most violence had dissipated. Still, with the emergence of several left-wing guerrilla groups and right-wing paramilitary organizations, and in the context of the ballooning marijuana and cocaine trade and skyrocketing U.S. military aid in the "war on drugs," Colombia remained one of Latin America's most violent countries into the 21st century.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Comecon

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) was established in January 1949 by the Soviet Union. It was an organization designed to economically unite all the communist states in the eastern bloc of Europe. The founding member nations were the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Albania joined in February 1949, the German Democratic Republic in 1950, Yugoslavia in 1956, and Mongolia in 1962.

Several other communist states—such as China, North Korea, and North Vietnam—were official Comecon observers. Other countries gained membership or observer status in the Comecon. Council sessions were held regularly, and the leaders of member states usually met at least once each year. Economic policies for all member states were debated and determined at the

council sessions. These policies were then implemented through Comecon directives. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Comecon was formally dissolved in June of that year.

The initial charter of the organization stated three main goals to provide broader economic cooperation: “exchanging economic experience,” rendering “technical assistance,” and providing “mutual aid” to all member countries. The original goal of the Comecon was to establish stronger ties and greater cooperation between the command economies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern-bloc states. The Comecon provided Stalin with yet another way to strengthen his control over the eastern European allies by linking their economic vitality, production, and trade directly to the Soviet Union.

The early years of the organization provided only modest results, such as bilateral trade agreements and sharing of technology between member states. Soviet leader NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV attempted to strengthen the organization by proposing that all member states join a centrally planned socialist commonwealth to be run from Moscow. Smaller member states with less-developed economies and those relying more heavily on agriculture disagreed with this plan for a centralized commonwealth. However, upon his ouster from power in 1964, his attempted centralization of the Comecon and most of his other policies were abandoned.

LEONID BREZHNEV and the Soviet leadership in the 1960s and 1970s recognized the need for economic acceleration and further industrial and technological development in the Soviet Union and Comecon member countries. The economic and technological gaps between countries in western Europe and those in the Comecon were becoming more evident. Therefore, the Comecon adopted a new plan in 1971 called the *Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration*. The basic goal of this program was to emphasize long-term planning and investments in industrial development of all member states.

The Comecon dissolved in 1991. Throughout its four decades of existence, the organization encountered many problems. The dependence of all member states on the economy of the Soviet Union created an unstable and impractical system. The planned economies of the member states did not rely on normal market forces and prices; therefore, the mechanism created a false and inflated economic situation. When the countries traded and dealt with other states outside of the Comecon, the

weakness of their economies became evident. The Comecon never completely fulfilled its objectives because of the difficulties presented when attempting to integrate multiple states' economies.

See also SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION, OF THE.

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ELIZABETH C. CHARLES

Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations, formerly the British Commonwealth, is a loose cultural and political alliance of former British Empire territories. The idea of the commonwealth continually evolved after its origins in the mid- to late 19th century. The term referred to the settler colonies: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, Newfoundland, and South Africa. But in the 1920s the settler colonies and Britain began to meet in Imperial Conferences, which provided the structure for the later Commonwealth of Nations. The commonwealth shifted from a community of British-populated independent nations to a proposed economic bloc, and finally to a multicultural community of nations.

The concept of commonwealth described the unique constitutional relationship between Great Britain and the settler colonies; Parliament and the Foreign Office presided over foreign affairs that involved the colonies, but the colonial parliaments controlled their own internal affairs. In the 1926 Imperial Conference, the Balfour Declaration acknowledged that Britain and the settler dominions were “equal in status” to Britain. After the Statute of Westminster in 1931—which gave the dominions of Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, and Ireland legislative independence—the commonwealth officially became a political organization consisting of the United Kingdom along with its former colonies.

The British tried to make the commonwealth work as a large trading bloc, with trade preferences between the former colonies as well as the formal colonies. Britain's imports and exports to and from the colonies never amounted to more than a third of Britain's trade. Also, such countries as Australia, New Zealand, and

Canada became more dependent upon the United States for trade, especially after World War II.

The sudden decolonization of the British colonies in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s created the foundations for the current commonwealth. India's decision to stay in the commonwealth in 1949 provided a precedence for later nonsettler colonies to join the commonwealth after independence. In order to keep its political sovereignty while still allowing for cultural ties, India accepted the king of England as the symbolic head of the commonwealth. In 1949, when India accepted the king as the symbolic head of the commonwealth, the British Commonwealth of Nations changed its name to the Commonwealth of Nations, so as not to imply that its peoples were all of British ethnicity.

As a number of newly independent countries applied to join the commonwealth after they gained independence, the composition of the commonwealth shifted from a meeting of predominantly white countries to a multicultural organization. At the Heads of Governments Conferences in Singapore in 1971 and in Ottawa in 1973, the general consensus was that the commonwealth should be a loose political association of the former British Empire. The Commonwealth of Nations continued to uphold these principals into the 21st century.

As of 2006 Queen Elizabeth II, the queen of England, held the title head of commonwealth. The commonwealth heads of government decide who will be the next commonwealth secretary-general, the official who leads the Commonwealth Secretariat, the decision-making body of the Commonwealth of Nations. Every five years the heads of government elect a new secretary-general at the Commonwealth Secretariat meeting.

Members as of 2006 included Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, Canada, Cyprus, Dominica, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nauru, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Kingdom, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

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BRETT BENNETT

contra war (Nicaragua, 1980s)

Within a year of the July 1979 triumph of the NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION, there emerged a counterrevolutionary (*contra*) movement against the Sandinista regime. From around 1982 the war expanded to include large parts of the country, especially in rural zones of the north and east, due in large part to U.S. funding, training, equipment, and organizing under the presidency of RONALD REAGAN. Combining an internal civil war with an external war of aggression, the contra war was waged by several counterrevolutionary armies that were responsible for the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and millions of dollars of property damage.

By the mid-1980s the war compelled the Sandinista regime to devote around half of the national budget to national defense and to institute universal military conscription. By the late 1980s the latter measure proved widely unpopular among Nicaraguans, as did the economic and human cost of the conflict and the shortages of basic goods caused by the war and the May 1985 U.S. trade embargo. Most observers agree that the contra war was a critical factor in causing the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in February 1990, effectively ending the Sandinista revolution. It was also central to the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR in the United States, which rocked the second Reagan administration (1984–88).

With the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas and an internationally supervised demobilization process, by the early 1990s the war effectively ended, though armed groups continued to destabilize many rural areas well into the 1990s. It is estimated that the war uprooted some 600,000 people (around 15 percent of the national population) and caused the deaths of 30,000 to 50,000 civilians and combatants.

Small-scale armed resistance to the Sandinista regime by autonomously organized militias began within a month of the FSLN's takeover, principally in the region north of Jinotega. These earliest contras, calling themselves *milpistas* (combatants of the MILPAS, or Militias Populares Anti-Sandinistas, successor

organizations to the pro-Sandinista Militias Populares Anti-Somocistas, and a play on an indigenous word for “cornfield”), launched their first armed assault against the Sandinistas in November 1979 in the mountains near Quilalí. The MILPAS were generally kinship-based, composed of fewer than 100 members each and rooted in rural dwellers’ long tradition of antipathy to state authority.

During this early period (1979–81), contra organizing also emerged in the borderland zones of Honduras and Costa Rica among exiled Somocistas and National Guardsmen. Like the MILPAS, these paramilitary groups were small in scale and organized principally around personal relationships. By late 1980 some of these exile groups began to receive covert funding from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Argentine military.

In April 1981 elements of the MILPAS and ex-Guardia—dominated exile groups in Honduras formed the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense, or FDN), under the command of ex-Guardia colonel Enrique Bermúdez, composed of some 500 troops. Portraying the Sandinistas as clients of the Cubans and Soviets, in November 1981 Reagan signed a secret order (National Security Decision Directive 17) granting \$19 million to the CIA to recruit and train contra forces. On December 1, 1981, he issued a presidential finding calling for U.S. support in conducting paramilitary operations against the Sandinista regime. Around this time a second contra army was formed in the north, the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARN), under the political direction of the Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN), and led by exiled businessman José Francisco Cardenal.

Henceforth the contra war rapidly gained steam. In April 1982 a second front was opened in the south with the formation of the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) and its military wing, the Sandino Revolutionary Front (FRS), based in Costa Rica and commanded by former Sandinista Edén Pastora. Another largely autonomous armed rebel group formed in the Atlantic Coast region in late 1981, led by Brooklyn Rivera, among disaffected elements of the mass indigenous organization MISURASATA—an organization composed primarily of Miskitu Amerindians and represented in the FSLN’s newly created Council of State.

In the United States, congressional opposition to the Reagan administration’s funding of the contra forces mounted. In December 1982 the House passed an amendment sponsored by Edward Boland (D., Mass.) banning the use of federal funds to overthrow the Nica-

raguan government. The Reagan administration found legal ways to circumvent the ban. By 1983 the contra forces had grown to some 13,000 to 15,000 troops, and by 1985 to some 20,000. By this time the contras had committed hundreds of atrocities against Nicaraguan civilians, as documented by the human rights organization Americas Watch and others. In May 1984 Congress passed a second Boland amendment, requiring an end to all military aid to the contras by October 1. For the next two years, the Reagan administration illegally funneled covert aid to Iran in exchange for Iranian arms shipments to the contras.

By the late 1980s contra armies were active across much of the northern and central parts of the country. In 1988 and 1989 a series of peace accords (notably the Sapoá Accord of 1988) created a framework for contra demobilization. With the Sandinista defeat in the February 1990 elections, the administration of President Violeta Chamorro negotiated with the leaders of the Nicaraguan Resistance (Resistencia Nicaragüense, or RN, successor to the FDN), culminating in the Disarmament Protocol of May 30, 1990. Agencies of the United Nations and Organization of American States supervised the disarmament process, which by mid-1990 had processed some 23,000 contras, from an estimated fighting force of 170,000, many of whom demobilized informally. Through the early 1990s armed groups continued to destabilize large parts of the interior, consisting of both ex-contras (*recontras*) and former members of the Sandinista Army (*recompas*)—groups that sometimes merged to form groups of *revueltos* (a play on words meaning both “rebels” and “scrambled eggs”). By 1992, with the contra war officially ended, as many as 23,000 armed insurgents continued to operate in rural areas, posing severe challenges to governance in the second-poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere.

See also SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

counterculture in the United States and Europe

Counterculture is a sociological term that describes the radical values and models of a group of people clashing with those of the majority, or cultural mainstream. The term entered common usage during the 1960s and 1970s when movements of youth rebellion against conservative social standards swept the United States and western Europe. The countercultural movement represented a reaction against the conformist values embodied by 1950s society, the repressive principles of the COLD WAR, and the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Young people throughout the world advocated peace and fairer race relations. They challenged conventional gender and sexual role—ideas spawned by the revival of FEMINISM—and pushed legal boundaries to the limit by the recreational use of drugs such as marijuana and LSD. The political and social aspects of counterculture are inseparable from the unconventional postures and appearances of its members.

The 1960s counterculture originated on U.S. college campuses and later arrived in European universities. The University of California at Berkeley was a particularly important center, and its 1964 FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT became one of the first occasions of tension between youth and the authorities. To scholars of counterculture, the free speech movement was the point of departure for the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The movement demanded that campus administrators suspend the ban on university political activities and recognize the students' right to free speech and academic freedom. On October 1, 1964, former student Jack Weinberg refused to leave the table where he was campaigning for the civil rights association Congress for Racial Equality (CORE). His arrest by the police led to a spontaneous demonstration by fellow students, who blocked the police car containing Weinberg for 36 hours. The following month the university decided to bring charges against those who organized the sit-in. This led to imposing demonstrations and the arrest in early December of 800 students in front of Sproul Hall, the university's administrative center. After more protest parades the University of California started reconsidering its rules on political activities on campus, permitting tables and discussions on the steps of Sproul Hall at certain times of the day.

The decade continued in the United States with the outbreak of more tensions, often along generational lines, concerning the VIETNAM WAR, sexual behavior, the

role of women in society, African-American civil rights, and drug experimentation. Vietnam became a specific target of criticism, which was also heightened by the imposition of a compulsory military draft. A veritable revolution took place in sexual mores with the spread of contraception and the legalization of abortion in 1973 with the Supreme Court ruling on *Roe v. Wade*. The Summer of Love drew thousands of people from around the world to San Francisco in 1967, particularly to the Haight-Ashbury district.

The end of the 1960s also witnessed the organization of gays and lesbians in groups to acquire visibility and to have their identities recognized. Drug taking stopped being a social phenomena linked to urban ghettos and became part of middle-class life. Feminist thinkers asked for comprehensive social change, pointing out that economic structures are at the base of women's subordination. The United States shifted from the family-oriented society of the 1950s to one that had individual rights at its core. It was in the 1960s that women started to challenge the cultural expectation that they would take primary responsibility for child rearing. Most feminists demanded the alleviation of the social burdens of motherhood through paternal involvement in parenting, quality child care, flexible work arrangements, and a system of social and financial welfare that did not leave them to rely completely on their husbands.

At the beginning of the 1960s few Americans were aware of the struggle of African Americans for civil rights. The Supreme Court ruling *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* outlawing segregation in public schools dates back to 1954, but progress in the implementation of integration had been slow. The 1960s witnessed renewed activism of young African Americans, who refused to leave lunch counters when they were denied service or to travel on segregated buses. In 1962 the admission of African American James Meredith to the state university in Mississippi caused a sensation and an outburst of violence from white supremacists. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., became the leader of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, and in August 1963 he managed to draw together hundreds of thousands of African Americans and white Americans in his March on Washington to call attention to the fact that a century after emancipation many African Americans were still unable to exercise basic citizens' rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were important achievements of the Civil Rights movement. The acts outlawed segregation in public facilities and authorized federal examiners to register black voters, thus ending disenfranchisement.

The counterculture soon arrived in European capitals, with devastating effects for the established power. As in the United States, the young people taking part in the countercultural movements were well educated, often at the university level. As riots became widespread throughout European streets, this provoked heated debates within the left. Who were the true proletarians? The students or the policemen who had to battle with them in the streets? Left-wing groups independent from the communist and socialist parties were formed in Italy, France, and Germany. These groups—such as Potere Operaio and Lotta Continua in Italy—did not have parliamentary representation, but still became the avant-garde of the movement because of their capacity to attract young people.

CULTURAL FORMS

During the 1960s and 1970s new cultural forms emerged in all artistic fields from cinema to music, from fashion to media. The music of the Beatles came to embody the need for change and the experimentation of younger generations. The Old Hollywood of dated melodramas controlled by studio moguls was replaced by the New Hollywood. Young directors such as Dennis Hopper, Peter Bogdanovich, Mike Nichols, Arthur Penn, Francis Ford Coppola, and Martin Scorsese reflected in their movies the rise of the counterculture and expressed the longing for freedom shared by thousands of young Americans. In Europe the French and British New Waves and the New German Cinema rejected the classic norms of filmmaking, experimenting with photography and editing. They also focused their films on the ordinary lives of the working classes and on those outside of the social mainstream. Underground newspapers spread throughout the United States and Europe, constituting a network of resistance to the establishment.

One of the most visible icons of the counterculture movements was the figure of the hippie, who often expressed the distaste for social conventions by renouncing consumerism and living in communes guided by forms of spiritualism outside the Christian tradition. The figure of the hippie encapsulates a major contradiction in the countercultural movement. The communal thrust of the movement is countered by an equally strong emphasis on individual choices, which tends to prevent any form of cooperation.

The more fascinating and controversial aspects of the counterculture should not overshadow the contributions of the movement outside the arts. The counterculture influence reached less spectacular and more

stable fields such as economics, business, and law. Many of today's nongovernmental organizations, for example, have their roots in the 1960s search for a fairer and more environmentally minded development. In general, as the counterculture evolved in the 1970s and its icons began to lead more moderate lives, the movement started to be absorbed to a certain degree within the mainstream. As such it left its mark on various fields like philosophy, morality, music, art, lifestyle, and fashion. Yet, especially in the European context, there were those who refused to be absorbed, and pushed their refusal to dangerous extremes. The late 1970s and the 1980s were characterized by the rise of terrorist groups such as the Red Brigades in Italy, Action Directe in France, and the Red Army in Germany.

The most apparent features of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture were unconventional appearance, music, drugs, communitarian experiments, and sexual liberation—mostly practiced by white, middle-class young Americans and Europeans. To some the counterculture represented the longing of young people for free speech, equality, and a more inclusive and less exploitative world. Others denounced the counterculture as hedonistic, meaninglessly rebellious, unpatriotic, and destructive of the Western world's moral order.

See also APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY; BEAT MOVEMENT.

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LUCA PRONO

Cuban migration to the United States

Movements of people from Cuba to the United States comprise a longstanding feature of both countries' histories. The panic of 1857 prompted numerous Cuban cigar manufacturers to move their operations to Key West, Tampa, and elsewhere along the Florida coast. During and after the Ten Years' War (1868–78), several thousand Cubans formed exile communities along the

U.S. eastern seaboard—especially in Key West, Tampa, Ocala, and Jacksonville, Florida, and further north in New York City. The 1850 U.S. census shows 969 persons of Cuban birth living in the United States, with most (275) in Louisiana and 23 in Florida.

By 1860 there were 2,056, with 55 in Florida. That number more than tripled by 1870, reaching 6,515, with about half (3,014) in New York and less than a fifth (1,147) in Florida. By 1880 the figure rose slightly to 7,004, with Florida (2,625) surpassing New York (2,253), followed by Louisiana (652) and Pennsylvania (359, with 309 in Philadelphia). In 1900, in the aftermath of the Cuban War of Independence and the U.S. military intervention and occupation of the island, 11,243 Cuban-born persons were listed, including 6,645 in Florida (3,378 in Tampa, 3,015 in Key West) and 2,251 in New York. In 1910 the number rose to 15,725, remaining stagnant to 1920 (15,822). All of the above figures likely undercounted the actual number.

A much larger movement of Cubans to the United States began with the CUBAN REVOLUTION, which came to power in January 1959. From 1960 to 1962 an estimated 195,000 Cubans immigrated to the United States, mostly professionals and members of the middle class, with most settling in Miami, Florida; Union City, New Jersey; and New York City. The exodus continued in several waves through the 1960s and into the 1970s, becoming integral to COLD WAR politics, welcomed by the U.S. government and materially harming the Cuban economy, even as the exoduses proved politically useful to the Castro regime.

The 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA) allowed undocumented Cuban immigrants to stay in the country and gain permanent residence after one year, rights not extended to any other immigrant group. In 1980 some 125,000 Cubans, the so-called Marielitos, emigrated to the United States in the Mariel boatlift. In the summer of 1994 at Castro's invitation, an estimated 33,000 Cubans made the journey. The exodus prompted the U.S. government to negotiate an agreement with Cuba, in September 1994, in which the United States agreed to admit a minimum of 20,000 Cubans annually, and emigrants intercepted at sea would no longer be permitted to enter the United States. In 1995 the 1966 CAA was revised to incorporate the so-called wet-foot, dry-foot policy, which stipulated that undocumented Cuban immigrants who reached U.S. soil ("dry feet") would be permitted to apply for permanent residence status in one year, while those intercepted at sea ("wet feet") would be sent back to Cuba or to a third country.

The 2000 U.S. census enumerated 1,241,685 persons of Cuban ancestry in the United States, comprising 3.5 percent of U.S. Hispanics and 0.4 percent of the U.S. population of 281.4 million. Most lived in Miami-Dade County, Florida, with 525,841 Cuban-born, the single largest national group among large influxes of Haitians, Dominicans, Central Americans, and others from the 1980s especially. As a result of these demographic changes, the politics and culture of south Florida have undergone profound shifts, with relatively affluent, politically conservative, and vehemently anti-Castro Cuban Americans increasingly shaping the region's economy, politics, and culture.

See also BAY OF PIGS; CASTRO, FIDEL.

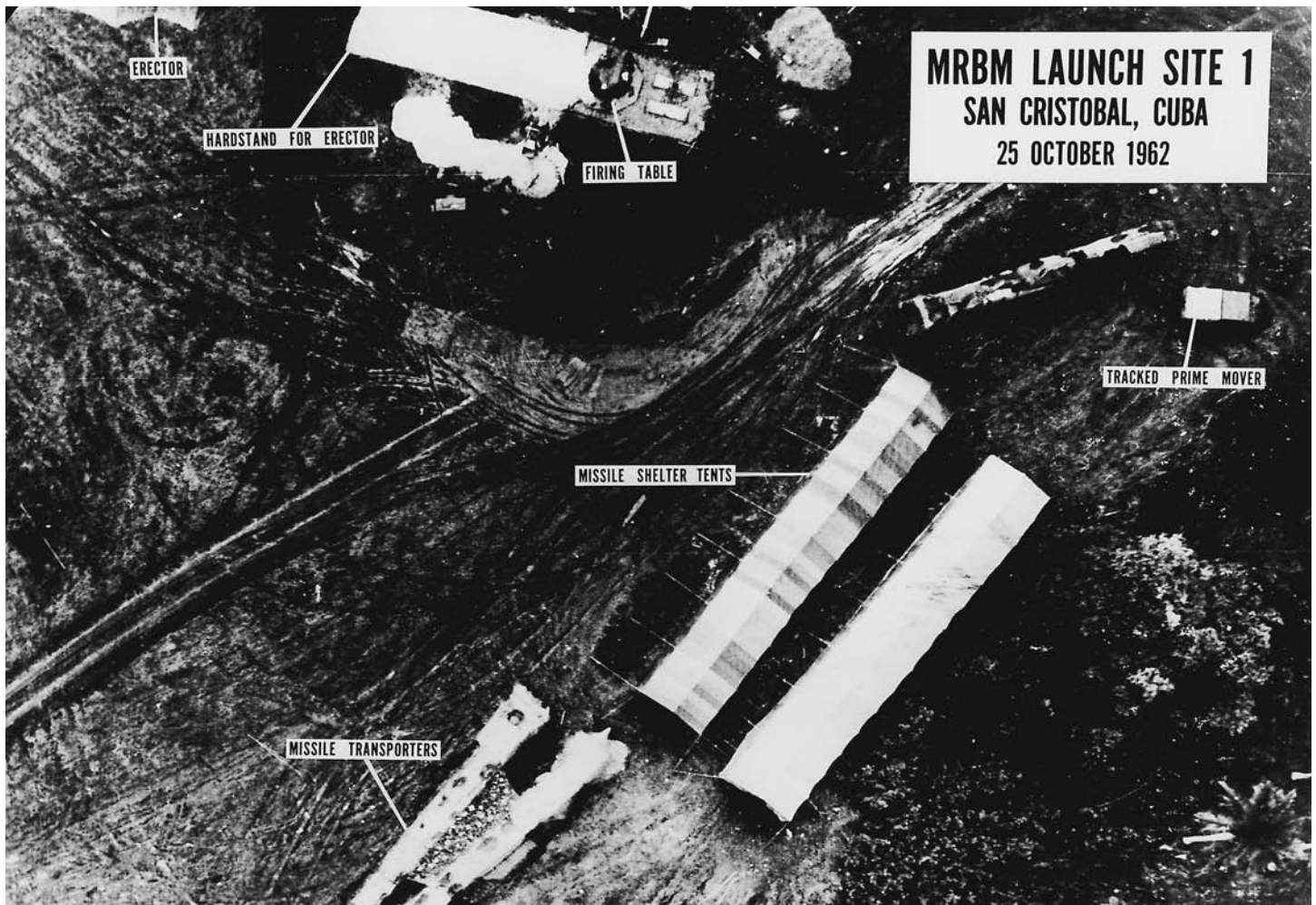
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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Cuban missile crisis (October 1962)

In what many experts consider the closest the world has yet come to nuclear war, for 13 days in October 1962 the United States and the Soviet Union faced off over the Soviet placement of nuclear missiles in Cuba. In the end, the Soviet Union backed down, agreed to remove the missiles in exchange for the removal of U.S. nuclear missiles in Turkey, and the crisis passed. The Cuban missile crisis left an enduring mark on U.S.-Soviet relations, heightened U.S. resolve in other COLD WAR conflicts, and appeared to demonstrate the viability of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence through mutually assured destruction.

The long-term roots of the crisis lie in the atmosphere of mutual hostility and distrust engendered by the cold war. In the shorter term, Soviet Premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV hoped to use the provocation to force the United States to remove the 15 Jupiter nuclear missiles in Turkey, which were within striking distance of Moscow. In addition, the botched April 1961 BAY OF PIGS invasion of Cuba heightened revolutionary leader FIDEL CASTRO's fears of a follow-up U.S. effort to topple his regime. The Bay of Pigs events also persuaded Khrushchev that U.S. president JOHN F. KENNEDY



An aerial view showing the medium-range ballistic missile field launch site at San Cristóbal, Cuba, on October 25, 1962. The presence of these weapons led the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of war.

was weak and indecisive and would back down when confronted with the reality of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Declassified documents and a series of conferences among participants from the United States, Cuba, and the former Soviet Union have confirmed that the events of October 1962 brought the world closer to the brink of nuclear holocaust than officials at the time realized.

Scholars have meticulously reconstructed the chronology of events marking the crisis. Through the summer of 1962 the Soviets built a variety of military installations on Cuba, as confirmed by aerial reconnaissance, though U.S. intelligence analysts did not believe they included nuclear weapons. On October 14, 1962, a U-2 spy plane photographed military bases around San Cristóbal, Cuba, demonstrating the existence of nuclear installations. Khrushchev, with Castro's approval, had deployed launchers for at least

40 medium-range and intermediate-range nuclear missiles, capable of reaching all of the continental United States except the Pacific Northwest. For the next two days, U.S. analysts poured over the photographs. Kennedy and his national security team were briefed on their findings on the morning of October 16, the beginning of the "thirteen days." His team devised two plans: an invasion of the island, and a naval blockade—the latter, by international law, an act of war. Kennedy opted for the blockade, announced in a televised address to the nation on October 22. The next six days were the height of the crisis. On October 28, one day before the U.S. deadline for launching an invasion of Cuba, Khrushchev agreed to remove the launchers in exchange for the U.S. removal of its missiles from Turkey. Many scholars argue that the outcome of the crisis prompted a more muscular U.S.

response to perceived Communist aggression around the world, and contributed to deepened U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

See also COLD WAR.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Cuban revolution (1959–)

On January 1, 1959, a broad-based insurrectionary movement—with FIDEL CASTRO at its helm—overthrew the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and inaugurated the Cuban revolution, a process of social transformation that continues to the present writing. Its ideology was at first broadly nationalist and democratic, but by 1961 the revolution was proclaimed unambiguously socialist and Marxist-Leninist. One of only a handful of social revolutions in 20th-century Latin America, the Cuban revolution had a major impact not only within Cuba but around the world.

In Latin America, the revolution encouraged the formation of leftist and neo-Marxist ideologies and movements of national liberation, sparking a florescence of guerrilla groups in the 1960s and after that hoped to duplicate the successes of the Cuban revolutionaries. The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua (1979–90), for instance, found much of its inspiration in the events in Cuba, as did other national liberation and guerrilla movements from Mexico to Argentina. By bringing a Marxist-Leninist regime to the historic “backyard” of the United States, the Cuban revolution was also a major event in the COLD WAR. Its effects were felt in Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, and scores of other nation-states around the world, particularly in the two decades following Batista’s ouster.

The revolution found its long-term origins in the structural dependency of Cuba on the United States since the thwarting of Cuban independence in 1898 and the U.S.-imposed Platt Amendment of 1901, which prompted denunciations of “Yankee imperialism” across the island; and in the poverty, economic inequalities, and political disfranchisement of the Cuban people under a series of dictatorial regimes. Most narratives of the revolution begin with the

rise of the Jesuit- and university-educated lawyer Fidel Castro and his band of revolutionaries. On July 26, 1953, Castro—at the head of a group of 134 men—attacked the Moncada barracks in Oriente province in eastern Cuba. The assault was quickly defeated but catapulted Castro into national prominence. At his trial in October 1953, he delivered a brilliant speech, later turned into a pamphlet and becoming one of the defining texts of the revolution, whose title repeated its closing words: “History will absolve me.” Sentenced to 15 years in prison, Castro became something of a folk hero for his eloquent denunciations of the Batista dictatorship and the island’s social injustices.

Released on May 15, 1955, in a general amnesty, Castro traveled to Mexico to form a guerrilla army of Cuban exiles. In February 1956 he announced the formation of his 26 July Movement, and on November 25, with 81 other men, departed Tuxpan, Mexico, aboard the yacht *Granma*, headed for eastern Cuba, which they reached on December 2.

The guerrilla war in the Sierra Maestra in 1957–58 is the topic of an expansive literature. Led by Castro, his brother Raúl, and the Argentine ERNESTO “CHE” GUEVARA, the rebels gradually earned the trust of the peasants and workers who comprised the region’s majority. It also established contacts with politically disaffected labor leaders, workers, students, intellectuals, and other activists in Cuba’s major cities, especially Havana, whose protest movements soon dovetailed with Castro’s. After a complex series of events that found the Batista regime increasingly beleaguered, Castro’s forces entered Havana in triumph on January 1, 1959.

On seizing power, the revolutionaries embarked on a program of social transformation that focused on nationalization of major industries and broad-ranging reforms in land ownership, housing, rents, food, and related spheres. Since a large proportion of Cuban land and industries were U.S.-owned, the stage was set for confrontation with the United States. Hostile rhetoric intensified on both sides as the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, under pressure from business interests and anticommunists, interpreted events in Cuba through the prism of the cold war. In February 1960 the Castro regime signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in which the Soviets agreed to sell Cuba oil at a discount and buy Cuban sugar at a high price. In June Standard Oil, Texaco, and Shell refused to refine Soviet oil, prompting the Castro regime to nationalize their refineries. In retaliation the Eisenhower administration cancelled its commitment to buy its annual sugar quota of 700,000 tons, which the

Soviets quickly assumed. What had begun as a national liberation movement quickly escalated into a cold war battleground, with the Castro regime, in effect, trading U.S. economic dependency for Soviet dependency. On December 2, 1961, following the failed BAY OF PIGS invasion and U.S. trade embargo of April, Castro proclaimed: "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will remain a Marxist-Leninist until the day I die."

Early efforts to diversify the economy largely failed, plagued by bureaucratic micromanagement and overplanning, and over-reliance on the concept of the socialist "New Man," in which economic incentives were to be displaced by revolutionary fervor. From 1964 the regime opted to increase the economy's reliance on sugar, culminating in the disastrous policy goal of producing 10 million tons of sugar by 1970. The effort failed and had negative economic effects for years. Efforts to improve the living standards of ordinary Cubans met with greater success. Government programs in housing, health care, education, and related spheres are generally considered the biggest successes of the revolution. By the 1970s hunger, malnutrition, homelessness, and illiteracy had been all but eliminated, while the Cuban health-care system ranked among the most developed in the world. On the negative side of the ledger, political oppression increased markedly, with all organized opposition to the regime banned, thousands of dissidents jailed, and freedom of speech severely curtailed. Beginning in 1960 and continuing in several waves thereafter, the regime's intolerance of political dissent and socialist economic policies prompted tens of thousands of middle-class and professional Cubans to migrate to the United States, where large exile communities formed, centered in Miami.

Internationally, Cuba became a beacon of hope for revolutionaries across Latin America. To the chagrin of his more cautious Soviet patrons, Castro announced his intention to export revolution to Latin America. The plan's most ardent proponent was former minister of industries Che Guevara, whose "foco" theory of revolution, which held that a small group of dedicated revolutionaries could win peasant support and spark a social revolution, was put to the test in Bolivia in 1967. The expected mass uprising did not materialize, and Guevara was captured and killed by the Bolivian army.

Castro remained the head of the Cuban Communist Party through the 1970s and 1980s, as the bureaucracy expanded and the revolution grew increasingly institutionalized. With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of its approximately \$4 billion in annual subsidies, combined with the continuing U.S. trade embargo,

the revolution entered a "Special Period" that saw a decline in living standards and in all major industries. In the early 2000s, Cuba was one of only a handful of countries worldwide explicitly espousing communist ideology. In early 2007, with over 1 million Cubans and Cuban Americans in Miami and elsewhere anticipating the regime's demise, Castro appeared on the brink of death, with speculation rife on whether the revolution could survive without him. He resigned the presidency in favor of his brother, Raoul, in February 2008.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Cyprus, independence of

On June 4, 1878, Britain concluded a treaty with the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II, officially known as a Convention of Defensive Alliance. In this treaty Abdul Hamid agreed to the loan of Cyprus to Britain, while retaining Ottoman sovereignty over the island and the right to collect a tax known as the tribute.

Britain won de facto control of the island and the right to make laws and international agreements in the name of Cyprus. Within weeks of the signing of this treaty, the Union Jack flag was hoisted over Nicosia, and shortly afterward a contingent of Indian army troops arrived from Malta to safeguard British colonial rule, which lasted 82 years. For Britain, Cyprus became a vital staging area for its Middle East interests. The island was formally taken over by the British in 1914, when the Ottoman Empire aligned itself with Germany and the other Central Powers during World War I. Under the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Turkey and Greece agreed that Cyprus would remain under British sovereignty, and in 1925 Cyprus was declared a crown colony.

Both the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus considered British control a welcome relief from Turkish taxation; many Greek Cypriots also felt that the departure of the Ottoman administration brought the island closer to the Greek dream of *enosis*, or union, with Greece. Thus, in effect, began the efforts of the Greek Cypriots to link the island's destiny with that of Greece. The British govern-

ment continued to state formally that no change in the status of the island was contemplated. Such an attitude further embittered the Greek Cypriots, although it was of some comfort to the Turkish Cypriots.

On April 1, 1955, a secret organization calling itself the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters—known by its Greek initials as EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston)—declared a struggle until death to free the island from British rule and to link it with the Greek mainland. The war for the future of Cyprus began as colonial empires were crumbling around the globe. The British felt there was no question of a union with Greece or of full independence for Cyprus.

Considering its commitments in the Middle East and its still important role on the southeastern flank of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), Britain regarded Cyprus as a crucial military base on the traditional crossroads of big-power competition for influence in the eastern Mediterranean. Turkish Cypriot reactions were predictable. The Turks felt that, if successful, the Greek struggle for *enosis* against British colonial rule meant that the Turkish-speaking minority on the island would lose the protection of the British.

Fear of a Greek victory prompted the creation of a Turkish Cypriot counter organization known as VULCAN; the Turkish Cypriot minority also cooperated with the British police and military in tracking down suspected EOKA fighters. To the slogan of *enosis*, Turkish Cypriots answered with their own solution, that of *takism*, or partition, of Cyprus. Georgios Grivas, who had previously served as a colonel in the Greek army, led the EOKA. Grivas arrived on the island from Greece in 1954 and set out to prepare what amounted to an well-organized uprising.

In Nicosia, early in 1955, rumors of landings of saboteurs, of infiltration by agents dispatched from Greece, and of organized resistance began sweeping the narrow streets, and soon Cyprus became an armed camp. An estimated 28,000 British troops were deployed throughout the island, manning roadblocks, searching passers-by, pursuing elusive terrorist suspects, and uncovering arms caches and hideouts in some of the most improbable places. Cyprus had become a dangerous weak spot in the NATO alliance. What needed to be done was to work out a system of ethnic power-sharing that would satisfy Greece and Turkey, as both nations worked to protect their Cypriot ethnic compatriots as well as their own interests. Talks between the two countries continued throughout January 1959.

On February 5, Greek prime minister Constantine Karamanlis and Adnan Menderes of Turkey met

in Zurich, where they prepared, after negotiations and consultation with the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, an outline for a solution to the Cyprus situation. With that document in hand, they traveled to London, where they were joined by Archbishop Mikhalis Khristodoulou MAKARIOS III and Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, the political leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.

The new Cypriot constitution, based on the Zurich-London agreements, was issued in April 1960 and paved the way for the proclamation of the independent Republic of Cyprus. The president of the republic was a Greek Cypriot while the vice president was a Turkish Cypriot, both being elected by their representative communities. Both had veto powers over foreign affairs, defense, fiscal matters, and security.

THREE TREATIES

On the same day the constitution was finalized it was accompanied by three treaties: the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment. The Treaty of Guarantee was signed by Turkey, Britain, Greece, and Cyprus. It stated that the four countries agreed not to undertake activity aimed at promoting, directly or indirectly, a union of Cyprus with any other state, or a partition of the island.

The Treaty of Alliance involved Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. It established a tripartite headquarter on the island and permitted the two latter states to deploy, respectively, 950 and 650 persons in Cyprus to protect the island.

The Treaty of Establishment was signed between Britain and Cyprus and granted Britain sovereignty over a territory on the island's southern coast for two military bases, Akrotiri and Dhekelia. The constitutional agreement was reached at the price of some 500 killed during the EOKA struggle with the British, but it also allowed Britain's colonial disengagement from Cyprus. The flag under which the two communities of Cyprus were to unite was displayed to the public on August 16, 1960. The Union Jack was replaced with a white flag bearing an orange map of Cyprus with small green branches underneath.

See also: CYPRUS, TURKISH INVASION OF.

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Cyprus, Turkish invasion of

On July 19, 1974, Turkish warships and landing craft moved toward the northern coast of Cyprus. The invasion—or intervention, to the Turks—was Turkey's answer to the military coup of 15 July that toppled Archbishop Mikhalis Khristodoulou MAKARIOS III, president of Cyprus, at the behest of the military junta in power in Athens, Greece. Turkish officials justified the military action by citing the terms of Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, noting the impossibility of joint action with Greece and the reluctance of Britain to use military force to restore the state of affairs established by the constitution of 1960.

The Turkish military offensive began on July 20, and although the Greek National Guard tried to defend the beachfront of northern Cyprus, it was defeated by the far stronger Turkish armed forces. The Greek National Guard was poorly armed, while the Turks used new equipment and weapons recently purchased from the United States. Britain evacuated an estimated 12,000 British and other foreign nationals, as well as a number of Cypriots, to the Akrotiri military base and from there to England. By July 22, the United Nations succeeded in obtaining a cease-fire. At this stage of the operation, named Attila II, the Turks controlled only a strip of the northern coastline about 10 miles long, including Kyrenia and a few villages.

Under pressure of the events in Cyprus, the Athens junta finally collapsed after more than seven years in power. Former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis returned from exile in Paris to form a new cabinet. At the same time, Nicos Sampson renounced his seven-day-old presidency of Cyprus, leaving the shattered country to Glafcos Clerides, who had previously been the president of the House of Representatives. During the early days of the post-invasion period, the Greek National Guard attacked Turkish Cypriots, thereby worsening inter-communal relations.

A conference of the guarantor powers (Greece, Turkey, and Britain), as well as Cyprus, was organized in Geneva on July 25 and resulted in a declaration calling for an exchange of prisoners and protection by the UN

forces of the Turkish Cypriot enclaves. As scheduled, the second part of the conference convened on August 9 with Clerides and a large team of advisers and experts representing Cyprus. Meanwhile, the small area of Cyprus held by the Turkish army was further occupied by some 30,000 troops with accompanying tanks, and artillery. On August 13 the Turkish foreign minister Turan Güneş shocked international opinion by refusing a request for a 36-to-48-hour delay made by Clerides in order to consider proposals to resolve the crisis. At dawn on the following day, armor-backed Turkish columns fanned out east and west of Nicosia.

By this action Turkey was in violation of the many Security Council resolutions calling for a cease-fire and troop withdrawal, as well as agreements that were signed in Geneva. After three more days of fighting, Turkey called a cease-fire, but not before 37 percent of Cyprus had come under Turkish military occupation. Approximately 10,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees from enclaves in the south were flown to northern Cyprus from British bases by way of Turkey.

Some 140,000 to 160,000 Greek Cypriots, making up roughly one-third of the island's population, were expelled from their homes and land. Acts of ethnic cleansing by the Turkish military were documented, and many POWs are still unaccounted for. The events of 1974 dramatically altered the internal balance of power between the two Cypriot communities and coupled their prevailing political and institutional separation with a stark physical and geographical separation. Until the present day, the island remains divided between the Greek-speaking south, now a member of the EU, and the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is recognized only by Turkey.

See also CYPRUS, INDEPENDENCE OF.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT



Dalai Lama, 14th (Tenzin Gyatso)

(1935–) *Tibetan Buddhist leader*

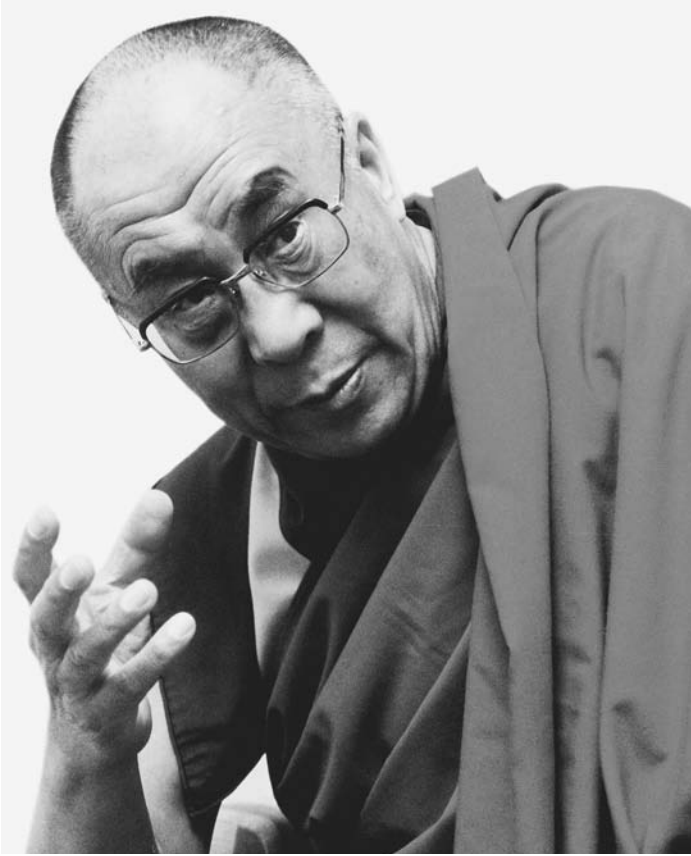
The Dalai Lama has been both the temporal and the spiritual leader of Tibet since the 16th century. Tibetans are followers of Vajrayana (Vehicle of the Thunderbolt), or Tantric Buddhism, and believe that the Dalai Lama is the reincarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (Chenrezig in Tibetan, and Guanyin or Kuan-yin in Chinese). In 1578 Altan Khan, a Mongol ruler (Mongols also follow Vajrayana Buddhism), conferred the title Dalai Lama (meaning ocean of wisdom) on an eminent Tibetan lama, and since he was viewed as the third reincarnation of Avalokiteshvara, he became known as the Third Dalai Lama. He resided at the Potala Monastery in Lhasa. The Fifth Dalai Lama, called the Great Fifth, conferred the title Panchen Lama or Panchen Rimpoche (meaning the Great Gem of Learning) on his teacher, declaring that he was the reincarnation of Amitabha Buddha, or the Buddha of Light. The Panchen Lama presided at Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse. Called Living Buddhas, they headed the Tibetan theocracy. When one died a committee of senior lamas would be appointed to find his reincarnation, directed by omens and signs.

In 1933 the 13th Dalai Lama died and a search began for his reincarnation. They found him in a two-year-old farmer's son named Tenzin Gyatso in 1939 and enthroned him as the 14th Dalai Lama in Lhasa. In addition to his traditional education, he was taught Western subjects by an Austrian adventurer and Nazi

Heinrich Harrar, who had escaped internment by Great Britain in India.

In 1950 the government of the newly founded PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA announced its intention of taking control of Tibet, which had enjoyed autonomy, with minimal interference from China, for over half a century. Tibetan efforts to enlist aid from India, Great Britain, the United States, and the UNITED NATIONS failed because no nation recognized Tibet as an independent state. As the Chinese army advanced, the Dalai and his court fled to India in December 1950, carrying with them the contents of the treasury. The authorities in Lhasa bowed to the inevitable, traveled to Beijing (Peking) in 1951, and signed a Seventeen Point Agreement that granted Tibet large measures of autonomy. With that the Dalai returned to Lhasa. In 1954 the Dalai and Panchen Lama traveled to Beijing to attend the meeting of China's National Assembly representing Tibet. In Beijing he met with Chairman Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and Premier ZHOU ENLAI (Chou En-lai), and found many of their government's policies commendable.

Relations between the Dalai Lama's court and the Chinese government began to deteriorate when China pushed for changes and reforms and expanded its control. Tibetan resentment of Chinese repression led to violence that culminated in an armed uprising in Lhasa in 1959. Fearing detention by the Chinese, the Dalai, his family, and his entourage left Lhasa in disguise on March 17, 1959, and crossed into India on March 30. They were given a cordial welcome by the Indian government, including a visit by Prime Minister JAWAHARLAL



The spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama continues to tour the world to speak on behalf of his people.

NEHRU, and were granted political asylum, along with about 13,000 other Tibetan refugees. They were allowed to set up a government in exile in Dharmasala, located in the foothills of the Himalaya Mountains.

Since 1959 the Dalai Lama has visited many countries worldwide speaking on behalf of his people and their plight. He has been a most effective spokesman for the Tibetan cause because of his charisma, fluency in English, and peaceful approach to conflict resolution. His numerous writings on Tibetan Buddhism and culture and his personal philosophy are known worldwide. In the process he has demystified the once-mysterious Tibet and the theocracy headed by a Living Buddha. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. Since 1988 he has also become more flexible on the future of Tibet, abandoning demands for independence in favor of autonomy within China.

See also TIBETAN REVOLT (1959.)

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Darfur

In 1989 a civil war began in the African nation of Sudan after an officer in the Sudanese army, Omar al-Bashir, seized power through a coup d'état. The roots of this war are complex, including struggle over limited resources following a serious drought and famine in the mid-1980s, conflicting conceptions of the use of land, ethnic tensions between southern and northern peoples, and religious tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims. In addition, in a more recent development, the cultivation of oil fields in southern Sudan led the government to engage in widespread destruction of long-standing villages to profit from the production and sale of oil. Throughout the entire process the government used food and resources as weapons, often pitting different ethnic groups against each other and withholding humanitarian aid to force the population to abide by its policies. In the 17 years after the civil war began, fighting displaced more than 4 million Sudanese and killed at minimum 2 million, many of them targets of ethnic cleansing and starvation by their own government.

After 2003, government brutality focused on the western region of Sudan, known as Darfur. The tensions in this region were directly linked to the ongoing struggle between pastoral and sedentary communities over land use. In 1989 this region was divided into three states: North Darfur, with its capital at Al-Fasher; South Darfur, with its capital at Nyala; and West Darfur, with its capital at Al-Jeneina.

In February 2003, in response to insurrection, the government sent in its troops, bolstered by Arab paramilitary groups known as *janjawiid* (roughly “armed men on horseback”), predominantly drawn from this region. In retaliation for the continued insurgency and the defiance of the civilian population, these two forces implemented a scorched-earth policy, eliminating both people and communities in a wide swath of destruction. They burned villages, destroyed crops, and stole livestock. Satellite imagery indicates that almost 50 percent of villages were completely destroyed in the western and southern regions of Darfur. Government forces and the *janjawiid* bombarded communities with

aerial assaults, confiscated property, and poisoned local water supplies in order to displace millions of people. In addition to all these acts of destruction, government troops and the janjawid murdered civilians, abducted thousands of villagers, and participated in hundreds of rapes of women and girls.

Conservative estimates place the death toll in the collective region of Darfur at 200,000; other estimates range to 400,000. The majority of the deaths were due to starvation and disease, exacerbated by the government's refusal to allow humanitarian aid, safe passage, and distribution. In early 2006 violence persisted in the region as government troops and the janjawid destroyed non-Arab villages and drove refugees into camps along the neighboring border with Chad.

The Sudanese government was directly connected to this process. The Sudanese government refused to allow humanitarian aid to flow freely into the region, to disband the janjawid, to investigate consistently mass violence against civilians, to allow observers from the UNITED NATIONS or nongovernmental agencies to document the crisis, or to permit United Nations peacekeepers on its soil.

See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS; SUDANESE CIVIL WARS (1970–PRESENT).

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LAURA J. HILTON

Day, Dorothy

(1897–1980) U.S. religious activist

Dorothy Day was a peace and social justice activist, journalist, and writer who cofounded the Catholic Worker Movement, with the aim of enabling the needy to support themselves with dignity.

Day developed a concern for the poor at an early age. Her family endured the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. When her family lived in Chicago, she often

wandered into the poor tenement districts to observe the life there. At the age of 16, Day won a scholarship to the University of Illinois at Urbana, where she studied journalism. At various times throughout her life she protested against conscription, championed women's and African-American rights, and called for an end to war. Day was jailed numerous times for her participation in nonviolent demonstrations.

Day aborted her first child to please her lover, who deserted her. She was married briefly to an older man before entering a common-law marriage with a scientist. The birth of her daughter Tamar prompted a spiritual awakening that led her to the Catholic Church. She became a devout Catholic, attending daily Mass and immersing herself in Scripture.

Day's particular concern was to find an equitable way of life by which people could "feed, clothe, and shelter themselves as God intended them to do." She felt the solution was a return to the land and worker ownership of the means of production. In 1932 she met Peter Maurin, a poor French Catholic immigrant. Together they formed the Catholic Worker Movement.

The *Catholic Worker* was a journal Day and Maurin used to spread the news of the movement. They also formed Catholic Worker houses of hospitality and farms, where people would live together and share their resources with one another. These venues pitted the gospel against the realities of human weakness, often with disappointing results.

Viewed in her time as a revolutionary, Day's radicalism as she applied it to the gospel now inspires many to view her as a saint. Pope JOHN PAUL II approved the opening of her cause for canonization in 2000.

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LUCY SCHOLANDS

Democratic Progressive Party and Chen Shui-pièn (Chen Shui-bian)

After its defeat in the civil war the Republic of China (ROC), led by the Nationalist Party (or Kuomintang, KMT), fled to Taiwan, an island province, while the Chinese Communist Party ruled the mainland, called

the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC). Fearing invasion by the PRC and to ensure stability on Taiwan, the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek prohibited the formation of opposition parties and imposed martial law in 1949; non-KMT candidates could nevertheless compete as independents or non-partisans in local elections. Although most citizens accepted the restrictions as a necessary price for living a relatively free and increasingly prosperous life, some criticized the mainlander-dominated KMT for monopolizing national power.

Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975. His eldest son, CHIANG CHING-KUO, was elected president in 1978 and reelected in 1984. Ching-kuo left important legacies. One was political reforms that included ending martial law in 1987, granting full freedoms, and allowing the formation of competing political parties. He also declared that no member of the Chiang family would succeed him and promoted highly educated younger people, including native-born Taiwanese, to power. One was his vice president, Taiwan-born Lee Teng-hui. Unlike the chaotic political changes during the same period in the Philippines and South Korea, Taiwan's transition to democracy was peaceful.

In 1986 a previously "illegal" political party became legal. It was called the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and gained about 20 percent of the popular votes in legislative elections that year. After Chiang's death in 1989, Lee Teng-hui accelerated the pace of political reforms and won two terms as president. Fractures within the KMT caused by Lee's policies resulted in the victory of DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian (born 1950) a lawyer, in the 2000 presidential elections with 39 percent of the popular vote (compared with 60 percent combined votes for the KMT and its splinter People First Party candidates). Chen won a second term in 2004 with a very slim majority, but the KMT and its allies won a comfortable majority in the legislature.

Taiwan's stable democratic transition with a competitive party system was remarkable. However, it was accompanied by a new kind of corruption, locally called "black and gold politics," that is, crime and money influencing the political process, a situation unknown under authoritarian rule. Chen Shui-bian was popular among some Taiwanese for promoting a local identity and a thinly veiled goal of separating from China. Since the PRC regarded Taiwan as a renegade province and has not disavowed force to compel it to rejoin the motherland, Chen and the DPP's policies have heightened tensions across the Taiwan Strait.

And after China became Taiwan's second-largest trading partner in 2000, Chen's political stance and corrupt rule resulted in a downturn in Taiwan's economy. Despite the end of the United States-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty in 1979, the United States continued to sell arms to Taiwan and remained interested in maintaining the people of Taiwan's right to self-determination. Thus the unsettled relations between the two Chinas constituted the most important source of friction between the PRC and the United States.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire)

This country, located in central Africa, is bounded by the Republic of the Congo to the west; Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda on the east; Zambia and Angola on the south; and Sudan and the Central African Republic on the north. The capital city is Kinshasa, which changed its name from Leopoldville in 1964.

The topography varies from tropical rain forests to mountainous terraces, plateau, savannas, dense grasslands, and mountains. Its region is dominated by the Congo River system, so it has a main role in economic development, transportation, and freshwater supply. This country has equatorial location; as a consequence the climate is hot and humid with large amounts of precipitation in the central river basin and eastern highlands, but it presents periodic droughts in the south.

The majority of the population is Christian, predominantly Roman Catholic but Protestants also. There are other indigenous beliefs. Although French is the official language of the country, 700 local languages and dialects are spoken because DRC has over 200 ethnic groups, mainly of Bantu origin. The population was estimated at 58 million in 2004 and has grown quickly.

The DRC has a vast potential of natural resources and mineral wealth such as cobalt, diamonds, gold, copper, coal, uranium, crude oil, and tin. Most of these are export commodities. The agricultural production basis of the DRC is diversified; the wooden resources



A village scene depicts life in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a country that has had a troubled, unstable history.

are quite large, and it holds an enormous hydroelectric potential. The programs and policies of structural adjustment set by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) have a ruling presence in the country. In the 1980s, the IMF played a leading role in the economic policies adopted by the DRC. In exchange, the country's external debt was reconsidered and the IMF awarded a considerable loan.

In 1989 the DRC was forced to establish a new economic reform due to economic instability. On the whole, the adjustments have improved the macroeconomic conditions in some countries, but the population's living standards have worsened.

Relative peace in the country in 2002 let President Joseph Kabila, son of the first DRC president, begin implementing an economic plan, helped by the IMF and WORLD BANK; exports increased, improving the situation. But a country with immense economic resources continues to be dependent on external donors. In 1959, as an answer to the increasing demands for complete independence by the main nationalistic parties, the DRC's government announced the forthcoming elections with the aim of establishing an autonomous government. In 1960 the Belgian Congo proclaimed its independence and was renamed Republic of Congo. In 1966 the country became Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The post-independence period was distinguished by instability. Ethnic disputes and military revolts had provoked violent disorders, all of which intensified when the prime minister of the mineral-rich province of Katanga proclaimed his independence from the country and asked Belgium for military help.

A UNITED NATIONS peacekeeping force was called to restore order. However, Col. Joseph Désiré Mobutu, chief of staff of the army, took over the government and declared himself president. In 1971 he renamed the country the Republic of Zaïre. During the COLD WAR, Mobutu continued to enforce his one-party system of government, but at the end of this period the regime suffered from external and internal pressures, and he acceded to implement a multiparty system with elections and a constitution. In fact, Mobutu continued ruling until 1997.

Between 1994 and 1996 Zaïre was involved in the RWANDA conflict, hosting large numbers of refugees in its border territory. This situation caused trouble when the presence of Hutu refugees, among them several responsible for the Rwanda genocide, provoked the Tutsis to revolt. This rebellion, supported by the United States, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Angola, spread over the Zaïre territory, weakening Mobutu's regime, which was supported by France. This first war in Congo ended when rebel leader Laurent-Désiré Kabila, declared himself president and changed the name of the nation back to Democratic Republic of the Congo.

But relations between Kabila and his foreign backers deteriorated, and in 1998 Kabila's government was subsequently challenged. Troops from Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad, and Sudan intervened to support him. The series of wars in this nation was determined not only by ethnic factors but also by natural resources. The control of diamonds and other important minerals has contributed to encourage both wars as well as the maintenance of the authoritarian governments. In 1999 a cease-fire was finally signed, but Kabila was assassinated in 2001. He was succeeded by his son Joseph, who signed a peace agreement with Rwanda the next year and established a transitional government.

With the United Nations presence, a new constitution was formally adopted in 2006, and on July 30 the first free multiparty elections were held. In November 2006 Joseph Kabila won the presidency in the country's first democratic elections since 1960.

See also MOBUTU SESE SEKO.

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Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing)

(1904–1997) *leader of the Chinese Communist Party*

Deng Xiaoping was born on August 22, 1904. As leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Deng was not officially the leader of China but acted as such during the late 1970s until his death. Deng's legacy was the creation of a Chinese form of socialism with limited economic liberalization. Many Communist hard-liners, however, argued that Deng represented a threat and the potential of a return to capitalism. The divided opinion within the CCP with regard to Deng would be a pattern throughout his career. It was under Deng's "second generation" of leadership that China became one of the fastest-growing world economies.

Deng left China in 1920 to work and study in France. He quickly gravitated to many of his seniors on the trip—including ZHOU ENLAI (Chou En-lai). Deng's studies focused on the study of Marxism; in 1922 he joined the Communist Party of Chinese Youth in Europe. By 1924 Deng became a member of the Chinese Communist Party. He returned to China in 1929, led the failed uprising in the Guangxi (Kwangsi) province, then fled to Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province.

Deng participated in the Long March (1934–35) and guerrilla campaigns against Japan in World War II as well as in the civil war against the Kuomintang. He became mayor and political commissar of the city of Chongqing (Chungking). Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) promoted him to several prominent posts. Mao's 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign offered Deng the opportunity to work closely with another Communist leader, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi). As a result of Mao's GREAT LEAP FORWARD and the economic disaster that followed, Deng and Shaoqi took over control of the CCP and government and implemented a number of less radical and pragmatic policies. The Cultural Revolution, begun by Mao in 1966, dealt a major blow to Deng's career, and he was disgraced.

By 1974, Chinese premier Zhou Enlai was able to bring Deng back to power, taking over as first deputy premier in charge of running the day-to-day affairs. However, the radical GANG OF FOUR, committed to the ideals of the Cultural Revolution, viewed Deng as a significant threat and were able to purge him once again from his positions. Deng's next opportunity came with Mao's death in 1976, and he quickly emerged as Mao's successor.

After 1978 Deng implemented policies that improved relations with the West, traveling to Washington in 1979 to meet President JIMMY CARTER. Rela-

tions with Japan improved as well. In 1984 China signed an agreement with Great Britain for the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. China promised not to interfere with Hong Kong's capitalist system for 50 years.

Deng implemented the Four Modernizations Program in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and the military. The goal of the modernization program was to create a more modern Chinese economy. Under him China encouraged direct foreign investment and created special economic zones.

The TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE is the most controversial of all Deng's policy decisions. Mass student demonstrations in favor of democratic reforms were met with a violent military crackdown ordered by Deng and his senior associates that resulted in thousands of deaths in Beijing and dozens of other cities in China. It was followed by widespread repression, which stained his career.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

disarmament, nuclear

During and after the COLD WAR, the United States and the Soviet Union conducted a series of talks and signed several treaties dealing with arms control and nuclear disarmament. Arms control entails the limitation of nuclear weapons or delivery systems, while nuclear disarmament indicates the actual reduction of nuclear weapons. Beginning with the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) in 1987, the powers would begin the process of nuclear disarmament.

After dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to end World War II, the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. In June 1946, at the first meeting of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, the United States presented the Baruch Plan, offering to turn over its stockpile of atomic weapons to a UNITED NATIONS international agency if all other countries would pledge not to produce them and agree to a system of inspection. At that time the Soviet Union was in the process of developing its own nuclear weapons and

rejected the plan, arguing that the United Nations was dominated by the United States and western Europe.

The Soviet Union became a nuclear power in 1949 and by the mid-1950s had proposed a gradual reduction in conventional military forces, to be followed by an eventual destruction of nuclear stockpiles. In 1959 Soviet premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, in a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations, called for total nuclear disarmament within four years. The United States refused to accept these recommendations without on-site inspections to verify disarmament agreements. The Soviet Union refused to allow nuclear inspectors on its territory, and there would be little progress on the issue of disarmament between the two powers in the 1950s.

After the United States and the Soviets came to the brink of war in the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, the focus of the two superpowers moved away from nuclear disarmament toward preventing the testing, deployment, and proliferation of these weapons. In August 1963 the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—which had become a nuclear power in 1952—signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater. In July 1968 the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Under the terms of the treaty the nuclear powers pledged never to furnish nuclear weapons or nuclear technology to non-nuclear powers. The treaty also created an international inspection team under the United Nations International Atomic Energy Administration to verify compliance with the terms of the treaty.

After his election in 1968, President RICHARD NIXON sought an easing of diplomatic tensions with the Soviet Union, a process known as *détente*. The Soviet Union also was looking to ease tensions with the West. Both sides came to the conclusion that the cold war was costing too much and sought to achieve their foreign policy goals through negotiations and peaceful coexistence rather than confrontation.

In January 1969 the Soviet Union proposed negotiations for the limitation of nuclear delivery vehicles and defensive systems. President Nixon endorsed the talks, and in so doing altered U.S. policy away from nuclear superiority. This change in policy was the result of the Soviet arms buildup in the 1960s, which had led to strategic parity between the two superpowers.

SALT I

Negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, known as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), began in November 1969. These talks culmi-

nated in the signing of the SALT I Treaty in May 1972. This treaty placed limits on specific nuclear weapons. The SALT I Treaty was to be valid for five years, and the two sides began negotiations for a new agreement to take effect after the expiration of this treaty. The two sides agreed on a ceiling of 2,400 total delivery vehicles, with each side equipping no more than 1,320 missiles with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs). After 1974 talks slowed because of disagreements over which types of weapons should count under the 2,400 ceiling. The two sides failed to come to an agreement.

From 1977 to 1979 the United States and the Soviets began new negotiations, known as the SALT II talks. These talks culminated in the SALT II Treaty signed by President JIMMY CARTER and Soviet president LEONID BREZHNEV on June 22, 1979. This treaty implemented the principle of equal aggregate limits, placing numerical limits on each side's nuclear arsenal. The treaty allowed 2,400 total strategic vehicles (reduced to 2,250 in 1981) and limited MIRV ballistic and MIRV intercontinental ballistic missiles. With the principle of equal aggregate limits in place, both superpowers sought to end unrestricted competition for strategic superiority.

The Soviet invasion of AFGHANISTAN in 1979, and U.S. domestic political opposition, influenced the U.S. Senate to refuse to ratify the treaty. Despite this fact, both sides agreed to adhere to the terms of the treaty as long as the other complied as well. By 1986, however, both sides were producing weapons programs that led the other to charge it with rejecting the provisions of the treaty.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS TREATY

In 1981 President RONALD REAGAN focused on alleged Soviet military superiority and began the largest peacetime buildup in U.S. history. Despite this arms buildup, Reagan agreed to abide by the limits in the SALT II Treaty. In 1982 Reagan called for the resumption of strategic arms reduction talks, later termed START.

Shortly after MIKHAIL GORBACHEV became Soviet general secretary in March 1985, he announced a postponement of the planned deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe until November and expressed a willingness to reenter talks with the United States. By July he suspended all Soviet nuclear tests. In November Gorbachev and Reagan met at the Geneva Summit, breaking the period of deteriorating relations since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The leaders also announced the beginning of new talks.

Gorbachev and Reagan met again at the Reykjavík Summit in October 1986. In these meetings the two sides came to some broad understandings on reductions in long-range nuclear weapons, the elimination of strategic missiles, removal of medium-range missiles from Europe, a reduction in weapons testing, and on-site verification. The summit was abruptly terminated when the Soviets insisted that the agreement was contingent on ending further research into the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and Reagan refused this condition.

Gorbachev and Reagan signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) at the Washington Summit in December 1987 after the Soviet Union separated its opposition to SDI from the larger question of nuclear missiles in Europe. In this agreement both sides promised to destroy all ground-launched intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe with a range of 300 to 3,400 miles (approximately 2,300 missiles) and begin a system of on-site inspections. The INF Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate and the Supreme Soviet and went into effect after the Moscow Summit in May 1988.

In July 1991 Reagan's successor, President GEORGE H. W. BUSH, and Mikhail Gorbachev signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty (START). START restricted ballistic warheads and launchers, cut land-based ICBMs, and provided for on-site verification. This treaty reduced U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear forces by about 30 percent. In September 1991 President Bush proposed that both sides dismantle all of their ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs). Gorbachev agreed, and all such weapons were scheduled to be destroyed.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the four former Soviet republics possessing nuclear weapons—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan—signed the Lisbon Protocol to START I, thereby agreeing to recognize Russia as the heir to the Soviet nuclear arsenal. The three non-Russian republics agreed to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty as nonnuclear states and transfer all their nuclear warheads to Russia within seven years.

President Bush continued to campaign for further cuts in strategic nuclear weapons, proposing dramatic cuts in the number of warheads in existing ground- and sea-launched weapons systems. Bush also unilaterally and effectively canceled the U.S. nuclear modernization program. Bush and Russian president BORIS YELTSIN signed START II in January 1993, which provided for a 25 percent reduction in each

country's strategic forces to 3,000–3,500 warheads over 10 years. The two sides further agreed to the total elimination of MIRV intercontinental ballistic missiles.

In a landmark symbolic gesture in 1994, Presidents BILL CLINTON and Yeltsin announced that their long-range missiles would no longer be targeted at each other's territory. In May 2002 Presidents GEORGE W. BUSH and VLADIMIR PUTIN signed the Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty, reducing the number of nuclear warheads to a range of 1,700 to 2,200 within 10 years. Although there remain some escape clauses and conditions, many view this agreement as the culmination of the arms control and disarmament process begun by Nixon and Brezhnev in the early 1970s.

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MICHAEL A. RIDGE, JR.

drug wars, international

The fight against drugs dates back as far as 1880, when the United States and China signed an agreement prohibiting opium's being shipped from one country to the other. However, it was specifically under RICHARD NIXON's administration in the early 1970s that the domestic war on drugs sparked renewed interest in international enforcement of curtailing the supply of illicit drugs. Actions were especially successful in Turkey, but not in Mexico—a center of the drug trade that would only strengthen over the years.

Something other than interdiction efforts had to be done to upset the supply of drugs. This is when the kingpin strategy was adopted and began making the war on drugs much more international in scope, as U.S. DEA agents went after organizations, cartels, and drug lords who controlled major quantities of drugs on an international scope or gave military aid to governments that did so.



United States coast guardsmen form a chain to offload 77 bales of cocaine from the CGC Tornado.

During and after RONALD REAGAN's term, attention turned again to the war on drugs. The Reagan administration pressured Colombian officials to cooperate in the international drug war by extraditing accused cocaine traffickers. Yet many officials who cooperated in such efforts were killed. A prime example of the risk of cooperation was seen in the Medellín cartel's attack on November 6, 1985, on the Colombian Supreme Court, in which they killed over 200 people and destroyed extradition requests.

The 1988 UNITED NATIONS Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances argued that continued illicit drug trafficking undermined legitimate economies, threatened stability, and mandated international cooperation in seizing drug-related assets. Shortly thereafter, in 1989, the Joint Task Force 6 (JTF-6, also known as JTF-North) was formed.

By 1995 this force would be 700 soldiers strong, with 125 specifically stationed, ready for combat, on the U.S.-Mexican border; they killed the first suspected drug trafficker, Esequiel Hernandez, there in 1997. In 1991 the Posse Comitatus Act amendments allowed the military to train civilian police in counter-drug practices.

A decade later the U.S. Coast Guard was given machine guns and sniper rifles to assist in efforts to interdict drug traffickers. Shortly thereafter, efforts shifted beyond policing the U.S. borders for traffickers to sending assistance to policing efforts far from the borders. In July 2000 Congress earmarked \$1.3 billion for Plan Colombia military aid—adding 60 combat helicopters, bringing the number of U.S. troops in Colombia to 500, and training the Colombian military to eradicate coca and fight the FARC (the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), the country's largest rebel group.

Efforts in the international war on drugs were not limited to Colombia. U.S. forces worked with the Peruvian air force as part of the Air Bridge Denial (ABD) program. The program was implemented to shoot down aircraft, such as that belonging to the infamous Pablo Escobar (leader of the Medellín cartel). ABD was stopped shortly after the April 2001 shooting down of a civilian aircraft carrying a U.S. missionary and a child. It resumed again in Colombia in August 2003 and had forced down 24 drug-trafficking aircraft by 2004, according to U.S. congressman Mark Souder (R-IN).

While Mexico and Colombia have arguably been the center of attention in the international war on drugs, other frontline battles against heroin and opium production have occurred, including the countries of the historical and current leaders in the production of opium and its derivatives—morphine and heroin—in the Golden Triangle (Burma, Laos, and Thailand) and the Golden Crescent (Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan). In recent years, the White House Drug Control Policy Office has been working with China to prevent drug trafficking through China to the United States.

Many continue to argue that international drug wars to reduce supply are less successful and much more bloody than drug wars focused on reducing demand. Some argue that reducing demand is the only way to stop supply in the \$400 billion (estimated) global narcotics business.

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ASHLEY THIRKILL-MACKELPRANG

Dutch New Guinea/West Irian

On the western side of Papua New Guinea (PNG) is situated West Irian, a province of Indonesia. A colony of the Netherlands after August 1828, it was known earlier as Dutch New Guinea or West New Guinea. In 1961 it was renamed Irian Barat (West Irian), and in 1973 it was renamed Irian Jaya. The whole of western New Guinea was named Papua in 2002. In February 2003 the western portion of Papua was separated and renamed West Irian Jaya. The Indonesia constitutional court in 2004 did not allow the division of Papua into three regions, but accepted the creation of the West Irian Jaya province, carved from Papua's western region.

The Netherlands controlled Dutch New Guinea even after the Hague Agreement of December 1949, which transferred sovereignty to the Indonesian federal government. The Indonesian leader AHMED SUKARNO (1901–70) did not want any remnant of Dutch colonialism. The Indonesian army occupied New Guinea in 1961. An agreement was signed on August 15, 1962, by which power was transferred to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) for six years from 1963. Indonesia had administrative power over the territory from May 1, 1963. West Irian was incorporated with Indonesia as its 27th province in November 1969. This Act of Free Choice was not accepted by various groups and raised controversy. In the U.S. Congress a bill was brought in 2006 that questioned the validity of the Act of Free Choice. The independence leaders also had not accepted the merger of West Irian with Indonesia in the act.

Opposition to Indonesian rule and the desire for independence as a free nation were held by a sizable portion of the population. In December 1963 the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM, or Free Papua Movement) was established. It launched a guerrilla campaign against the Indonesian government in 1970 and set up an independent government the next year. Its military wing, known as the Liberation Army of OPM, indulged in terrorist activities. Kelly Kwalik, the commander, was responsible for the kidnapping of Indonesians and foreigners. He had also targeted the multinationals operat-

ing in the region. Moses Werror was the chairperson of the Revolutionary Council of OPM, based in Madang, Papua New Guinea. The Satgas Papua is another pro-independence organization. Theys Hijo Eluay's (1937–2001) Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Papua (Papuan Customary Council Assembly) believed in nonviolent methods. Eluay was murdered in 2001. The Indonesian armed forces along with its paramilitary group, Barisan Merah Putih, was active in suppressing the secessionist movement.

The clashes between the army and the rebels continued from 2003 to 2004. The Papua governor, J. P. Salossa, wanted serious implementation of autonomy status. The Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, had invited Governor Salossa and Papua provincial council speaker Jhon Ibo to Jakarta on August 10, 2006, for talks.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Duvalier dictatorship (Haiti, 1957–1986)

One of the Western Hemisphere's most repressive and brutal dictatorships, the successive regimes of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier (1907–71) and his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier (1951–), ruled Haiti with an iron fist from 1957 to 1986, when Baby Doc was overthrown following widespread civil strife and massive street protests.

With the support of the nation's security forces, its leading elite families, and a substantial proportion of its urban and rural poor, the elder Duvalier was elected president in 1957. A physician educated at the Haitian National University Medical School, and a reputed practitioner of voodoo (Vodun), Papa Doc created a cult of personality around his person, which he projected as the embodiment of the Haitian nation. After violently suppressing all organized opposition to his rule, in 1964 he proclaimed himself "president for

life,” as he remained until his death in 1971, when his son assumed his political mantle.

Violent political oppression and grinding economic poverty for the country’s majority characterized the nearly three decades of Duvalier rule. Running the country as their personal fiefdom, the Duvaliers terrorized their political and personal foes through their infamous secret police, the Tontons Macoutes (“Bogeymen”), a state security apparatus responsible for mass imprisonment.

The roots of the Duvalier dictatorship stretch deep into Haitian history, from its independence in 1804, through a succession of dictatorial regimes, to the U.S. military intervention of 1915–34, which laid the groundwork for the modern Haitian state. This included its armed forces, the *gendarmérie*—later the Garde d’Haïti, or Garde—which centralized the state’s violence-making capacities within a single institution, based in Port-au-Prince. It was from within the structures of this U.S.-created security apparatus that the two Duvaliers based their power after 1957.

Under Duvalier rule (Duvalierism), Haiti became a pariah state internationally, with the United States suspending diplomatic relations in May 1963, even as many U.S. and other foreign firms continued to do business in the country. From the 1960s to 1980s, Haiti emerged as a key assembly point for many U.S. manufacturers. In 1966, 13 U.S. corporations owned assembly plants

in Haiti; in 1981 the number had risen to 154. Meanwhile, the vast majority of Haitians remained mired in poverty. In 1986, the year of Baby Doc’s ouster, the poorest 60 percent of the country’s population earned an annual per capita income of \$60, according to the WORLD BANK.

Malnutrition, infant mortality, and other social indices marked Haiti as the Western Hemisphere’s poorest country. At the top of the social hierarchy a handful of economically and politically powerful families—most prominently the Brandt, Mevs, Accra, Bigio, and Behrmann families—controlled many of the island’s key industries, including sugar, textiles, construction materials, cooking oil, and others.

This combination of extreme poverty and severe political oppression largely explain the meteoric rise to power of the anti-Duvalier radical populist preacher JEAN-BERTRAND ARISTIDE following Baby Doc’s overthrow in 1986.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER



Eastern bloc, collapse of the

The end of the COLD WAR was the collapse of the binary international power structure instigated by the military and political rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union in the wake of World War II. It was also a consequence of the reforms initiated by the first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in the years 1985–91, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; the result was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of communist systems in the countries of eastern Europe.

EAST GERMANY

One of the symbolic moments announcing the end of the cold war was the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1990. The Berlin Wall was built in August 1961 in order to prevent refugee migration from the communist German Democratic Republic (GDR) to the Western Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). During the era of the leadership of Erich Honecker, the first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany from 1971, the GDR remained an orthodox socialist and highly repressive state. The GDR leadership maintained its dictatorial and conservative character. In fact, a diplomatic discord developed between reform-oriented Gorbachev and Honecker in the late 1980s. In the summer of 1989 Hungary decided to open its boundaries with Austria. A number of GDR residents moved to West Germany through Hungary and Austria.

In connection with Gorbachev's visit at the 40th anniversary of the establishment of GDR, pro-reformist

and pro-democratic demonstrations were organized in Leipzig and Berlin, which subsequently spread through the whole GDR. The protesters demanded government guarantees that human rights and civic rights would be respected, as well as that democratic restructuring be initiated. On November 9, 1989, the vehement civic protests and the confusion of the party leadership resulted in an unanticipated decision to annul the requirement for exit visas of East German residents who were crossing the border between the GDR and FRG. On November 10, five crossing points in the Berlin Wall were opened and approximately 40,000 East Berliners crossed into West Berlin. The atmosphere of festivity and celebration prevailed among the crowds, and people on both sides of the Berlin Wall started to make openings in the wall and bring parts of it down. On December 22 the Brandenburg Gate officially opened. The image of East and West Berliners jointly destroying the Berlin Wall became a powerful symbol of the collapse of the cold war and of the termination of the division of Europe.

Honecker resigned from his post as the first secretary of the party and as the chairman of the Council of State of the GDR on October 18, 1989, and was temporarily replaced by another Communist politician, Egon Krenz. Honecker later fled to Moscow and was extradited in 1992, but avoided trial for health reasons. In March 1990 the first postcommunist democratic elections took place, and the Christian Democratic Union of Germany achieved victory. The collapse of the Berlin Wall also paved the path for the reunification of Germany. On October 3, 1990, the GDR ceased to exist, and its territory



Prior to its eventual dismantling, the Berlin Wall became a site for graffiti, much of it in favor of the destruction of the wall.

became absorbed by the state of Germany. In 1990 the Socialist Unity Party of Germany transformed itself into the Party of Democratic Socialism.

POLAND

In Poland, an indication of increased political relaxation took place between 1986 and 1987 with a general amnesty of political prisoners. A series of strikes in 1988 pressured the communist authorities to re-legalize the independent trade union Solidarity, which had been made illegal after martial law was instituted in Poland in 1981.

At that time the first secretary of the Polish Communist Party and the head of state was General Wojciech Jaruzelski. In spring 1989 the reform-oriented factions of the Polish Communist Party decided to enter talks with the dissident groups associated with the SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT. The negotiations were chaired both by Lech Wałęsa, leader of the Solidarity movement and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and by Czesław Kiszczak, a chief of the Polish secret services and the minister of internal affairs beginning in 1981. The negotiators agreed that Solidarity would be re-legalized and that partially free parliamentary elections would be organized.

The parliamentary elections on June 4, 1989, brought an overwhelming majority of representatives from Solidarity, which had transformed into the Solidarity Citizens' Committee. It received 161 of 460 total seats in the Sejm and 99 of 100 total seats in the Senate. A coalition government was formed with a Catholic dissident, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as prime minister. Jaruzelski served as the president of Poland from 1989 to 1990, when Wałęsa was elected to that post in presidential elections. In 1991 free parliamentary elections were organized, and a coalition government of anti-communist groups emerged. The party Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland was formed in 1990 with no official ideological ties, but with evident personal ones, to its communist predecessor.

zelski served as the president of Poland from 1989 to 1990, when Wałęsa was elected to that post in presidential elections. In 1991 free parliamentary elections were organized, and a coalition government of anti-communist groups emerged. The party Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland was formed in 1990 with no official ideological ties, but with evident personal ones, to its communist predecessor.

HUNGARY

In Hungary, the deteriorating economic situation, due to increasing foreign debt, spurred public debates on the possibility of introducing radical reform policies. They facilitated the creation of the opposition movement, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, on September 27, 1987. The leader was József Antall, a historian who was known for his engagement in the Hungarian revolt in 1956. In May 1988 the first secretary of the party, János Kádár, was removed from his post and replaced by Károly Grósz. Grósz was inclined to introduce moderate economic reforms within the systemic socialist framework, but was opposed to the idea of organizing a roundtable discussion between the party and the anticommunists. At the congress in October 1989, the power within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was seized by soft-liners such as Gyula Horn and Imre Pozsgay. In March 1989, the Hungarian Democratic Forum held a national meeting at which it demanded democratic reforms and agreed to enter negotiations with the party representatives at the elite level.

On March 22, 1989, the National Roundtable Talks were organized, and their results were a series of reformatory events: The power monopoly of the party was abandoned, the constitution was amended, and multiparty democracy was reconstituted in 1989. In October 1989 the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party renounced its Marxist-Leninist legacy and endorsed a social-democratic political direction, changing its name to the Hungarian Socialist Party. In April 1990 democratic parliamentary elections took place. The result was the victory of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and its leader, József Antall, became prime minister of the coalition government.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia in January 1989, students organized a peaceful rally to commemorate the anniversary of the suicide of Jan Palach, a student who committed self-immolation as an act of demonstration against the WARSAW PACT invasion of the country in 1968 dur-

ing the PRAGUE SPRING. The student demonstrations were brutally broken down by the riot police. Another student demonstration was organized by the Socialist Youth Union on November 17, 1989, in Prague and Bratislava. More than 30,000 participating students commemorated the anniversary of the murder of another Czech student figure, Jan Opletal, who was killed in 1939 by pro-Nazi forces. On November 19, different opposition and human rights groups created Civic Forum. Its spokesman became VÁCLAV HAVEL.

Together with its Slovak counterpart, the Public Against Violence, Civic Forum demanded the resignation of the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Miloš Jakeš, holding him responsible for the maltreatment of the demonstrating students. On November 24 Jakeš resigned from his post. On the same day Alexander Dubček, the architect of the Prague Spring events, made a public speech. On November 28 Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec declared abandonment of the power monopoly of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

On December 17 there was an official spectacle of cutting through the wire border between Czechoslovakia and Austria. The first postcommunist democratic parliamentary elections took place in June 1990. Two anticommunist blocs, the Civic Forum and the Public against Violence, emerged victorious, with over 50 percent of the votes. The Czechoslovak transformation was called the Velvet Revolution, because in spite of the deeply orthodox and dictatorial character of the Czechoslovak communist regime, the collapse of the system and the initiation of democratic change were accomplished without violence.

BULGARIA

In Bulgaria the late 1980s witnessed the emergence of discriminatory nationalistic policies authored by the president of Bulgaria and the first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov. These were directed against Bulgaria's large Turkish minority. The result was a massive emigration of the Bulgarian Turks and a rapidly deteriorating economic situation in the country. This increased opposition against Zhivkov among reform-oriented members of the party. During the Central Committee meeting on November 10, 1989, the foreign minister, Patur Mladenov, condemned Zhivkov's hard-line economic policies and authoritarianism and managed to secure Zhivkov's removal from his leadership position. Mladenov consequently took over Zhivkov's secretarial and presidential posts. Famously, he publicly pledged a turn toward political

democratization, far-reaching economic reforms, and amnesty for political prisoners.

In January 1990 pro-democracy demonstrations involving 40,000 people took place in Sofia. As a consequence the Bulgarian National Assembly made a number of path-paving decisions: The power monopoly of the Bulgarian Communist Party was revoked, the Bulgarian secret police was dismantled, and Zhivkov was charged with fraud and corruption. In April 1990 the Bulgarian National Assembly elected Mladenov as president and subsequently dissolved itself.

The Bulgarian Communist Party renounced its ideological attachment to Leninism and transformed itself into the Bulgarian Socialist Party, with Alexander Lilov as its chairman. In June 1990 postcommunist democratic elections were organized and the Bulgarian Socialist Party achieved a narrow victory. Later Mladenov was forced to resign from his presidential post after it was made public that he had considered the possibility of using force against the pro-democratic demonstrators in Sofia earlier that year.

On August 1, 1990, he was replaced by Zhelyu Mitev Zhelev, a former oppositionist, professor of philosophy, and founder of the dissident Club for the Support of Glasnost and Restructuring. He was reelected in 1992 and remained in the presidential post until 1997. Zhelev represented the Union of Democratic Forces, a party that consisted of various anticommunist groups formed in December 1989.

In November 1990 a series of general strikes was organized, which instigated a sense of political and economic crisis in the country and which brought about the complete discrediting of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. In 1991 a new democratic constitution was adopted, and in 1992 the Union of Democratic Forces took over power in the national elections and embarked on a series of radical economic and political reforms.

ROMANIA

In Romania the Communist dictatorship of President Nicolae Ceaușescu was particularly oppressive. Although in other East European countries popular demonstrations and negotiations took place throughout 1989, it seemed that Ceaușescu's position would remain unchallenged. On December 17 street protests were organized in the city of Timișoara against the decision by the Romanian Secret Police (Securitate) to deport local bishop László Tokés. The protests against Tokés's eviction were transformed into anticommunist and anti-Ceaușescu demonstrations. Hundreds of demonstrators who gathered on the streets of Timișoara were attacked

by military forces. Nearly 100 of them were killed, and many more were injured.

Beginning on December 20 the antiregime demonstrations and a wave of strikes took place in Romania's other large cities. Ceaușescu condemned the protests in Timișoara and ordered the organization of a pro-regime gathering in the center of Bucharest on December 21. Mass mobilization and civic unrest continued throughout the country, and the regime made extensive use of violence to put down the revolutionary occurrences. On December 22 the National Salvation Front was formed in a national TV studio. It was led by Communist politician Ion Iliescu, and its other members were Silviu Brucan, a former diplomat and an opponent of Ceaușescu; and Mircea Dinescu, a dissident poet. Subsequently, the National Salvation Front restored peace and formed a temporary government with Iliescu as a provisional president, following Ceaușescu's execution on December 25, 1989.

Later the National Salvation Front was transformed into a political party and achieved the majority of votes in the democratic elections in May 1990. The important difference between the postcommunist elections in Romania and in other East European countries was that in Romania, the victorious National Salvation Front comprised former socialist officials. In 1992 it was divided into two leftist Romanian parties: the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party.

See also GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL; REAGAN, RONALD.

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MAGDALENA ZOLKOS

East Timor

The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, or East Timor, was a Portuguese colony until 1975. On the eve of the Portuguese departure in August 1975, a civil war broke out, leading to the deaths of 1,500 to 2,000 people. There was a unilateral declaration of indepen-

dence on November 28, 1975, by the East Timorese people. With U.S. assistance, Indonesia invaded East Timor in December. Afterward, Indonesia incorporated East Timor as its 27th province in July 1976. The UNITED NATIONS (UN) did not recognize this. A guerrilla war against Indonesian occupation followed amid reports of brutality by the army. The ensuing civil war was marked by brutality, loss of life, and human rights abuses. From 1982 onward, the UN secretary-general endeavored to bring a peaceful solution to the conflict. In 1998 Indonesia was prepared to grant autonomy to East Timor, but its proposal was rejected by the East Timorese. It was decided to hold a plebiscite in East Timor, resulting in a declaration of independence on August 30, 1999.

The army, along with pro-Indonesian militia, unleashed a reign of terror in East Timor. There was a pacification campaign during which more than 1,300 people were killed and 300,000 more were forcibly sent into West Timor as refugees. The ethnic conflict and genocide by Indonesian troops devastated East Timor. Violence was brought to an end by an international peacekeeping force. The Timorese tragedy had taken the lives of 21–26 percent of the population. East Timor was placed under the transitional administration of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) on October 25, 1999. There were about 8,000 peacekeepers and civilian police helping the administration. The National Consultative Council (NCC), consisting of 11 East Timorese and four UNTAET members, worked as a political body in the transitional phase. An 88-member Constituent Assembly was elected in August 2001 to frame a new constitution. East Timor became a fully independent nation on May 20, 2002, with international recognition.

Nation-building was difficult for the East Timorese. The reconstruction of their damaged infrastructure and the creation of viable administrative machinery became priorities for the new regime. The United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), which had replaced the UNTAET, gave necessary support to the new government, which was headed by Xanana Gusmão.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Ebadi, Shirin

(1947–) *Iranian human rights activist*

Shirin Ebadi is a democracy and human rights activist and a lawyer. She was born in northwestern Iran to a Shi'i Muslim family in 1947 and studied law at Tehran University. In 1975 she became the first woman judge in Iran and was appointed president of the Tehran City Court. Following the Islamic revolution in 1979, all female judges, including Ebadi, were removed from the bench and given clerical duties.

Ebadi quit in protest and wrote books and articles on human rights, particularly on the rights of children and women, for Iranian journals. After many years of struggle, in 1992, Ebadi won her lawyer's license and opened her own practice. She is known for taking cases at the national level, defending liberal and dissident figures. In 2000 she was arrested and imprisoned for "disturbing public opinion" and was given a suspended jail sentence and barred from practicing law (the restriction was later removed). She campaigns for strengthening the legal rights of women and children, advocating a progressive version of Islam.

Her legal defense in controversial cases, pro-reform stance, and outspoken opinions have caused the conservative clerics in Iran to oppose her openly. In 2003 Ebadi was the first Muslim woman and Iranian recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts to promote democracy and human rights both domestically and abroad. She teaches law at Tehran University, writes books and articles, and runs her own private legal practice. Her books include *The Rights of the Child* (1993), *Tradition and Modernity* (1995), *The Rights of Women* (2002), and *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope* (2006).

See also IRAN, CONTEMPORARY; IRANIAN REVOLUTION.

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RANDA A. KAYYALI

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

One of the world's most influential schools of economic thought was founded by the United Nations Economic and Social Council Resolution 106(VI) on February 25, 1948, as the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA; in Spanish, Comisión Económica para América Latina, or CEPAL), headquartered in Santiago, Chile. Under the intellectual leadership of Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch, Brazilian economist Celso Furtado, and others, the ECLA offered an analysis of Latin American poverty and underdevelopment radically at odds with the dominant and neoclassical "modernization" theory espoused by most economists in the industrial world. Building on the work of world-systems analysis, the ECLA pioneered an approach to understanding the causes of Latin American poverty commonly called the "dependency school" (*dependencia*) in which the creation of poverty and economic backwardness, manifested in "underdevelopment," was interpreted as an active historical process, caused by specific and historically derived international economic and political structures, as conveyed in the phrase, "the development of underdevelopment." This approach was then appropriated by scholars working in other contexts, especially Asia and Africa, as epitomized in the title of Guyanese historian Walter Rodney's landmark book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972). Since the 1950s, the theoretical models and policy prescriptions of the ECLA have proven highly influential, sparking heated and ongoing debates among scholars.

From its foundation the ECLA rejected the paradigm proposed in the neoclassical, Keynesian, modernization school, which posited "stages of growth" resulting from the transformation of "traditional" economies into "modern" economies, a perspective epitomized in U.S. economist Walter W. Rostow's book *The Stages of Economic Growth* (1960). Instead, the model formulated by the ECLA posited a global economy divided into "center" and "periphery," with the fruits of production actively siphoned or drained from "peripheral" economies based on primary export products (including Latin America) to the "center" (the advanced industrial economies of Europe and the United States). Based on this model, in the 1960s ECLA policy prescriptions centered on the promotion of domestic industries through "import substitution industrialization" (ISI), diversification of production, land reform, more equitable distribution of income and productive resources, debt relief, and increased state intervention to

achieve these aims. Key analytic concepts of these years included “dynamic insufficiency,” “dependency,” and “structural heterogeneity.” In the 1970s attention shifted to “styles” or “modalities” of economic growth and national development. The economic crisis of the 1980s generated another shift toward issues of debt adjustment and stabilization, while the 1990s saw heightened emphasis on issues of globalization and “neoliberalism,” in opposition to the “neoliberalism” promoted by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and related international financial bodies. In 1984 the UNITED NATIONS (UN) broadened the mandate of the ECLA to include the Caribbean, and it became the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC); its Spanish acronym, CEPAL, remained the same. It is one of five UN regional commissions and remained highly influential into the 21st century.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

ecumenical movement

In 1517 Martin Luther nailed Ninety-five Theses to the door of a church in Wittenberg, a university town in the German province of Saxony, to start a debate over indulgences and related questions about Christian salvation. His action is often understood to be the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In 1529 Protestant representatives to the imperial Diet in Germany presented the Augsburg Confession, which enshrined the Protestant position at that time and is still accepted by all the Lutheran churches. The rejection of that confession by the Roman Catholics with the support of the emperor, Charles V, has since been understood by many historians as the definitive division between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, resulting in a plurality of churches in Western Christendom no longer in communion with one another.

Central to the Augsburg Confession was the doctrine of “justification by faith alone,” which together with “grace alone” and “scripture alone,” summarized the

Protestant concerns. In addition, the Reformers insisted on changes in worship (especially the Mass) and the sacraments, changes unacceptable to the Roman Catholics and viewed by them as heretical. What began as a movement for the reformation of the Western (Latin) Church ended up with doctrinal division and ecclesiastical separation.

The Lutheran churches were not the only churches that came from the Reformation. Shortly after the Lutheran movement began, a similar movement, resulting in the formation of the Reformed churches, arose in Switzerland under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich. From there churches were established in many countries of Europe, with the predominant theological influence coming from John Calvin in Geneva. In addition, groups of radical reformers (termed Anabaptists by their opponents) were formed and were persecuted by Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic Churches alike. Each of these groups developed distinct theological positions. From them, especially from the Church of England in England and its American colonies, came many new churches including the Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostals.

In the 20th century the ecumenical movement was born. The 1910 World Christian Missionary Conference in Edinburgh is often considered its beginning. The conviction of missionaries that church division was harmful for their outreach gave rise to a worldwide (ecumenical) movement to overcome those divisions. By 1948 many of the churches affected by that movement formed the World Council of Churches, an interchurch body representing a large percentage of Protestant churches. They were, in addition, joined by many Orthodox churches—churches that had become separate from the Roman Catholic Church long before the Protestant Reformation but that are much closer in theology and practice to Catholicism than to Protestantism.

At first opposed to ecumenical endeavors, the Roman Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council in 1962–65 accepted the ecumenical movement as a fruit of “the grace of the Holy Spirit.” Afterward, it entered into more active cooperation with other churches and also began a series of dialogues over doctrinal differences with Orthodox and many Protestant churches, even though it did not join the World Council of Churches. Many Evangelical churches also did not join the World Council of Churches but have formed their own world alliance and national associations for cooperation.

As a result of the ecumenical movement, the climate has changed among a large number of Christian

churches from hostility to friendliness and growing cooperation. In addition, dialogues among theologians representing their churches have produced a number of accords on previous doctrinal differences. The Faith and Order section of the World Council of Churches has sponsored multilateral dialogues. The wide-ranging 1982 statement on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, focusing on disputed areas of worship and sacraments, is often cited as the most successful result of those endeavors. In addition, various churches or church bodies have entered into bilateral dialogues with one another.

The bilateral dialogues have produced some notable doctrinal accords. Many Protestant churches have joined together or established communion with one another as a consequence of these accords. Some of the more significant have been concluded by the Roman Catholic Church with Oriental Orthodox and Assyrian churches. Commissions of Eastern Orthodox theologians have come to agreements with their Oriental Orthodox counterparts. Doctrinal differences that antedate the Reformation by a millennium are now discussed if not reconciled. The Roman Catholic Church has, in addition, conducted a series of dialogues with the Anglican Communion that have produced a body of agreed statements on many of the disputed points between the two church bodies.

Not all of the important dialogues have been official dialogues between church bodies. Informal study groups like the Groupe des Dombes have made independent contributions. Perhaps the most significant result produced by such groups has been the series of statements by Evangelicals and Catholics Together, a committee of prominent Evangelicals and Roman Catholics in the United States. The first statement, *The Christian Mission In the Third Millennium* in 1994, was widely influential in fostering rapprochement between two Christian groups that are sometimes considered to be the farthest apart from one another.

Symbolically, one of the most notable results of the bilateral accords has been the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* (JDDJ), signed by official representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation. The JDDJ was prepared for by 35 years of dialogue between Lutheran and Roman Catholic theologians on the international level and the national level, most notably in the United States and Germany. In 1983 the United States dialogue produced an agreement, *The Doctrine of Justification*. This was followed by *The Condemnations of the Reformation Era: Do They Still Divide?*, a significant 1986 statement

produced by a German study group. Then the international commission in 1993 produced *Church and Justification: Understanding the Church in the Light of the Doctrine of Justification*. On the basis of these and other works, the JDDJ was produced and agreed to.

The JDDJ is noteworthy as being the only agreement officially accepted by the highest authority in the Roman Catholic Church and a Protestant church body. It is even more noteworthy as being an accord on the doctrine of justification, the point of disagreement that began the Reformation. While the JDDJ acknowledges that it did not resolve all questions about justification, it did resolve enough of the most fundamental ones that, in the view of the two parties, the doctrine of justification no longer had to be church dividing. Although other points of disagreement remain, the JDDJ in effect marked an official recognition by the two church bodies that they do not have incompatible views of what it is to be a Christian.

The JDDJ was signed in 1999, just in time for the beginning of the new millennium. It was signed in the city of Augsburg, the city where the Augsburg Confession was presented to the emperor. It was signed on Reformation Sunday, the day that commemorates the posting of the Ninety-five Theses. The JDDJ did not put to an end the disunity caused by the Reformation. It was, however, in the minds of those who signed it, an indication that the crucial step towards ending that disunity had been taken.

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STEPHEN B. CLARK

Egyptian revolution (1952)

In 1952 a group of Free Officers led by GAMAL ABDEL NASSER overthrew the corrupt monarchy of King Farouk in a bloodless coup. After World War II and the loss to Israel in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Egypt gradually slid into political chaos. The king was known internationally for his profligacy, and the Wafd Party—the largest Egyptian party, led by Mustafa Nahhas—had been discredited by charges of corruption and cooperation with the British during the war. Other political parties, some supporting the monarchy; the small Egyptian Communist Party on the left; and the far larger

Muslim Brotherhood on the right vied for power and sometimes engaged in terrorism and assassinations of rivals to gain power. Attacks against the British forces still stationed along the Suez Canal also escalated. The British reinforced their troops, and after fighting broke out between British soldiers and Egyptian police forces, a massive riot erupted in Cairo in January 1952. During "Black Saturday," angry Egyptian mobs stormed European sectors, burning European-owned buildings and businesses in a demonstration of nationalist discontent and opposition to imperial control and the British refusal to leave Egypt.

On July 22, 1952, the Free Officers, who had secretly been plotting to overthrow the government for some time, took key government buildings, and on July 26 they deposed King Farouk. Farouk was permitted to go into exile, and his young son Ahmad Fu'ad II was made the new king. The young officers, most of whom were in their 30s, chose the elder and more well-known Brigadier General Muhammad Naguib as their figurehead leader, although it was known within the group that Nasser was the real political force. They formed an executive branch, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), including Anwar el-Sadat, Abd al-Hakim Amr, and Zakariyya Muhi al-Din. In January 1953 political parties were abolished in favor of one party, the Liberation Rally, and in June the monarchy was abolished in favor of a republic with Naguib as president.

The new government was anti-imperialist, anti-corruption, and eager to develop the Egyptian economy and to secure full and complete Egyptian independence. Naguib and Nasser soon argued over the course Egyptian politics was to take, and, after an assassination attempt against Nasser failed, allegedly by the Muslim Brotherhood, Naguib was forced to resign. Under a new constitution, Nasser was elected president in 1956, a post he would hold until his death in 1970.

In 1954 the new regime negotiated an agreement with the British for the full withdrawal of British troops and an end to the 1936 treaty between the two nations. Under the agreement the old conventions regarding control of the Suez Canal by private shareholders were maintained; this issue led to a major war in 1956 after Nasser nationalized the canal.

Economic development was the cornerstone of the new regime's program. Under a sweeping land reform program, land ownership was limited to 200 *feddans*, and major estates, many formerly owned by the royal family, were redistributed to the peasants. Plans for the construction of one of the largest development projects of its type at the time, the ASWĀN DAM, were

announced. Although the financing and construction of the dam became a major point of conflict between Egypt and the United States, it was duly built with Soviet assistance.

With the formation of the UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC with Syria in 1958, the pan-Arab policies of Nasser seemed ascendant in the Arab world; however, the union collapsed in 1961. Egypt also became bogged down in the Yemeni civil war. In 1962 pro-Nasser forces in Yemen overthrew the weak Imam Muhammad al-Badr and established a republic. Pro-monarchy forces assisted by arms and money from Saudi Arabia supported the monarchy while Egypt assisted the republican forces with arms, money, and troops. The war dragged on, draining Egyptian resources, and Nasser referred to the conflict as his "Vietnam." Following the disastrous Arab defeat in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Saudi Arabia and Egypt agreed to withdraw their support from both sides and, although it adopted a far more moderate and pro-Saudi stance, the Yemeni republic survived.

In the 1960s Egypt turned increasingly toward the Soviet Union and state-directed socialism. In 1961 large businesses, industry, and banks were nationalized. Cooperatives for the peasants were established. With the creation of a new class of technocrats and officers, the power of the old feudal and bourgeoisie elites was gradually eliminated.

In 1962 a new political party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), with a worker-peasant membership, was created. Under the 1962 National Charter the authoritarian state held political power exercising control from the top. The charter outlined an ambitious program of education, health care, and other social services; it also addressed the issue of birth control and family planning, as well as mandated equality of rights for women in the workplace. Many conservative forces in Egypt opposed the social changes, especially as they pertained to the family and the status of women, and consequently the social programs fell far short of their original intentions.

Under Nasser, Egypt became the dominant force in the Arab world and attempted to steer a neutral course in the COLD WAR. The Egyptian revolution failed to meet many of its domestic goals, and the state-run economy was often inefficient. Egypt's neutrality in the 1950s alienated many Western powers and conservative Arab regimes, especially Saudi Arabia. Following Nasser's sudden death in 1970, Anwar el-Sadat became the Egyptian president. Sadat, who showed far more political acumen than he had previously been credited with, gradually turned away from the Soviet bloc.

Sadat forged alliances with the United States and gradually dismantled most of the revolution's economic and social programs.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1956).

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JANICE J. TERRY

El Salvador, revolution and civil war in (1970s–1990s)

In the 1980s the small Central American country of El Salvador made world headlines as a key site of struggle in the COLD WAR, and in consequence of its leftist revolutionary movements and civil war (conventionally dated 1980–92) that left some 70,000 dead and the economy and society ravaged. The long-term roots of the crisis have been traced to the country's history of extreme poverty, economic inequality, and political oppression of its majority by its landholding and power-holding minority. Important antecedents include the 1932 Matanza (Massacre), in which the military and paramilitaries killed upwards of 30,000 people, ushering in an era of military dictatorship that continued to the 1980s. The 1969 Soccer War with Honduras is also cited as an important antecedent. By the mid-1970s numerous leftist revolutionary groups were offering a sustained challenge to military rule, groups that in April 1980 came together to form the revolutionary guerrilla organization Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, or FMLN).

Open civil war erupted soon after July 1979, when the leftist SANDINISTAS overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua. Fearing a similar outcome in El Salvador, the U.S. government increased its military aid to the Salvadoran regime, which launched an all-out assault against revolutionary and reformist organizations. From 1979 to 1981, approximately 30,000 people were killed by the military and associated right-wing paramilitaries and death squads. On March 24, 1980, a right-wing death squad assassinated the arch-

bishop of El Salvador, Óscar Romero, after his numerous public denunciations of the military regime and its many human rights violations. In December 1980 centrist José Napoleon Duarte assumed the presidency, the first civilian to occupy that post since 1931. Interpreted by many as a civilian facade installed to obscure a military dictatorship, his administration failed to staunch the violence. Especially after RONALD REAGAN became U.S. president in January 1981, U.S. military and economic assistance to the Salvadoran regime skyrocketed. Framing the issue as a cold war battle, and despite much evidence to the contrary, the Reagan administration claimed that the FMLN and its political wing, the FDR (Frente Democrático Revolucionario), were clients of Cuba and the Soviet Union. It also alleged Sandinista complicity in funneling arms to Salvadoran revolutionaries, thus legitimating U.S. support for anti-Sandinista forces in the CONTRA WAR.

In 1982 the extreme right-wing party, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista, ARENA), won the presidency in an election marred by violence and fraud. The rest of the 1980s saw continuing civil war waged under a series of ostensibly civilian governments dominated by the military. In 1991, following United Nations-sponsored talks, the government recognized the FMLN as a legal political party. In January 1992 the warring parties signed the UN-sponsored Chapultepec peace accords, and in 1993 the government declared amnesty for past violations of human rights. The civil war and its aftermath left an enduring legacy throughout the country and region.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

environmental disasters (anthropogenic)

Several major environmental disasters, those that are man-made rather than naturally occurring, have taken place after the World War II due to the emphasis on heavy industrial development. In developed countries in the late 1960s, environmental movements led the public to be more concerned about the pollution of air, water,

and soil, and the danger of chemical agriculture. Several governments developed more policies for the preservation of the environment. The issues of environmental concerns became internationalized at the Stockholm conference in 1972, the UNITED NATIONS National Conference on the Human Environment. Environmental, nongovernmental organizations started to play an important role in the deliberations. During the period 1971–75, 31 important national environmental laws were passed in the OECD countries. In 1983 the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), also known as the Brundtland Commission, was created to seek sustainable development.

In December 1984 the world's worst industrial disaster occurred in Bhopal, a city located in the northwest of Madhya Pradesh in central India. The leakage of a highly toxic gas (methyl isocyanate) from a Union Carbide pesticides plant killed more than 3,800 persons and affected more than 200,000 with permanent or partial disabilities. It is estimated that more than 20,000 people have died from exposure to the gas. Union Carbide was manufacturing pesticides, which were in demand because of the GREEN REVOLUTION in India.

This environmental disaster raised the public's concern about chemical safety. Similar concerns are related to severe accidents in nuclear power plants such as the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in the Soviet Union on April 26, 1986. The accident occurred at the block number 4 of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. This nuclear power complex is located 100 kilometers northwest of Kiev, close to the border of Belarus. The initial explosion caused the reactor to melt down for 10 days. The result has been the discharge of radionuclides, which contaminated large areas in the Northern Hemisphere.

This release of radioactive material has damaged the immune system of people in the area and has contaminated the local ecosystem. While natural processes, some as simple as rainfall, have helped restore the local environment, problems are still widespread. More than 750,000 hectares of agricultural land and 700,000 hectares of forest have been abandoned. In 2000, 4.5 million people were living in areas still considered radioactive. Two opposing explanations, poor reactor design and human error, have been advanced for the Chernobyl accident.

The Chernobyl accident occurred during the glasnost/perestroika era of the Soviet Union. So, while the government performed its own investigations of the tragedy, additional citizens advisory boards, some without any government involvement, were set up.

Chernobyl was not the first civilian nuclear power plant disaster. Accidents in nuclear power plant installations occurred in Windscale (in Great Britain) in 1957 and in the United States, such as in the Three Mile Island Unit 2, which was damaged during an accident in 1979. Since Chernobyl, other accidents, like those at Tokaimura (1999) and Mihama (2004)—both in Japan—have occurred.

These accidents have brought the nuclear industry under greater scrutiny from the general public. Many feel that not only should the overall safety of such plants be improved, but also the preparedness and response to such disasters need to be more fully developed. The Bhopal and Chernobyl cases are disasters of similar magnitudes in terms of damage to people and the environment. The concerns go beyond safety to local populations. Today, such questions as environmental impact and sustainability have become at least as important as concerns over health and human welfare.

See also ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS.

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NATHALIE CAVASIN

environmental problems

From the 1950s, with the massive rise in the human population, the expansion of cities and towns, and the increasing use of natural resources, some scientists such as Rachel Carson have written about impending problems. However, most people only became aware of major environmental problems from the 1980s, with the environment becoming a major political issue from the 1990s.

After World War II, the increasing use of pesticides in industrialized countries, especially the United States, led to Rachel Carson writing her book *Silent Spring* (1963), which highlighted the side effects of D.D.T. on the local environment. It led to the reduction in the amount of pesticides used, and this was followed by the

banning of D.D.T. in the United States in 1972. Other environmental campaigns saw protests against the killing of seals in Canada, and also against whaling mainly undertaken by the Japanese and the Norwegians. The International Whaling Commission introduced a moratorium on whaling in 1986, although Japan has continued to conduct whaling under the guise of science. International environmental organizations such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace have been prominent in leading protests around the world, the latter becoming famous for taking part in direct action.

Developing environmental problems around the world have been added to by many natural occurrences such as hurricanes in the Caribbean, in the United States and elsewhere, floods in Florence and Venice in 1966, the eruption of volcanoes such as Mount St. Helens in 1980, and the Indian Ocean tsunami of December 26, 2004. In some cases there were a combination of other man-made environmental disasters that have involved feeding sheep and cattle with substandard "food." The destruction of forests either for timber or to clear land for cash crops continues, as does the contamination of rivers and the countryside by waste from mines. Even natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina leading to flooding in New Orleans in August 2005 has subsequently led to an ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTER by creating a toxic stew of sewage, household chemicals, gasoline, and industrial waste that will take years to clean up.

In addition there have been a large number of man-made environmental problems. The one which has resulted in the largest number of deaths in the short-term was undoubtedly the Bhopal poison gas explosion in India on December 3, 1984. The biggest disaster on an international scale was the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident in the Soviet Union in 1986. Others have included the venting of oil into the Persian Gulf by SADDAM HUSSEIN in 1991, and also a large number of oil spills around the world created by damage to oil tankers and the like, the largest being that of the *Exxon Valdez* in Prince William Sound, Alaska, in March 1989. In the 2000s, the major environmental issue became that of global warming, especially after the screening of former U.S. vice president and Nobel laureate Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth*.

ASSAULT ON FORESTS

The assault on the world's forests are as old as humankind. Early people were quick to learn the many uses of wood: fuel for cooking, warmth, and the smelting of metals; materials for durable shelter; and a sign of fertile lands for the growing of crops. Wood was abundant in most places where early humans chose to settle. It was



More and more carbon dioxide is being expelled into the atmosphere, creating a thick blanket of heat around the globe.

relatively easy to obtain and work with, and there was always more. Archaeologists are finding widespread evidence of wood-burning and log construction that began much earlier than anyone expected.

Clearing of the land was rarely mentioned in the chronicles of the Western or Eastern world in the early modern period, but it seems obvious that as the population grew, the forests shrank. In central and northern Europe an estimated 70 percent of the land was covered by forest in 900 C.E.; by 1900 it had shrunk to only 25 percent.

During this long period of growth and expansion, people learned how to fashion wood into sailing ships, opening up new sources of timber to exploit and new lands to settle. Clearing land in the tropics and subtropics helped the slave trade by creating vast plantations for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, tobacco, tea, rubber, rice, and indigo.

The birth of the industrial age accelerated the onslaught. Trees could suddenly be turned into pulp for paper, wood for mass-produced furniture, plywood for lightweight construction, and countless other useful

products. Rubber trees produced the raw materials for automobile tires and other items for a growing consumer marketplace. By the mid-20th century, the development of chainsaws and heavy machinery had made the clear-cutting of entire forests easier than ever before. Today, the clear-cutting of forests is driven by a need for both wood and cropland, as the swelling global population demands more and more food.

Our evolutionary ancestors faced widespread shifts in the climate as glacial periods, referred to as “ice ages,” came and went every 100,000 years or so. The impact of those early ice ages on human development are difficult to judge; it is likely that some proto-human species adapted and others did not.

Some scientists now believe that it was climate change that spurred the migration of humans out of Africa. The fossil record, incomplete as it is, shows that *Homo sapiens* had emerged between 150,000 and 120,000 years ago in southern and eastern Africa, yet it took another 100,000 years or more for them to move into Europe, Asia, and beyond. Ice core samples and excavation of ancient seabeds indicate that the climate in that part of Africa underwent significant changes between 70,000 and 80,000 years ago, with annual precipitation rates fluctuating wildly for a long period of time, putting a strain on the food chain and forcing humans to look for new habitats. There is some evidence that there was a major volcanic eruption at Mount Toba in modern Indonesia around 73,000 years ago, which could have caused most of the planet to suffer the effects of a “volcanic winter,” lasting up to seven years. Some believe this could have caused the mass extinction of proto-human groups outside Africa, reducing the competition when humans from Africa began moving into their territories.

CLIMATE CHANGE

In climatological terms, we are just coming out of the latest glacial period, known as the Little Ice Age. This period extended from between the 13th and 16th centuries to around 1850. In the Northern Hemisphere the period was marked by bitterly cold temperatures, heavy snowfalls, and the rapid advance of glaciers.

Unseasonable cold spells and precipitation lead to periodic crop failures and famines. Most notable was the Great Famine, which struck large parts of Europe in 1315. Heavy rains began in the spring of that year and continued throughout the summer, rotting the crops in their fields and making it impossible to cure the hay used to feed livestock. This cycle of rainy summer seasons would continue for the next seven years.

Food scarcity hit Europe at the worst possible time: at the end of a long period known as the Medieval Warm Period, where good weather and good harvests had led to population growth that had already begun to push food supplies to the brink. Few seem to have died from outright starvation, but an estimated 15–25 percent of the population died from respiratory diseases such as bronchitis and pneumonia, the natural result of immune deficiency.

The Great Famine had far-reaching effects on society. Crime increased along with food prices, with property crimes and murders becoming more common in the cities. There were stories of children being abandoned by parents unable to find food for them, and even rumors of cannibalism. This was during the height of the Catholic Church’s hegemony in Europe, and people naturally turned to the church in times of fear. When prayer failed, the church’s power was diminished. It was the beginning of a long drift towards the Protestant Reformation of the 16th–17th centuries.

The Little Ice Age was releasing its grip in the early part of the 1800s when a massive volcanic eruption on Mount Tambora in present-day Indonesia ejected a huge amount of volcanic ash into the atmosphere. This ash cloud encircled the Northern Hemisphere over the next year or more, creating climatological havoc throughout Europe, the United States, and Canada. In May 1816 a killing frost destroyed newly planted crops. In June, New England and Quebec saw two major snowstorms, and ice was seen on rivers and lakes as far south as Pennsylvania. The crop failures that year led to food riots across Europe. Many historians believe that the summer of 1816 spurred the process of westward expansion in America, with many farmers leaving New England for western New York State and the Upper Midwest.

At the beginning of the 21st century, signs of another great climate shift seem to be everywhere. Glaciers are receding at an unprecedented rate. Polar ice caps are shrinking. Sea levels are on the rise. Severe weather events, including droughts, heat waves, and hurricanes, are growing in length and intensity. Controversy continues among academics and policy makers over the exact cause of the warm-up: Is it being caused by humans, or is it simply the latest in an long series of climate changes?

There is some support for the idea that this is an inevitable rise in temperatures growing out of the end of the Little Ice Age in the mid-19th century, but the majority of scientists now believe that humans are playing a significant role in global warming. World population has reached 6 billion, all of whom consume and burn

biomass to survive. Whether from industrial smokestacks, millions of car exhaust systems, or open fires used to cook food across the developing world, more and more CO₂ is being expelled into the atmosphere, creating a thick blanket of heat around the globe.

The threat to both the environment and human life cannot be underestimated. Up to a third of the world's species may go extinct by the beginning of the next century. While northern climates may see an initial surge in crop yields, high temperatures and persistent droughts in the southern climates will reduce yields and increase the threat of widespread famines. Water scarcity will become severe. The latest projections indicate that by 2030, hundreds of millions of people in Latin America and Africa will face severe water shortages. By 2050 billions of Asians will also be running far short of their freshwater needs, with the Himalayan glaciers all but gone as early as 2035. By 2080 100 million people living on islands and coastlines will be forced to flee their homes. The struggle for an increasingly small share of food, water, and other natural materials could spark "resource wars" among nations. The possibility of reversing this trend is not clear, but many scientists believe we have reached the "tipping point," making a full reversal unlikely.

See also KYOTO TREATY.

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HEATHER K. MICHON

Equal Rights Amendment

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), first proposed in the U.S. Congress in 1923, guarantees the equality of rights for all people in the United States. The amendment has been pushed by women's groups since 1920. Following the Great Depression and World War II, the rise of a second, more sweeping women's rights movement led to reconsideration of an amendment to secure women the rights to equal wages and equal consideration under the law. The 1970s and 1980s saw the congressional approval of the amendment but the failure of enough states to ratify it into the Constitution. The failure of the ERA in 1982 was a step backward politically.



Protesters against the Equal Rights Amendment were spurred on by the rise of the feminist movement.

The historical landmark for increased rights for women was the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, a clarification call by concerned females to the rest of the country for increased rights. The unity of the convention was quickly disturbed by the Civil War and the subsequent passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was meant to give rights and liberties to freed slaves. However, women's groups argued over how loosely the amendment could be interpreted and whether such equality was given to black women if the Constitution did not include rights for white women.

Legal interpretations of woman's rights in the United States became more sophisticated in the early 20th century, as the Supreme Court saw fit to deal with issues of labor. In *Lochner v. New York* (1905), the Supreme Court ruled that the number of hours worked by women was not related to the maintenance of public health. In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), however, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of a 10-hour work day passed by the Oregon state legislature and aimed toward regulating industry in favor of employees.

The first protests for suffrage began in front of the White House in January 1917, led by future members of the National Women's Party (NWP), including equal rights advocate Alice Paul. Agitation by women dedicated to the cause of women's suffrage, along with rights to fair wages, was successful, as the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920. Even with this success, a major rift developed between activists like Paul who sought quicker strides for women, and experienced professionals like Carrie Chapman Catt and Florence Kelly. Catt and Kelly feared the NWP's agenda was too sweeping and harmful to progress already being

made for women in the areas of judicial review and minimum-wage legislation.

The 1920s–1930s saw several phases in the battle between the NWP and other women's groups—including vacillation on whether an equal rights amendment would be effective, whether protective legislation for women should be incorporated with an amendment, and whether courts should be more active in providing equality for women. The NWP remained active not only in working for an amendment for equal rights but in creating a better work environment for women in the United States and expanding equal rights throughout the globe. However, the NWP was not successful in fulfilling many of its goals because of strong-arm tactics by more conservative groups in the United States, more conservative governments globally, and the devastation of the Great Depression.

The idea of an equal rights amendment was not lost with the diminishing influence of the NWP. In every session of Congress between 1923 and the passage of the ERA in 1982, an amendment was introduced dealing with equal rights based on gender. The Republican Party included a fairly progressive plank in their 1940 platform. The U.S. Senate passed the Equal Rights Amendment three times—in 1949, 1953, and 1959—but each passage was marred by an irreconcilable rider exempting existing sex-specific legislation from the amendment. The period between the Great Depression and the rise of FEMINISM was one of slow progress toward public acceptance of the ERA.

The rise of a feminist movement in the 1960s was broad and rapidly well organized. The movement encompassed all aspects of female life in the United States. The expression of sexuality by women was made a topic of discussion after Betty Friedan's *Feminist Mystique* was published in 1963.

The creation of a marketable birth control pill in 1960 made a woman's control over her own body an important aspect of public health. The establishment of the National Organization for Women in 1966 and its rapid acceptance among other lobbying groups gave the feminist movement a political organization that would be unrivaled within a few years.

The Equal Rights Amendment was passed several times in the 1970s by the House of Representatives, but was not passed through to the ratification process. In August 1970 the House passed the ERA 352-15, and in the fall of 1971, on the back of Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI), the House passed the ERA 354-23; it was moved further by congressional approval in 1972. It was not until 1982, however,

that the legislative approval of the ERA was followed up by the ratification process.

The amendment failed when only 13 of the state legislatures ratified. One cause of trepidation by the public toward the amendment was the activism of antifeminists such as Phyllis Schlafly, who saw the amendment as an unnecessary exercise and a waste of energy for women. However, the amendment's process and the rise of feminism and antifeminism have opened a dialogue for women's issues and legal interpretations of equal rights in already existing amendments.

See also AUNG SAN SUU KYI.

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NICHOLAS KATERS

Eritrea

Eritrea is an African country lying along the southwestern coast of the Red Sea and to the northeast of Ethiopia. Its capital and largest city is Asmara. Eritrea gained its independence from Ethiopia in 1993. The country's diverse population speaks many languages and reflects many cultures. About half the inhabitants are Christian and about half are Muslims. In spite of this diversity, Eritrea has had little internal conflict in part because most factions were united in a struggle for independence from Ethiopia.

The Eritrean region was one of the first areas in Africa to produce crops and domesticate animals. Early people also engaged in extensive trade from Eritrea's Dead Sea ports. In the fourth century, Eritrea was a relatively independent part of the Askum Empire. In the 16th century the area became part of the Ottoman Empire, and in 1890 it became a colony of Italy. Italian rule lasted until World War II, when Britain conquered the territory in 1941. In 1952 the UNITED NATIONS (UN) approved a federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia in an attempt to settle the dispute between Ethiopian claims of rights to the land and Eritrea's desire for independence.

Ethiopia's emperor, Haile Selassie, quickly acted to end the federation and to annex Eritrea as a province.

Eritrea began a war for independence from its long-lasting domination by other countries. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was formed in 1958 and initiated armed resistance in 1961.

The next three decades were filled with bitter warfare before Eritrea finally gained its independence in 1993. In the 1970s, due in part to the internal conflicts within the ELF, a new and more tightly organized group—the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (ELPF)—emerged. This group became dominant in the struggle against Ethiopian rule. The Soviet Union and Cuba came to the aid of Ethiopia's new regime after Haile Selassie was deposed in 1974, but the alliance was unable to dominate the rural districts of Eritrea. By 1980 the ELPF was increasing its control over more areas of the province, and in 1990–91 it gained possession of two major cities, including the capital. At that point the ELPF was recognized as the provisional government by many other countries. Ethiopia and Eritrea agreed to hold a referendum on independence in 1993, which resulted in almost unanimous approval for the initiative. In May of 1993 the United Nations admitted Eritrea to membership and granted a four-year transitional period for the formation of a constitution.

The ELPF dominated the early years of independence, and Isaias Afwerki—former general secretary of the ELPF—was elected the first president of the National Assembly. The constitution, formally approved in 1997 but not yet implemented, outlines a government directed by the National Assembly—whose members are elected for five-year terms—a president, and a supreme court. The president holds great power, since he appoints the members of the Supreme Court and the administrators of each of Eritrea's six regions. The only legal political party is the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (formerly the ELPF). The National Assembly elections scheduled for 2001 were postponed indefinitely.

Eritrea's independence and democratic government have been threatened by a number of factors, including the government itself and the economic and physical damages of the long war for independence. During the 1970s–1980s, nature dealt Eritrea devastating blows in the form of droughts and famine. In addition, the government pursued policies that led to engagement in several wars. Eritrea fought the Sudanese on a number of occasions. Eritrean forces invaded the Red Sea island of Hanish al Kabir, a possession of Yemen, in 1995 and claimed ownership. Arbitration settled the dispute in Yemen's favor in 1998. Conflict that led to thousands of deaths broke out again between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998 over disputed territory. In 2000 the

two countries agreed to a cease-fire, but a formal agreement on the borders between them was not approved. A UN peacekeeping force located in Eritrea continued to patrol a 25-mile-wide Temporary Security Zone along the countries' borders.

With less than 5 percent of its land arable, Eritrea continues to face severe economic and ecological concerns arising from deforestation, soil erosion, overgrazing, and its decayed infrastructure.

See also ETHIOPIA, FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Ethiopia, Federal Democratic Republic of

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is situated in the east of Africa in the region known as the Horn of Africa. Its capital is Addis Ababa. This country is bound to the west and northwest by Sudan, to the south by Kenya, to the east and southeast by Somalia, and to the east by Djibouti and Eritrea. Ethiopia is 1,221,900 square kilometers in size. Its topography consists of rugged mountains and isolated valleys. It has four main geographic regions from west to east: the Ethiopian Plateau, the Great Rift Valley, the Somali Plateau, and the Ogaden Plateau.

The diversity of Ethiopia's terrain determines regional variations in climate. This country has three climatic zones: a very cool area, where temperatures range from near freezing to 16°C; a temperate zone; and a hot area, with both tropical and arid conditions, where temperatures range from 27°C to 50°C. The semiarid part of the region receives fewer than 500 millimeters of precipitation annually and is highly susceptible to drought. The most important current environmental issues are deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, desertification, and water-intensive farming and poor management that contribute to water shortages in some areas. Another problem that the country faces is the constant loss of biodiversity and the threat to the ecosystem and the environment.

Ethiopia's population is mainly rural and has a high annual growth rate. In 2004 the UNITED NATIONS



Three Ethiopian gunners from Addis Ababa preparing to fire a 75mm recoilless rifle. Modern Ethiopia has a long history of conflict with neighboring countries in the Nile River basin.

estimated Ethiopia's population at more than 70 million. There are more than 70 distinct ethnic groups in Ethiopia. The principal groups include the Oromo, who account for 40 percent of the population; the Amhara, 25 percent; and the Tigre, 12 percent. Smaller groups are the Gurage, 3.3 percent; the Ometo, 2.7 percent; the Sidamo, 2.4 percent; and other ethnic minorities. More than half of Ethiopians, 53 percent of the population, are Christians (Orthodox), and around 31 percent are Muslims; there are also other indigenous tribal beliefs.

Ethiopia is one of Africa's oldest countries. Although Ethiopia was considered a strategically important territory by superpowers during the colonial period, Ethiopia's monarchy maintained its freedom. There were exceptions during the Italian invasion in 1895–96 and the occupation during World War II. During the COLD

WAR era in 1974, a military junta deposed Emperor Haile Selassie and established a socialist state, which maintained a relationship with the Soviet Union. After long period of violence, massive refugee problems, famine, and economic collapse, the regime fell in 1991 to a coalition of rebel forces, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In 1994 a new constitution was approved, and Ethiopia's first multiparty elections were held in 1995. At the international level Ethiopia engaged in several disputes.

ETHIOPIA-ERITREA CONFLICT

In 1889 Ethiopia granted the control of its colony to Italy, but between 1941 and 1952 this country was put under British administration. An agreement was signed, and both countries formed a federation. However, 10

years later Haile Selassie abolished it and imposed imperial rule throughout ERITREA, which became a province, causing a series of guerrilla attacks. In 1991 a provisional government was established in Eritrea, and it became an independent nation in 1993. But the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea was never precisely demarcated. So in 1998 Eritrean forces occupied the disputed Ethiopian town of Badme, and a new war began, lasting until 2000, when both countries signed a treaty. Despite an international commission that delimited the border, the relationship between them remains hostile.

ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA CONFLICT

Ethiopia has always sought access to the sea and looked to Somalia for the reunification of its territory. Somalia used to claim the Ogaden region, inhabited for the most part by Somali ethnic groups. During the conflict with Eritrea, Ethiopia controlled almost the whole region, with a consequent breaking off of diplomatic relations. In 1988, after 11 years of constant confrontation, Ethiopia removed the troops from the border with Somalia, reestablished diplomatic relations, and signed a peace treaty. But the central section of Ethiopia's border with Somalia was never fully demarcated and is only provisional. Also, Ethiopia and Somalia have always had aspirations to control the territory of Djibouti.

THE NILE BASIN DISPUTE

The Nile River runs through nine states: Egypt, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Congo. This river serves as a constant source of water for these countries. It has a vital role in agriculture and it also plays a major role in transportation. The river is born in Ethiopia's territory, and Ethiopia controls 85 percent of its water, but Egypt is the country that makes the most profit from its water flow. This country, with its military superiority and economic and political stability, puts pressure on upstream countries. During recent years these countries have not been able to divert the water flow because of the constant tensions. Though the conflict is still between the main actors—Sudan, Egypt, and Ethiopia—it is probable that all the countries in the Nile basin will be affected while the population continues growing and water needs increase.

Ethiopia's economy is based on agriculture, and 90 percent of the products obtained are exported. The principal crops are cereals, pulses, oilseed, cotton, sugarcane, beans, and potatoes, but the most important is coffee. This sector suffers from frequent drought and poor cultivation practices. As a consequence the coun-

try has to rely on massive food imports. Ethiopia does not have many mineral resources. It has small reserves of gold, platinum, copper, potash, and natural gas. For these resources Ethiopia depends on imports too. The leading manufactures in Ethiopia include cement, construction materials, food processing, and textiles. It has extensive hydropower potential. The transportation network is poor.

During the 1990s Ethiopia abandoned its exclusive bilateral policy with the Soviet Union and began to acquire more freedom. It became a decentralized, market-oriented economy with privatization and the cooperation of international financing organs. Agreements were also made to form regional organizations. But participation in the world economy remained marginal, and dependence on international financing organisms increased Ethiopia's external debt. In fact, in 2001 Ethiopia qualified for debt relief from the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, and in 2005 the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND voted to forgive Ethiopia's debt.

Ethiopia is among the poorest countries in the world according to the Human Development Index established by the UNITED NATIONS. About 50 percent of the population is below the poverty line. Food shortage in Ethiopia has reached alarming levels. The climate conditions, the lack of means to develop agriculture, displacements, refugees, and AIDS are factors that contribute to worsening the situation. Therefore foreign aid is constantly needed to prevent diseases and famine, particularly in times of drought.

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VERÓNICA M. ZILIOOTTO

European Economic Community/ Common Market

The European Economic Community (EEC), also known as the Common Market, was established by the Treaty of Rome among France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. It was the

core of what would become the European Community in 1967 and the EUROPEAN UNION after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty (1992). The EEC aimed to create a single economy among its members. Its acts were devised to achieve free labor and capital mobility; the abolition of trusts; and the implementation of common policies on labor, welfare, agriculture, transport, and foreign trade.

The idea of a united European market has its roots in the aftermath of World War II. After Europe had been divided and ravaged by two brutal world wars, politicians such as German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Italian prime minister Alcide De Gasperi, and French foreign minister Robert Schuman agreed on the necessity of securing a lasting peace among previous enemies. They believed that European nations should cooperate as equals and should not humiliate one another. In 1950 Schuman proposed the creation of a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which was established the following year with the Treaty of Paris. France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands consented to have their production of coal and steel monitored by a High Authority. This was a practical and a symbolic act at the same time: Steel and coal, the raw materials of war, became the tools for reconciliation and common growth.

These first years of cooperation proved fruitful, and ECSC members started to plan an expansion of their mutual aid. Negotiations between the six countries making up the ECSC led to the Treaty of Rome (1957), which created the European Economic Community, a common market for a wide range of services and goods. The process of integration continued during the 1960s, with the lifting of trade barriers between the six nations and the establishment of common policies on agriculture and trade. Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom joined the EEC.

As the EEC grew, its leaders realized that European economies needed to be brought in line with one another. This persuasion, reached during the 1970s, was the starting point of the tortuous path that would finally lead to monetary union in 2002 with the circulation of the euro. To stabilize the fluctuations of European currencies caused by the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system, the European Monetary System (EMS) was created in 1979. The EMS helped to make exchange rates more stable and promoted tighter policies of economic solidarity and mutual aid between EEC members. It also encouraged them to monitor their economies.

The monitoring of the members' economies became vital during the 1980s, when membership in the EEC

rose to 12, with the entries of Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. The first Integrated Mediterranean Programme (IMP) was launched with the aim of making structural economic reforms and thus reducing the gap among the economies of the 12 member states. With the enlargement of its membership the EEC also started to play a more relevant role on the international stage, signing treaties and conventions with African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries.

The worldwide economic recession of the early 1980s seemed to endanger the process of market integration. However, the commission, led by the French socialist Jacques Delors, gave new impetus to European incorporation. It was under Delors's leadership that the Single European Act, the first major revision of the Treaty of Rome, was signed, setting a precise schedule for the removal of all remaining barriers between member states by 1993. The Delors Commission also worked to create a single currency for the European Common Market. The single currency option was chosen with the creation of a Central European Bank aiming to unify monetary policies and create a common currency. The choice was made explicit in the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), which set up a timetable for the adoption of a single currency. With the Maastricht Treaty, the European Economic Community was simply renamed the European Community, and the process of European integration was completed with the creation of the EU. Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the union in 1995. Ten more countries (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) joined in 2004, making the EU the world's largest trading power. Bulgaria and Romania joined in 2007.

In some countries the introduction of the euro was marked by controversies and heated debates. Yet economists have shown that the European Common Market has much to benefit from the euro. Frankel and Rose suggest that being part of a single currency tends to triple the country's trade with other members of the single-currency zone, leading to increases in the country's per capita income.

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European Union

The European Union (EU), founded with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, represents a large project of economic and political integration between an ever-growing group of European countries. The EU quickly became the world's major trading power and enjoyed fast economic growth. Free internal trade and common customs duties, which member countries enjoyed since the beginning of the union, led to significant trade development among the different members. The EU, by 2006, included 25 member states. Bulgaria and Romania became members in January 2007. Croatia and Turkey were negotiating their membership, which was prevented by concerns over human rights violations in both countries. Of the 25 members, 12 adopted a single currency—the euro—for financial transaction in 1999. The euro entered circulation in January 2002.

As the union expanded, however, it increasingly found resistance and obstacles on its way. A powerful movement of Euro-skeptics emerged throughout the EU in the late 1990s, pointing to a supposed lack of democracy in the EU institutions and to the danger of losing national sovereignty to a centralized body. Some politicians in those countries with more developed economies looked upon the enlargement of the union with suspicion, fearing a wave of uncontrollable migration. These concerns led to several serious defeats: Referenda in Denmark and Sweden showed that the majority of citizens were against adopting the euro; French and Dutch voters rejected the European Constitution in 2005.

Although the Maastricht Treaty was signed in 1992, the idea of a united Europe dates back to the aftermath of World War II. After two world wars had divided European countries and massacred their people, statesmen such as German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Italian prime minister Alcide De Gasperi, and French foreign minister Robert Schuman agreed on the necessity of building a lasting peace between previous enemies. The cooperation between these countries led to the Treaty of Rome in 1957, which established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the first European Commission, led by the German Christian Democrat Walter Hallstein. Customs duties among member states were entirely removed from 1968, and common policies for trade and agriculture were also devised. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 progressively shifted eastern European countries toward the EU.

The most important EU institutions include the Council of the European Union, the European Com-

mission, the European Court of Justice, the European Central Bank, and the European Parliament. The origins of the European Parliament, which convenes in Strasbourg, date back to the 1950s. It has been elected since 1979 directly by the European people. Elections are held every five years. The European Central Bank manages the union's single currency, and the EU has a common policy on agriculture, fisheries, and foreign affairs and security.

Although the policies devised by the EU range across a wide variety of areas, not all have binding power for the union's members. The EU status, therefore, varies accordingly to the matters discussed. The union has the character of a federation for monetary affairs; agricultural, trade, and environmental policy; and economic and social policy, while each member state retains wider independence for home and foreign affairs. Policy making in the EU results in an interplay of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism.

Following the Maastricht Treaty, the areas of intervention of the EU can be divided into three pillars: European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters. Supranational concerns are strongest in the first pillar, while the Council of Europe and thus intergovernmental opinions count the most in the second and third pillars.

The Council of the EU, together with the European Parliament, form the legislative branch of the union, while the European Commission represents its executive powers. The council is formed by ministers of all the member states. The presidency of the council rotates between the members, and the council is made up of nine subcommissions, which meet in Brussels. The European Commission, whose president is chosen by the Council of Europe and is then confirmed by the European Parliament, has 25 members, one for each member state. Yet, unlike the Council, the commission is completely independent from member states. Commissioners, therefore, are not supposed to take suggestions from the government of the country that appointed them. Their only goal should be to propose legislation to favor the development of the whole union.

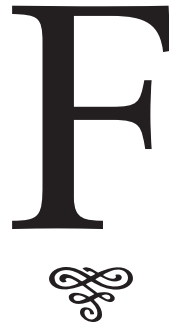
The major setback for the EU was the rejection of the constitution by two of its founding members, France and the Netherlands. Signed in 2004, the constitution—whose elaboration was particularly difficult and thorny—aimed to make human rights uniform throughout the union as well as to make decision-making more effective in an organization that now

includes as many as 25 members, each with priorities and agendas of their own.

The main challenge that the EU will have to face in years to come is, paradoxically, a direct result of its success and its capacity to attract new nations. With more member countries, the EU is threatened by increasing regional interests that endanger the deployment of shared policies.

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LUCA PRONO



Falklands War (1982)

The Falklands War was a short war between Argentina and the United Kingdom over the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas), occurring between March and June of 1982. The Falklands consist of two large—and many small— islands in the South Atlantic Ocean east of Argentina, rich in subaquatic offshore oil reserves. Disputes over the sovereignty of the islands have occurred since the 18th century, as the islands are actually located within the Argentinean continental platform. However, in spite of many Argentinean claims, in 1833 British troops and inhabitants took possession of the islands.

At the beginning of the 1980s Argentina's military government had become less powerful. Argentina faced a devastating economic crisis and large-scale civil unrest, with many people clamoring for the return of democracy. As a way of recovering some power and maintaining the military dictatorship, the Argentine government—headed in 1982 by General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri—decided to play off long-standing feelings of nationalism by launching what it thought would be a quick and easy war to reclaim the Falkland Islands. Most of Argentina's military experts likely misjudged the political climate in Britain and did not anticipate that the British would move their fleet halfway across the globe to reclaim their rights over the islands.

After days of tension, the war finally began on April 2, 1982, when General Galtieri ordered the invasion of the Falkland Islands, triggering the Falklands War. During the first weeks Argentina's troops moved quickly,

invading the islands, defeating the improvised British troops, and gaining domain of the islands. Britain quickly organized a naval task force, consisting of the HMS *Conqueror* submarine, helicopters, Royal Air Force bombers and fighters, destroyers, and a large number of naval fighting boats. In comparison to Argentina's task force technologically, in quantity, and in the areas of military professionalism and experience, British troops by far were better prepared than the Argentinean troops.

Although there was a huge difference in military power between the two forces, the war lasted four months and resulted in 255 killed and 746 wounded on the British side and 655 killed, 1,100 wounded, and 11,313 prisoners on the Argentinean side. One of the war crimes most sadly remembered by the Argentineans was the sinking of the *General Belgrano* light cruiser. The cruiser was located in the "total exclusion zone" of 200 nautical miles (370 kilometers) that had been established by the British before commencing operations in order to keep neutral shipping out of the way during the war. In spite of that, on May 2 the British HMS *Conqueror* submarine fired torpedoes, hit the boat, and sank it, taking the lives of 321 Argentinean soldiers. In response to that, the Argentine air force launched an air attack and sank the destroyer HMS *Sheffield*. As a result, 22 British sailors were killed and 24 were injured.

Given the difference in military force between the sides, the war quickly turned in Britain's (United Kingdom's, or U.K.'s) favor. In addition to their military advantage, the U.K. government received strong international support from the United States, France, and Chile, among other countries.

Legally the United States had military treaty obligations to both parties in the war, bound to the U.K. as a member of NATO and to Argentina by the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Pact). However, the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty only obliged the signatories to support if the attack occurred in Europe or North America above the tropic of Cancer. The Rio Pact obliged the United States to intervene if an adherent was attacked; the U.K. never attacked Argentina, only Argentine forces on British territory.

French President François Mitterrand gave full support to the U.K. in the Falklands War. France provided the U.K. with aircraft, identical to the ones it had supplied to Argentina, for British pilots to train against and also provided intelligence to help sabotage the Exocet missiles it had sold to the Argentine air force. In Latin America, Argentina's neighbor country Chile also gave its support to the U.K. by providing important logistical support during the war and strategic help by threatening an invasion on the west border of Argentina.

Argentina's only support was military assistance from Peru and Venezuela. This came in the form of critical aircraft supplies like long-range air fuel tanks. Cuba and Bolivia also offered ground troops, but their offers were seen as political propaganda and not accepted. Only after the war was over did the Brazilian air force send some reinforcements.

The British eventually prevailed, and the islands remained under British control. On June 14, 1982, after the final battle in Port Stanley, the commander of the Argentine garrison in Stanley, Mario Menendez, surrendered to Major General Moore of the Royal Marines. From the British point of view, the Falklands War was one of many small military conflicts in which the U.K. has been engaged. For Argentina, the war remains the country's main military conflict and is very much present in the people's memory. As of 2006, Argentina still showed no sign of relinquishing its claim to the Falkland Islands.

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DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

Falun Gong

Falun Gong is a system of meditation exercises, termed *qigong*, introduced by Li Hongzhi in 1992. Falun Gong, translated as Practice of the Wheel of Law, grew quickly after its public introduction and is also known as Falun Dafa. In 1999 the Chinese government suppressed Falun Gong in response to hugely growing numbers and large peaceful demonstrations by Falun Gong practitioners.

In 1992 Li Hongzhi introduced Falun Gong at the Fifth Middle School in China. A system of *qigong*, Falun Gong is a cultivation practice associated with Buddhism. The foundation of Falun Gong is dharma, the doctrine and discipline of Buddhism. The Falun Gong core principles are truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance. *Qigong* systems teach breathing techniques and meditation.

In Falun Gong, practitioners are required to enforce strict meditation and must abide by truth, compassion, and endurance in all of their actions. Falun Gong, using evidence they believe does not fit into modern anthropology, teaches that humankind has endured several cycles of civilization. Its teachings emphasize not belief but rational understanding. To pray or hope for things is considered futile action. Lust, homosexuality, and other practices considered of low morals in Falun Gong are believed to hinder the cultivation process.

According to its beliefs there are five important sets of exercises that include meditation: four standing exercises and one sitting exercise that strengthen the mind and the body. It also believes that karma is the cause of disease and that only by letting go of earthly attachments can one prevent and cure disease. Additionally, in Falun Gong the Wheel of Law (the Falun) must be installed in the abdomen through meditation. Once installed, this Falun turns continuously.

By the late 1990s, Falun Gong, spread by the Internet, had gained followers all over the world. Controversy over its beliefs led to protests by believers in 1998, during which some practitioners were arrested. According to Falun Gong reports, the police beat some of the protesters. On July 20, 1999, the Chinese government began attempts to suppress the movement, concerned about its growth. Books and Web sites related to Falun Gong were suppressed, and the movement was declared illegal in China. However, the movement continues to claim followers in more than 80 countries, where governmental reactions range from acceptance to suspicion. One estimate projects their membership to be around 70 million people.

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MELISSA BENNE

Fanon, Frantz

(1925–1961) *Third World spokesperson*

Frantz Fanon, born of the descendants of African slaves, was raised on the French Caribbean island of Martinique; he was French-educated and became a practicing psychiatrist as well as an influential writer and spokesperson for Third World revolutions during the 1950s–1960s. Fanon influenced an entire generation of revolutionary activists in Africa and in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the United States. Influenced by Aimé Césaire and the ideas of Negritude, Fanon championed the cause of black liberation movements and, in his books and essays, explored the interrelationship of racism and colonialism.

Fanon worked with the French resistance against the Nazis in World War II and went to Algeria as doctor at a hospital at Blida in the early 1950s. After the ALGERIAN REVOLUTION broke out in 1954, Fanon quit to join the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) and became a leading spokesperson for the cause of Algerian independence from the French. His books, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *Wretched of the Earth*, published posthumously in 1961, became “handbooks of black revolution.” Fanon argued that violence was an integral part of the struggles for Third World independence because imperial colonial powers would never willingly cede their control over people of color. Fanon died of leukemia in Washington, D.C., in 1961 and was returned to be buried on Algerian soil.

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JANICE J. TERRY

feminism, worldwide

The phenomenon of feminism worldwide in the latter part of the 20th century reflects the diversity of social

and cultural theories, political movements, and moral and religious philosophies shaped by the experiences of women. There is no universally accepted form of feminism that represents all of its advocates, but its representatives share a similar vision. Feminist theory continues to question basic assumptions about gender and sexuality, including the understanding of what it means to be a woman. Feminist scholars and activists seek clarity about feminine consciousness, the identity of women, their values, and their ambitions. They address the issue of oppression by men as an issue of power, dominion, and hierarchy. Feminists believe this oppression exists in relation to the identity of women and the challenges they have to face in local and global contexts.

By the mid-20th century the feminist movement had brought about positive transformation and advances for women. Historically, feminism began as a women's movement that originated at the Seneca Falls Convention (1848) held in New York State. This first wave of feminism formally ended in 1920 with the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which secured the right to vote for women. Ironically, the values of the early feminist movement have been so ingrained in Western culture that society generally accepts them, even though individuals who agree with those values may not accept being labeled “feminist.”

FEMINISM, SECOND WAVE

In the late 1960s, after 40 years consumed by economic depression, world war, and COLD WAR fears, women again revisited issues of gender equality, launching a movement that came to be called Second Wave Feminism. Looking beyond the right to vote, many women in the industrialized world, joined by some women from developing nations, asserted new rights and demanded liberation from stereotypical female roles.

A precursor of the post-suffrage women's movement appeared in 1949, when French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1908–86) published *The Second Sex*, a major analysis of women's lives and roles. Extremely controversial—the book was forbidden to Roman Catholics—de Beauvoir's insights had little immediate effect on Western women, many of whom had embraced child rearing and homemaking in the prosperous years following World War II.

By the 1960s a growing racial CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and rising opposition to Soviet and U.S. cold war policies were sparking protests in Europe and the Americas. In this climate journalist Betty Friedan's 1963 analysis, *The Feminine Mystique*, was a huge best seller. Pointing to educated, middle-class women's



*Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, a book that helped spark the Second Wave women's movement.*

dissatisfaction with their “perfect” lives, Friedan (1921–2006) not only posed a “problem that has no name” but also helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 to deal with it. Canada’s National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) followed in 1971.

The movement quickly took on a life of its own, as women in many nations found new ways to understand and advance their social, economic, and political rights. Asserting that “the personal is political,” movement women discussed issues long considered private, such as motherhood, divorce, abortion, rape, lesbian relationships, prostitution, and the sexual double standard. In 1976 de Beauvoir keynoted a huge International Women’s Day rally in Brussels that criticized the timidity of UNITED NATIONS efforts for women. The same year 100,000 Italian women held the first “Take Back the Night” march to spotlight male violence against women.

FIRST WOMEN

Around the world, female political leaders began to emerge in far greater numbers than ever before. Legisla-

tive bodies in Scandinavia and other western European nations saw near-parity in their sex ratios. In 1984 Geraldine Ferraro (1935–) became the first woman chosen for vice president by a major U.S. party (the ticket lost) and in 2007 Nancy Pelosi (1940–) of California became the United States’ first female Speaker of the House of Representatives. Nations including Britain, India, and Pakistan have been governed by women, although critics say that the feminist movement had little to do with their success.

As was true during the original suffrage movement, not all women (or men) were comfortable with Second Wave Feminism’s new issues and styles of protest. Competing efforts to define the contours of women’s equality versus women’s differences from men continue to create controversy, as does the relevance of feminism in the lives of poor women, women of color, and women living in traditional societies—especially in Africa and the Islamic world.

As an example, in the United States Alice Paul’s Equal Rights Amendment of 1923 was reclaimed by new feminist leaders and became the centerpiece of a broad spectrum of women’s rights initiatives. In 1972 this measure, promising “equal rights under the law” for women, easily cleared Congress and was sent to the states for ratification. Religious conservatives, led by mother and lawyer Phyllis Schlafly (1924–), were able to raise enough opposition to halt the ERA three states short of passage. Schlafly and her supporters feared that traditional wives and mothers would be devalued and could lose legal protections. Claims by some opponents that the ERA would require that public toilets be available to both sexes helped reduce a spirited political controversy to farce.

Other feminist proposals proved more successful. Title IX, a 1972 federal program to afford equal opportunities to high school and college women—although still controversial—greatly expanded women’s college enrollments and participation in competitive sports. Legislation and market forces combined to narrow the “pay gap” between men and women. Modern contraception—the “pill”—was approved for sale in the United States in 1960; birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger (1870–1966) helped finance its development. In 1965 a Supreme Court decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut* struck down a law that had prohibited contraceptive use even by married couples. By 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court’s narrow decision in *ROE V. WADE* legalized abortion in the first three months of pregnancy.

Continuing bitter controversy over *Roe* highlights some general problems that, depending on one’s view,

have either hampered the modern women's movement or kept it within reasonable bounds. In the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, anti-abortion protests have tended to increase restrictions and have sometimes made safe, legal abortion unavailable, especially to the poor and rural. Nations emerging from communism, including Russia, where abortion was freely allowed after 1955, have tended to tighten formerly liberal abortion and contraception alternatives.

The same middle-class women whom Friedan urged to shed the bondage of woman's "separate sphere" have struggled with demanding full-time jobs paired with full-time home responsibilities, although European nations have traditionally offered generous maternity and child-care benefits. Help-wanted ads no longer separate male and female opportunities. However, women who have surged into law, medicine, science, the military, and other nontraditional jobs have experienced pay gaps, sexual harassment, and the so-called glass ceiling, which is said to limit women's ultimate success. By the early 21st century, especially among the Second Wave's second and third generations, a "mommy track"—giving up an unfulfilling job for motherhood—has emerged as at least a temporary alternative. Critics point out that the mommy track offers little help or economic advancement to working-class mothers.

THIRD-WAVE FEMINISM

Recently Third-Wave feminists have been identified, although the Second-Wave feminists assert that the work of the Second Wave is by no means complete. Women who were born in the 1960s–1970s felt that their personal experience set them apart from older leaders of the feminist movement. Third-Wave feminists of this period, having inherited a feminist tradition from the First and Second waves, strove to form their own distinct identity as feminists, naming and seeking to correct perceived inadequacies and contradictions of their predecessors.

Hazel Carby, a representative of the Third Wave of feminism, identified a problem with the Second Wave. She believed that the Second Wave overlooked the experiences of black women by emphasizing the experiences of patriarchy and oppression endured by white women. She concluded that theories of patriarchal oppression studied in the 1970s and early 1980s overlooked the negative influences that slavery, colonialism, and imperialism had on women, and sought to raise awareness about these issues through her writings.

Many, but not all, figures within feminism worldwide have been women. Feminists argue that men

should not be leaders within feminist organizations because they have been conditioned to seek leadership aggressively. Similarly, those critical of accepting men in the movement believe that women have been socialized to defer to men, which may hinder their asserting their own leadership when working alongside men. Even so, some feminists believe men should be accepted within the movement because the virtue of equality should serve to promote inclusion and acceptance.

The feminist movement has been influenced by and has shaped the study of culture. Since the late 1970s feminist cultural studies have expanded the study of women and established gender as an important criteria of analysis within broader cultural studies. Feminist cultural studies serve to answer questions about the influences of present cultural systems and their oppression of women and what can be done to combat patriarchy and oppression. Feminist cultural scholars, by observing the everyday lives of women, learn about their daily experience, how they cope with it, and how they are challenged by systems of inequality and oppression.

Essentially all cultural objects, writings, and practices constitute the subject of cultural studies, and thus the subjects of feminist cultural studies are likewise as diverse. Areas that are studied within feminist cultural studies include advertising, art, being a housewife, class, colonialism, materialism, movies, pornography, postcolonialism, shopping, soap operas, and youth subcultures.

In the 1980s cultural feminists used the mass media in their analysis of culture. Feminist cultural scholars believe that an analysis of mass media gives insight into the dynamics of society and politics. Feminists who study the influence of mass media on culture seek answers to the questions of how women may relate to and be affected by the mass media and how oppressive patriarchal ideologies may be throughout all forms of mass media. Studies argue that women who engage in watching television dramas and reading romance novels actively judge implicit patriarchal messages found within them.

After the late 1980s, the feminist movement was influenced by post-structuralism. Post-structuralist feminists seek to understand and value feminine subjectivity and the implications of the power of written discourse for women. Some writings argue that the term and meaning of *woman* itself results from male-dominated discourse. Through uncritical use of the word, it loses its value in trying to shape and transform feminist thinking. These writings have caused feminists to insist that feminist cultural studies have lost track of the real material lives of women.

The feminist movement has had an effect on written and spoken language in the latter part of the 20th century. English-speaking feminists have advocated using nonsexist language, for example, Ms. instead of Mrs. or Miss and *herstory* for *history*. Many feminists advocate using gender-inclusive language, such as *humanity* in place of *mankind* or *he or she* or just *she* instead of *he* when the gender of a subject is unknown. Many non-English languages do not have gendered pronouns and thus do not require gender-inclusive language. The increasing popularity, however, of using English in the world gives feminists reason to promote gender inclusivity in language.

The influence of feminism in the late-20th century created distinctive ways of developing ethics. Feminist ethics attempt to investigate and rethink traditional Western ethics that do not take into account the moral experiences of women, in order to form a critique of traditional ethical theories formed by a male-dominated culture. The aim of the different forms of feminist ethics possesses a liberating aspect, based on moral theory founded in nonsexist methodology.

Late 20th-century feminist thought has also influenced the movement toward equality in Islamic countries. Grounded in Islamic thought, Islamic feminists seek full equality of men and women in both the public and personal sphere. Among the issues addressed are the female dress code in Muslim society, sexuality, and the legal discrimination against women.

A variety of women-centered approaches to feminist ethics have been developed, including feminine, lesbian, maternal, political, and theological. These approaches seek to provide guidelines for undermining the systematic subordination of women. The different forms of feminism that exist worldwide in the late-20th and early-21st centuries are manifold. They include African-American, Amazon, anarcha-feminism, black, cultural, ecofeminism, egalitarian, equity, existentialist, French, gender, gynocentric, individualist, lesbian and lesbian separatism, liberal, male pro-feminism, material, non-Western, postcolonial, postmodern, pro-sex, psychoanalytic, queer theory, radical, segregationalist, Socialist, spiritual, standpoint, theological, third-world, transfeminism, transnational, and womanist.

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MARSHA ACKERMANN AND CHRISTOPHER M. COOK

Fonseca Amador, Carlos

(1936–1976) *Nicaraguan revolutionary*

The intellectual guiding light of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, or FSLN) from its founding in 1961–62 until his death in battle in 1976, Carlos Fonseca Amador ranks among the most influential figures in modern Nicaraguan history, and one of the era's most prominent Latin American revolutionaries. As an adult who was tall, slender, severely nearsighted, and self-abnegating, he was born out of wedlock as Carlos Alberto Fonseca on June 23, 1936, in the provincial city of Matagalpa, Nicaragua, to seamstress and laundress Augustina Fonseca Ubeda. His biological father, Fausto Amador Alemán, was one of the region's wealthiest and most prominent coffee growers and businessmen. Growing up in the abject poverty characteristic of the city's working class, at age 14 Carlos entered Matagalpa's only public secondary school, the only one among five maternal siblings to go beyond primary school. A gifted student, he read voraciously, and at age 18 became active in the local branch of the banned Nicaraguan Communist Party (PSN). In the same year he copublished a cultural journal, *Segovia*, in which he developed many of the themes that would later play a major role in his political thought. Graduating from high school in 1955, he was honored for finishing all five years as first in his class.

Moving to Managua, he worked in the library of the prestigious Instituto Ramírez Goyena high school before settling in León and enrolling in the National University of Nicaragua (UNAN) as a law student, where he became involved in radical student politics. Arrested by the regime of Luis Somoza following the assassination of Somoza's father, Anastasio Somoza, in September 1956, Fonseca was jailed for seven weeks. In 1957 he embarked on a PSN-sponsored trip to Moscow as the Nicaraguan delegate to the Sixth World Congress of Students and Youth for Peace and Friendship. The

next year he published *Un Nicaragüense en Moscú* (A Nicaraguan in Moscow) and became one of UNAN's top student leaders.

With the triumph of the CUBAN REVOLUTION in January 1959, he traveled to Cuba, along with many other Nicaraguan dissidents. Upon his return, in April he was arrested and deported to Guatemala. From there he joined a newly formed guerrilla group training in Honduras. On June 24, 1959, he was severely wounded in a firefight with the Honduran military and Nicaraguan National Guard at El Chapparal. The event was a turning point. He broke with the PSN and, determined to forge an independent revolutionary movement modeled on FIDEL CASTRO's 26th of July Movement, he returned to Cuba and began a serious study of Nicaraguan rebel leader Augusto C. Sandino. In 1961–62 Fonseca and several comrades formed the FSLN, though the idea of using Sandino's name and image was Fonseca's. He interpreted Sandino as a kind of "path" that, through the FSLN vanguard, would combine Marxist theories of class struggle with Nicaragua's unique history and culture of popular resistance. Henceforth Fonseca was the group's undisputed leader.

Organizing relentlessly and writing prolifically, for the next 15 years Fonseca guided the group through many hardships and phases. He was killed in a National Guard ambush on November 7, 1976, in the mountains northeast of Matagalpa, nearly three years before FSLN overthrew Somoza.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Ford, Gerald

(1913–2006) U.S. president

Gerald Ford was the president of the United States from 1974 to 1977, following a vice presidency of about eight months. He is perhaps best known as the successor to disgraced president RICHARD NIXON, whom he pardoned, and as the American president during the fall of Saigon.

A college football player, graduate of Yale Law School, and navy officer during World War II, Ford became an active Republican after the war and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1948 on an internationalist platform that meshed well with the recent creation of the UNITED NATIONS. He served as a representative for 24 years, proposing no major legislation and focusing instead on negotiating between and supporting the legislation of others. As a member of the Warren Commission appointed to investigate the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY, he altered the Commission's findings to misreport the location of one of Kennedy's wounds in order to support the single bullet theory—tampering that was not revealed until 1997.

In 1973, while Ford was House minority leader, Nixon's vice president Spiro Agnew resigned in the middle of the WATERGATE SCANDAL. The Speaker of the House and other congressional leaders made it clear to Nixon that they would accept only the mild, moderate Ford as Agnew's replacement. He was confirmed at the end of the year and became president when Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974. One month later, Ford pardoned Nixon preemptively for any crimes committed against the nation during his presidency. The pardon brought great criticism upon Ford: Some accused him of pardoning Nixon in exchange for the resignation that made him president, others thought it was simply terrible judgment. Many agreed that it discouraged the pursuit of charges against Nixon, hampering the Watergate investigation; Ford's supporters have pointed to a 1915 Supreme Court decision that established that for the accused to accept a pardon, he must



President Gerald Ford (left) and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger converse on the grounds of the White House in 1974.

accept his guilt. Thus, pardoning Nixon found the former president guilty in the process.

In September 1975 two assassination attempts were made on Ford, the first by Lynette “Squeaky” Fromme, a troubled young follower of Charles Manson. Secret Service agent Larry Buendorf managed to block the hammer of Fromme’s handgun with his thumb, preventing her from firing. Later in the month, 45-year-old bookkeeper Sara Jane Moore shot at Ford during his visit to San Francisco, but failed because of the intervention of bystander Billy Sipple, a former marine and Vietnam veteran who soon became a gay hero when he came out of the closet. Moore’s motivations are unclear, but she spoke of wanting to “create chaos.”

Ford was upfront about the odd start to his presidency and referred to himself as an “unelected” president. The vice presidency was filled by Nelson Rockefeller, the popular and well-connected New York governor whose presidential bids had repeatedly failed. Rockefeller’s replacement when Ford ran in the 1976 election was Bob Dole, who would later be known for his own run of failed presidential campaigns. After narrowly beating Governor RONALD REAGAN for the Republican nomination, Ford lost the election to JIMMY CARTER. In 1980 he rejected Reagan’s offer to make him his running mate when Reagan refused to consider a “co-presidency” in which Ford’s power would be increased beyond ordinary vice presidential duties.

As an ex-president, he spoke in favor of election reform and gay rights and condemned the war in Iraq. He died the day after Christmas, 2006, at the age of 93—the longest-lived American president.

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BILL KTE’PI

Free Speech Movement

The Free Speech Movement (FSM) began in 1964 at the University of California, in Berkeley. It was the catalyst for student protest in the United States and in the world during the 1960s–1970s. The movement began

as a protest by students, teaching assistants, and faculty against the university’s ban on political activities and sought to establish the right to state political views on campus.

The size of the incoming freshman class at Berkeley grew by 37 percent between 1963–64. Humanities and social majors had risen from 36 to 50 percent in the previous decade. The new students were more socially conscious than their predecessors.

The president of the University of California system, Clark Kerr, anticipated the influx, but failed to anticipate that the old *in loco parentis* philosophy was impractical in the face of student restlessness and activism. The student left wing began emerging in the late 1950s as the anticommunist fervor of the McCarthy era eased. Some of its leaders were the children of liberal and radical professionals. The student party at Berkeley, SLATE, wanted to end nuclear testing, capital punishment, and the COLD WAR. In 1957 it began running slates of candidates in student elections, and it included civil rights as one of its issues.

Berkeley students in 1960 protested the San Francisco hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), to radicals the most blatant symbol of the 1950s suppression of civil liberties. Police turned fire hoses on the protesters and arrested many of them. The HUAC produced a film, *Operation Abolition*, that attempted to portray the protesters as subversives, but the movie backfired—it was so poorly done that it supported the liberal case against the committee. It later became a cult classic on campuses.

Mario Savio, the son of a Roman Catholic machinist, entered this climate. Savio spent the 1964 summer teaching at a freedom school in McComb, Mississippi. After returning to Berkeley in September 1964, he learned that the traditional venue for protest, the Bancroft strip of Telegraph Avenue just outside Berkeley’s main gate, was off limits for the handing out of pamphlets, petitions, and recruitment because it had been the scene of demonstrations by students against local businesses that discriminated. The conservative regents pressed the administration into closing the campus and adjacent areas to recruiting and agitation.

The students reacted angrily. SLATE, anti-HUAC groups, civil rights activists, and ordinary students—even some conservative ones—protested the closure. On September 29, they set up tables on the Bancroft strip and refused an order to leave. On September 30, the university officials began taking names. When five protesters were ordered to appear before disciplinary hearings, 500, led by Mario Savio, marched on the

administration building. The marchers demanded that they be punished too. The administrators added the three leaders of the march to the five and suspended all eight.

The next day, students received handbills declaring that a fight for speech was under way. Student tables in front of Sproul Hall included representatives from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Du Bois Club, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and half a dozen others. When asked to identify himself, Jack Weinberg at the CORE table refused. When campus police attempted to arrest him, Weinberg went limp in the classic civil disobedience manner. For 32 hours the police car containing Weinberg and the police was unable to move. Finally Kerr and the student representatives compromised. Weinberg was released, the academic senate committee examined the question of suspensions, and the big issue of appropriate political behavior on campus was given to a faculty-student-administrator committee. That took care of the incident. It did nothing to stop the rebellion.

PRIOR RESTRAINT

The FSM wanted an absolute First Amendment freedom of political activity. When the senate committee announced a compromise, Savio denounced it as prior restraint. On November 9 Savio and his allies put up the tables even though the administration opposed them. The administration did nothing, leading many undergraduates to conclude that the administration was picking and choosing, taking on the FSM because it was weak. The undergraduates shifted support back to the FSM.

The faculty senate committee issued its findings on November 13. Six of the eight were to be reinstated, but Savio and Art Goldberg were to be on suspension for six weeks—retroactive to the incident more than six weeks in the past. The regents increased the penalties for Savio and Goldberg. FSM became stronger as the semester ended.

On December 2, in another protest of university action against the FSM, the graduate students went on strike. Four to five thousand heard Savio speak against the grinding of the machine and about the need to resist, and 1,000 to 1,500 students occupied the administration building. Under the authority of Governor Pat Brown, 600 state and county police cordoned off Sproul Hall, and the chancellor ordered the students to leave. Clearing the building of limp protesters took 12 hours. All 773 arrested for trespassing were out on bail the next day.

The strikers were well organized, and with the support of faculty sympathizers turned out thousands of flyers. Most teaching assistants and faculty cancelled

classes. Kerr cancelled Monday classes to allow for a meeting where all could hear about his faculty-approved “new era of freedom under law.” When the meeting ended, Savio attempted to speak, but two campus guards dragged him from the stage. To the FSM supporters, it was a blatant denial of free speech. The crowd demanded that Savio be allowed to speak; he announced a rally at Sproul Plaza.

OLD SYSTEM

The academic senate meeting on the following day was the largest in memory. Several thousand students outside heard the proceedings over loudspeakers. The senate’s academic freedom committee endorsed all FSM demands, leaving the administration only the power to prevent physical disruption. Conservatives attempted to establish limits, but the proposals passed 824 to 115. Shortly thereafter the FSM ended the strike. The next day SLATE won every student government office. On December 18 the regents refused to accept the faculty committee’s recommendations.

The University of California’s board of regents resisted the pressure initially, but it slowly retreated until, on January 2, 1965, the new acting chancellor, Martin Meyerson, ceded most of the FSM’s basic demands. The regents reinstated the rights of students to set up tables on campus, especially in Sproul Plaza, and to collect money through donations. They could also distribute literature and recruit members. Protests and marches for religious, social, and political causes were once again permitted.

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement was the prototype of the new campus liberalism. It altered the American campus for the foreseeable future. Traditional controls and curricula were gone, and students enjoyed the free exchange of ideas and freedom in general. The Berkeley FSM was but the first round in the generational clash of the 1960s–1970s. It brought to students the tactics of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, tools the students would use in protesting the war in Vietnam. Veterans of the 1960s protests would turn into leaders of the women’s rights movement, and both conservatism and liberalism would change. RONALD REAGAN would emerge from political obscurity on the issue of opposition to all that the FSM represented.

See also MCCARTHYISM; VIETNAM WAR.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

FRELIMO

FRELIMO, founded in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on June 25, 1962, is the result of a merger among three regionally based nationalist organizations—the Mozambican African National Union, the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, and the National African Union of Independent Mozambique. Eduardo Mondlane, its first president, settled its headquarters in 1963 outside of Mozambique in Dar es Salaam. His group was founded on the ideals of liberation from Portugal's colonial power. He was assassinated in 1969 by Portuguese forces.

By 1964 FRELIMO controlled most of the northern regions of Mozambique. The war waged against the Portuguese, concurrent with the anticolonial wars in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, drew heavy economic losses for Portugal. The resulting depression in Portugal contributed to the end of fascism in the home country and aided the victory of FRELIMO over the colonial forces. Portugal and FRELIMO negotiated Mozambique's independence, but FRELIMO's victory in 1975 also delivered a completely bankrupt nation.

FRELIMO established a one-party state based on Marxist principles, with Samora Machel as the first president of the newly independent nation. Its Marxist and communist roots provided Mozambique with diplomatic and some military support from Cuba and the Soviet Union. The new FRELIMO government went on to fight a civil war with RENAMO—a South African- and Rhodesian-sponsored political faction. This conflict did not see a resolution until the Rome General Peace Accords were signed in 1992.

Mozambique, as inherited by FRELIMO, was rife with poverty and illiteracy. The Portuguese colonists had prohibited elementary education to the indigenous

population, and upon fleeing the Portuguese dug up roadways, destroyed electrical and plumbing infrastructure, killed livestock, smashed equipment, and left the national treasury empty. In March 1976 FRELIMO closed its borders to Rhodesia.

The price of this solidarity was \$600 million in lost Rhodesian revenue and punitive sanctions imposed by apartheid South Africa on independent Mozambique. Rhodesia, backed by South Africa, waged war against Mozambique and FRELIMO with increasingly harsh raids into Mozambique's central provinces. Yet despite the continuation of war, FRELIMO, with overwhelming popular support, was able to cultivate outstanding economic growth in Mozambique by 1979. Mass literacy campaigns quickly nullified centuries of deprivation, and FRELIMO's healthcare policies were soon lauded worldwide as an ideal for developing nations.

With Machel's death in 1986, Joaquim Chissano began to lead both FRELIMO and Mozambique. Despite his education in the communist bloc countries, Chissano was not a hard-line Marxist and called for democratic, multiparty elections in 1994 that put an end to single-party rule. Chissano stepped down, and Armando Emilio Guebuza took over as leader of FRELIMO and Mozambique in 2005.

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RIAN WALL



Gaitán, Jorge Eliécer

(1903–1948) *Colombian politician and reformer*

Remembered mainly for the tragic manner of his death and the convulsions of violence sparked by his assassination on April 9, 1948—an event precipitating an explosion of popular outrage in Bogotá (the Bogotazo), and soon after, La Violencia (The Violence), which wracked Colombia through the 1950s and after—Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was born to a poor family on January 23, 1903. Entering school for the first time at age 11, and graduating from law school in 1924, Gaitán became a professor at the National University of Colombia and in 1926 earned his doctorate in jurisprudence at the Royal University of Rome.

Politically active from 1919 in the Colombian Liberal Party, in 1933 he broke with the Liberals to found the Revolutionary Leftist National Union (Unión Nacional Izquierdista Revolucionaria, or UNIR). His rise to prominence rested on his keen political skills, gifted oratory, populist message, and capacity to make that message resonate among ordinary people—especially workers and the poor. His discourse was filled with references to “the people,” a source of moral good, in contradistinction to “the oligarchy,” a force of evil, corruption, and oppression. Denouncing poverty, inequality, exploitation, and oppression, he advocated economic justice and reconfiguring the nation’s political life.

In 1935 he rejoined the Liberal Party, and in 1936 became mayor of Bogotá, an office he filled for eight months. In 1940 he was named minister of education,

and from 1943 to 1944 served as labor minister. In 1945 he was nominated as the Liberal Party’s candidate in the May 1946 presidential elections, but was defeated at the polls due to a Liberal split, coming in third after Conservative Mariano Ospina Pérez, who triumphed, and the runner-up, Liberal Gabriel Turbay. Named Liberal Party chief in 1947, he was widely considered the favorite for the 1950 presidential elections. His assassin, Juan Roa Sierra, was killed by rioters moments after Gaitán’s death, leading to much speculation about who was behind the assassination. Gaitán’s daughter, Gloria Gaitán, 11 years old at the time of her father’s death, later implicated the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and its Operation Pantomime. No definitive evidence has surfaced to prove the allegation, which is nonetheless consistent with the broader U.S. COLD WAR effort in the postwar years to stem populist leftist movements in Latin America and elsewhere. The assassination took place during the Ninth Pan-American Conference in Bogotá, and its Latin American Youth Conference, attended by Gaitán supporter FIDEL CASTRO of Cuba, among others.

See also COLOMBIA, LA VIOLENCIA IN (1946–1966).

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Gandhi, Indira

(1917–1984) *Indian prime minister*

Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (November 19, 1917–October 31, 1984) was the third (1966–77) and sixth (1980–84) prime minister of India and the first woman to hold that office. Her legacy is very complex.

Gandhi was the daughter of the first prime minister of India, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889–1964). She was a member of the Indian National Congress, a nationalist organization established during British rule in 1885. In the 1930s Gandhi began the Vanara Sena, a movement that consisted of young people who participated in marches and protests to support the independence movement and also distributed nationalist propaganda and illegal materials.

While attending Oxford University, Gandhi met a young Parsee activist and Congress Party member, Feroze Gandhi (1912–60). The two eventually returned to India and were married in 1942. They had two sons, Rajiv (1944–91) and Sanjay (1946–80). Shortly after their marriage she and Feroze joined Mohandas Gandhi's (1869–1948) nonviolent action against the British, which landed them in jail. Shortly after independence Gandhi moved to Delhi to aid her father, and Feroze accepted a position in Allahabad as a writer for a Congress Party newspaper.

During India's first election, Gandhi worked as campaign manager for both her father and her husband. Nehru won the election and became the first prime minister of India; Feroze won a seat in Parliament. Friction between Nehru and Feroze Gandhi caused the couple's official separation. Feroze Gandhi suffered a heart attack in 1957 and after a brief reconciliation with Indira and their two sons, died in 1960.

Gandhi's political career took off. She was elected president of the Congress Party in 1960 and subsequently became Nehru's chief of staff and major political adviser. After her father's death in 1964, India's second prime minister, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, appointed her minister for information and broadcasting in his cabinet. In this position she became a very popular figure, as she traveled to many non-Hindi-speaking regions and calmed rising violence against the imposing of Hindi as India's national language. She also gained popularity when she refused to leave volatile border regions where she was vacationing when the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 broke out. After Prime Minister Shastri died, Gandhi won the election and became the third prime minister. She immediately began successful programs to aid farmers in the production of staple foods.



Indira Gandhi was the third prime minister of India following independence and the first woman to hold the office.

In 1971 she met her first major crisis when East Pakistan declared independence. Events culminated in another Indo-Pakistani War in 1971. India's intervention led to the defeat of Pakistani forces and independence for Bangladesh. India detonated a nuclear device and joined the nuclear club in 1974 under her leadership.

The Congress Party, however, suffered schism. One reason was her shifting of power away from the individual states to the central government. She was accused of fraud and was found guilty. Her sentence was removal from office and prohibition from running in elections for six years, which she appealed, thus remaining in office until the appeal could be heard.

She then countered the advice of President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to declare a state of emergency that would give the prime minister and her government unchecked power. On June 26, 1975, the emergency proclamation was ratified by Parliament. Elections were postponed. The emergency government she led

had unlimited power of detention and censorship and persecuted many members of opposing parties. However, the economy flourished, and violence decreased. The emergency ended in 1977, possibly because she believed in her popularity. She called for elections, was beaten handily by the JANATA PARTY, and stepped down. Her measures in imposing and leading the government during the emergency split the Congress with an offshoot wing called Congress-I supporting her.

The Janata government immediately sought to prosecute the former prime minister for her illegal acts. It reviewed, and the president called for, new elections in 1980, in which the Congress-I won a landslide victory.

Gandhi's final term as prime minister had to deal with challenges from the Sikh Akal Takht extremist movement, which sought autonomy for Punjab, a state with a Sikh majority. Gandhi countered by ordering the Indian army to raid the Golden Temple in Amritsar, a site holy to Sikhism. The raid resulted in an uproar among the Sikh minority. Two of Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards assassinated her on October 31, 1984.

See also GANDHI, RAJIV, AND SONIA S.

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CALEB SIMMONS

Gandhi, Rajiv, and Sonia S.

(1944–1991 and 1946–) *Indian politicians*

Rajiv Ratna Gandhi was the seventh prime minister of India, following in the footsteps of both his grandfather, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889–1964) and his mother, INDIRA GANDHI (1917–84).

After finishing high school in India, Rajiv, like most children of prominent Indian families, went to England for further education. He attended Imperial

College London and Cambridge University. At Cambridge Rajiv met Sonia Maino, an Italian student, and despite opposition from her family she moved to India and the two were married in 1968. Rajiv and Sonia had two children, Rahul and Priyanka. Rajiv initially showed no interest in politics. He worked as an airline pilot for Indian Airlines. However, after the death of his brother, Sanjay (1946–80), Rajiv was persuaded to enter politics by his mother. He was criticized for his lack of experience and viewed as merely a successor of a Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. In 1981, Rajiv won the Parliament seat vacated by his brother and became a top adviser to Indira. He became the leader of the Congress Party's youth movement, the Youth Congress, and won popularity as a young progressive leader.

After Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984, President Zail Singh dissolved Parliament, and new elections were held. Rajiv was named president of the Congress Party, which won a landslide, and Rajiv assumed the role of prime minister of India. Immediately after taking office Rajiv began changing foreign policy to strengthen relations with the United States and distance India from the Soviet Union. He also began to reform governmental quotas, tariffs, taxes, and educational spending policies, extending the opportunity to receive an education to lower-class citizens.

Rajiv also promoted human rights and peace within India and abroad. His policies reconciled disaffected Sikhs in Punjab. He also sent an arbitration and peacekeeping corps to Sri Lanka to mediate between the government and rebels called the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). After a treaty was signed, conflict broke out between the Indian forces and the rebels over disarmament. Many Indian soldiers were killed, forcing Rajiv to withdraw his forces.

Rajiv's image was further tarnished by a scandal involving foreign defense contracts that paid high-ranking Indian officials. He lost the following election. Rajiv, however, remained the president of the Congress Party and the leader of the opposition.

On May 21, 1991, he was assassinated by a suicide bomber from Sri Lanka opposed to his interventions in her country, while he was campaigning for reelection. His death once again united the Congress Party, which regained a majority in Parliament. Sonia, his widow, was urged to enter politics and assume the seat vacated by her husband. She refused and remained outside of the political arena until shortly before the 1998 elections. She then announced her candidacy for a seat in Parliament, and later she also won the presidency of

the Congress Party, now in opposition. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) governed India to 2004. In the 2004 elections the Congress Party once again won a majority. She was unanimously elected as the new prime minister of India but declined due to the controversy surrounding her foreign birth. She in turn appointed former economist MANMOHAN SINGH, the former finance minister, as the first Sikh prime minister of India.

See also TAMIL TIGERS.

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CALEB SIMMONS

Gang of Four and Jiang Qing

The epithet "Gang of Four" was Mao Zedong's (Mao Tse-tung) name for his wife, Jiang Qing, and her three lieutenants, Yao Wenyuan (Yao Wen-yuan), Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Ch'un-ch'iao), and Wang Hongwen (Wang Hung-wen) in 1976; the four rose to power during the GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION (1966–76). Jiang had hoped to succeed her husband as leader of the Chinese Communist Party when he died, with the assistance of her three confederates. Instead, they fell from power within a month of his death, were tried for high crimes in 1980, and were convicted.

Jiang Qing (1913–91) was an actress in Shanghai before she went to Yan'an (Yenan). She became Mao's secretary, then his wife, over the objection of his colleagues, who reputedly made him promise to keep her out of politics for at least 20 years. Largely sidelined from running the party since 1960 as a result of the failed GREAT LEAP FORWARD, Mao promoted her to great prominence in 1966 to help him recapture power. Together they unleashed the Cultural Revolution and empowered the youthful Red Guards to inflict a reign of terror that eliminated Mao's enemies. Jiang Qing took control of the media and banned all entertainment except for the eight "model operas" that she authorized.

However, before his death in September 1976, Mao appointed Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), minister of public security and acting premier, to be his successor. Jiang then planned to mount a coup and assassinate the senior party leaders with the aid of her lieutenants and the militia, which was loyal to them. But they were preempted by Hua, who had the support of the senior party and military leaders. Hua invited the Gang of Four to attend an emergency meeting of the Politburo (the supreme council of the Communist Party) at its headquarters at midnight on October 5. Zhang, Wang, and Yao fell into the trap and were arrested as they arrived for the meeting; Jiang was captured while still in bed. None of their supporters rose to their aid. This event was called the Smashing of the Gang of Four.

Nevertheless it took four years before the Gang of Four was brought to trial for crimes they had committed against the state and people because of the difficulty of assessing Mao's role in what transpired during the Cultural Revolution. In November 1980 a special court charged them with framing and persecuting party and government leaders, torturing and killing more than 34,750 people, and plotting an armed uprising in Shanghai after Mao's death. Although the others admitted guilt, Jiang remained defiant, claiming that she had acted as Mao's dog, doing his bidding. The trial lasted two months and resulted in death sentences for Jiang and Zhang, with a two-year suspended execution. Wang was sentenced to life and Yao received 20 years. Some sources say that Jiang committed suicide in jail in 1991. Wang died in 1992, Zhang died in 2005, and Yao died in 2006.

See also DENG XIAOPING.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Gaulle, Charles de (1890–1970) French president

Charles de Gaulle represented French strength and resilience throughout his career, first as an officer during World War I and the interwar period, then as leader of the Free French government abroad during World War II, and finally as the president of the republic during an era characterized by prosperity and foreign policy

challenges. His determination to defend France's independence and freedom of action earned him both plaudits and criticism. His social and cultural conservatism frustrated French youths of the late 1960s, although his supporters appreciated his respect for tradition.

De Gaulle received a solid, humanist education at Catholic-run schools. His father, Henri, was a teacher of history and letters. Having decided not to continue in his father's footsteps, De Gaulle entered the military academy of Saint-Cyr in 1908. He joined the infantry because it would be exposed to direct fire in wartime. He served as a student officer under Colonel Philippe Pétain. Following graduation from Saint-Cyr in 1912, de Gaulle chose to join Pétain's 33rd Infantry Regiment from Arras. Lieutenant de Gaulle received several wounds during World War I, though he returned to combat as soon as he recovered from them. He became a colonel before he received a third, nearly fatal wound during the battle of Verdun in 1916. Left for dead, he became a prisoner of war under German supervision. He attempted escape five times without success.

After armistice he briefly returned to France before being posted to Poland. He helped to organize an army to fight against the Soviet Red Army. He spent the years after his 1921 marriage to Yvonne Vendroux in France. In 1931 he joined the general secretariat of National Defense in Paris, where he became involved in politics for the first time.

He also commenced writing and theorizing about warfare during the interwar period. He published several articles that attracted attention due to his unorthodox claims; de Gaulle recommended that commanders adapt to the particular features of their situation. In a series of lectures at the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, under Pétain, he considered possible reforms of the military. De Gaulle advocated the creation of a corps that combined firepower and mobility in the interest of rapid, daring offensives.

After France declared war against Germany in September 1939, de Gaulle became commander of the 5th Army. After the French troops had been pushed back and many evacuated from Dunkirk, de Gaulle left for London with his aide-de-camp, Geoffroy de Courcel. He expected that the French government would continue the war from abroad. In response to Pétain's announcement of armistice with Germany, General de Gaulle made his first appeal for continued resistance. Relatively few in France heard the initial message; the next day, however, the press promulgated de Gaulle's call to arms. In succeeding days, de Gaulle repeated his rejection of the armistice and of Pétain's government.

De Gaulle organized the Free French Forces and, with the help of French jurist René Cassin, ensured that they would retain their national identity and enjoy a special status when fighting among British soldiers. The Free French soldiers would assist the Allies during the campaigns in North Africa, Italy, and France.

De Gaulle established a series of committees designed to give structure to the Free French. The French National Committee, created in September 1941, began as the focal point for the government in exile. Soon after de Gaulle settled in Algiers he organized the French Committee for National Liberation, on June 3, 1943. He helped to coordinate the resistance within France by deputizing Jean Moulin to lead the National Council for the Resistance.

De Gaulle disagreed with the new Constituent Assembly, chosen through elections held in October 1945, about the form of the new French state, so he resigned on January 20, 1946. On April 14, 1947, de Gaulle launched the Rassemblement du Peuple Français (RPF), which he intended as a "gathering" of loyal Frenchmen who opposed the weak executive and sweeping social legislation planned by the government of the Fourth Republic. In practice, the RPF served as a political party akin to the others. The RPF enjoyed local electoral success but had little effect on national politics given their small numbers in the National Assembly. The RPF staged a resurgence in 1958 when de Gaulle returned to the fore after years in the political "desert."

Between 1955 and 1958 de Gaulle relaxed at his estate at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. He remained attuned to current events, especially to the crisis of the Fourth Republic as it confronted the independence movement in Algeria that began with a November 1, 1954, insurrection. Some influential people called for de Gaulle to take control as a means of preventing civil war. On May 19, 1958, de Gaulle expressed his willingness to lead the republic, though he had no intention of staging a coup.

On May 29 then-president René Coty called upon de Gaulle to form a government. The National Assembly accepted his presidency on June 1; he received the power to rule by decree for a six-month period and to introduce constitutional reforms. The constitution approved on September 29, 1958, brought the Fifth Republic into existence and provided for a strong executive and an influential parliament. De Gaulle received a large plurality in presidential elections and assumed the powers given to the president under the new constitution on January 8, 1959.

As president of France, de Gaulle intended to resolve the Algerian crisis, to direct France's relations with her

European neighbors, and to ensure her independence relative to the United States. He traveled to Algeria on numerous occasions, finally concluding that France had to give the colony its independence. Negotiations proved difficult, given multiple factions in Algeria and the failed putsch staged by French generals in April 1961. After almost a year of talks the Évian Accords were signed on March 22, 1962, and then accepted by the French and the Algerians through referenda.

De Gaulle made important contributions to the formation of a united Europe, though he never accepted the need for France to surrender any sovereignty in the process of building the European Union. He adhered to the requirements instituted by the Treaty of Rome, signed just prior to his arrival in office, by initiating financial reforms and by reducing customs duties and tariffs imposed on trade with other European countries. He pursued cordial relations with Germany; German chancellor Konrad Adenauer and de Gaulle signed the Elysée Treaty on January 22, 1965.

De Gaulle also directed his attention to ensuring French national independence during the COLD WAR. Although always opposed to communism and a sup-

porter of capitalism, as made evident by his immediate encouragement of American president JOHN F. KENNEDY during the Berlin crisis (1961) and the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS (1962), he nonetheless believed it important for France to retain a “free hand” in the world. In his quest to preserve France’s international stature de Gaulle continued the nuclear program started after World War II; France exploded its first atomic bomb in the Sahara in February 1960. De Gaulle gradually pulled France out of the NATO military command, though the country remained part of the alliance even after 1966.

De Gaulle further demonstrated his determination to maintain an autonomous foreign policy by his decision to recognize the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA in 1964. He criticized the U.S. war in Vietnam during a 1966 speech in Cambodia.

He justified his encouragement of Québécois independence activists as being in line with his lifelong opposition to imperialism and his belief in the right to national self-determination. On the other hand, he developed amicable relations with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite states.

Despite hesitations and almost no campaigning, de Gaulle won reelection to the presidency over François Mitterrand in 1965. Yet trouble was on the horizon. Although his tenure was generally a time of economic prosperity and modernization, many citizens chafed at the lack of social and cultural modernization. The events of May 1968, when students and labor union members engaged in protests and strikes, posed a problem for de Gaulle. Much to the public’s consternation he disappeared from France by helicopter on May 29. After returning from an evening in Baden Baden, where he consulted with a French general, he gave a radio address in which he stressed the need to remain intransigent about the necessity of public order.

The legislative campaigns that followed de Gaulle’s dissolution of the assembly did little to eliminate the social fissures that had been revealed and exacerbated by the events of May 1968. The president became more cut off from the citizenry, while the new assembly refused necessary reforms. Ignoring his advisers, de Gaulle put planned reforms of the Senate to referendum in 1969. French voters responded negatively. He immediately announced his resignation and returned to his estate.

In the year prior to his death he wrote his *Mémoires d’espoir* (only the first volume of which was completed) and received visitors at his estate. De Gaulle was buried in the local church according to his instructions.

See also ALGERIAN REVOLUTION.



The head of the Free French during World War II, Charles de Gaulle (right) led France through the postwar period.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

gay liberation movements

The birthplace of the modern gay liberation movement in the United States is usually considered to be the Stonewall Inn, where riots took place in June 1969 in New York City. The Stonewall Riots and the social movement they engendered were influential in many countries. Stonewall did not occur in a vacuum, and there were social movements advocating gay liberation in the United States and elsewhere long before 1969.

Although gay and lesbian communities thrived in certain cities early in the 20th century in the United States, the fact that same-sex behavior was both illegal and widely considered immoral made it difficult for gay people to organize. The Society for Human Rights, founded by Henry Gerber in Chicago in 1924, was shut down by the police a few months into its existence. Several longer-lasting organizations were founded after World War II, including the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles in 1951 (for men); ONE, Inc., in Los Angeles in 1952 (for men and women); and The Daughters of Bilitis in 1955 in San Francisco (for women). These organizations were more conservative than the post-Stonewall gay liberation organizations, and often stressed how similar homosexuals were to heterosexuals and advocated “blending in” to the dominant culture.

The Stonewall Riots took place in Greenwich Village on the weekend of June 27–29, 1969. Not coincidentally, Judy Garland, an icon of the gay community, died on June 27, 1969. Although eyewitness accounts of the actual events of the Stonewall Riots differ, all agree that the precipitating event was a police raid in the early morning of June 28 on the Stonewall Inn, a bar on Christopher Street frequented by members of the gay community. Patrons of gay bars were used to police raids; normally the patrons would peacefully allow themselves to be arrested, but on June 28 they decided to fight back. The situation quickly turned into

a brawl outside the bar. Passersby joined in the action, people began throwing stones and bottles, and eventually the outnumbered police had to take refuge in the bar. A riot-control unit was summoned, and the crowd was dispersed, but on the evening of June 28 another large crowd gathered outside the Stonewall, and there were more confrontations with the police into the early morning of June 29. A change of spirit was noted in the gay community, as gay people realized that they did not need to accept second-class status and that they had sufficient strength in numbers to resist harassment from the police or anyone else.

The first modern gay liberation organization, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), was formed a month after Stonewall. It was modeled more on other radical social organizations of the 1960s such as the Black Panthers. The GLF's agenda was radical: They believed a societal transformation was necessary to ensure the rights of gay and lesbian people, and they also opposed racism, sexism, and militarism. Many other gay liberation groups were formed in the following years. The success of these organizations in winning full civil rights for gay people was uneven and varied within the United States.

The word *homosexual* first appeared in a German pamphlet published in 1869, and Germany was the home of many pioneer theorists of gay liberation as well as the first gay liberation movement of the modern era. Leaders included Adolf Brand (1874–1995), publisher of the first homosexual literary journal, *Der Eigene*; Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), the most prominent leader of the early German gay liberation movement; and Kurt Hiller (1885–1972). Although same-sex activities were technically illegal in both Germany and Austria, in fact the laws were frequently ignored, and a thriving homosexual subculture existed in major cities. This period of freedom came to a halt with the rise of National Socialism. More than 100,000 homosexuals were arrested during the Nazi years, many serving time in prison or concentration camps. Gay and lesbian activism revived in the 1970s in Germany and Austria, and in 2006 both countries recognized same-sex civil unions.

The Netherlands was also a leader in gay liberation: The country legalized same-sex behavior among adults in the 19th century. In the 1970s many gay and lesbian groups formed, and most forms of discrimination against gay people were abolished. In 2001 the Netherlands became the first country to recognize same-sex marriage, including the right to adopt children.

Many western European countries had gay liberation movements similar to those in the United

States in the 1960s and 1970s, as did countries with a predominantly European culture such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In many ways, gay men and lesbians in these countries had more rights than they did in the United States. Most European countries have decriminalized homosexual behavior and have outlawed discrimination against homosexuals. Belgium and Spain became the second and third countries to recognize same-sex marriage, in 2003 and 2005, respectively, and many other countries recognize same-sex civil unions, including Portugal, France, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Hungary, Croatia, and Denmark.

The idea of gay liberation and antigay prejudice became more prominent with the onset of AIDS. Originally, AIDS was referred to as gay-related immune deficiency (GRID) until it became evident that the disease was not limited to the homosexual community. For many, AIDS was seen as divine retribution against the homosexual lifestyle; others saw the disease as a justification for antigay discrimination.

It is difficult to generalize about gay liberation in non-Western countries. In some countries the history of rights for gay people is similar to that of western Europe. In general, greater prosperity may be associated with greater personal freedom, but this is not always the case. For instance, Singapore, which has one of the highest standards of living in the world, outlaws homosexual behavior between men. Japan, an equally industrialized country, has a history of tolerance of homosexual behavior; gay organizations within that country have been oriented more toward entertainment and culture than political reform. In Turkey, a country that in 2006 hoped to become a member of the European Union, same-sex behavior is not technically illegal but gay people are often harassed by the police. This combination makes the formation of a gay liberation movement difficult, but two Turkish gay liberation organizations were founded in the 1990s: Lambda Istanbul (for men and women) and Sappho (for women).

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was an international agreement, originally between 23 nation-states, resulting from meetings held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947. Its goal was to promote global trade through a reduction in tariff barriers and other obstacles to the free flow of goods and services. Born at the dawn of the COLD WAR (1947–91) and shaped most by the commercial and security concerns of the United States and western Europe, GATT was the principal international agreement governing commercial and tariff policies until its subsumption by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.

GATT was originally conceived as the International Trade Organization (ITO), which would complement the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) and WORLD BANK, both founded at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. Because the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the ITO charter, President Harry S. Truman issued an executive order making the United States a signatory to GATT. Although GATT had no enforcement mechanism to ensure compliance by signatory states, it survived principally through its members' voluntary adherence to its provisions, and fears of trade retaliation if they did not.

Neither an international body nor a formal treaty, GATT was renegotiated many times, in a series of "rounds" named after the cities or countries in which the meetings took place, or after a country's leader—for example, the Geneva Round (1955–56); the Kennedy Round, held in Geneva and named after U.S. President JOHN F. KENNEDY (1964–67); the Tokyo Round (1973–79); and the Uruguay Round (1986–93). Among the most important aspects of the resulting agreements concerned the principle of "most favored nation status," or nondiscrimination, in which no signatory could discriminate against another without discriminating against all. Typically, the supplier(s) of a particular commodity negotiated with the consumer(s) of that commodity regarding tariffs, regulatory quotas, and related issues. Once an agreement was reached, it became part of GATT, shared by all member nations. As a result, average world tariffs on industrial commodities declined to 13 percent by the mid-1960s.

Critics charged that GATT systematically favored the world's most advanced industrial countries and locked the producers of primary export products into a permanent subordinate status within the global economic system. Pointing to the historical example of the United States, in which tariffs were routinely used to promote domestic industries, opponents of GATT accused it of perpetuating global economic inequalities and undermining the principle of national sovereignty. GATT's defenders countered that tariffs and quotas constituted unfair trading practices, and that free trade agreements in general increased the world's wealth by increasing trade and encouraging individual countries to leverage their comparative economic advantages.

GATT's successor, the WTO, a permanent body of the UNITED NATIONS, which in 2007 had 145 members, does have enforcement mechanisms. Critics denounce the WTO as a tool of wealthy multinational corporations. Its defenders regard it as essential in ensuring the free flow of goods, services, and ideas. Debates regarding the efficacy and ethics of GATT and the WTO will likely remain heated.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Germany (post–World War II)

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the leaders Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Franklin Roosevelt of the United States, and Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union agreed that Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation following its military defeat. The three countries and the French would each control one zone. In addition the capital city of Berlin, which lay within the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four sectors, one for each ally. The political leaders did not anticipate that these occupation zones would lead to a formal division of Germany into two separate nations. But in the context of growing tensions between Western and Eastern Allies, which laid the basis for the COLD WAR, Germany became the primary battleground in a new kind of war, one of ideology rather than direct con-

flict. The division, formally made in 1949, lasted until reunification on October 3, 1990. The three western zones fused together as the Federal Republic of Germany, a nation reconstituted as a parliamentary democracy; the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic, with a communist-dominated government.

Initially, the Allies endeavored to administer their zones by developing interzonal policies, through the auspices of the Allied Control Council. As part of their reparations the Soviets began to strip their zone of foodstuffs, livestock, transportation networks, and even entire factories. A major breaking point occurred in early 1948 as the three Western Allies—joined by Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—called for the western zones of occupation to be eligible for MARSHALL PLAN aid from the United States. This paved the way for a proposal to fuse the three western zones together economically and to introduce a common currency, the deutschmark, in May 1948. The former Allies were now clearly on opposite sides of a new war, and former enemies, the Germans, had become the respective allies of the two hostile superpowers.

LEGACY OF THE THIRD REICH

Each of these new German nations had to grapple with the legacy of the Third Reich as they wrote new constitutions, revised legal codes, rebuilt their devastated economies, and struggled to find a new identity. A first step in the process was for occupation authorities to allow the revival or creation of political parties. Occupation authorities first encouraged politics to resume at the local and regional levels, while the question of national unity remained uncertain. By 1947 each of the regions, or *Länder*, in the western zones of occupation was led by a minister president, who was chosen by directly elected parliamentary assemblies. A similar process emerged in the Soviet zone, but with much less freedom of choice.

It was apparent that the four occupation zones would not be unified as one political entity. The Western powers began to take steps toward encouraging the fusing of their zones, politically as well as economically. They authorized the West Germans to hold a constitutional assembly, draft a constitution, and secure its ratification by the state parliaments. This assembly convened in September 1948 and worked for nine months, compromising over issues such as the balance between state and federal powers. West Germany ratified its constitution in May 1949, held its first nationwide elections in August 1949, and narrowly chose Konrad Adenauer as its first chancellor.

In the Soviet zone, the process of encouraging German-style socialism was abandoned in the Soviet drive to secure compliance from its satellite states by 1947. In its stead, political parties on the Left called a People's Congress into session at the end of 1947. By October 1948 this congress of about 2,000 delegates had written and approved a constitution for what would become East Germany. On October 7, 1949, the Congress voted unanimously to form the German Democratic Republic.

Economic rebuilding in West Germany received an enormous boost from the United States through Marshall Plan aid. This led to the German Economic Miracle; by the mid-1950s the West German economy was robust. The volume of foreign trade tripled between 1954 and 1964, while unemployment dropped from between 8 and 9 percent in 1952 to less than 1 percent by 1961. In 1957 Germany joined with five other western European nations (France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Italy) in the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC). The EEC created a common market, which allowed for the free movement of goods and people, facilitated stronger economic growth in a collective sense, and eliminated taxes and tariffs among its members. Amid considerable internal controversy and over strong French protest, West Germany also rearmed itself and joined NATO in 1955.

East Germany's economy was closely tied to that of the Soviet Union, as it instituted centralized economic planning, reduced private ownership of property, and seized and either collectivized or redistributed farmlands. In 1950 it joined COMECON, and in 1955, the WARSAW PACT. Relations between the East Germans and the Soviets were strained during the first decade of West German existence, exacerbated by the Soviets' stripping of the eastern zone in the immediate aftermath of the war; the brutal treatment of German civilians, particularly women, at the hands of the Soviet military; and the economic hardships created by the transition to state-centralized economic planning. It also led to a serious drain of workers; by 1952 more than 700,000 East Germans had fled to the West.

Tensions between West and East Germany increased again in the late 1950s, sparked by the steady stream of young, productive, educated workers from East Germany to West Germany. In the summer of 1961, by which time more than 3 million East Germans had fled to the west since 1949, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, premier of the Soviet Union, spoke out against the infiltration of Western saboteurs and imperialists into the East and the necessity of "protecting" the people of East Germany from Western propaganda. This war of words culminated on August

13, 1961, when the citizens of the divided city of Berlin awoke to the sounds of construction. East German soldiers began to build a wall, one that eventually stretched for more than 100 miles, completely encircling the city of West Berlin, with minimal access through military checkpoints. The wall cut across streets and through subway and train stations, and separated families, religious congregations, and friends, dividing them for 28 years and 4 months, until it fell on November 9, 1989.

The 1960s in West Germany were marked by generational conflict and the resurgence of the political left. Student movements in the 1960s in West Germany grew in response to a host of causes: nuclear disarmament, outdated curriculum and inadequate resources at universities, and Bonn's support for U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In 1966 the West German economy, which had boomed for more than 15 years, suffered a depression, leading to increased unemployment and stagnation in industrial production. In addition, the political dominance of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) came to end, as the parties were forced to build a coalition with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) to formulate policy in November 1966. This marked the first incursion of the SPD into the postwar West German cabinet. The power of the SPD continued to rise, culminating with its electoral victory in 1969, which gave it the majority of seats within the parliament and propelled Willy Brandt into the position of chancellor, which he held until May 1974.

Within East Germany, the economy stabilized. The government, under the control of Walter Ulbricht, ensured higher production of consumer goods, built limited flexibility into centralized economic planning, and achieved an average annual increase in industrial production of 7 percent by 1967. Greater choices among clothing, food, and leisure activities also grew. But by the late 1960s, the climate turned harsher; under a new constitution, basic freedoms, such as the rights to emigrate, were stripped away. Ulbricht resigned in 1971.

During the late 1960s the development of *Ostpolitik*, a thawing of relations between East and West, mediated the strict foreign policy of the Hallstein doctrine, established in 1955. This doctrine stated that the Federal Republic of Germany was the sole authoritative government of the German people and as such demanded that diplomatic recognition never be extended to East Germany. Among the practical implications of this policy was the fact that West Germany did not extend diplomatic relations to any of the Soviet satellite states in eastern Europe. Given the economic downturn and the need for expansion of export markets, the new coalition government first extended trade relations, and

then diplomatic relations, with states in eastern Europe. Negotiations culminated in December 1972, when the governments of West and East Germany signed the Basic Treaty, which guaranteed respect for the borders, officially recognized each other's independence, and promised to renounce the use of force.

REUNIFICATION

Since October 3, 1990, Germany has been a unified country again. Germany was first unified and subsequently became a nation-state in 1871. The date October 3, 1990, marks the day West Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland, or BRD) integrated East Germany (Deutsche Demokratische Republik, or DDR) under one political system: the democracy (Rechtsstaat) of the Federal Republic of Germany. Five new states were added to the existing 11, and the population grew by about 18 million, making Germany, with over 80 million inhabitants, the most populous country of the EUROPEAN UNION. In 2000 Berlin again became the capital of Germany.

By 1989 the two states had established themselves firmly as separate players on the world stage, with West Germany never having given up on the possibility of reunification. In January of that year, however, Erich Honecker—the GDR head of state and general secretary of the communist SED Party—confidently declared

that the Berlin Wall would still stand in 50 or 100 years. Nonetheless, reform movements had begun to ripple through a few communist countries, beginning with the SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT in POLAND in the 1980s, and in September 1989 Hungary opened its borders to Austria, allowing thousands of East Germans to escape via Hungary and Austria to West Germany.

The festivities for the 40th anniversary of East Germany, on October 7, 1989, were accompanied by demonstrations demanding democracy and freedom of expression. Moreover, the vast majority of East Germans could monitor the wealth of West Germany via radio and television, and the contrast was too stark to be tolerated any longer. Even the “big brother,” the Soviet Union, talked of reforms, and in 1989 its leader, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, famously admonished the East German government to engage in change. By mid-October Honecker, who had been in power since 1971, was forced to resign and Egon Krenz took over. October continued to be marked by numerous sizable demonstrations. On November 7 the East German government resigned while the demonstrations continued. On the evening of November 9 the East German leadership suddenly opened the borders to West Germany and to West Berlin, permitting thousands of East Germans to visit the West for the first time in their lives.



The modern skyline of Frankfurt, Germany. After reunification, the German government strongly supported moves toward greater European integration and common action, but the German population was less certain.

The remaining months brought rapid change for East Germans and their country. On November 10 East German soldiers began to take down the wall, and Hans Modrow became the new head of state. In December the Brandenburg Gate opened up to two-way traffic. Early 1990 saw more demonstrations. In February Helmut Kohl, chancellor of West Germany, met with Gorbachev, who granted Germany the right to unify and to do so at its own pace. In East Germany free elections were held in March for the first time, and in April, Lothar de Maizière became head of state; his coalition decided to unify East and West Germany according to Article 23 of West Germany's constitution. Negotiations began between East Berlin and Bonn and between the Allied forces, who still had soldiers in both Germanies. In June another symbol of the divided states, the border crossing at Checkpoint Charlie, was demolished. In July the West German mark was designated as the common currency for both Germanies. In late August East German leaders decided that East Germany would join West Germany on October 3, 1990, and on September 12, 1990, the four Allied powers, the foreign minister of West Germany, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and de Maizière signed the reunification contract in Moscow. Germany regained its sovereignty on October 1, and the four Allied powers suspended their rights. On October 3, 1990, Germany, after 45 years of separation, was once again one country. The date became an official holiday in Germany.

1991 TO THE PRESENT

Following political reunification with the former German Democratic Republic on October 3, 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany grappled with how to merge its economic structures, legal codes, educational institutions, and most important, population into one unified nation; arguably the larger process is not yet complete. In addition, the stunningly quick reunification, not even one year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, brought with it unintended and unforeseen consequences. Germany struggled with an economic downturn, the pressure of larger political integration with the European Union, spikes in both anti-Semitism and xenophobia, and the growth of splinter political parties on the far Right and far Left, while still facing the fundamental question of whether or not the Germans truly stand as one people.

One of the first steps after signing the official treaty to reunify the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic under article 23 of the Basic Law was to make provisions for including the former East German lands in the parliamentary system. In the first post-unification election, in Decem-

ber 1990, Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) won the most seats in four of the five former eastern states; the only state where the CDU polled the second-largest number of votes was in Brandenburg, where the Social Democratic Party (SPD) won more votes. The CDU continued to hold control of the government until the national elections of 1998 brought the SPD, under the leadership of Gerhard Schröder, into power. However, its inability to garner a clear majority of votes ushered in the so-called Red-Green coalition, building an alliance between the SPD and the Green Party. The CDU regained control over the government in the elections of May 2005, resulting in the election of Germany's first female chancellor, Angela Merkel, who is also the first chancellor of reunified Germany to have come from the former eastern lands.

In June 1991 the capital of Germany was transferred to Berlin. By 1994 a plan for moving the institutions of government had been drafted, and the process was complete by 1999. This vote had important implications, economic as well as symbolic. Undertaking this massive transfer of labor, offices, and institutions from Bonn to Berlin was extremely expensive; some estimates of costs ranged as high as \$70 billion. This was fiercely debated given the shaky economic ground of Germany in the early 1990s. However, moving the capital to its historic place had another set of meanings. Placing the seat of government within former eastern lands indicated the state's commitment to full integration of the two portions of Germany and shifted the orientation of the government further to the east.

As a unified state, Germany is the most populous in western and central Europe at more than 80 million inhabitants. It is the third-largest state in terms of land and also one of the most industrialized and prosperous nations in Europe. But despite these advantages in population and industrial capability, the economic recession of 1992 had devastating effects on the newly unified German nation. The integration process proved to be ruinous for the eastern region; as demand for their products dropped off precipitously, hundreds of factories closed and millions of workers lost their jobs. Despite some optimistic projections, deindustrialization was the immediate effect, not economic growth. Between 1990 and 1991 the Gross National Product (GNP) of the East declined by 33.4 percent. Industrial production fell by 67 percent in 1990–92, while the prices of goods increased by 12 percent. A total of 3 million jobs were lost, amounting to close to 50 percent of its total workforce. The agricultural sector was particularly hard hit, losing 800,000 jobs from a total

of about 1 million. Older workers were at a serious disadvantage, lacking the education and skills necessary in the transition economy. Of the workers aged 52 to 63 who were employed before the fall of the wall, 90 percent were unemployed following unification.

Economic development in the East would rebound slowly. Any waste was slashed at those entities that did manage to stay afloat. A complicating factor was that the “natural” market for their goods and services was floundering. Another difficulty encountered in the process was dealing with the claims (more than 1.5 million) of those who had lost property under the establishment of the communist state in 1949. When the Treuhand concluded its operations in 1994, it was running a deficit of 300 billion marks, a debt that had to be assumed by the unified German government.

When the economic recession of 1992 hit, its impact was even more severe in the East. By 1993 more than 10 percent of the German workforce was unemployed, the highest level in the West in more than three decades, and an unheard-of phenomenon in the east, where chronic unemployment underneath communism did not exist. Although unemployment reached its nadir in late 1994, it continued at rates higher than before unification. As of 1997 eastern unemployment stood at 18.3 percent, whereas in the West it was 9.7 percent. By the end of 2005 unemployment rates overall stood at just over 11 percent. The German government, under the leadership of Helmut Kohl, remedied this drain on economic resources in part through an increase in taxes. This tension between “Wessis” and “Ossis” persists, with many in the East feeling as if their entire former way of life has been discredited and devalued, and many in the West blaming the East for difficult economic times. A common expression is that a wall remains in the heads of many, still separating West and East.

One of the most visible, public reactions against the economic downturn and the dislocations caused by reunification was the backlash against foreigners. With the fall of communism across eastern Europe, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the regional conflict in the Balkans, the number of people seeking asylum in Germany jumped dramatically in the 1990s, at precisely the same time that the country was struggling to provide jobs, housing, and basic welfare to its own citizens. One aspect of the fallout from this development was an increase in the membership of right-wing political parties that emphasize “Germany for the Germans.” Although the public reaction against “foreigners” was even more negative in the former eastern lands than in the West, across Germany violence reached a height in

1992, with more than 2,600 violent acts taken against immigrants, their neighborhoods, and their businesses. This led to stricter asylum legislation in 1993 as well as widespread public demonstrations against the acts and the attitudes that lay behind them. A more recent development was a strong immigration stream of Jews, particularly from the former Soviet Union, which led to some spikes in anti-Semitism.

One of the largest groups suffering dislocations following unification was working women. In West Germany, women were not encouraged to hold full-time jobs and develop careers; in East Germany women were an integral part of the workforce. In 1989 at the time of the fall of the wall, only 51 percent of women were working in West Germany while 91 percent were employed in the East. After unification, as unemployment skyrocketed in the East, women were disproportionately represented among those who lost their jobs. Marriage and birth rates in the former eastern lands dropped drastically in the years immediately following unification, and divorce rates surged.

Germany’s position within Europe also shifted after unification, with important debates about the country’s role within larger institutions—such as NATO and the emerging European Union—garnering public attention both in Germany and in the larger international arena. Although the German government strongly supported moves toward greater integration and common action, the German population was less certain. For example, when the European Union was trying to launch its common currency, the euro, in 1998, six out of 10 Germans did not want to give up the deutschmark in exchange for the euro. In 2005 an attempt to adopt a political constitution for the European Union was defeated in both Germany and France. Although economic unification clearly had its benefits for the German economy, its people remained wary. However, the German public still strongly supported the military alliance, NATO, as a means of providing for security and coordinated international efforts to combat crime and terrorism.

See also BERLIN BLOCKADE/AIRLIFT.

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ANKE FINGER AND LAURA J. HILTON

Ghana

Ghana celebrated its independence from Britain on March 7, 1957. Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast, merged with a part of British Togoland, a former part of German West Africa ceded to Britain after World War I. Ghana was the first nation in Africa south of the Sahara to overthrow a colonial power; its independence was a momentous event for the people in the new nation and for people in the African diaspora everywhere.

Ghana was deliberately named to highlight its historical political situation as the sixth African nation to receive independence from a major colonial power. Ghana's leaders sought to link their nation to one of the great West African kingdoms of the past. This name represented both a political victory and a symbolic hope for black people everywhere. Held up as a symbol of black intelligence, self-determination, and power, Ghana's independence led to many idealistic expectations.

Its new leader, KWAME NKRUMAH, had spent time in prison in the struggle for independence, and he led a nation with many contradictory expectations. Fueled by the positive outcome of his many years fighting for independence and imbued with a Pan-Africanist ideology, a nationalist outlook, and mounting racial pride, Nkrumah liked neither the capitalism of the West nor the communism of the East. He articulated a nationalist ideology that celebrated and encouraged traditional African culture and dress. In addition, he embraced the Pan-Africanism he had been exposed to as a student in the United States and London. He supported the development of racial identity and linked himself to the ideals of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois.

What became known as "Nkrumahism" started out as a hybrid economic and social philosophy that com-

bined the best practices from both systems. Nkrumah's "African Socialism" became the model for organizing society in Tanzania under JULIUS NYERERE and in Kenya under JOMO KENYATTA. Nkrumah's articulations of self-determination also influenced the doctrine of Pan-Arabism championed by Egyptian president GAMAL ABDEL NASSER. Nkrumah demanded free education on all levels and the development of rural health care as well as the construction of bridges, roads, railroads, and waterways to build up Ghana's economy. Ghana's independence had major consequences for global politics and the lessening of European hegemony. In the decades following Ghana's independence, many linked the dissolution of the British Empire, the end of Portuguese colonial power in Africa, and the destruction of the apartheid system in South Africa to Ghanaian independence.

Nkrumah instituted many customary practices to help maintain order and restore stability. While utilizing the British model of government at the superstructure level, Nkrumah sought to empower local chiefs and elders by restoring respect for and interest in traditional structures of society. Elders, healers, and local officials were all enlisted in his effort to make Ghana a stable nation. Although many blame Nkrumah for destroying the country with his socialist politics and making it ripe for coups, his vision led to Ghana's independence and also defined the ethos of the new nation.

Many of Nkrumah's policies failed. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction with his government in the years leading to his ouster in 1966. Sixteen years of instability followed his exile.

In 1981 Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings seized power in a counter coup. He suspended the constitution and banned political parties. In 1992 a new constitution was approved, free elections were held, and Rawlings was elected to two four-year terms. Under the terms of the 1992 constitution, executive power was vested in the president, who was named head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. Rawlings was reelected president in 1996. Legislative power was vested in a single parliamentary chamber consisting of between 160 and 200 members chosen through direct adult suffrage for renewable four-year terms.

Given that Rawlings could not be elected to a third term, John Kufuor, a rather unknown politician, was elected president in 2000. An effective leader, he was reelected in 2004. The politics of modern Ghana followed two trajectories: a doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism and the socialist-inspired revolutionary practices of Nkrumah. Kufuor expanded and refined a third political tradition, introduced by Rawlings: He

continued policies of universal rural development while simultaneously opening up the private sector to external development and foreign investment.

Much of the current economic and social optimism in Ghana is tied to an enlightened ruling class with close ties to the United States and Great Britain, and a successful diaspora of almost 2 million people who send almost half a billion dollars to Ghana every year. With a multi-language, multiethnic, and diverse population, Ghana is a pluralistic society. Ghana has also been successful in attracting foreign investments from India, China, Lebanon, and other nations.

Ghana also has a highly educated population of about 20 million people. It operates a 12-year preuniversity educational system and has five public universities, private universities, eight polytechnics, and 22 technical institutions as well as many educational exchange programs around the globe. Ghana has substantial economic potential. As a stable nation with a credible government, a working infrastructure, and a highly trained population, Ghana's future seems bright. Although cacao is Ghana's best-known crop, other major exports include bauxite, diamonds, gold, foodstuffs, handicrafts, and timber. As a popular tourist destination, Ghana is well known internationally.

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ALPHINE W. JEFFERSON

globalization

First investigated by Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan in 1964 and then further explored since the 1970s, globalization is the process through which world populations become increasingly interconnected and interdependent, both culturally and economically. The process is often perceived by its critics as creating a sense of standardization throughout the globe and reinforcing economic inequalities between developed and underdeveloped countries. Advanced capitalism, enhanced by technological developments such as the Internet and electronic business transactions, is seen as stretching

social, political, and economic activities across the borders of communities, nations, and continents. Global connections and the circulation of goods, ideas, capital, and people have deepened the impact of distant events on everyday life. Thus globalization entails two related phenomena: the development of a global economy and the rise of a global culture. The major transnational financial, political, and commercial institutions that are instrumental to globalization are the G8, the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, the World Economic Forum, the WORLD BANK, and the World Trade Organization.

Samuel Huntington coined the expression *Davos Culture* in his book *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) to define such universal civilization. The phrase *Davos Culture* takes its name from Davos, the Swiss town that had hosted a preponderance of World Economic Forum meetings since 1971. The members of Davos Culture share the same visions of democracy and individualism, obviously favoring capitalism and the free market. The appeal of Davos Culture reaches across the political spectrum, often leading liberals and conservatives to share the same table. It has been noted that the 2005 meeting at Davos included not only a large contingent of the GEORGE W. BUSH administration and the Republican Party but also a considerable representation of the Democratic Party, led by former president BILL CLINTON and former vice president Al Gore.

The rise of a new global economy involves a discrepancy between a huge decentralization of production processes, often to developing countries where manpower is cheaper and unions are weaker, and a simultaneous centralization of command and control processes in rich economies. Corporations, whose level of accountability to the general public has increasingly been questioned, are perceived to have replaced governments in economic and social control. Corporations involved in this massive exposure of exploitative labor practices have included Gap, Wal-Mart, Guess, Nike, Mattel, and Disney. Antiglobal organizations are also investigating the links between transnational corporations and totalitarian regimes in developing countries.

Parallel to economic globalization is the phenomenon of cultural globalization. Its supporters claim that the rise of a global culture entails multiculturalism and a hybridization of national cultures. The creation of a global culture will also build a more peaceful world, based on shared cultural values. Critics of cultural globalization point out its darker side, claiming that cultural globalism destroys all local traditions and regional distinctions, creating a homogenized world culture. Local cultures are replaced by a uniform and single culture,

dictated by the same powerful corporations that control the global economy. In addition, globalization through economic commoditization—the spreading of Western values and lifestyles through the selling of Western goods throughout the world—is not such a simple and straightforward process.

In regard to economic globalization, cultural globalization has given rise to movements for resistance. Anti-global theorists stress how corporations have hijacked culture and education through their aggressive marketing practices. The antiglobalization movement was thrown from the fringes to the center of political debates thanks to the protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization in November 1999. Since then, major financial and commercial summits of the G8, the International Monetary Fund, the World Economic Forum, and the World Bank were disrupted by mass demonstrations in the streets of Washington, D.C.; Genoa; and Prague. After January 2001 annual counter-meetings were held at the World Social Forum in Pôrto Alegre, Brazil, under the slogan “Another World Is Possible.” Alternative media and communication networks such as Indymedia have been established to turn the Internet, one of the tools that makes globalization feasible, into a powerful anti-global weapon. In reaction to power centralization typical of the corporate world, antiglobal activists argue for fragmentation and radical power dispersal.

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LUCA PRONO

Gorbachev, Mikhail

(1931–) *Soviet president*

Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev was general secretary of the Communist Party, then president of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991. He was a reformer who attempted to fix the economic problems of the system and wanted democracy to grow within the country. He presided over the dismemberment and collapse of his nation.



Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan sign the INF Treaty limiting the use and production of ground-based ballistic missiles.

Gorbachev was born on March 2, 1931, in a small village in the Stavropol region in south Russia. Both his grandfathers were arrested as kulaks during a collectivization drive of 1928–33. His father joined the Communist Party and was a veteran of the Great Patriotic War (1941–45). Gorbachev himself was an eager student, joined the Communist Youth League, and gained acceptance to the law faculty at Moscow State University in 1950. He completed his studies in 1955. During his time in Moscow he met his future wife, Raisa Maksimovna Titorenko, who would play a crucial supporting role in his reforms throughout their lives. While in Moscow, Gorbachev gained a reputation as something of a liberal, publicly approving of the reformist efforts of the current leader, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. He also became close friends with a Czech student, Zdenek Mlynar, who would be active in Czechoslovak politics during the reformist PRAGUE SPRING of 1968.

After graduation, Gorbachev returned to Stavropol, where he practiced law for a few years. He was elected first secretary of the Stavropol city Komsomol committee in 1956. From there he began a quick ascent. In 1962 he moved to the Communist Party administration. He became first secretary of the Stavropol city party organization in 1966. In 1970 he rose to first secretary of the Stavropol region. After eight years he moved to Moscow, where he became the Central Committee secretary for agriculture. Within two years he was a full member of the Politburo, the ruling council of the Soviet state. Finally, in March 1985, he was chosen as general secretary of the Communist Party.

Even before Gorbachev became general secretary, he was thinking about ways to reform the system. His ini-

tatives followed a path laid out by the previous general secretary, Yuri Andropov. These were fairly conservative, calling for higher levels of productivity of labor. In 1986 Gorbachev announced a set of more radical proposals that he called *perestroika*, or restructuring. Perestroika called for decentralization and self-accounting for industries. He continued to innovate, even allowing cooperatives in order to gain control of illegal economic activities. None of his reforms challenged the basic nature of the Soviet Union's planned economic system.

DEMOCRATIZATION

Political reforms became an integral part of perestroika. Because Gorbachev's economic reforms were criticized and often ignored by entrenched party officials, he sought to remove them and bring new initiative through democratization. Multicandidate elections within the Communist Party were announced in 1987. Those elections were held in 1988, with thousands of contests throughout the country. When the Congress of People's Deputies met afterward, it represented a newly reformed Communist Party that pushed Gorbachev to implement additional changes.

Perhaps the most traumatic moment of Gorbachev's reign occurred when the Chernobyl nuclear station exploded in April 1986. A mix of unsafe construction, insufficient maintenance, and human error led to the worst radiation leak in history. In its wake, Gorbachev launched the policy of *glasnost*, or openness, in earnest. At first it involved a few magazines and journals, such as *Ogonek* and *Moscow News*, but it quickly spread to almost all other media. These outlets began to publish stories that openly revealed the problems that faced the Soviet Union—including poverty, corruption, and divorce. In addition, there was a broad reexamination of Soviet history, leading to harsh criticism of Joseph Stalin and even Vladimir Lenin. Literary works and authors that had been banned reappeared, such as Mikhail Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* and Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. Glasnost brought an ambivalent response from the Soviet public. Many were happy to see the truth of the past revealed but many, perhaps a majority, felt that these revelations unnecessarily blackened the reputation of the Soviet Union.

The pent-up hostility of the nations inside the Soviet Union was also released by Gorbachev's economic, political, and cultural reforms. Beginning in Uzbekistan in 1986 national groups began to resist decisions made in Moscow. Arguments between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over a small piece of territory led to violent clashes in 1988 and demonstrated the increasing weak-

ness of central authority. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania announced their sovereignty starting in 1988. A movement even began among the Russians, led by BORIS YELTSIN, to limit the power of the Soviet government over their territory. The increasing pressure from these national groups weakened Gorbachev's ability to hold the Soviet Union together.

MEETING WITH REAGAN

Foreign affairs were the area where Gorbachev had the most success. Gorbachev pursued a policy of reducing international tension from the beginning of his rule. After 1985 Gorbachev quickly moved toward negotiations that would eventually lead to the end of the COLD WAR. He met with U.S. president RONALD REAGAN repeatedly throughout the 1980s. These meetings culminated in the first arms control treaty in a decade, the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which removed both U.S. and Soviet nuclear-tipped missiles from Europe. The good relations continued with President GEORGE H. W. BUSH, although Gorbachev was never able to gain the large restructuring loans that he had hoped for from the Western powers.

The Soviet allies in eastern Europe benefited from Gorbachev's approach to foreign policy. The centripetal forces unleashed by perestroika did not stop at the Soviet border. Gorbachev, however, felt that it was unwise to attempt to keep eastern Europe forcibly under Soviet control. Conservative regimes in the Soviet bloc were unable to respond to perestroika and glasnost. When they appealed to Gorbachev for military help, he refused. Once his policy of nonintervention became clear, these regimes unraveled very quickly. All of the communist states collapsed in 1989. Gorbachev received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990 for his leading role in the reduction of international tensions and the generally peaceful transition to democracy.

With the end of Soviet dominance over eastern Europe, Gorbachev faced increasing internal resistance to his reforms. He tried to strengthen his political position by convincing the Congress of People's Deputies to create a new position—president of the Soviet Union—and elect him to it in March 1990. He also proposed the most radical transformation of the Soviet economy so far. Called "the 500 Days," it was supposed to move the planned economy quickly to a market-based one. He abandoned it before it truly started. Within a few months Gorbachev moved in the opposite direction. He brought in new advisers who held a conservative vision for the future of the Soviet Union. This conservative swing reached its peak in January 1991, when Soviet

troops moved into Lithuania in an attempt to prevent its declaration of independence.

In spring 1991 Gorbachev proposed a new arrangement that would greatly decentralize power but keep the Soviet Union together. He called a nationwide referendum to vote on this new structure. It was approved by almost 75 percent of those who voted in March. However, Gorbachev's archrival Boris Yeltsin used the referendum to create a position of president of the Russian Federation, from which he was able to undermine Gorbachev and his plans to hold the Soviet Union together. The new, weaker union was scheduled to go into effect on August 20, 1991.

The weakness in this agreement led a group of conservatives to attempt to restore the centralized power of the Soviet state. A coup attempt was launched on August 19 by men that Gorbachev had appointed earlier. Gorbachev was placed under house arrest and the plotters declared martial law. The coup attempt was quickly defeated. Resistance from Yeltsin, now president of the Russian Federation, and thousands of Muscovites who gathered outside the Russian parliament convinced the army to remain uninvolved in the political struggle. The coup plotters gave in a few days later. When Gorbachev returned from house arrest, his power was fatally weakened.

Yeltsin took the initiative after the failed coup. Yeltsin banned the Communist Party in Russia and undermined Gorbachev's last attempts to hold the state together. After months of futile negotiation, Gorbachev resigned as president on December 25, and the Soviet Union was officially disbanded on December 31, 1991.

Gorbachev remains active in Russian political life, though he is intensely disliked by most Russians. He ran for president of Russia in 1996 but received less than 1 percent of the vote. In 2006 he was the head of the Gorbachev Foundation in Moscow and traveled the world giving speeches. He is also the author of numerous books and a commentator on Russian and world politics.

See also ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN; COLD WAR; SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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KARL LOEWENSTEIN

Graham, Billy (William Franklin Graham)

(1918–) *evangelical leader*

William Franklin (Billy) Graham is one of the best-known and respected religious leaders of the 20th century. His influence has been immense in his roles as evangelist, as a shaper of modern evangelicalism, and as a link between evangelicalism and prominent political leaders, particularly Republican presidents.

Graham was raised and educated in a Southern, fundamentalist milieu, but by the 1940s had graduated from Wheaton College in Illinois and had become a world-roaming evangelist with Youth for Christ. A 1949 Los Angeles crusade brought him to the attention of William Randolph Hearst, who helped boost his career among a national audience. This crusade set the pattern for Graham's evangelistic appeal: In a context of COLD WAR anxieties, Graham urged personal and national repentance to avoid divine judgment. Throughout his career Graham's preaching would remain simple and direct, stressing that the answers to all essential questions are to be found in God through Jesus Christ.

In other respects, however, Graham departed significantly from the conservatism of many of his constituents. He refused to allow his audiences to be segregated by race, as was common in the South when he began his ministry. Beginning with his 1957 crusade in New York City, he agreed to cooperate with mainline churches. Fundamentalists who insisted that no fellowship could be maintained with theological liberals considered this a fatal compromise. Far from accommodating any kind of liberalism, however, both of these positions followed from Graham's principled biblicism. Indeed, along with several other figures, Graham was critical in shaping a post-fundamentalist stance for conservative Protestantism in the 1950s.

Through the National Association of Evangelicals and *Christianity Today*, Graham and others helped evangelicals shed what many saw as the angry self-righteousness of fundamentalism, as well as emerge from the cultural ghetto that kept them separated from "the world" and at the same time prevented their engaging it.

Graham's belief that modern men and women were desperate for the Bible's message led him to work with non-evangelicals who supported his crusades. It also made him welcome the attention of U.S. presidents who were eager to profit from associating with him. These were mostly symbiotic relationships: Politicians sought the approval of Graham's constituency, and evangelicals in turn moved closer to the cultural mainstream. Graham would later express some regret that he had allowed himself to be used, especially by RICHARD NIXON, who aggressively cultivated religious conservatives. At the time it had seemed an appropriate way to bring biblical truths to the ears of the powerful. In the 1980s, Graham would again shock his more conservative supporters by questioning the morality of the nuclear arms buildup.

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JOHN HAAS

Great Leap Forward in China (1958–1961)

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) followed the Soviet Union's model of planned economy on the socialist model. The success of the First Five-Year Plan (1953–57), undertaken with Soviet financial and technical aid, prompted the government to announce a more ambitious Second Five-Year Plan for 1958–62 that called for a 75 percent increase in industrial and agricultural production. This was not enough for party leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), who proclaimed a "Great Leap Forward" in February 1958 with the goal of passing Great Britain in industrial production by 1972. It mandated an average 18 percent increase in steel, electricity, and coal production for that year. This was only the beginning of a series of escalating and totally unattainable goals for production.

Mao called on the Chinese people to "walk on two legs," that is, to use modern and sophisticated plants built with Soviet aid to make steel, along with primitive "backyard" furnaces manned by millions of untrained workers. By late 1958, 600,000 backyard furnaces had been built throughout China that smelted pots, pans, and farm implements, with wood from forests as fuel, and that produced millions of tons of unusable metal in order

to fulfill their quotas and avoid punishment. To mobilize all the available labor force and to complete the socialist transformation of the people, more than 500 million peasants, or more than 98 percent of the rural population, were organized into 26,000 People's Communes that controlled all aspects of their lives.

In addition, some city people were organized military fashion into urban communes. Afraid of failure to realize Mao's fantastic expectations, local Communist bosses competed with one another to announce overachievement of quotas and goals, which allowed the government to announce at the end of 1958 that industrial production for that year had exceeded that of 1957 by 65 percent.

In launching the Great Leap Forward Mao was also motivated by his disapproval of Soviet leader NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, whom Mao castigated as "revisionist" for giving incentives to improve productivity in Soviet agriculture. He boasted that he had found a shortcut, through the People's Communes, to reach the ultimate Marxist utopia ahead of the Soviet Union and thus the right to lead the world communist movement.

The Soviet Union, however, firmly rejected Mao's claims when Khrushchev declared that "society cannot leap from capitalism to communism." The debate over the validity of the Great Leap Forward widened the split in the international communist movement and contributed to worsening relations between China and the Soviet Union.

In reality the Great Leap Forward brought unprecedented disaster to the Chinese people. By 1959 it was no longer possible for the government to deny that the economy had been crippled. The people were exhausted and demoralized, and famine stalked the land. Economists estimated that the economy had declined by \$66 billion, and demographers concluded that more than 30 million people had died of starvation in the Mao-made famine, the worst in world history.

At the Lushan Conference of communist leaders Mao had to admit his folly, stepped down from chairmanship of the PRC, and let others who had not lost touch with reality—called pragmatists—run the country to bring it back from ruin.

See also GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA (1966–1976).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (shortened to Cultural Revolution) that disrupted and ruined life, destroyed innumerable cultural artifacts, and caused the deaths of countless people between 1966 and 1976 was a power struggle within the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

The background for this event was the catastrophic economic losses suffered in the GREAT LEAP FORWARD that the chairman of the CCP and the People's Republic of China (PRC), Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), instigated between 1958 and 1960. It led to a successful challenge to Mao's power by pragmatic senior leaders in the party and compelled Mao to give up his state chairmanship to his second in command, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i), and actual running of the CCP to Party Secretary DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). These men—called pragmatists—dismantled the communes, scrapped the backyard furnaces, and restored private plots to peasants. Their measures led to a gradual economic recovery but left Mao seething impotently.

To recover power, Mao turned to his wife, Jiang Qing, who had been out of the limelight and held little power until now. She went to Shanghai and formed an alliance with local Communist leaders Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Chun-ch'iao), Yao Wenyuan (Yao Wen-yuan), and a young factory activist named Wang Hongwen (Wang Hung-wen)—they would later be labeled the GANG OF FOUR. Mao next called on young people, mostly students in secondary schools and universities, to form Red Guard units. Using Mao's sayings, collected in a little Red Book, as their "Bible," they became his vanguard in denouncing and harassing party bureaucrats, intellectuals, and anyone in power who might oppose Mao. They also destroyed anything they considered "old" and therefore bad, including countless cultural treasures. Jiang took charge of the media. She banned most forms of cultural expression, including Western classical music (Beethoven was denounced as a counterrevolutionary), Chinese operas, movies, and so on, and replaced them with so-called revolutionary operas. Schools were closed, and intellectuals were sent to forced labor camps and for "reeducation."

The Red Guards attacked Liu Shaoqi as a revisionist; he was dismissed and humiliated, and later died in prison. Deng Xiaoping was also purged, as were countless others. Among top leaders Premier ZHOU ENLAI (Chou En-lai) was only one of a few who retained his post. At the height of their power between August and November 1966, Mao eight times reviewed the Red Guards at Tiananmen Square in Beijing (Peking) and lauded them for their revolutionary zeal. While most senior CCP leaders were ousted and imprisoned, the star of Minister of Defense LIN BIAO (Lin Piao) rose. When the Red Guards became totally uncontrollable and began battling among themselves Mao called on Lin to use the army to put them down. Most Red Guards were then "sent down" to the countryside for "reeducation." Lin was elevated to vice chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP in 1968 and was designated Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms and successor" in the revised CCP constitution.

A power struggle next developed between Mao and Lin, each plotting to eliminate the other. In September 1971 Lin, his powerful wife Ye Qun (Yeh Chun), and their son, an air force officer, plotted to assassinate Mao and seize power in a coup d'état. Upon the plan's discovery they fled toward the Soviet Union in an air force jet piloted by the younger Lin, which crashed in Outer Mongolia, killing them all. Several of Lin's confederates were arrested but the news of the attempted coup and Lin's death was kept a secret until 1973. With Lin dead Jiang Qing and her allies became even more powerful, and Jiang pressured the ailing Mao to confirm her as his successor. Zhou Enlai and other senior party leaders opposed her and rehabilitated the disgraced Deng Xiaoping, whom Zhou groomed as successor.

When Zhou died in January 1976, Deng's position became insecure and he disappeared from public view, seeking refuge in southern China, where a local military commander protected him. Finally, just before he died Mao chose a dark horse to succeed him with the words "with you in charge I am at ease" scribbled on a sheet of paper. He was former minister of public security, Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng). Mao died on September 9, 1976. A power struggle ensued among Jiang and her allies, and Hua Guofeng and the resurfaced Deng Xiaoping and other CCP elders. On October 12 the Gang of Four were arrested in a dramatic show-down. These events ended the Maoist era, the succession struggle, and a decade of unprecedented turmoil called the Cultural Revolution.

See also GREAT LEAP FORWARD IN CHINA (1958–1961).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Great Society (U.S.)

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's Great Society was an aggressive agenda of domestic legislative reforms. Introduced at a speech given at the University of Michigan in May 1964, Johnson's list of programs seemed limitless, and would lead, he hoped, to better schools, better health, better cities, safer highways, a more beautiful nation, support for the arts, and more equality.

By the time Johnson became president, he had already had three decades of political experience. During his tenure in Congress, he had experienced New Deal legislation and the mobilization of resources against enemies in World War II. Once he became president, Johnson decided to use all of the powers given to him to extend and even surpass the New Deal's progressive record. With his landslide victory in the 1964 election, he had a powerful mandate and a large Democratic majority in Congress. These factors gave Johnson what he needed to carry out his plan. He was particularly interested in equality of opportunity, improved urban conditions, an improved educational system, ending poverty, and implementing racial justice.

The Housing and Urban Development Act was put into effect in 1965. It offered reduced interest rates to builders of housing for the poor and elderly. In addition, it allocated funds for urban beautification programs, health programs, recreation centers, and improvements to inner-city housing and provided a rent-supplement program for the poor. To streamline and control programs, the law made it mandatory that all applications for federal aid to cities be approved by city or regional planning agencies. To administer the new programs, Congress created a new cabinet secretary and agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1964 Congress granted nearly \$400 million for mass-transit planning. In 1966 Congress allocated even more

funds for that purpose, and created a new agency, the Department of Transportation, to administer them.

The Model Cities Act of 1966 granted \$1.2 billion for slum clearance and removal. The goal of the act was to revitalize inner-city life in many respects, including housing, schools, job training, recreation, and health care. The law gave funds to new model communities.

Another of Johnson's goals was to improve the quality of education. Johnson, a former teacher, envisioned the Great Society as one in which all children could enrich their minds. To achieve this, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed in 1965 and allocated over \$1 billion for programs to aid children who were seen as educationally deprived. The bulk of that money went to schools in poor districts. However, the bill also targeted bilingual education for Hispanic children and the education of disabled children.

In addition to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act was also passed in 1965. This act created a federal scholarship and loan program for college students and provided library grants to colleges and universities to increase their resources. These two acts had an enormous impact on the state of education in the United States, but also increased government expenditures substantially. In 1965 alone, government spending on education was over \$4 billion.

The Great Society drastically improved the state of healthcare. Johnson's Medicare bill was enacted by Congress in 1965 and provided health insurance for all Americans over the age of 65. Medicare was initially provided with a fund of \$6.5 billion, with long-range funding to come from increased social security payroll deductions. To increase the number of health professionals, Congress passed funding for nursing and medical schools and provided scholarships for students to enter those fields. Medicare's companion program, Medicaid, administered through state welfare systems, provided healthcare for poor Americans.

Preserving the environment and national splendor was another of Johnson's Great Society goals. Johnson sought to combat the effects of industrialization, which included shrinking wilderness areas, vanishing species of wildlife, a degradation of the landscape, and pollution. During Johnson's presidency, Congress passed nearly 300 pieces of legislation relating to beautification, pollution, and conservation—amounting to expenditures of \$12 billion. Another aspect of Johnson's Great Society was the "war on poverty." One of the largest pieces of legislation passed to wage the war on poverty was the Economic Opportunity Act, passed in August 1964. The act had 10 major parts. Head Start offered basic skills

training to preschoolers. The Upward Bound program helped gifted students from poor families attend college. Another section of the act expanded the 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act, which focused on job training. Job Corps was created to teach important and marketable skills to inner-city youth, and the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) was a domestic parallel to President JOHN F. KENNEDY's Peace Corps. The Legal Services Program provided lawyers to defend the rights of low-income citizens. Other parts of the Economic Opportunity Act funded public works programs in poor and rural areas and provided loans for small farmers and small businesses. To administer the war on poverty, the act created the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Another section of the Economic Opportunity Act was the Community Action Program. It allocated \$300 million for local antipoverty programs. This initiative reflected the belief held by some that social-policy formation had too many experts and bureaucrats and lacked grassroots input. By 1966 more than 1,000 Community Action Programs were in place, including in many African-American and Mexican-American inner-city neighborhoods. They led to increased community activism. The programs encouraged political organization and community development, and when used as intended, their funds went to education, medical services, and legal services.

COURT DECISIONS

The Supreme Court had its part in the Great Society as well. The Court's decisions improved individual rights, equal protection under the law, and electoral processes. To help give all citizens an equal voice at the polls, *Baker v. Carr* (1962) made states do all that was practical to maintain population balance in the drawing of congressional and state legislature lines. *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) ensured that poor people would have legal counsel provided to them by the court if they could not afford to pay. The 1966 case of *Miranda v. Arizona* mandated that people be informed of their legal rights when placed under arrest.

Civil rights was another integral part of the Great Society. However, it was also one of the hardest to achieve. Before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, opponents of the bill filibustered for 75 days. However, on June 11, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 73 to 27. The bill targeted racism in American life. It made it easier for the attorney general to take part in all civil rights cases and allowed him or her to prosecute segregated school districts and election officials who denied voting rights to black Americans. Other sections for-

bade discrimination in public facilities, hiring, and federally funded programs.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized federal officials to register voters and oversee elections. It outlawed long-standing measures used primarily in southern states to keep African Americans from voting. By mid-1966 a half-million African Americans were registered to vote in the South; by 1968 nearly 400 African Americans held elected office in that region. A final civil rights measure, the Open Housing Act, was passed in 1968 and outlawed racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. Also under the heading of civil rights was the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished discriminatory national-origins policies.

Although some of Johnson's Great Society measures were received with mixed feelings, they helped overall to improve the quality of life for millions of Americans. The impact of his legislation is still felt today. However, even with all of the success of President Johnson's Great Society, his presidency was marred by the stigma of Vietnam, the cost of which curtailed spending on some of his Great Society programs. His noble and idealistic crusade was cut short by a bitter and unpopular war.

See also VIETNAM WAR.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Greek Junta

The Greek Junta is the name given to the April 21, 1967, military coup that after seven years ended Greek parliamentary democracy. The suggested reason for this military action was the prevention of an impending communist takeover. However, there remains little or no evidence to confirm that this threat was real.

The immediate background to the event was a series of social, economic, and political developments in the period from 1963 to 1967 that affected Greek stability. Particularly unsettling was the election of George Papandreou's Center Union government in February 1964. Papandreou attempted a number of social and

economic reforms and promoted his more radical son, Andreas Papandreou, to the economics ministry, which caused splits in his own party. A leftist conspiracy of military personnel known as ASPIDA, which implicated Andreas and threatened the monarchy and the existing military structure, was also uncovered during this time. Papandreou resigned in July 1965. Greece then entered a period of continual uncertainty with a series of unsatisfactory governments that failed to establish a solid governing base. The king eventually proposed new elections for May 1967.

The Right, especially within the military, had become suspicious of these political maneuvers and the accompanying instability. Many of the officers came from the lower social classes and felt that their rise and prestige had been undermined by the country's corrupt political elite. In addition to social tension, CYPRUS, under Archbishop MAKARIOS's leadership, was demanding concessions from the island's Turkish minority, who threatened to bring about outright war with Turkey. A Turkish invasion was prevented in 1964 by the United States and peace was maintained to a degree by UNITED NATIONS peacekeeping forces. Additionally, Greece's King Constantine II was coping with youth and inexperience, having been king only since March 1964.

The threat of George Papandreou's return to power motivated the king to plan his own revolt, which was also scheduled for April 21, 1967. However, this coup was circumvented by a group of young officers. Their action changed the course of postwar Greek history and took the entire political establishment by surprise. Led by Colonels Georgios Papadopoulos and Nicholas Makarezos and Brigadier Stylianos Pattakos and backed by a vague revolutionary council, the army struck on the morning of April 21. Their plan, code-named Prometheus, proved effective.

Communications were seized, as were other key civic and military installations, and martial law was declared, which appeared to be endorsed by the king and his advisers. Constantine attempted a counter coup in December 1967; it was ill-conceived and failed even before it started. Following this fiasco, Constantine's final recourse was to flee into exile with his family.

The junta's political philosophy was ill-defined but generally paternalistic and authoritarian, with populist overtones designed to appeal to the peasantry and workers. They promoted Greek nationalism and proclaimed themselves to be defenders of Greek values, civilization, and Christianity. In essence, the junta wanted to discipline Greek society and, in 1968, produced a new authoritarian constitution to allow them

to do so. They made frequent use of propaganda and the secret police (*Asphaleia*) and military police (ESA) to silence critics and opponents. Human rights abuses were numerous. Such violations gave the colonels a bad international reputation within Europe and left them with few friends.

Colonel Georgios Papadopoulos soon rose to command the regime, a position he held until November 1973. The regime managed to maintain its membership in NATO while suffering only minor criticisms, although U.S. military aid was curtailed from 1967 to 1973. Greece's strategic position in the Mediterranean in the face of COLD WAR realities meant that the United States needed Greek ports to be open to the Sixth Fleet.

The junta eventually failed because of its inability to govern effectively or respond to external crises. By relying on crude suppression, the colonels destroyed any chance for popular support. Campaigns against the regime, such as Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Liberation Movement, were maintained from abroad. But the most important cause was the rise of an active university student opposition. A weakened leadership threatened the regime's ability to rule. This, in turn, led Dimitrios Ioannidis—a previous secret police head—to seize junta leadership from Papadopoulos.

Ioannidis then searched for a populist/nationalist cause to restore the government. A confrontation with Turkey over oil deposits in the Aegean seemed the ideal circumstance. The junta attempted in July 1974 to overthrow Makarios in Cyprus. Turkey responded by invading the Turkish side of the island. Ioannidis thought he had the military challenge he needed, but dissent and dissatisfaction in the heart of the military establishment left him isolated.

The only resolution to the junta's failure was a return to legitimacy, which was now backed by the military itself. Former prime minister Konstantinos Karamanlis returned from exile in Paris and restored democratic government. He reintroduced political parties, created a new constitution modeled on that of France, and purged junta supporters from the military and civil service. He also sought a referendum on the future of the monarchy, which produced a 70 percent majority against the restoration of the king. The new constitution of 1975 increased the powers of the executive in the form of a president. The junta leaders were tried and given death sentences, which were later commuted. The junta's civilian supporters avoided major criminal trials. Some military and police officers were convicted of more serious crimes. The demise of the

junta came without much bloodshed and with a general spirit of leniency.

See also CYPRUS, TURKISH INVASION OF.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Green Revolution

The term *Green Revolution* refers to the incredible transformation of agriculture in developing nations between the 1940s and 1960s. Programs of agricultural research and the development of infrastructure led to significant increases in agricultural production. The Green Revolution has had significant social and ecological impact on the world, and because of this has been equally praised and criticized.

For English wheat yield to increase from one-half metric ton per hectare to two metric tons took 1,000 years; the increase from two to six metric tons took only 40 years. The change took place due to improvements in breeding, agronomy, and the use of pesticides and fertilizers. The result was that by the second half of the 20th century most industrial countries were agriculturally self-sufficient.

Developing countries were less fortunate. Colonial powers invested little in the food production systems of their colonies and did nothing to slow population growth, so by independence in the 1950s–1960s, the new nations were approaching a crisis. By the mid-1960s hunger and malnutrition were widespread. Asia was particularly dependent on food aid from developed countries. India suffered back-to-back droughts in the mid-1960s, exacerbating the problem. The Rockefeller and Ford foundations led in the establishment of the international agricultural research system to adapt the latest science and technology to the Third World. Efforts focused on rice and wheat, two of the principal sources of food in the developing world. U.S. Agency for International Development administrator William S. Gaud coined the term “Green Revolution” in 1968.



The Green Revolution created higher crop yields, but also may have contributed to widespread environmental damage.

The Green Revolution spread rapidly. By 1970 approximately 20 percent of the Third World's wheat area and 30 percent of the rice land in developing countries were planted in high-yield varieties. By 1990 the share was 70 percent for both.

The Green Revolution led to markedly improved yields of cereal grains during the 1960s–1970s due to the development of new seeds through genetics. The beginnings came in Mexico during the 1940s when Dr. Norman E. Borlaug led a team that developed a strain of wheat that was resistant to disease and efficient in converting fertilizer and water into grain. Shorter and sturdier stalks were necessary to allow the plant to hold the larger grain yield. Borlaug developed dwarf varieties with the requisite characteristics. Initially, Mexico was importing half the wheat it needed. By 1956 it was self-sufficient, and by 1964 it was exporting half a million tons annually. Equal success in India and Pakistan kept millions of people from starving. As the technologies spread through the world, crop yields increased each year. But as production of rice and wheat and other genetically altered crops grew, output of other indigenous crops, including pulses, declined.

After wheat came corn, although with less success. Building on the efforts of China, Japan, and Taiwan, the International Rice Research Institute developed semi-dwarf rice plants. By 1992 a network of 18 research centers, primarily in developing countries, continued the effort to improve yields. Funding came from the Rockefeller Foundation and other private foundations, nation-

al governments, and international agencies including the WORLD BANK. At the same time the Green Revolution came under criticism because it requires fertilizer, irrigation, and other tools unavailable to impoverished farmers. Further, it may be ecologically harmful. Most important, its emphasis on monoculture leads to a loss of genetic diversity. Academic critics, such as the economist Arartya Sen, note that increasing food production does not necessarily lead to improved food security.

Most industrialized nations consume Green Revolution hybrids. The crops are created through crossbreeding or random mutagenesis to improve crop yield and increase durability to allow for longer shipment and storage times. Other alterations allow plumper tomatoes or straighter rows of corn. Uniformity eases mechanical harvest. Modified strains still depended heavily on the high use of fertilizers, which consume fossil fuels, instead of the traditional crop rotation, mixing of crops, and use of animal manure. And large-scale irrigation entailed the use of large volumes of natural monsoon and other water sources. It also required poor farmers to use simple irrigation techniques. Control of pests and weeds by pesticides and herbicides also improved the crops.

The Green Revolution allowed a record grain output of 131 million tons in 1978–79. India became one of the world's largest producers, and an exporter of food grain. No other nation matched India's success. The Green Revolution also allowed food production to match population growth.

Mechanization has reduced the need for low-skilled human labor. Farmers and agricultural workers have seen increases in income as production costs have dropped markedly. Mechanization encouraged collectivization—or corporatism—because the machines are too expensive for small landowners. After the initial exploitation, real improvement occurred for many poor farmers. Between 1970 and 1995, real per capita incomes in Asia almost doubled, with a decline in poverty from nearly 60 percent to less than 33 percent. As population increased 60 percent between 1975 and 1995, poverty decreased from 1.15 billion to 825 million people. India's rural poor before the mid-1960s ranged from 50 to 65 percent; by 1993 the number was about 33 percent.

Vandana Shiva and other critics of the Green Revolution object to the emphasis on genetically modified, high-yield crops at the expense of quality ones. The dependence on a few strains increases the risk of disaster should a new crop pest arise. The revolution also makes populations dependent on external sources of food. And the potential for future improvement through breeding of different strains is weakened.

Critics also note that the reduction in crop types leads to a less varied, less healthy diet, because the crops are produced for volume, not nutritional quality. Herbicides kill wild plants that are traditionally eaten as vegetables, further restricting the variety in many diets. Pesticides also kill the fish in rice paddies. Water buffalo exposed to the pesticide-rich land develop hoof-and-mouth disease.

Some villages that were previously self-sufficient are suddenly enduring famine that seems irreversible. Supporters note that the Green Revolution has created higher gross nutrition levels and increased the intake of calories. To promote variety, advocates encourage the planting of vegetable gardens. The newer varieties have improved nutrient content, for example, the “golden rice” with increased carotene, and there is more attention to developing altered versions of less common crops. High-yield sorghum, millet, maize, cassava, and beans are now available.

The Green Revolution changes social arrangements. Many hybrids are sterile. Others are sold with the restriction that farmers cannot save seed. Farmers have to buy seed each year, and the seed they buy is usually hybrid because traditional seeds produce much less. The Green Revolution also brought traditional subsistence farmers into the world of large-scale industrial agriculture. Many are forced off their farms and into urban poverty because their small holdings are not competitive with the large agribusinesses.

Dependence on chemical fertilizers also leads to ecological damage such as on the Pacific island of Nauru, which was mined extensively for its phosphates. Chemical runoff from fields pollutes streams and other water supplies. DDT and other chemicals used in the early Green Revolution have given way to safer varieties, but the impact remains.

Critics claim that the Green Revolution's methods destroy land quality because irrigation increases salinity, soil erosion increases, and the soil loses organic material and trace elements due to reliance on artificial means of stimulating growth. The soil weakens, and chemical dependency grows until the soil finally fails.

Supporters counter that new techniques will develop as resources become scarce or environmental damage becomes likely. They note that no-till farming has decreased erosion. And work continues on the development of alternative energy sources, disease- and pest-resistant crops, and closed nutrient cycles.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Grenada, U.S. invasion of (1983)

On October 25–28, 1983, the United States—under President RONALD REAGAN—invaded the small Caribbean island-nation of Grenada, deposed its leftist government, and installed a government more in keeping with the Reagan administration's perception of U.S. geostrategic interests in the Western Hemisphere.

A clear violation of international law, the action garnered widespread domestic popular and bipartisan support, while being roundly condemned by much of the international community. The UNITED NATIONS General Assembly overwhelmingly condemned the invasion; in the Security Council the United States cast the sole dissenting vote on a resolution condemning it. The invasion boosted Reagan's popularity at home; intimidated leftist movements and parties throughout the circum-Caribbean; and resulted in a corrupt and elite-dominated post-invasion government characteristic of the region. Undertaken by some 7,000 U.S. troops, the invasion caused 118 deaths (19 U.S.; 69 Grenadan; 25 Cuban) and 533 were wounded, while U.S. forces detained 638 Cubans as prisoners of war. U.S. forces withdrew from the island in December.

The invasion's antecedents have been traced to the intensification of the COLD WAR under Reagan; the 1979 triumph of the leftist Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua; ongoing leftist revolutionary movements and civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and elsewhere in the circum-Caribbean; and the March 13, 1979, coup d'état in Grenada by the leftist New Jewel Movement, led by the charismatic Marxist-influenced attorney Maurice Bishop.

Independent from Great Britain since 1974, Grenada was ruled from 1974 to 1979 by Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy, widely considered despotic and notorious for his preoccupations with the occult, whose "Mon-goose Squad" kept his opponents in check and himself in power. Most of the island's 110,000 inhabitants welcomed the New Jewel coup. From 1979 to 1983, the economy grew at an average of 9 percent (very high for the Caribbean during this period, which included a global recession in 1981–82); unemployment declined from 45 to 14 percent; literacy rates increased from 85 to 98 percent; and the nation's health, education, and welfare systems were reformed and expanded.

Bishop, as much a nationalist as socialist and influenced as much by Jamaican musician Bob Marley as by Marx, articulated a socialist, anti-imperialist vision at odds with express U.S. economic, strategic, and security interests in the region. The Bishop government did not hold elections as promised, imposed press censorship, jailed political opponents, and lent rhetorical support to the Soviet Union and Cuba. On October 19, 1983, New Jewel hard-liner Bernard Coard ousted Bishop, precipitating islandwide protests and a general strike. After crowds forced Bishop's release, Coard's forces killed several dozen protesters and executed Bishop and two cabinet members. The main U.S. rationale for its invasion was to protect the lives of more than 800 U.S. medical students at the St. George's School of Medicine, whom the Reagan administration claimed were in imminent danger and prevented from departing. The Grenada invasion comprises a minor but revealing episode in the late cold war in the Western Hemisphere.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Guatemala, civil war in (1960–1996)

From 1960 to 1996, the nation-state of Guatemala was convulsed by a civil war that caused the deaths of at least 200,000 people. The worst years of the violence were 1981–82, when the U.S.-backed government launched what has been accurately characterized by the Report of the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification as "acts of genocide" against the country's majority indigenous population. The same report concluded that "[the] majority of human rights violations occurred with the knowledge or by order of the highest authorities of the State." An important component of the COLD WAR in the Western Hemisphere, the history of Guatemala from 1954 to 1996 was mostly shaped by the country's extreme inequalities in landowning, wealth, and power; U.S. military assistance and economic and political intervention expressly intended to combat the perceived threat of international communism; a dictatorial Guatemalan state dominated by the military and backed by the U.S. government, the country's traditional landholding oligarchy, and right-wing paramilitaries; and the struggles

of civil society—including labor unions, peasant leagues, indigenous and human rights groups, political parties, and guerrilla organizations—to create a more just and equitable society.

The short-term origins of the civil war have been traced to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency–orchestrated coup of 1954, following a decade of far-reaching reforms, which overthrew the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz and installed a military dictatorship headed by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas. In 1960 a group of junior officers revolted and formed an even more hard-line military government. In the early 1960s several guerrilla organizations became active in rural districts, including the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP); the Revolutionary Organization of Armed People (ORPA); and the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR). In 1982, the guerrilla organizations combined to form the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). Beginning in 1966 the army launched a major counterinsurgency campaign in rural areas that eliminated most armed resistance to the regime. Guerrilla operations continued in urban areas through economic sabotage and targeted assassinations. Repression by the military, right-wing paramilitaries, and death squads such as the White Hand intensified—with tortures and murders of labor organizers, community activists, students, professionals, and other suspected leftists.

In March 1982 a military coup installed as president General Efraín Ríos Montt, a right-wing extremist, 1974 presidential candidate, and lay pastor in the evangelical Protestant “Church of the Word.” His presidency (1982–83) is linked to the worst human rights abuses in the 36-year civil war, with human rights organizations amply documenting the “acts of genocide” perpetrated by his government. In March 1994 a UNITED NATIONS–sponsored peace process resulted in an accord between the URNG and the government. In January 1996 Álvaro Arzu, candidate of the center-right National Advancement Party (PAN), was elected as president. The final peace accord was signed on December 29, 1996, formally ending the 36-year civil war, the major events of which are amply documented in the 1999 CEH Report and related reports.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Guevara, Ernesto “Che”

(1927–1967) *Latin American revolutionary*

An iconic Latin American revolutionary whose visage remains emblematic of leftist and Marxist struggles throughout the continent and world, Ernesto Guevara de la Serna joined FIDEL CASTRO’s 26 July Movement in late 1955. An exceptionally effective guerrilla leader, his charisma, intelligence, and revolutionary idealism soon made him one of the leading figures of the early years of the CUBAN REVOLUTION.

He was the primary impetus behind the notion of the socialist “New Man,” at the core of many Cuban government policies in the early 1960s, in which revolutionary fervor was seen as more fundamental than material incentives (such as wages and benefits) in propelling workers to produce. Convinced that Cuba’s successes could be duplicated in other countries through what he called the “foco” theory of revolution, in which a small band of revolutionaries could spark a mass insurrection and topple dictatorships, he journeyed to Bolivia in 1967 to test his theory. The anticipated popular uprising failed to materialize, and after a few months he was captured and executed by the Bolivian military. His writings on revolution and guerrilla warfare remain classics of the era.

Born on June 14, 1927, to a wealthy landowning family in Rosario, Argentina, Guevara was a frail and sickly boy, suffering asthma that plagued him throughout his life. Raised Roman Catholic, because of his asthma he was educated mainly at home by his mother, Celia de la Serna y Llosa, and his four siblings. His father, Ernesto Guevara Lynch, was a businessman and for a time ran a *mate* (tea) farm owned by his wife. Both were committed leftists. From his mother, to whom he remained emotionally close throughout his life, he acquired his lifelong passion for books, learning, and politics. In 1943 when Guevara was 16, his family moved to Córdoba. After completing his high school studies he began studying engineering. In 1947 he and his family moved to Buenos Aires, where he entered the university to study engineering before switching to medicine. In 1951 he and a friend embarked on a yearlong motorcycle journey through South America, where he saw firsthand the continent’s poverty and social injustices (as portrayed in his journals and dramatized in the 2004 film *The Motorcycle Diaries*). Graduating from

medical school in 1953, he journeyed through Bolivia and Peru to Guatemala, where he witnessed the social revolution under President Jacobo Arbenz.

After Arbenz's overthrow in a U.S.-orchestrated coup in 1954, which steeled Guevara's anti-imperialism, Guevara journeyed to Mexico and established contact with Cuban exile Fidel Castro. Convinced that Castro was the visionary revolutionary he had long sought, he joined Castro's 26 July Movement and soon became one of its leaders. The group embarked for Cuba in November 1956, and for the next two years Guevara played a central role in the guerrilla war against Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, earning a reputation as a skilled and sometimes ruthless commander. After Batista's ouster in January 1959, Guevara was appointed to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, and later became president of the National Bank, minister of industries, and ambassador to the United Nations. During this period he developed his ideas regarding the socialist New Man and his foco theory of revolution. After failing in several attempts to launch socialist revolutions in other countries (including Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Congo), in late 1966 he traveled to Bolivia in the hope of sparking a mass insurrection. On October 8, 1967, he and his bedraggled forces were captured by the Bolivian military, and the next day he was executed. He is widely considered one of the most important revolutionary figures of the 20th century.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Gulf War, First (1991)

The First Gulf War was fought by a coalition of forces from 34 countries against Iraq in 1991 in response to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The war began because of several crises stemming from the IRAN-IRAQ WAR of 1980–88. The Iran-Iraq War ended on August 8, 1988. Iraq was left with huge debts, largely to other Arab nations that had helped to finance the war, and extensive material damage; however, the Iraqi military had benefited from the war by becoming the strongest military force in the Gulf region.

Immediately following the cessation of the Iran-Iraq War, the Kuwaiti government made the disastrous decision to increase its oil production in violation of OPEC

(ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES) agreements. The Kuwaitis increased oil extraction from the Rumaila oil wells, which lay on disputed territory with neighboring Iraq. Iraqi revenues were 90 percent dependent on oil, and the Kuwaiti increase in oil production helped to lower oil prices and slowly began to strangle Iraq economically.

Kuwait's leaders, the Al-Sabah family, ignored Iraq's protestations. Until the early 20th century Kuwait had been a semi-independent emirate administered from Baghdad under the Ottoman Empire. During the 19th century British influence in the Gulf and in Kuwait in particular increased, and after World War I Britain was responsible for drawing the borders between the two nations. Although Iraq ultimately established diplomatic relations with Kuwait, many Iraqis continued to view it as part of Iraq.

STRATEGIC ACCESS

Iraq also owed \$14 billion from the Iran-Iraq War to Kuwait; Iraq had expected that Kuwait would cancel the debt since Iraq had fought and suffered during the long war with Iran while the oil-rich nations in the region had helped to finance the struggle. However, Kuwait not only refused to cancel the debt, it demanded its immediate repayment. During the Iran-Iraq War many of Iraq's limited port facilities in the Shatt al-Arab were destroyed, leaving Iraq almost landlocked. Kuwait had greater strategic access to the Persian Gulf, which Iraq viewed as essential were hostilities to erupt again with Iran.

From 1988 to 1990, SADDAM HUSSEIN increased his threats against Kuwait, asking for cancellation of Iraq's debts. He also sought help from King Hussein of Jordan to mediate the problems. In July 1990 Saddam met with U.S. ambassador April Glaspie and stated his grievances regarding Kuwait; Glaspie gave him a controversial response that he took to mean that the United States would not become involved in the dispute if he took stronger steps to rectify the problem. On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

The Iraqi military quickly overran and occupied all of Kuwait, and the ruling family fled the country. Hussein justified the invasion based on Kuwait's slant-drilling into Iraqi oil fields across the border, as well as his complaints over debt cancellation. He also appealed to Arab nationalism, claiming that Kuwait was part of Iraq, calling it the 19th province of Iraq. Immediately after the invasion the United Nations (UN) passed Resolution 660 condemning the invasion and demanding an immediate withdrawal. UN Resolution 661 then imposed economic sanctions on Iraq.

Saudi Arabia was alarmed by the invasion and the mounting power of the Iraqi military, which was within

striking distance of the vast Saudi Hama oil wells. In Operation Desert Shield, begun on August 7, 1990, the U.S. military beefed up its forces in Arabia to defend its Saudi ally from a possible Iraqi attack. In addition, the UN placed a January 15, 1991, deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

The United States and the UN assembled a coalition force of 34 countries to implement this resolution by force should Iraq fail to comply. On January 12, 1991, the U.S. Congress narrowly approved the use of U.S. military force in an operation against Iraq.

When Iraq failed to comply with the January 15 deadline, coalition forces initiated Operation Desert Storm on January 17, 1991, with a massive month-long air campaign against Baghdad and much of Iraq. The air attacks, over 1,000 in number, disabled military and communication installations and severely weakened the Iraqi military and infrastructure. Coalition forces launched a ground attack, Operation Desert Sabre, on February 24, 1991; they quickly overwhelmed the thinly stretched Iraqi forces, and after only 100 hours President GEORGE H. W. BUSH declared a cease-fire. Iraqi troops hastily retreated back across the border, setting Kuwaiti oil fields on fire as they withdrew. This caused massive environmental damage that persisted into the 21st century. Iraqi troops also dumped approximately 1 million tons of crude oil into the Persian Gulf.

The quick victory was a surprise, and the war ended sooner than predicted. Kuwait City was recaptured, and on February 27, 1991, Kuwait was officially liberated and the Iraq-Kuwait border was restored. However, Saddam Hussein was not captured, and he remained in power. Allied forces did not pursue him and did not try to occupy Iraq, although they did advance to within 150 miles of the capital of Baghdad. President Bush justified this decision by noting that the goal of the coalition had been to liberate Kuwait.

However, the U.S. administration hoped that continued economic sanctions against Iraq, as well as assistance for resistance groups within Iraq (such as Shi'i and Kurdish factions), would lead the Iraqi people to revolt against Hussein and oust him from power. But Hussein ruthlessly repressed any uprisings. Although the sanctions caused the deaths of an estimated 500,000 Iraqis, mostly women and children, they had little effect on Hussein's regime, which actually extended its political control over a nation badly crippled by years of war. Thus the First Gulf War was a military success, succeeding in liberating Kuwait, but it did not change the Iraqi regime. Consequently the United States, Great Britain, and a small number of other

nations moved to oust Hussein and occupy Iraq in the SECOND GULF WAR, beginning in 2003.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Gulf War, Second (Iraq War)

The invasion of Iraq officially began on March 20, 2003, under the name "Operation Iraqi Freedom." The stated justification for the invasion was that SADDAM HUSSEIN, ruler of Iraq, had weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and supported terrorism, and that the Iraqi people were suffering under his tyranny and needed to be freed. The United States contended that Iraq was in violation of both United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1441 and the terms of the 1991 cease-fire agreement, which ended hostilities after Desert Storm. Both of these documents prohibited Iraq from possessing or researching WMDs. Saddam's links to terror were indirect and centered mostly on monetary rewards provided to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers and to the families of the "victims of Israeli aggression." Allegations that Saddam was linked in some way to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks were never supported by evidence.

A "Coalition of the Willing" was created by the United States in the time after September 11, 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 though 98 percent of the Coalition troops were British and American. The Coalition forces assembled for the attack on Iraq numbered just under 300,000. The Iraqi army numbered 390,000 soldiers, plus 44,000 Fedayeen and potentially 650,000 reserves. The 2003 invasion was not preceded by an extended bombing campaign, as was the 1991 attack. The strategy for the 2003 invasion depended on speed and precision strikes to destroy Iraqi command rapidly enough to ensure that the defenses would quickly collapse.

A primary strategic goal of the Coalition was to limit damage to Iraq's oil production capability; key sites related to the oil industry were to be secured as quickly as possible. The course of the invasion was designed to prevent both the destruction of oil sites and to limit the Iraqi army's ability to concentrate their defenses. The U.S. Army moved west through the Iraqi desert and then headed north toward Baghdad while the marines

moved directly toward Baghdad along the main Iraqi Highway One. British forces concentrated on securing southeastern Iraq, particularly the Basra area. Major actions took place at Nasiriyah and Karbala where the Iraqis defended important crossroads and bridges over the Euphrates River. In the third week of the invasion, U.S. forces entered Baghdad. Raids called “Thunder Runs” were launched on April 5 and 7 to test Iraqi defenses in the capital and to capture the key objectives of the Baghdad Airport and Saddam’s palace complex. The city of Baghdad was formally occupied on April 9. Saddam was declared deposed and went into hiding, and many Iraqis rejoiced by defacing his monuments. The initial invasion had lasted a mere 21 days. Looting followed the fall of the regime, with store goods,

museum items, and military arms and equipment being targeted, as did outbreaks of violence between tribes and cities based on old grudges.

Coalition troops began searching for Saddam, Iraqi politicians and leaders of the BA’ATH PARTY, military leaders, and Saddam’s family members. On July 22, 2003, Saddam’s sons Uday and Qusay, along with a grandson, were killed during a standoff at their fortified safe house in Mosul. Saddam was captured on December 13, 2003, near his hometown of Tikrit. In all, 300 top leaders from Saddam’s regime were killed or captured along with a large number of lower-level troops and government officials.

After the fall of Baghdad and Saddam’s regime, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was formed



Two U.S. Marines speak with a local Iraqi woman during a security patrol in Saqlawiyah, Iraq. The marines were assigned to Weapons Platoon, Fox Company, 2nd Battalion, 7th Marine Regiment.

to run Iraq until power could be turned over to the Iraqis. The CPA was led by Paul Bremer. The CPA officially controlled Iraq from April 21, 2003, until June 28, 2004. The CPA opposed holding elections in Iraq shortly after the fall of Saddam and wanted to hand power over to an appointed interim Iraqi government, which would be chosen by the Coalition. A second group formed in early 2003 was the Iraq Survey Group (ISG). The ISG was charged with finding the WMDs that Iraq was alleged to possess. They could not find any WMDs or programs to build them even though Iraq was known to have had nuclear, biological, ballistic missile, and chemical weapons programs prior to the 1991 Gulf War.

The media explored a new format to cover the war by “embedding” journalists inside military units. The war also saw for the first time soldiers instantly reporting their activities by means of digital cameras, cell phones, and the Internet. Uncensored soldiers’ stories, photos, Web blogs, and movies became available shortly after events took place. Arabic news networks such as AL JAZEERA provided the Islamic viewpoint and was available worldwide through satellite TV and on the Internet.

On May 1, 2003, major combat operations were declared over by U.S. president GEORGE W. BUSH. Peace was short-lived, as a disjointed insurgency took hold in Iraq with many factions fighting for control. They included religious radicals, Fedayeen, Ba’athists, foreign Arabs, and other Muslim jihadis—and Iraqis opposed to the occupation. The insurgency was a chaotic decentralized movement with as many as 40 separate groups fighting for control. The picture was further clouded as each group was splintered into large numbers of semiautonomous cells. Insurgent attacks increased around Iraq, but especially in the “Sunni Triangle,” home to most of the Sunni population. Insurgents used guerrilla-style tactics, employing suicide bombs, mortars, rockets, ambushes, snipers, car bombs, sabotage of the infrastructure, and improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

In late 2004 the focus of insurgent attacks switched from Coalition forces to the newly elected Iraqi government and its collaborators, including the Shi’i population. Many of the attacks were carried out by foreign fighters. At the end of March 2004 insurgents in the town of Fallujah ambushed and killed four private military contractors from the Blackwater USA Corporation. Pictures of their burned bodies hanging from a bridge were distributed around the world, causing outrage among Americans. Blackwater was one of many private companies that provided specialized services and expertise needed by the U.S. military. The employ-

ees or contractors of these companies are typically men with special-forces or police backgrounds. They are paid much more money than they would make in the official armed forces. This has led many to label them “mercenaries.” It is believed that there were more than 100,000 private contractors in Iraq around 2007.

Two fierce battles were fought after attacks were launched by the U.S. Marines to gain control of Fallujah after the Blackwater incident. The first battle in April 2004 was not successful and ended with the Marines withdrawing. The second battle, fought in November and December 2004, resulted in the death of more than 5,000 insurgents and the complete takeover of Fallujah. The battles for Fallujah are considered to be the heaviest urban fighting the U.S. Marines have done since the battle for Hue fought in Vietnam during 1968.

On June 28, 2004, the CPA transferred sovereignty of Iraq to the Iraqi Interim Government, which was charged with holding national elections. The elected Iraqi government would then draft a new constitution. The Interim Government was also to try Saddam Hussein for his many crimes. At the end of his first trial, Saddam was sentenced to death for crimes against humanity and was executed by hanging on December 26, 2006.

The Iraqi constitution was ratified on October 15, 2005, and a general election was held on December 15 to choose the new national assembly. In a first for Iraq, the constitution stipulated that 25 percent of the assembly seats must be held by women. An escalation in sectarian violence followed, as the Sunni minority feared their power slipping into the hands of the Shi’i majority. Sunni bombers destroyed a very important Shi’i mosque and ignited a cycle of revenge violence in which both sides used bombs, ambushes, and death squads against both politicians and civilians. Violence between the Shi’i and Sunni escalated to the point that the United Nations (UN) has labeled it an “almost civil war situation.” Many feared that this sectarian violence could spread to other countries in the Middle East, especially if Iraq was splintered into independent Sunni, Shi’i, and Kurdish states.

Many of the opposition insurgents and suicide bombers were in fact foreign Sunni Arabs who came to Iraq to fight against the United States and against the Shi’i. One of the most notable foreign insurgent leaders was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Born in Jordan, he moved around the Middle East and Central Asia working as a terrorist and jihadi before taking leadership of AL-QAEDA in Iraq after the 2003 invasion. He was killed on June 7, 2006, when his safe house located north of

Baqubah was hit by smart bombs dropped by U.S. aircraft. Al-Qaeda has continued its violent campaign in Iraq.

The war continued as 2007 saw a rising death toll. The number of Iraqis killed in the war is not known. Some estimates are as high as 900,000 Iraqi dead from all causes related to the war. In addition, an estimated 2 million Iraqis are said to have fled to Syria or Jordan. The number of Coalition forces killed is much clearer: more than 4,052 Americans and 309 other forces by

April 2008. Private contractors killed and wounded are not included in this figure and have not been published.

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COLLIN BOYD



Hamas

Hamas—an acronym of *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya* in Arabic, literally “Islamic Resistance Movement”—was both a part of a regionwide radical Islamic movement that developed in 1980s and an expression of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli domination and occupation. Hamas was established shortly after the outbreak of the first INTIFADA in the Gaza Strip in 1987.

Its political program and ideology were drafted in lofty Arabic rhetoric and religious symbolism. Hamas believed that “the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until Judgment Day.” Hamas regarded nationalism (*wataniya*) as an implication of religious faith and struggle against the enemy as a religious duty. Hamas declared itself to be a “humanistic movement, which cares for human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions.” According to its charter, “Under the wing of Islam it is possible for the followers of the three religions—Islam, Christianity and Judaism—to co-exist in peace and quiet.” Both its charter and many of its official statements are harsh and uncompromising.

Hamas is divided into two main spheres of operation: social programs such as building schools, hospitals, clinics, and religious institutions; and militant operations. The Hamas underground militant operations included a number of suicide bombings that killed a few hundred Israeli soldiers and civilians, especially

in February and March 1996, and after the outbreak of the AL-AQSA INTIFADA in September 2000. During this second intifada, when Palestinian towns and refugee camps were besieged by the Israeli army, Hamas organized clinics and schools that served Palestinians; it also summarily executed Palestinian collaborators with Israel. Many Hamas leaders and activists, including its founder, Sheikh Yassin, and his successor, Dr. Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi, were assassinated by Israel during the so-called targeted killing operations. Its leader, Khaled Meshaal, lives in exile in Syria.

The social programs and political and religious stance of Hamas contributed to its considerable popularity among the Palestinians. Hamas participated in the January/May 2005 Palestinian municipal elections and achieved control of some places such as Beit Lahya in northern Gaza, Qalqiliya in the West Bank, and Rafah. On January 25, 2006, Hamas won the parliamentary elections, taking 74 of 132 seats in the Palestinian parliament. After the elections Hamas faced considerable diplomatic and financial pressure to adjust its ideology to Western and Israeli demands. In June 2007 Hamas attacked their Fatah rivals, resulting in Hamas taking control of the Gaza Strip, while the West Bank remained under control of the Palestinian National Authority.

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ANDREJ KREUTZ

Havel, Václav

(1936–) *Czech writer and president*

Václav Havel is a Czech dramatist, journalist, essayist, and former president of Czechoslovakia (1989–92) and of the Czech Republic (1993–2003). Havel was born in Prague in 1936 to a prosperous family. As a member of a former bourgeois family in a communist regime, Havel was denied privileges, including education. In order to finish high school he had to enroll in night school while supporting himself as a lab assistant. Afterward he was not permitted to enroll in a university. He trained for a short time at a technical institution and later completed his theater degree as a part-time student at the Academy of Arts. After his mandatory military service Havel worked first at the ABC Theater and then at the Theater on the Ballustrade, well known for experimental theater. Here, in the 1960s, Havel gained acclaim as a leader in the theater of the absurd in Czechoslovakia. Many of Havel's plays were highly critical of the totalitarian state's oppression of individual liberties.

During the PRAGUE SPRING, a 1968 reform movement led by Alexander Dubček, Havel played an important role. His outspoken support for human rights during the period earned him the antagonism of the communist government. When WARSAW PACT forces invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Havel was prohibited from involvement in public affairs, and his plays were banned from performance or publication. In spite of this Havel continued to write, and his plays and books were published to acclaim in other countries.

Continuing his work for human rights, Havel was arrested and imprisoned a number of times. He was placed under house arrest from 1977 to 1979. Havel tirelessly took up his protest work again. In 1989 he participated in a commemoration of the 1969 death of Czech student Jan Palach and was again imprisoned for several months.

In the same year the Civic Forum, which Havel had helped establish, began a series of protests that overthrew the communist government in what has become known as the Velvet Revolution. In December a heavily Communist parliament chose Havel as the new interim president of Czechoslovakia. After national elections the new Federal Assembly reelected him in June 1990.

In 1993–98 Havel was elected president of the Czech Republic. During his 13 years as leader of postcommunist Czechoslovakia, Havel brought his country back into the mainstream of European politics. Havel negotiated the withdrawal of Soviet troops and forged friendships with the United States and European nations. The Czech Republic became a member of the Council of Europe, NATO, and the EUROPEAN UNION.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Hizbollah

Hizbollah (Party of God) is a political, military, and social Islamic Shi'i organization established in Lebanon in 1982. After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon that year, Shi'i Muslims—with the assistance of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard—formed Hizbollah to combat the Israeli occupation.

In the mid-1980s the Hizbollah guerrillas, known as the Islamic Resistance, executed a series of operations against Israeli and U.S. targets to force the United States and Israel to withdraw all military presence from Lebanon. After the end of the LEBANESE CIVIL WAR (1975–90), the group focused its attacks on the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and the South Lebanon Army (SLA). The IDF and the SLA occupied an 850-square-kilometer stretch in south Lebanon known as the "security zone." Hizbollah's main aim was to liberate this area. In 1996, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) sponsored the "April Accord," legitimizing Hizbollah as a resistance movement.

After the withdrawal of the IDF from southern Lebanon in May 2000, Hizbollah continued fighting the IDF around the disputed, Israeli-occupied Shaaba Farms area. Although the UN regarded Shaaba Farms as Syrian territory, Hizbollah considered the area part of Lebanon. Hizbollah also sought the release of Lebanese and Arab prisoners in Israel and followed a strategy of snatching IDF soldiers in Shaba Farms to exchange for prisoners.

In addition to its military wing, Hizbollah maintains a civilian arm, which runs hospitals, schools, orphanages, and one television station—Al-Manar. Hizbollah

held 14 seats in the 128-member Lebanese Parliament in 2005. Hizbollah remains active in Shi'i-dominated areas in Lebanon—mainly the Bekaa Valley, the southern suburbs of Beirut, and southern Lebanon—and fought tenaciously against the Israeli attack on it and the invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1982).

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RAMZI ABOU ZEINEDDINE

Ho Chi Minh

(1890–1969) *Vietnamese communist leader*

Ho Chi Minh's original name was Nguyen Ai Quoc. He fought against French rule over his country and afterward struggled against the United States in the VIETNAM WAR. Combining his ideology of communism with love of his country, Ho left an indelible mark in history.

He was born in the village of Kim Lien in Annam on May 19, 1890, and received education from his father, Nguyen Sinh Huy, as well as in the local school. He attended the National Academy school in Hue and then worked as a teacher in south Annam. After taking a course in navigation, Ho traveled to the West to find means for liberating Vietnam from French rule. He was appalled at the oppressive rule of the colonial masters and had a burning desire to free his country.

Ho went to Marseilles in 1911 and after three years traveled to London, where he worked in the kitchen of the Carlton Hotel. He was a member of the Overseas Workers Association. Ho was in the United States for some time and then went to Paris and drifted toward socialism and Marxism and became one of the founding members of the French Communist Party after its split with the Socialist Party in 1920. He called for Vietnamese independence, convinced that the road to it was through the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Ho edited a journal, *Le Pariah* (The outcast), where he published articles on anticolonialism under the alias Nguyen Ai Quoc. He used many names before he took up the name of Ho Chi Minh in 1940. In 1922 he attended the fourth congress of the Comintern in Moscow, joined its Southeast Asia bureau, and took a leading part in the work of Krestintern (Peasant International). Playing a prominent role in the fifth congress as well, Ho advocated anticolonial revolution in Asia.

He was not happy with the French Communist Party, which only made halfhearted attempts to oppose colonialism. Ho began to contact the Vietnamese exiles in Guangzhou (Canton) in southern China.

After traveling to Brussels, Paris, and Bangkok, Ho went to Hong Kong and set up the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) on February 3, 1930. Its agenda was to end French rule in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam; nationalize the economy; and institute land reforms. In neighboring Laos and Cambodia, communist parties such as the Pathet Lao and the Khmer Rouge were set up. Until its formal disbanding in February 1951, the ICP under Ho took the lead in Vietnam's struggle against French rule, where it organized party cells, trade unions, and peasants.

Ho was in Moscow when World War II in Europe broke out on September 1, 1939. The war provided an opportunity to free Vietnam after the German victory over France that allowed Japan, Germany's ally, to occupy Vietnam. In January 1941 Ho returned to Vietnam after 30 years in exile. He established the Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence of Vietnam), or Vietminh. In the northern portion of Vietnam, liberated zones were set up near the Chinese border.

Ho was arrested by the Chinese government and returned in 1944 to Vietnam after spending two years in jail. In August 1945 Ho called for a revolution, and the Vietminh took control of Hanoi on August 17. When Japan surrendered on September 2, 1945, Ho immediately declared independence and formed the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM (DRV, or North Vietnam). He remained president of North Vietnam until his death in 1969.

A communist state, North Vietnam would be embroiled in COLD WAR politics, war with France, and the struggle for unification of both the Vietnams after the French defeat. Ho relentlessly followed his objective to establish a unified communist Vietnam. After the breakdown of an agreement Ho had signed in Paris, the First Indochina War began. The Vietminh resorted to guerrilla warfare and by 1950 were in complete control of the northern portion of Vietnam. The United States, following a containment strategy in the cold war, gave military help to the French. The French-sponsored South Vietnam had been established in July 1949, which the United States recognized in 1950. The Soviet Union and China recognized the DRV.

The collapse of French forces at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, ended French colonial rule

in Indochina, and Vietnam was divided in two at the 17th parallel. Ho's dream of a unified Vietnam had not been realized, and he would fight against the United States in the Vietnam War. Although much of his country was devastated, Ho never wavered from the path toward his goal. Both Vietnams were unified in 1975, six years after Ho Chi Minh's death.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Hong Kong

The First Anglo-Chinese, or Opium, War ended in 1842 in total British victory and the cession by China of Hong Kong (several islands totaling 32 square miles on the tip of the Pearl River estuary) to Great Britain in the Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking). Hong Kong prospered and soon needed more room. Britain acquired the adjoining Kowloon Peninsula (opposite Victoria, the principal island of the colony) from China under the Treaty of Beijing (Peking) in 1860, and in 1898 it leased for 99 years additional land beyond Kowloon, called the New Territory. Britain would rule these 442 square miles of land (except for four years when it was under Japanese occupation between 1941 and 1945) until 1997.

Hong Kong was a free port and a hub of international trade in eastern Asia, and it provided refuge for Chinese revolutionaries led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, and those fleeing the civil wars of the early republic. After the establishment of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) in 1949 and during the chaos of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), millions of refugees found opportunities there and a haven from Communist-ruled China.

Because the continuation of a British colony on the China coast offended Chinese nationalism, China demanded Hong Kong's return. Negotiations between British prime minister MARGARET THATCHER and Chinese paramount leader DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) culminated in an agreement in 1984 that would restore all the ceded and leased territories to China on

June 30, 1997. The agreement stipulated that Hong Kong would be ruled for 50 years as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under a Basic Law that allowed it to maintain its own legislature, executive, and judiciary, currency, customs and police forces, flag, and passport. China would be responsible for its defense and foreign policy. Two other significant features of this agreement were:

(1) Hong Kong would retain its capitalist and free-enterprise system and economic and financial structures;

(2) The "One Country, Two Systems" arrangement would calm Hong Kong citizens' fears of communism and perhaps lure the Republic of China on Taiwan to become part of the PRC.

Britain made many reforms before 1997 that furthered the legal protection and self-governing rights of Hong Kong's citizens. Nevertheless, several hundreds of thousands of them emigrated to Western countries before 1997. China appointed a prominent local businessman, Tung Chee-hwa, first chief executive of Hong Kong. Tung navigated a difficult path between the aspirations of Hong Kong's residents for self-government and China's demand for a final say in all major decisions affecting the SAR.

China always prevailed. For example, in 1999 the Chinese National People's Congress overruled the Hong Kong Court of Final Appeals on the right of abode for children with one Hong Kong parent. Tung resigned in 2005, two years before his second term ended, and was replaced by Donald Tsang, a respected high-ranking civil servant who had risen to prominence under British rule. The PRC remained leery of demands for human rights and democracy by Hong Kong's citizens.

After the opening of China in 1979, a strong economic bond developed between Hong Kong and China. They became each other's foremost partners in investment and trade, initially limited to adjoining Guangdong (Kwangtung) province, and after 1992 spreading to other centers in China. While China needed Hong Kong's managerial skills and capital, Hong Kong benefited from China's deep, cheap labor pool. The SAR arrangement also applied to the former small Portuguese colony of Macao, but found no acceptance from the people or government of TAIWAN. In 2005 Hong Kong had an estimated population of 6.8 million people who enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in Asia.

See also GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA (1966–1976).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Horn of Africa

Because of its strategic location near the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula, the Horn of Africa—currently composed of ETHIOPIA, Somalia, ERITREA, and Djibouti—witnessed some of the most intense and violent geopolitical maneuvering during the COLD WAR. Both the United States and the Soviet Union poured vast sums of money and weapons toward their allies in the region. The effects of the cold war in the region were often grave: The meddling of the superpowers disrupted the decolonization and modernization processes, intensified local rivalries, heightened resulting violence, and contributed to the deaths of many Africans.

Although the Horn of Africa had long had global strategic value because of its location near the Strait of Bab al-Mandab, where the Red Sea narrows before opening into the Indian Ocean, its significance grew tremendously after World War II. This was because of two factors: The growing importance of the Middle East and its vast petroleum resources, and the increasing intensity of the zero-sum competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for influence around the world.

The United States first established a presence in the Horn during World War II. In 1943 the United States constructed a radio communications station—called Radio Marina—near the town of Asmara in Eritrea, then under British control. The Horn and Radio Marina took on increasing importance as the contours of the oil-based postwar world and cold war rivalries took shape. The United States worried that losing influence in the Horn would destabilize the governments of allies in the region, interrupt shipping lanes, and possibly staunch the supply of Middle East oil to the West.

The strategic significance of Radio Marina changed the course of both Eritrean and Ethiopian history. During the middle decades of the 20th century, Ethiopia was ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, an autocrat who had first gained power in 1917. In the name of mod-

ernizing Ethiopia, Selassie had dismantled the aristocracy and used the revenues gained from taxing coffee exports to centralize power. With aid from the United States Selassie continued to modernize Ethiopia and tighten his grip on power, which he would not yield until he was deposed in a coup in 1973.

During the early postwar years the United States viewed the mostly Christian Ethiopia as the most stable and influential state in the entire Horn. Before World War II, however, the small, mostly Muslim sliver of land along the Red Sea known as Eritrea had not been part of the Ethiopian state. Unlike Ethiopia it had been colonized by Italy in the early 20th century and was controlled by the British during World War II. Despite this, after the war Eritrea found an unfavorable environment for independence. Two studies by the U.S.-dominated UNITED NATIONS (UN) found that Eritrea lacked national consciousness as well as the basis for a stable economy. In 1953 the UN established a federation in which Eritrea and Ethiopia were conjoined. In May 1953, five months after the Ethiopia-Eritrea federation was established, Ethiopia and the United States signed a 25-year arms-for-bases accord. In 1962 Selassie dissolved the federal system and absorbed Eritrea into Ethiopia. The result was a 30-year war between Eritrean nationalists and Addis Ababa, which ended with an Eritrean victory in 1991 and the establishment of an independent Eritrea in 1993.

The 1953 deal became the foundation of a 25-year relationship between Washington and Selassie. Between 1953 and 1974 the United States gave more aid to Ethiopia than to any other country in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1958 the United States helped fund a modern air force; in 1960 it agreed to train and equip an army of 40,000; in 1966 it provided Ethiopia with a squadron of F-5 fighters. U.S. support strengthened Selassie's hand against the numerous opposition groups that criticized his increasingly autocratic and corrupt administration. It also helped Selassie meet his nation's top geopolitical interest, maintaining access to the Red Sea.

In the 1970s the cold war landscape in the Horn changed dramatically. Several factors came together to end Selassie's rule: a devastating famine mostly mishandled by the government, severe economic problems caused by the oil crisis, and Selassie's own senility. The United States was trying to improve relations with Arab nations in the Middle East, many of whom opposed Christian-led Ethiopia. In 1973 a group of junior and noncommissioned army officers overthrew Selassie. Swayed by the radical thinking of the intelligentsia, this group, known as the Dergue (which

means “committee”), pursued a Marxist agenda. After a transitory phase, in 1977 Mengistu Haile-Mariam, a hard-line radical, emerged as the leader of the new Ethiopia. Haile-Mariam nationalized many businesses and implemented a sweeping land reform program to undermine the power of the old ruling class, mercilessly repressed his political opponents, and cultivated closer ties with the Soviet Union.

In 1975, taking advantage of the instability and immaturity of the regime in Addis Ababa, the Somali government launched a military offensive against Ethiopia. A mostly pastoral society, Somalia had not fared well in a modern world organized by agricultural and industrial nation-states. In 1960, after the newly independent British Somaliland merged with Italian Somaliland to become the Somali Republic, many within the new nation hoped to reunite with Somalis across the border in Ethiopia. In 1969 a coup organized by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre replaced the parliamentary system with a Soviet-style democratic republic run by a Supreme Revolutionary Council. Fueled by a massive arms build-up funded by the Soviet Union, Siad Barre maintained the long-standing hope of bringing together all Somalis under one government. Siad Barre’s government spearheaded the mid-1970s war with Ethiopia, which ended when Somalia withdrew in 1978.

A reshuffling of cold war alliances accompanied internal political changes during the 1970s. In response to the radicalism of Mengistu Haile-Mariam, newly elected U.S. president JIMMY CARTER suspended U.S. aid to Ethiopia, hoping that the situation would soon change, but, offered Somalia “defensive” weapons and incorporated the country into the U.S. security network. U.S. assistance to Somalia in the 1980s totaled \$37 million. Similar political gymnastics occurred in Moscow. Although an ally of the Siad Barre government in Somalia, Moscow labeled its attack on Ethiopia aggression and began to support the new regime in Addis Ababa.

During the early 1990s, as the cold war ended, the Horn of Africa underwent yet another round of sweeping political changes. In Ethiopia severe economic problems and sustained rebellions in various parts of the country brought about the collapse of the Dergue. In May 1991, after a final push by the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), Ethiopia came into the hands of the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front. Meanwhile, in Eritrea, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) seized control. Two years later they formalized independence with a referendum. The late 1980s found Somalia in a state of instability as numerous factions competed

for state control without any clear victor. After Siad Barre was toppled in 1991, Mogadishu fell into a state of civil war.

During the second half of the 20th century the people living in the Horn of Africa witnessed repeated changes in the political configuration ruling Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union shaped these changes in profound ways. Such external influence sharpened divisions within the Horn and intensified the conflicts. International rivalries also combined with local dynamics—such as the long-standing imperial relationship of Ethiopia with its neighbors, the legacy of previous European colonialism in the area, and the personal and ideological agendas of local leaders such as Haile Salassie, Haile-Mariam, and Siad Barre—to shape the fate of this important region.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

Hu Jintao (Hu Chin-t’ao)

(1942–) *Chinese politician*

Elected president of the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA on March 15, 2003, Hu Jintao was born in December 1942 in Shanghai. He is the first Chinese leader whose career began after the communist victory of 1949.

Hu became active in the Communist Youth League while in high school and graduated with a degree in hydraulic engineering. He worked for a hydropower station in Gansu and then, from 1969 to 1974, worked as an engineer for Sinohydro Engineering Bureau. In 1974 Hu transferred to the construction department at Gansu. Within a year he earned a promotion to vice senior chief and met up with Song Ping, who would become his mentor. With Song’s help he took over as deputy director of Gansu’s Ministry of Construction in 1980. In 1981 Hu embarked on training at the Central Party School in Beijing. His political career advanced rapidly when DENG XIAOPING named him to the Politburo Standing Committee in 1992.



Hu Jintao pictured during a defense meeting held in Washington, D.C., when he was vice president of the People's Republic of China.

Hu's meteoric career rise continued with his appointment as governor of Guizhou (Kweichow) province in 1985. In 1988 he took over as party chief of the Tibet Autonomous Region at a time of great political turmoil. Hu ordered and led a political crack-down in Tibet in early 1989. During the 14th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), his name emerged as a potential future leader. In his 50s, he became the youngest member of the seven-person Politburo Standing Committee. In 1993 he became secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and vice president of China in 1998.

Hu ascended to the office of party general secretary at the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 2002, at a time of immense change for China. Economically, politically, and socially, China faced difficult issues, including the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing and the uncertainty of a rapidly globalizing economy.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Hu Yaobang (Hu Yao-pang) (1915–1989) *Chinese politician*

Hu Yaobang was born to a peasant family in Hunan Province and joined the Chinese Communist forces at age 14. He became a party member in 1933. He became a protégé of DENG XIAOPING after serving under him in the Chinese Red Army, although they had many differences of opinion on political and philosophical issues. After the formation of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA in 1949, Hu held many positions within the national government.

Hu became head of the Communist Party's Propaganda Department, then became general secretary in 1980 and chair in 1981. Hu attempted to create a more flexible, less dogmatic government that would seek practical and flexible solutions to particular problems rather than relying on rigid applications of Maoist ideology. He was also a strong champion of reform and democratization within the party and oversaw the rehabilitation of thousands of people, from party leaders to ordinary Chinese citizens, who had been unjustly exiled or imprisoned.

Hu was forced to resign in 1987 and compelled to sign a statement of "self-criticism," accepting responsibility for his failure to crack down on a series of student protests the previous year. He retained his seat on the Politburo, however, until he died of a heart attack two years later.

His death on April 15, 1989, sparked the Tiananmen Square Democracy Movement, which began with public protests and a hunger strike by thousands of students in Tiananmen Square in central Beijing. The protesters were brutally suppressed by the Chinese government, culminating in what is now termed the TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE on June 4, 1989.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Huk Rebellion

The Huk Rebellion was a leftist, rurally based armed rebellion in the Philippines, first against Japan and later against the newly independent, U.S.-supported Filipino government. Its main objective was independence and a more equitable society. The movement blossomed during World War II, dissipated in the mid-1950s, then returned during the late 1960s.

The Hukbalahap, or Huks, originated during World War II to liberate the Philippines from Japanese control. Hukbalahap is a contraction of the Tagalog phrase “Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon,” which means “People’s Anti-Japanese Army.” (Japan had taken control of the archipelago nation by defeating U.S.-Filipino forces in 1941.)

The Huks found a base of support among the peasants of central Luzon, where approximately 80 percent of local farmers lived under oppressive debt. Led by the socialist Luis Taruc, they advanced an agenda of nationalism and agrarian reform. Taruc had worked as a peasant organizer in the Pampanga region during the 1930s. Throughout the war the Huks trained local farmers in political theory and fighting strategy.

By the end of the conflict the Huks could claim roughly 15,000 armed soldiers and many supporters. Obtaining their weapons mostly from retreating Filipino soldiers, old battlefields, and downed planes, they used their power to block Japanese food and military supplies and to interrupt the collection of taxes. Besides earning widespread popular support, the Huks developed communication networks and fighting tools that would serve them well in later years.

After U.S.-led forces recaptured Luzon from the Japanese in February 1945, the Huks looked forward to independence as promised by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. They formed a political party and won a number of elections in 1947, but were denied their rightful seats in parliament. In response they once again returned to the mountains and took up arms. In November 1948 the Huks renamed themselves “Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan,” or People’s Liberation Army.

The Huks came close to toppling the government in 1950. However, under the leadership of Ramon

Magsaysay, the Filipino government was able to turn the tide on the Huks. Magsaysay pursued a two-pronged approach, combining vigorous military action with successful efforts to reform the army. When Taruc surrendered in 1954, the movement ended. Magsaysay’s campaign became the model for U.S. efforts in Vietnam.

Rural discontent once again pushed the Huks to take up arms against the government in the late 1960s. In August 1969 however, President FERDINAND MARCOS, with the aid of the U.S. government, launched a military campaign that crushed them.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

Hundred Flowers Campaign in China (1956–1957)

Between 1949, when it came to power, and 1957, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) completed land reform and eliminated domestic opposition. As a result of the First Five-Year Plan, it had collectivized agriculture and advanced industries. Chairman Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) believed that most intellectuals supported his goals, but feared that there was resistance among the 100,000 or so “higher intellectuals” who had been Western trained. To arouse their enthusiasm Mao and Premier ZHOU ENLAI (Chou En-lai) decided in 1956 to embark on a campaign to “Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend.” This term was borrowed from the Hundred Schools of Thought era of the late Zhou (Chou) dynasty, circa 500 B.C.E., when many philosophies developed. Its goal was to gain the intellectuals’ cooperation by permitting some debate and to allow them to question the competence of party cadres to direct science and technology. Cadres, too, were encouraged to criticize the system under which they worked.

The critics were encouraged by some liberalization in the Soviet Union after NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV began de-Stalinization in 1956. Some were inspired by the May Fourth Movement and Intellectual Revolution in

China in 1919. Many, however, were inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideals and thought it their duty to point out where the party had deviated. Most sought to express their criticism within the limits of the system, such as the writer-journalist and CCP member Liu Binyan (Liu Pin-yen), whose newspaper articles described the divergence between bureaucratic mismanagement and communist ideals. By 1957 university students, too, had become involved, led by those in National Beijing (Peking) University, whose predecessors had led the May Fourth Movement. They put up posters protesting the politicization of academic life on a Democracy Wall.

The leaders of the CCP were, however, unprepared for the extent and bitterness of the criticism by writers, scientists, and social scientists. In July 1957 Mao reversed himself, stating that intellectual freedom was only permissible if it strengthened socialism. He denounced those who had spoken out in the Hundred Flowers campaign as “rightists,” “counter-revolutionaries,” and “poisonous weeds.” Many senior CCP leaders had never endorsed the campaign and supported the crackdown. By the end of the year the anti-rightist campaign was in full swing, and more than 300,000 intellectuals had been condemned and sent to jail or labor camps, humiliated by public denunciations, and forced to make confessions. Their careers were ended. Countless bright students and young cadres never got a chance for a career as a result of their participation. Some were executed. The swing of the pendulum to severe repression was sharp and unrelenting. It reflected the insecurity of the CCP leaders and their fear of freedom.

See also GREAT LEAP FORWARD IN CHINA (1958–1961).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Hungarian revolt (1956)

In 1956, Hungary was a nation of 9 million. Allied to Germany during World War II, it was occupied by Soviet troops in 1944–45. Hungarian Communists

began the process that by the late 1940s would give them control over the government. By that time, Hungary's government had undergone changes that ensured that the leadership strictly followed directives from the Soviet Union. The first Communist leader, from 1949 to the early 1950s, was the hard-liner Laszlo Rajk. He, in turn, was replaced on Moscow's orders by an equally harsh leader, Mátyás Rákosi.

While the imposition of Communist rule in Hungary was particularly repressive, it was applied with force throughout Eastern Europe into the early 1950s. At that time, a series of events took place that indicated restrictions from the Soviet Union and internal restrictions might be loosening. The first event was the death of Stalin in 1953. A slight thaw and liberalization followed in both the Soviet Union and the satellite states. There were changes in the internal policies in the East European states. Hard-liners died mysteriously, and in countries where rebellions against the Soviets had been put down, there seemed to be a certain degree of liberalization.

Closer to home, there seemed to be a change in Hungary's direction. Rákosi was pushed aside and a moderate, Imre Nagy, was brought in to take his place. Nagy left this position in 1955 and his predecessor, Rákosi, returned. In July 1956 NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV suggested to Rákosi that he should visit Moscow. Nagy was back in, but left the government after a very short while. This is when the troubles began.

On October 23, 1956, students demanded that Nagy return to the government. The students were fired on by the police, and on the following day martial law was declared. Soviet troops in Hungary put down the increasing number of riots and demonstrations. The violence escalated until October 28, when Nagy returned to the government, a cease-fire was signed, and the Soviet troops withdrew from Budapest.

In the next week Nagy and the newly formed government began making changes that alarmed not only hard-line Hungarian Communists but the leadership in Moscow as well. Political prisoners were released and the one-party system was ended.

Most serious, however, was the statement made that Hungary would begin withdrawing from the WAR-SAW PACT. Khrushchev ordered the Soviet army to commence Operation Whirlwind, a strong military response to the rebellion. Whirlwind commenced on November 4 and lasted until November 12. It was a Soviet-only operation, as the 120,000-man Hungarian army was not trusted politically. Most of the fighting took place in the streets of Budapest.

There was a political movement as well. János Kádár arrived in Budapest on November 7. He was a long-time Communist operative with a history of being in and out of power. When the revolt began, Kádár left Budapest and went to the Soviets, formally asking them to intervene in ending the disorder. Coming from a member of the Hungarian government, this request reinforced the impression of the legitimacy of the Soviet intervention.

In the end, the Soviet army saw 700 men killed and approximately 1,500 wounded. Three thousand Hungarians died, most in Budapest. Many thousands of Hungarians left the country, first to Austria, where refugee camps were set up, and then later to the United States, Canada, France, and Britain.

POLITICAL ORDER

As the Soviet Army put an end to the rebellion, Kádár, assisted by the Soviet ambassador Yuri Andropov, restored political order. Nagy was taken by the Soviets and executed in 1958. Kádár's rule was, at first, characterized by harshness and reprisals against anyone who participated.

In the following years, however, Kádár liberalized the regime, instituting what Khrushchev and others contemptuously referred to as "Goulash Communism." Kádár did not look for loyalty so much as conformity. Hungary, in relation with other members of the Warsaw Pact in the 1960s–1980s, was very liberal. By 1989 it had the most advanced economy in eastern Europe. Authors did not have to submit their works to a censor prior to publication, but those who crossed the unstat- ed line could still find themselves in trouble.

The United States government, which many considered to have instigated the rebellion through Radio Free Europe broadcasts, had decided that the potential for a nuclear war outweighed the benefits of assisting the Hungarians. From 1956 on, American diplomatic talk of rolling back communism was replaced with the phrase "containment."

Although Khrushchev succeeded in reestablishing the Communist government, his indecisiveness and actions prior to the rebellion damaged his credibility. It took the prodding of many within the Soviet government to make him act, and the fact that he had had to fly to Yugoslavia to get Tito's approval before intervening led many to question his leadership. In 1957 an attempt was made to replace him, which failed. His continued problems in foreign policy, however, finally led to his ouster in 1964.

By 1989 there were significant changes. In April the Hungarian government tore down the barbed wire

fences on its frontier with Austria. In June that same year, 200,000 Hungarians attended the reburial of Imre Nagy from a common grave to a place of honor.

See also PRAGUE SPRING.

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ROBERT STACY

Hussein, Saddam

(1937–2006) *Iraqi leader*

Saddam Hussein was born in Al Awja near Tikrit, Iraq, to a poor family. He was raised mostly by an uncle and attended school in Baghdad. As a young man he joined the BA'ATH PARTY. After Hussein was involved in an abortive attempt to assassinate Abdul Karim Qassem, the leader of the 1958 IRAQ REVOLUTION, he fled to Egypt, where he studied law. When the Ba'ath seized power in 1963, he returned to Iraq but was soon imprisoned for another attempt to overthrow the regime. He escaped from prison in 1966 and was elected assistant general secretary of the Ba'ath.

Under the patronage of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, to whom he was related by blood, Hussein rose in power following the 1968 Ba'athist-led coup. In 1975 Hussein and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi signed the Algiers Accord, which led to the Iran-Iraq Treaty of International Boundaries and Good Neighborliness, whereby the eastern portion of the Shatt al Arab was ceded to Iran. The agreements were a victory for Iran, and Hussein subsequently argued that Iraq had only signed under duress.

In 1979 Hussein ousted the ailing al-Bakr and assumed leadership of the Ba'ath Party and the nation. He emulated the Stalinist approach to government, establishing a totalitarian state based on a cult of personality. He ruthlessly purged possible dissidents within the Ba'ath Party, closely controlled the media and communications systems, and had the populace—especially the youth—indoctrinated in loyalty to himself. Although not a professional soldier, Hussein often appeared in military uniform, and he curried favor with the army. His regime was a secular one, and he closely monitored



A mural of former Iraqi leader and supreme military commander Saddam Hussein painted on a wall in rural Iraq.

Shi'i clerics and Islamist movements. He appointed relatives and close associates from Tikrit to key government positions and demanded absolute loyalty. However, his regime also improved education, healthcare services, and the status of women.

Hussein initiated the IRAN-IRAQ WAR (1980–88) ostensibly to recover the Shatt al Arab but also to contain the Shi'i-led IRANIAN REVOLUTION. The resulting war of attrition led to massive human, military, and economic losses for both sides. Neighboring Arab nations in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia, fearing the export of the Iranian revolution, assisted Iraq with loans and aid. From the Iraqi perspective the Arab regimes were paying for the war with money, and Iraq was paying with the blood of its soldiers. After the war Hussein downplayed his former secularism and adopted a more Islamic approach. He also launched major offensives, including the use of poison gas, against Kurdish forces in northern Iraq.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, a major ally, Iraq became more isolated and found it increasingly difficult to obtain loans or assistance to rebuild its war-torn economy. Hussein also recognized the mounting hostility of his former Arab allies and resented the refusal of Kuwait to forgive wartime loans. He also accused Kuwait of illegally slant-drilling for petroleum into Iraq. In August 1990, he ordered the invasion of Kuwait.

Kuwait quickly fell to the Iraqi forces and was incorporated into Iraq. The international community, including the Arab world, condemned the invasion and after a month of massive aerial bombardment in the so-called FIRST GULF WAR, coalition forces, led by the United States, moved into Kuwait. The Iraqi army crumbled and hastily retreated. The coalition established no-fly zones that essentially created an autonomous Kurdish region in the north. However, Hussein crushed uprisings, especially among the large and disaffected Shi'i population in southern Iraq. Iraq managed to rebuild much of its infrastructure, and water and electricity services were restored to major cities.

In spite of a decade of international sanctions that resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of mostly civilian Iraqis, Hussein clung to power. International diplomacy and arms inspections resulted in the demilitarization and destruction of most of the Iraqi military arsenal, but although severely weakened, the military remained intact. Hussein's sons Uday and Qusay became increasingly powerful during the 1990s, and their erratic behavior and violence terrorized those around them.

Saddam Hussein's regime was overthrown in the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (the SECOND GULF WAR). As U.S. forces entered Baghdad many leaders of the regime, including Hussein and his sons, went into hiding. His sons were found and killed, and U.S. forces ultimately captured Hussein, who was then put on trial for crimes committed during his rule. During the protracted trial, Hussein adopted a belligerent tone, maintaining that he was still the legitimate ruler of Iraq, but he was found guilty and executed. A new Iraqi regime was established, and the Ba'ath Party was banned from holding positions in government or schools. The Iraqi army was also disbanded, but the nation continued to face tremendous economic and social problems as sectarian fighting broke out and massive opposition to foreign occupying forces erupted throughout much of the country.

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JANICE J. TERRY



India

India became an independent nation on August 15, 1947, with the end of British colonial rule. With a population of 1,095,351,995 (July 2006 estimate), India is the second most populous nation after China. It is the seventh-largest nation in land area in the world, covering 3,287,590 square kilometers. It borders Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, China, Nepal, and Pakistan. It presents considerable ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity. India has 18 officially recognized languages and about 1,600 dialects. Hindus form 83.5 percent of the total population. After Indonesia, India has the second-largest number of Muslims, who constitute 13 percent of the population.

The partition of the British Empire into India and Pakistan created problems for both countries, a legacy that continues. India faced problems including the merger of princely states, an influx of refugees from Pakistan, communal riots, the division of assets, and war with Pakistan. The 562 independent princely states were given the choice to merge with either India or Pakistan. Vallabhbhai Patel (1875–1950), the home minister, was the architect of the merger of these states. Hyderabad and Junagarh were annexed when their rulers did not select the option of merging with India. War broke out over the state of Jammu and Kashmir, whose ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh (1895–1961), had signed the Instrument of Accession with the governor-general of India, Lord LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN (1900–79) on October 26, 1947. Despite opposition, Prime Minister

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889–1964) took the matter to the UNITED NATIONS, which called for a cease-fire on August 13, 1948. It called for a plebiscite to determine the desire of the people of the state. The hostilities were over by December 31, 1948, and the demarcation line became the Line of Control (LOC) between the two countries. India also was getting ready to prepare a constitution, and B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956) was appointed chairperson of the Drafting Committee on August 29, 1947. On November 26, 1949, the Constituent Assembly adopted the constitution. India became a sovereign democratic republic on January 26, 1950, when the constitution came into effect. Rajendra Prasad (1884–1963) became the first president of India, which adopted a parliamentary form of government.

In 1952 the first general elections were held, and the Indian National Congress (INC), under Nehru, formed the government. Nehru left an indelible mark on modern Indian history with his belief in a parliamentary form of democracy, a socialist pattern of society, secularism, equality before the law, and nonalignment. He believed that India could play a meaningful role at the time of COLD WAR. Imbued with a high dose of idealism, India pursued a dynamic policy in international politics. Acting as intermediary, India contributed to a lessening of tensions by hosting conferences like the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 and the Conference on Indonesia in 1949. The BANDUNG CONFERENCE (1955) was the high-water mark in Indian diplomacy. India became the chair of the peacekeeping machinery, the International Control Commission, after the end of



Indians bathe in the Ganges River, a sacred rite. India's history is mixed with religion, as in the partition into Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the continuing border conflicts that occur today.

the First Indochina War (1946–54). Nehru also played a pivotal role in establishing the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. India had maintained friendly relations with China and signed a friendship treaty in 1954. But there were boundary disputes with China, which resulted in the Sino-Indian War of October 1962. India's humiliating defeat was a great shock to Nehru, and Indian foreign policy lost its momentum.

A planning commission was set up in 1950 headed by Nehru. Large sectors of the economy were modernized. The new policies aimed for an increase in agricultural productivity and industrialization within the framework of a socialist pattern of society. The government engaged itself in manufacturing, railways, aviation, electricity, communication, and infrastructural activities. The Indian Institutes of Technology, in tune with the scientific temperament of Nehru, research and educational institutions were established. Attempts also were made to change the social sector through legislation in parliament.

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI (1904–66) became the next premier. The debacle for India in the Sino-Indian War of 1962 and the death of Nehru prompted Pakistan to wage another war. The Indian army crossed the border, bringing Lahore under Indian artillery fire. A cease-fire was called by the United Nations on September 22, 1965. The TASHKENT AGREEMENT was signed on January 10, 1966, and the cease-fire line (CFL) became the de facto border between the countries.

With the initiation of INDIRA GANDHI as prime minister, another important era began in contemporary Indian history. Daughter of Nehru, she was prime minister of India twice, between 1966 and 1977 and again from 1980 to 1984. She unleashed a program of *Garibi Hatao* (abolish poverty), supported the Indochinese people in the VIETNAM WAR, and moved closer to the Soviet Union with the signing of a 20-year treaty in August 1971. The liberation war in East Pakistan had started, and India was facing problems arising out of the exodus of 10 million refugees to provinces in eastern India. War became inevitable. On

December 3, the air force of Pakistan began preemptive air strikes on eight Indian airfields. The Pakistan army surrendered on December 16 in Dhaka. The Shimla Accords prevented outbreaks of any major conflict between the two countries until 1999.

Scientific development went forward at a tremendous speed with the launch of a satellite into space. In May 1974 India successfully carried out an underground nuclear explosion at Pokhran. The program of the GREEN REVOLUTION, which utilized new types of seeds, resulted in greater agricultural productivity and self-sufficiency in food production. There were demonstrations and strikes in protest against inflation and the poor standard of living. Indira Gandhi also was found guilty of violating election laws and she imposed a state of national emergency on June 26, 1975. Fundamental rights were suspended, censorship was imposed on the press, and opposition leaders were put behind bars. When Gandhi called for elections two years afterward, the Congress Party was badly trounced, and the combined opposition, the JANATA PARTY, came into power.

Morarji Desai (1896–1995), the first non-Congress prime minister of India, headed a coalition that lasted for two years. The mutual bickering among coalition partners and unsolved economic problems witnessed the return of Gandhi to power with a large majority in January 1980. The rise of militancy in the Punjab was crushed by the Indian security forces, but Gandhi paid with the loss of her life at the hands of her Sikh bodyguards on October 31, 1984. The violence that erupted against the Sikhs created another dark chapter in Indian history. RAJIV GANDHI (1944–91), the son of Indira Gandhi, was the next prime minister, and he took the country toward economic reforms and expansion of the telecommunication sector and information technology (IT).

India became involved in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accords were signed in 1987, and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was dispatched to Sri Lanka. Rajiv Gandhi was charged with corruption and the Congress lost the elections of November 1989. He was assassinated by a Sri Lankan suicide bomber in 1991.

The history of India since the last decade of the 20th century has been marked by the menace of terrorism, major economic reforms, tackling poverty, tremendous growth in IT, reservation to backward classes, and becoming a nuclear nation. The Janata Party ministry of Vishwanath Pratap Singh (1931–) lasted less than a year, but reactions to the affirmative

action by his government of reserving jobs and seats in educational institutions for lower classes divided India along caste lines. Politicians like Singh and others jettisoned merit-based awards for the quota system. Even after more than five decades of reservation, the various governments retained this system. The government of MANMOHAN SINGH (1932–) reserved seats for lower classes in some of the premier institutions of the country.

India shifted from its decade-old centralized planning model to a market-driven economy and joined the mainstream of globalization on an international level at the time of the Congress ministry of P. V. Narasimha Rao (1921–2004). Indian workers were sought after in IT fields globally. The educational infrastructure had developed so as to produce one of the world's largest concentrations of technical personnel.

There had been communal violence between Hindus and Muslims following the demolition of the Babri mosque in 1992 over the question of the birthplace of the Hindu god Ram in Ayodhya. Violence again erupted in 2002 after a train fire in Godhra, Gujarat, resulting in the massacre of Hindus and Muslims alike. Relations with Pakistan deteriorated over Kashmir, which has remained one of the major sources of conflict between the two countries. The conflict assumed dangerous proportions with the specter of a nuclear conflict after the Kargil War of 1999. Prime Minister Shri Vajpayee and the Pakistan premier Nawaz Sharif (1949–) signed the Lahore Declaration in February 1999 to solve the Kashmir problem. But the fourth war between the two countries began on May 8 and lasted for 73 days.

In spite of the odds, India maintained a democratic system. The country maintains steady economic growth and a reduction in the poverty level. India also is striving for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

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Indochina War (First and Second)

The French colonization of Indochina—consisting of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—was completed when Laos became a French protectorate in 1893. World War II opened new avenues for anticolonial movements in Southeast Asia. In the wake of the Japanese occupation of Indochina, the Vietnamese Communist leader HO CHI MINH (1890–1969) set up the Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence of Vietnam), or Vietminh. He gave the call in August 1945 to liberate Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), or North Vietnam, was established on September 2, 1945, after the formal Japanese surrender on the same day. Laos and Cambodia did likewise. But the French were in no mood to give up Indochina. The Vietminh was ordered by the French to lay down arms, but they attacked the French troops in Hanoi on December 19, 1946. Thus the First Indochina War began. The Khmer Issarak, the Free Khmers of Son Ngoc Thanh (1907–76), were aligned with the Vietminh. In Laos, the Pathet Lao under Souphanouvong (1901–95) also fought against the French. The three communist factions formally formed the Viet-Khmer-Lao alliance on March 11, 1951.

In the COLD WAR period, the United States followed a containment strategy and helped France by giving it military aid. It amounted to 85 percent of the French Indochinese budget, and it provided up to 40 percent of the military budget of France during the First Indochina War by 1952. In March 1949 the southern part of Vietnam became an associate state within the French Union, along with Laos and Cambodia. By 1950 South Vietnam had been recognized by the United States and Great Britain.

The establishment of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA in 1949 was very favorable to the DRV. China recognized the government of Hanoi and supplied military matériel according to an agreement of April 1, 1950. The Soviet Union and its East European allies also recognized the DRV. The actual combatants in the First Indochina War were the Vietminh, the Pathet Lao, and the Khmer Issarak fighting against the French. The Vietminh resorted to guerrilla warfare. By 1950 the Vietminh had established complete control over the northern free zone, and the communists had strengthened their position in Laos and Cambodia.

The commander in chief of the Vietminh, VO NGUYEN GIAP (1911–), was an expert on modern guerrilla warfare and led the army of Vietnam from its inception. His strategy of dispersing French troops and capturing

weak outposts had paid off well. By 1952 half of the villages of the Red River Delta were under his control. The war was becoming unpopular in France, with a heavy loss of men from the French Expeditionary Corps and matériel. General Henri Navarre (1898–1983), the commander of the French forces, had captured the town of Dien Bien Phu, 16 kilometers from the Lao border, in November 1953. Navarre established a fortified camp and was convinced of a North Vietnamese attack so as to open the road to Laos. Giap did not make any assault and instead surrounded the camp with about 50,000 soldiers of the Vietnamese People's Army. The siege of Dien Bien Phu began on March 13, 1954, and 11,000 French troops were entrapped. The Vietminh artillery cut off the supply by air to the French troops.

FRENCH SURRENDER

On May 7 Dien Bien Phu fell, and the next day the Geneva Conference on Indochina began. The Geneva Conference divided Vietnam temporarily along the 17th parallel into two states, North and South Vietnam. Elections would be held two years afterward to decide unification of the two Vietnams. On November 7, 1953, Cambodia became independent, two days later; Norodom Sihanouk (1922–) returned to form a government. The conference recognized the Pathet Lao as a political party with control over the Phong Saly and Sam Neua Provinces.

Although there is no disagreement over the Second Indochina War ending in 1975, there is controversy about the year of its beginning. The years 1954, 1957, 1959, and 1960 have been named as the starting point. Most authorities agree on 1959, when the central committee of the Lao Dong Party in January called for armed struggle in South Vietnam to achieve the goal of unification. Gradually the whole of Indochina would be involved in war because the Geneva Conference of 1954 did not resolve the Vietnamese problem, and all the signatories violated its provisions. The United States provided military and economic assistance to NGO DINH DIEM (1901–63), the president of South Vietnam. Diem refused to hold the elections called for in the Geneva Conference to decide about unification.

Compared to the weakness of Diem's regime, Hanoi under Ho was politically stable and increased support to the communist factions in Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. In September 1960 Le Duan (1908–86), the secretary of the Lao Dong Party, called for the overthrow of Diem's government to achieve the goal of unification. Le Duan had earlier led the independence struggle against France in the south. The Ho Chi Minh

Trail passing through Laos and Cambodia was the main supply route for North Vietnam to send convoys carrying supplies to the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

The U.S. commitment to South Vietnam strengthened during President JOHN F. KENNEDY's administration (1961–63), when the dispatch of American Green Beret "special advisers" to South Vietnam began. In August 1964 the USS *Maddox* was attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats, creating the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Although the veracity of the incident was questioned afterward, the U.S. Congress gave full authority to President LYNDON B. JOHNSON to retaliate. The VIETNAM WAR escalated, with the survival of South Vietnam a primary consideration for Johnson, who had reaffirmed the policy of Kennedy.

The United States aimed at eliminating the Vietcong by bombing, chemical warfare, and counterinsurgency operations. Combat troops were sent in 1965, and their number reached 500,000 three years later. During the Tet (Vietnamese New Year) Offensive of January 1968, the communists attacked major cities of South Vietnam. Meanwhile, domestic dissent in the United States regarding the Vietnam War was gathering momentum.

The coup by General Lon Nol (1913–85) in Cambodia on March 18, 1970, added a new dimension to the Second Indochina War. On April 21 the United Indochinese Front was established. The summit conference three days afterward in southern China was attended by Pham Van Dong representing North Vietnam, Norodom Sihanouk as head of the National United Front of Cambodia, Souphanouvong from the Pathet Lao, and Nguyen Huu Tho as a representative of the provisional government of South Vietnam. The delegates called for unity in fighting against the United States.

The objectives of the 1971 U.S. attack on Laos were to cut the trail and prevent North Vietnam from attacking northern areas of South Vietnam. With 9,000 U.S. and 20,000 South Vietnamese troops, the campaign lasted for 45 days and resulted in a disastrous defeat of South Vietnam. The objective of cutting off the trail could not be achieved. The failure of South Vietnamese ground troops in spite of air support showed that it was not ready to take over a ground combat role from the United States.

The lessening of tension in the international arena had its impact on the Paris Peace Talks, which had started on January 23, 1969. The Sino-U.S. rapprochement, growing domestic opposition to the war, increasing success of communists in battlefields, the mounting cost of the war, and the loss of life of U.S. soldiers compelled the United States to disengage from

Vietnam. The Paris Peace Agreements on Vietnam were signed on January 27, 1973. It was only a matter of time before the communists would score the final victory. On April 30, 1975, communist forces entered the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon. The two Vietnams were reunited officially in January 1976. On December 2, 1975, the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR) was formed. The government of Lon Nol in Cambodia was ousted by the Khmer Rouge on April 17, 1975. By 1975 the whole of Indochina was communist, and the Second Indochina War was over.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)

The left movement in Indonesia began within the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), established in 1911. Henk Sneevliet established the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV, Indies Social Democratic Association) in 1914 and worked within the Sarekat Islam. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the ISDV increased its membership, and in May 1920 it changed its name to Partai Kommunist Indonesia (PKI, Communist Party of Indonesia), which became the first communist party in Asia. It was expelled by the Sarekat Islam. The PKI organized strikes, and Dutch authorities, alarmed, expelled leaders like Sneevliet and Tan Malaka. The policy of repression by the government made the PKI popular, and it organized large-scale strikes in 1926. In November the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. After proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, by AHMED SUKARNO (1901–70) the PKI believed it to be Japanese sponsored and fascist. The republic successfully crushed two communist rebellions in 1946 and 1948.

There was a change in PKI's direction after 1950 under the leadership of Dipa Nusantara Aidit. It had an agenda of nationalist commitment and supported Sukarno's anticolonial policy. In the first general elections of 1955 the PKI was aligned with the Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Union), founded by Sukarno in June 1927. The PKI received 16.4 percent of the votes, and in the newly elected parliament it had 39 seats. With maneuvering and a dedicated party cadre, the PKI had become a political force to be reckoned with in the country.

In July 1957 the PKI made advances in municipal elections. The PKI had become vocal about the Dutch control of West New Guinea (Irian Jaya/Papua). In the wake of a campaign to annex it, the members of PKI as well as PNI seized control of Dutch industries in December 1957. The PKI's voice against the dominance of foreign capital in Indonesia gradually led to the nationalization of major industries. Religious parties like Islamist Masyumi were in favor of declaring the PKI illegal. The party had found Sukarno as an ally and supported his Guided Democracy. The PNI, PKI, and Nahdatul Ulama were among the major political parties that were allowed to function. After the abortive coup of February 1958, martial law was imposed by Sukarno, and the PKI supported it. By 1960 the PKI could influence Sukarno on internal and foreign policy of the country.

The situation in Indonesia during the 1960s was ripe for a communist insurrection, and the PKI exploited the situation to its maximum potential. The crop failure in central Java in February 1964 resulted in a starving population of 1 million. Both Sukarno and the PKI launched the Crush Malaysia campaign. PKI cadres crossed over the border and took part in guerrilla warfare in Sarawak and north Borneo. The United States terminated military aid in September 1963.

The PKI had begun a program of arming the people. It had become the third-largest communist party in the world, with a membership of 3.5 million. It had the direct support of 20 million people through its varied organizations. On the night of September 30, 1965, six top army generals were rounded up, taken to the Halim Air Force Base, and brutally killed. The identity of the perpetrators of the crime was not known, but blame was placed on the PKI. The *Gerakan* on September 30 resulted in violent retribution against the PKI. There was a slaughter of a half-million Communists, including the Chinese. The PKI was outlawed in March 1966.

General HAJI MOHAMED SUHARTO (1921–), who had taken leadership in crushing the coup, became the

acting president in March 1967. Sukarno remained under house arrest until his death on June 21, 1970. Suharto established the Kopkamtib (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) to scuttle the opposition, muzzle the press, and prevent the reemergence of the PKI. There was *otokritik* (self-criticism) by exiled PKI members in Beijing. In 1999 President Abdurrahman Wahid asked the exiled PKI leaders to come back to open a dialogue, but the proposal did not find favor with fundamentalist Islamic groups.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Indo-Pakistani Wars (Kashmir)

After the departure of the British in August 1947, India and Pakistan became successor states. The partition of the British Indian Empire into India and Pakistan left a legacy of mutual discord that is felt to the present day. India's foreign policy after independence was centered around world issues; relations with India dominated Pakistan's security concerns. Kashmir remained the major bone of contention between the two countries. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was Muslim-dominated, with Hindus and others constituting about 48 percent of the population. It had boundaries with both India and Pakistan. The ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, vacillated over whether to join India or Pakistan. Pakistan sponsored an attack on the state on October 22, 1947, leading Hari Singh to sign the Instrument of Accession with the governor-general of independent India, LORD MOUNTBATTEN on October 26, 1947. The next day it was accepted by India. The sovereignty of Kashmir became a source of conflict, as Pakistan did not recognize the merger of its state with India. India agreed to Hari Singh's request for military assistance after accepting the Instrument of Accession, and thus the first war between India and Pakistan began.

India airlifted reinforcements and deployed the 161st Infantry Brigade into Kashmir. Pakistan had occupied about one-third of the state and named it Azad Kashmir (Free Kashmir). In late December the war turned in favor of Pakistan when it gained control of the Punch, Mirpur, and Jhanger regions. By 1948 a stalemate had developed. Prime Minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889–1964) of India took the matter to the UNITED NATIONS (UN) despite some opposition in the cabinet, which saw Kashmir as an internal problem of India. The terms of the cease-fire outlined in the UN resolution of August 13, 1948, called for withdrawal of Pakistani troops and the holding of a plebiscite to determine the desire of the Kashmir people. On December 31, 1948, a cease-fire was declared, and the demarcation line after the end of hostilities became the line of control (LOC) between the two countries. The Kashmir valley, Jammu, and Ladakh came under Indian control, and the state became the only Muslim majority province of secular India. Swat, Gilgat, Hunza, Nagar, and Baltistan constituted Pakistan-administered Kashmir.

CONTINUING CONFLICT

Neither India nor Pakistan adhered to the August resolutions, and the conflict over Kashmir continued. Pakistan insisted on a plebiscite, while India demanded Pakistan's withdrawal from territory it controlled (Azad Kashmir). In February the Constituent Assembly of the state of Jammu and Kashmir ratified accession to India, and, after two years, the state became one of the provinces of the Indian Union.

After a boundary agreement between China and Pakistan was negotiated in March 1963, the situation became still more complicated because China gained a large portion of the Trans-Karakoram Tract, ceded by Pakistan. The defeat of India in the 1962 October War by China encouraged Pakistan to enter another round of war. It was widely believed that hawkish elements in Pakistan began the war so as to snatch an easy victory from a humiliated India after the Sino-Indian War. The second Indo-Pakistan conflict began after a series of border clashes starting in March 1965. The border skirmishes, which began in the Rann of Kutch region of Gujarat, were contained in June after British mediation. A tribunal gave Pakistan 350 square miles of territory in 1968. The president, MUHAMMAD AYUB KHAN (1907–74), ordered Operation Gibraltar in August 1964 and sent infiltrators to Indian-held Kashmir.

The skirmishes between the forces of India and Pakistan began on August 6 and escalated into a large

battle nine days later. The Indian army captured the strategic Haji Pir Pass inside Pakistan totalling 710 square miles of Pakistani territory, while Pakistan occupied 210 square miles of Indian territory. The UN Security Council called for a cease-fire on September 22 and the war ended the next day.

A meeting between the prime minister of India, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, and Ayub Khan was arranged in the city of Tashkent by Soviet premier Alexey Kosygin. Under the TASHKENT AGREEMENT of January 10, the armies of both India and Pakistan went back to the positions they had held before August 5. Both agreed to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and not to interfere in each others' internal affairs.

The Tashkent declaration proved to be a temporary respite in the deteriorating relationship between India and Pakistan. Ayub was blamed for Pakistan's debacle and Pakistan's foreign minister, ZULFIKAR BHUTTO, resigned. Internally, East Pakistan was simmering with discontent; its leader, SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, criticized the government for neglecting the security of East Pakistan at the time of the 1965 war. When East Pakistan declared its independence, the Pakistani army retaliated with brutality against the people of East Pakistan.

Indian prime minister INDIRA GANDHI declared the support of her government of Bangladesh (the name for independent East Pakistan). Next, India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in August 1971 to checkmate either Chinese or U.S. interference in case of a war with Pakistan and gave support to Bangladesh's revolt.

On December 3 the Pakistani air force began preemptive air strikes against eight airfields in East Pakistan. India retaliated and began an air, land, and sea attack on Pakistani forces in the east, marching toward Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. More than 1 million people in Bangladesh perished before Pakistan's army surrendered in Dhaka. Bhutto and Gandhi signed the Shimla Accords on July 2, 1972, by which both countries recognized the line of control (LOC) after the war of 1971. India and Pakistan resolved to refrain from the use of force against each other and to solve disputes bilaterally without third-party mediation.

Starting in the mid-1980s, a sizable number of the people of Kashmir expressed a desire for independence and received support from Pakistan. Human rights abuses by the terrorists and the Indian army drew international attention. In 1998 both India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests and their relations became more volatile. In spite of this, both prime ministers, Atal

Bihari Vajpayee of India and Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan, signed the Lahore Declaration for solving the Kashmir dispute peacefully.

In February 1999 a war that would last for 73 days began on May 8 on the Kargil ridges, situated about 120 miles from Srinagar, the capital of Indian Kashmir. Both armies had to fight in the inhospitable terrain of the Kargil mountains. On July 14 both India and Pakistan ended military operations without boundary changes.

Kashmir has remained an unresolved problem between the two nations. It has assumed dangerous proportions with the potential for a nuclear conflict. However, summit talks have begun between leaders of both nations.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)

For more than seven decades (1929–2000) Mexico was governed by a single ruling party that dominated Mexican politics in a so-called one-party democracy. Dubbed the “perfect dictatorship” in 1990 by the conservative Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, the ruling party went through several name changes and transformed in important ways as the century progressed, but it also retained a high degree of institutional continuity.

Following the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), the constitution of 1917, and the turmoil of the Cristero Rebellion (1926–29), the party was founded in 1929 by Supreme Chief (Jefe Máximo) and President Plutarco Elías Calles (1929–34). It was called the Revolutionary National Party (Partido Nacional Revolucionario, or PNR). In 1938, soon after nationalizing the properties of foreign oil companies, President Lázaro Cárdenas

(1934–40) changed its name to the Mexican Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Mexicana, or PRM). Its final name change came under President Miguel Alemán Valdés (1946–52), when in 1946 it became the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI), as it has remained into the 21st century.

The PRI and its forebears (hereafter referred to as the PRI) won every national election from 1934 to 2000, when it was defeated at the polls by Vicente Fox, candidate of the opposition party Partido de Acción Nacional (National Action Party, or PAN). While the PRI did not outlaw opposition parties—in fact, encouraging their existence to lend greater legitimacy to its rule—its grip on the reins of state power remained unassailable by virtue of its domination of the machinery of state, the major media, and the electoral process, and by its capacity to repress or coopt opposition and to garner popular support by its selective dispensation of government patronage. Its strategies of rule and modes of domination were similar to the political machines that dominated major U.S. urban centers, such as Mayor Richard J. Daley’s political machine in Chicago (1955–76).

Despite its origins in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution and its ostensibly “revolutionary” orientation, the PRI grew increasingly conservative, authoritarian, and corrupt after the major reforms of the Cárdenas years. Cárdenas in effect forged an authoritarian corporatist state, in which all major social sectors were represented in the state and party’s bureaucratic and administrative structures: the military, labor unions, the agrarian sector, and the popular sector. Unlike the situation in many Latin American countries, the Mexican army and police remained firmly subordinated to civilian authority. Organized labor was represented by the Mexican Workers’ Federation (Confederación de Trabajadores de México, or CTM), an increasingly bureaucratized union founded under Cárdenas and firmly integrated into state structures. Independent or insurgent labor unions were either repressed or coopted. The agrarian sector was represented by the National Peasant Confederation (Confederación Nacional Campesino, or CNC) and other state-controlled organizations.

In the six decades from 1940 to 2000, the PRI was characterized by its conservatism at home and, from the 1950s, its rhetorical support for leftist and revolutionary movements abroad, such as the CUBAN REVOLUTION. Under President Manuel Ávila Camacho (1940–46), the PRI supported the Allies in World War

II and in 1942 agreed to the BRACERO PROGRAM with the United States, permitting a specified number of temporary Mexican laborers into that country annually to work in mining, commercial agriculture, and related industries. Conceived as a wartime measure, under pressure from the U.S. government and commercial interests, the program was extended until 1965.

Dispensing with much of the socialist rhetoric and orientation of the Cárdenas years, the Camacho administration slowed the pace of agrarian reform; installed the moderate Fidel Velásquez as head of the CTM (which he dominated until his death in 1997); established a state-run national bank (Nacional Financiera); loosened restrictions on foreign ownership of Mexican resources; expanded public works programs; and embarked on an export-led model of national development.

These trends continued under Camacho's successors Miguel Alemán Valdés (1946–52), Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952–58), Adolfo López Mateos (1958–64), and Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964–70). These were the years of the so-called Mexican Miracle, when relative social peace prevailed, state-led industrialization made major strides, and economic growth rates were the highest in the nation's history. The government's principal source of foreign exchange derived from state control of the Mexican oil industry through PEMEX (Petróleos Mexicanos), established in 1938. In the 1960s many Mexicans grew increasingly disenchanted with the ruling party's authoritarianism and corruption. A major crack in the PRI's ideological edifice came in the October 1968 Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City, on the eve of the country's hosting of the Olympics, when the police and state security forces violently repressed popular demonstrations calling for greater democracy.

The PRI's corruption, graft, nepotism, and violent repression of opposition mounted in the 1970s under presidents Luis Echeverría Álvarez (1970–76) and José López Portillo (1976–82). Oil revenues were at an all-time high, though much of the income was squandered in bribes, kickbacks, inflated salaries, and wasteful projects. Numerous protest movements by workers, students, farmers, and others were violently suppressed, including a guerrilla movement in the state of Guerrero led by former schoolteacher Lucio Cabañas.

Government debt rose dramatically, with world financial markets flush with petrodollars and transnational financial institutions like the WORLD BANK eager to extend low-interest loans to "developing" economies like Mexico's. In 1982, under President Miguel de

la Madrid (1982–88), a combination of a global recession, low world oil prices, record-high debt (\$80 billion in 1982), galloping inflation, and massive government expenditures led to the effective bankruptcy of the Mexican state. Devaluation of the peso and a restructuring of the international debt followed, though in December 1988, when de la Madrid left office, foreign debt had risen to a record \$105 billion, second only to Brazil's.

As a consequence of these and related crises, the administrations of presidents Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–94) and Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000) embarked on a major effort to rein in inflation and slash the size of the federal government through privatization of state-owned industries and pursuit of fiscal austerity measures recommended by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND.

The combination of prolonged economic crises and erosion of the PRI's ideological legitimacy led to the party's defeat in the 2000 elections, though it continued to play a major role in the National Assembly and in state and local governments throughout Fox's tenure, as it promised to play in the administration of PAN-affiliated President Felipe Calderón, elected in 2006.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Since its foundation at the end of World War II, the International Monetary Fund (IMF, or Fund) has been one of the world's most powerful and controversial multilateral economic institutions. Debates on the role of the IMF in the global economy have intensified in recent decades, especially from the 1990s. Like its "sister institution," the WORLD BANK, the IMF was conceived at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 and formally established the following year, its official mandate "to promote international monetary cooperation . . . to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international

trade . . . to promote exchange stability . . . to assist in . . . the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade . . . to give confidence to members by making the general resources of the Fund temporarily available to them . . . ” (Article I, Purposes, Articles of Agreement of the IMF).

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., since its foundation, in 2007 it had 184 member countries, with a staff of 2,716 in 165 countries. In pursuit of its mandate, the IMF purports to engage in three principal activities: (1) surveillance through the “monitoring of economic and financial developments”; (2) providing loans; and (3) providing technical assistance. It is governed by its Board of Governors, one from each member country. The Executive Board, comprised of 24 directors, is responsible for its daily operation.

Eight of these 24 Executive Board members are appointed by the IMF’s largest “quota holders” (the United States, Japan, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom). A member’s quota “is broadly determined by its economic position relative to other members.” In 2007 the United States had the largest quota, based on “special drawing rights” (SDRs), with SDR 37.1 billion (equivalent to \$55.1 billion). In essence, the IMF’s largest contributors wield the most power within the institution.

Critics charge that the IMF and the “neoliberal” economic paradigm that it promotes locks underdeveloped countries into positions of structural subordination within the global capitalist system. Especially controversial are IMF policy prescriptions for “austerity measures” and “structural adjustment” that include privatization of state-run entities, reduced public expenditures, and radically curtailed intervention of national governments in their national economies. Opposition to IMF policies and their underlying rationales has intensified in recent decades, as evidenced in part by the rise of left-leaning neo-populist regimes in Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and elsewhere in Latin America from the 1990s. Denouncing IMF policies as unjust, immoral, corporate welfare, and a major contributor to poverty, unemployment, and human misery worldwide, critics characterize the IMF and associated multilateral institutions and treaties (the World Bank, the G-7, the World Trade Organization [WTO], NAFTA, and many others) as instruments of the wealthy and powerful and major obstacles to social justice, economic well-being, and political rights among the world’s poor. As economic globalization accelerates in the 21st century, debates on the role of the IMF are likely to intensify.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

interstate highway system, U.S.

In 1919 shortly after the conclusion of World War I, the United States Army organized a convoy that departed Washington, D.C., bound for San Francisco, California. The objectives of the cross-country trek were to test military vehicles and ascertain the feasibility of mass transport on a nationwide scale. The trip took 62 days. Twenty-five years later General Eisenhower commanded the invasion of Europe during World War II and noted the ease and freedom of movement for the troops.

Early attempts to construct a national highway system in the United States were woefully underfunded; President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had proposed such a project as a means of putting the unemployed to work during the Great Depression and World War II. Elected president in 1952, Eisenhower advanced an agenda that led to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1954, under which state and federal governments would match road and bridge construction costs. Two years later, Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, which provided federal funding of \$25 billion for a highway system.

The roads were designed to accommodate traffic volumes expected 20 years later. Lanes were required to be 12 feet wide with a paved 10-foot shoulder; a minimum of two lanes in each direction had to carry cars at speeds of 50 to 70 miles per hour. More than 41,000 miles of highway would be built. North-south roadways were designated with numbers ending in odd integers; east-west interstates were given even numbers. Alaska is the only state without an interstate highway.

Eisenhower may have considered a highway system necessary for the efficient movement of military equipment and personnel or the effective evacuation of cities in event of a nuclear attack, but the effects on the economy were much wider-reaching. Suburbs grew, construction jobs were created, and commercial freight was transported; more automobiles were built, and roadside businesses developed. There were drawbacks as well, some becoming clear only later. Many older cities embraced interstate projects only to find that downtown business



The creation of the U.S. interstate highway system had far-reaching effects on the economy and the way of American life.

districts could now be bypassed entirely. Interstate routes disrupted urban neighborhoods and slashed across farmers' fields. The ease of interstate travel discouraged mass transit and helped speed the demise of long-haul passenger rail service. Interstate maintenance and capacity issues continued to create friction between the federal and state governments.

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JOHN M. MAYERNIK

Intifada (first)

The first intifada (the Intifada, from the Arabic for “shaking off”) was a popular uprising among Palestinians against Israel’s military occupation, confiscation of their land, and suppression of their collective identity. The uprising started on December 8, 1987, in the Palestinian refugee camp Jabalya in the Gaza Strip, and quickly spread to the rest of Gaza and the West Bank,

including East Jerusalem, all of which had been under Israeli occupation since the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

The Intifada was a spontaneous popular phenomenon caused by a number of domestic and international factors. The most important of these factors was a sense of hopelessness that had pervaded the occupied territories and the belief among Palestinians that neither the military efforts of the Arab states nor diplomatic efforts by the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) and Arab states would end the occupation. According to some analysts, the final catalyzing factor emerged in November 1987 when the Arab leaders at the Summit Conference in Amman, Jordan—just 40 miles away from the occupied territories—placed the IRAN-IRAQ WAR at the top of the Arab political agenda and relegated the Palestinian question to the end of the list. In addition, the Palestinian economy had declined since the 1967 war, and the territories had become a reservoir for cheap labor for Israel and its second-biggest export market after the United States. The average income of the Palestinian worker had declined, and a growing number of Jewish settlers had moved into the territories.

The Intifada used mainly low-key violence and avoided the use of weapons. It was largely limited to political demonstrations, strikes, refusal to pay taxes, and some stone throwing. Nevertheless, the Israeli authorities moved to suppress the uprising; Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered the troops “to break the bones of the Palestinian demonstrators.” Following high casualties among Palestinians, the UNITED NATIONS Security Council announced that it deplored the Israeli repression, but the confrontation continued and in the first 13 months of the Intifada more than 300 Palestinians and 12 Israelis lost their lives. The economic price of the Intifada was also high. Between 1987 and 1990 the GNP in Gaza declined at least 30 percent; the situation in the West Bank was not much better. By the middle of 1990 the Intifada had lost much of its earlier impetus, and popular frustrations resulted in the killing of real or suspected collaborators.

In spite of these hardships and the lack of success, the Intifada was seen by the Palestinians as a major event in their recent history. It was a popular action that encompassed all social strata and groups. The popular committees in towns and villages mobilized the population and looked after the families of the dead and wounded. However, the Intifada failed to achieve the long-term goal of self-determination and the end of the Israeli occupation.

In November 1988 the Palestinian National Council at Algiers declared an independent Palestinian state, but

Israel deemed the declaration null and void. Although the PLO did not initiate the Intifada, it tried to play a leading role in the struggle, in the course of which the PLO and HAMAS became political rivals. This internal division weakened the popular movement. The Intifada did succeed in bringing international attention back to the Palestinian cause and was a factor behind the U.S. sponsorship of the Madrid Conference in November 1991.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

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ANDREJ KREUTZ

Intifada, al-Aqsa

The al-Aqsa Intifada (uprising) of Palestinians broke out in September 2000 following a provocative visit by Ariel Sharon and 400 Israeli soldiers to the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. The Haram al-Sharif complex includes the al-Aqsa Mosque, which is viewed by Muslims as the third-most-sacred site in Islam. Many Jews believe the site is also the location of the ancient temple of Solomon and refer to it as the Temple Mount. Some also hope to rebuild the temple on the site in the future. Owing to these conflicting religious and historic claims, the site has been a flash point for confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis.

The al-Aqsa Intifada was also evidence of continued Palestinian opposition to the Israeli occupation and the failure to achieve meaningful national independence. The uprising fed Israeli fears and the determination by those on the Israeli right to retain control of the territories. Since the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, the Israeli military government had controlled more than 1.9 million Palestinians through military orders; these included arrests, detention without trial, restrictions on movement, collective punishment, and land appropriation as well as appropriation of water resources.

Under dual governance, Israeli settlers in the territories—some 200,000 by 2006—came under Israeli law, but Palestinians remained under military rule. Under the Oslo Accords Israel had agreed to trade land for

peace and had gradually withdrawn from some territory in the West Bank.

The Palestinians had hoped that Oslo would be a step toward the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Disillusioned and angry over the continued Israeli occupation and the perceived failures and corruption of the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO), led by YASIR ARAFAT and Fatah, many young Palestinians turned to the more radical HAMAS and Islamic Jihad. They adopted a new tactic of using suicide bombers to attack not only Israeli soldiers and settlers in the occupied territories but also Israeli civilians across the so-called green line inside the pre-1967 Israeli borders. These attacks undermined support for the peace process in Israel and strengthened the position of Israeli hard-liners who were opposed to returning any territory. Further Israeli settlements also continued to be built even after Oslo in 1993. Ariel Sharon, known for his hawkish stance and support for the settlers, was elected Israeli prime minister in 2001.

In 2002 Israeli forces reoccupied much of the West Bank territory that had been turned over to the Palestine Authority. In Jenin the Israelis met with armed Palestinian opposition. Israeli forces retaliated by reducing much of the town to rubble, and many were killed or made homeless. Israeli forces also laid siege to Bethlehem, where several wanted Palestinians had taken refuge in the Church of the Nativity. Arafat's compound in Ramallah was also surrounded, and he spent most of the last two years of his life under virtual house arrest. Israel also assassinated Sheik Ahmed Yassin and Abdul Aziz al-Rantissi, two key Hamas leaders. Yet the suicide attacks inside Israel continued, resulting in a number of civilian deaths. By 2004 over 4,000 Palestinians and 900 Israelis had died, more than had died in the six years of the first Intifada.

Israel also began to build a wall to separate the territories. At 360 kilometers long, with guard towers at about every 300 meters, trenches, and barbed wire, the wall was twice as long as and three times higher than the Berlin Wall. Built entirely on Palestinian land occupied by Israel since the 1967 war, the wall separated Palestinians from one another, limited access to Jerusalem, and isolated some communities entirely. However, the wall did not prevent further suicide attacks. Following Arafat's death in 2004, Mahmoud Abbas, known as Abu Mazen, became the new Palestinian president. But in spite of concerted efforts he failed to revive the peace process or to stop the suicide bombers. Hamas won the free and open Palestinian elections in 2006, and Ismail Haniyeh, a popular and charismatic Hamas leader from the Gaza Strip, became the prime minister. Israel and its ally the United

States refused to deal with Hamas, which the United States considered a terrorist organization. Much-needed foreign aid was halted or constricted, and the economic situation in the territories became increasingly dire.

Prime Minister Sharon adopted a policy of sequential unilateral decisions whereby he made policy regarding the territories without consultation with the Palestinians. In 2005 he withdrew Israeli troops from the Gaza Strip and dismantled several Israeli settlements, but Israel retained control over land, air, and sea entries into Gaza and periodically attacked or invaded, often in retaliation for attacks by Palestinians.

After Sharon was incapacitated following a series of strokes, Ehud Olmert—a former mayor of Jerusalem—became the Israeli prime minister in 2006. He pledged to continue Sharon's policies and supported a massive Israeli invasion into Lebanon in the summer of 2006 in a failed attempt to eradicate HIZBOLLAH attacks. Hence the cycle of violence and retaliation continued to escalate and the lives of both Israelis and Palestinians became less safe.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Iran, contemporary

The Islamic Republic of Iran was established in April 1979 after the revolution overthrew the monarchy of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Years of turbulence preceded the revolution, led by exiled Shi'i cleric AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI.

Khomeini was an Islamic scholar from the conservative city of Qom; under the shah's regime he had been exiled to Iraq. After being expelled from Iraq, at the shah's prodding, Khomeini moved to France, where he coordinated a revolution using the press, radio, and audio cassettes to incite Iranians to rise up against the shah. After the shah fled the country, Khomeini returned to Iran in 1979.

The Ayatollah exhorted Iranian citizens (male and female) over 16 years of age to vote for the creation of an Islamic Republic. In free and open elections 98 percent voted in favor of the republic. The overthrow of the monarchy—although celebrated by most Iranians tired

of rampant corruption, overspending, and the police state created by the shah—nevertheless worried many secularists who were alarmed by the new government, which was controlled by the mullahs, or Shi'i clergy.

Under the new 1979 constitution a supreme leader ruled over a theocracy; beneath the supreme leader a 12-member cabinet, or Council of Guardians, oversaw the constitution and had veto power over legislation passed by the Majlis, or parliament. Khomeini served as the first supreme leader until his death in 1989. Khomeini sought to establish a government that adhered to a strict Shi'i code of law and conduct. Iranian women, who had the right to vote and to work outside the home, nevertheless were restricted regarding dress and modes of behavior. The secularists within the government who had struggled against the shah were marginalized by the new Islamist forces, and many fled the country for Europe and the United States.

Following the shah's overthrow, Iranian relations with the United States, a strong ally of the Pahlavi dynasty, deteriorated. When the shah entered the United States for cancer treatment in 1979, riots broke out in Tehran and angry students stormed the U.S. embassy and took many hostages. Khomeini encouraged the students and labeled the United States the "Great Satan." Many Iranians blamed the United States for its support of the shah and his repressive regime. The students demanded that the shah be handed over to the new Islamic regime for trial in exchange for the release of the embassy hostages. The United States refused to return the shah and severed diplomatic relations with the Islamic Republic. The resulting crisis dragged on for more than a year before the hostages were released, and diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran had yet to be resumed.

Neighboring Arab governments were also alarmed at Khomeini's attempts to export Islamic revolution to other Muslim nations. Neighboring Iraq, with its large Shi'i population, was particularly concerned. The Iraqi government led by SADDAM HUSSEIN, with at least the tacit support of other Arab states and the United States, decided to preempt the Islamic revolution by attacking Iran in 1980. Although the Iranians were taken by surprise, Hussein severely underestimated the national determination of Iran, and a long, eight-year war of attrition began. The IRAN-IRAQ WAR lasted from 1980 to 1988 and caused massive casualties and destruction on both sides. Western and Arab governments provided arms and assistance to Iraq, while several communist-bloc countries, Libya, and Syria provided support to Iran. By 1988 both nations were exhausted and agreed to a United Nations-brokered truce.

Khomeini died the next year, and Ali al-Khameini became the new supreme leader. Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, a mullah who advocated resumption of relations with the West, was elected president and purged many hard-line members from his cabinet. However, reformist governments elected by wide margins in the 1990s were thwarted in implementing reforms and liberalization by the hard-line Council of Guardians, who retained final say on legislation. Although the youthful Iranian population, many born after the revolution, wanted liberalization of the media, social life, and dress, the conservative mullahs clung to power.

In the 1990s Iran also started to build up its nuclear capabilities. Prior to the 1979 revolution Iran had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which gave Iran the right to use and research nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. However, after the 2005 election of Mahmud Ahmadinejad, a conservative and controversial populist, as president, Iran's nuclear research appeared to escalate. The United States threatened sanctions and military action were Iran to continue its nuclear ambitions, but Ahmadinejad appealed to Iranian nationalism and argued that Iran had the right to develop nuclear weapons as other nations such as Israel, Pakistan, and India had done.

After the occupation of Iraq in the SECOND GULF WAR, Iran emerged as a major regional power. It continued to lend financial and military support to Shi'i communities in Iraq and to HIZBOLLAH in Lebanon. Its oil reserves also gave Iran considerable leverage economically, as it threatened to switch from selling oil in dollar prices and move to gold or the euro; this could devastate the dollar and weaken the U.S. economy. Mired in protracted conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States protested Iranian policies but had few options to force it to drop its support for Islamist movements or its nuclear program.

See also IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; IRANIAN REVOLUTION.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Iran-contra affair

The Iran-contra affair involved an attempt by the National Security Council (NSC) of the RONALD REAGAN administration to circumvent congressional limita-

tions on aid to the contras (Nicaraguan guerrillas) and to secure the release of U.S. hostages held in the Middle East through the sale of arms to Iran. The revelation of this attempt undercut the popularity of the president and led to the indictment of several aides. The affair arose from parallel events in Central America and the Middle East. In Central America, the Reagan administration was supporting the contras, an amalgam of individuals and groups who opposed the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Despite a reputation for ineffectiveness and drug dealing, the contras were considered by the Reagan administration to be the best alternative to the Marxist Sandinistas. Congress passed the Boland Amendment in 1982, which prohibited funding for the "overthrow of the government of Nicaragua." The amendment allowed humanitarian aid but specifically prohibited covert aid by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

At the same time in the Middle East, terrorist organizations such as Islamic Jihad were increasing their harassment of U.S. citizens in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the U.S. organization of a UNITED NATIONS peacekeeping force in Beirut. Over a dozen U.S. citizens were kidnapped and taken hostage between 1982 and 1984. The Reagan administration responded to this provocation by vowing never to negotiate with terrorists, while blaming the Iranians for supporting these organizations.

Additionally the Iranians were locked in a war with the SADDAM HUSSEIN-led country of Iraq. Running from 1980 to 88, the IRAN-IRAQ WAR would be bloody but ultimately inconclusive. In the course of the fighting the Iranians began to run into a significant problem. Most of their military hardware had been purchased from the United States before the 1979 overthrow of the shah. As the war dragged on, Iran began to run short of ammunition and spare parts, which they could not acquire from the United States because of a congressional ban on arms sales to the Iranians stemming from the hostage crisis of 1979–81.

The NSC, led by National Security Advisor John Poindexter and CIA director William Casey, proposed the following arrangement to the president and his advisers. Through private arms dealers and Israel, the United States would sell arms to the Iranians above cost. In return, the United States expected Iran to pressure the terrorists to free the U.S. hostages. The profits from the arms sales would be secretly diverted to the contras to keep their activities afloat. Reagan approved the idea despite opposition from Secretary of State George Shultz and some dissent from Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.

The first arms shipments took place in 1985, and more were sent in 1986. Despite pressure and apparent promises, only one hostage and the body of a second were released. The money and additional supplies were funneled to the contras until October 1986, when a CIA-chartered plane crashed in Nicaragua. Its pilot confessed to running supplies to the contras. On November 3 a Lebanese journal, *Al-Shira*, revealed the existence of the arms sales to Iran. The Reagan administration acknowledged the existence of the arms sales and contra supplies in a speech by the president on November 13.

Witnesses such as NSC staff member Colonel Oliver North testified before both Congress and the Tower Commission, admitting to the arms sales and funding while portraying the president as a “hands-off” administrator. Reagan’s own appearance before the commission revealed the president’s shaky grasp of details and apparently poor memory of events. In the Tower Commission’s final report, the president’s lack of control over his staff was strongly criticized, but most of the blame for the scandal was placed on the National Security Council and its staff.

See also CONTRA WAR; IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

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RICHARD M. FILIPINK, JR.

Iran hostage crisis

The Iran hostage crisis was a diplomatic conflict between the United States and Iran that formally began on November 4, 1979, when Islamic militants overran the U.S. embassy in Tehran and seized its staff as hostages. This situation lasted through the end of President JIMMY CARTER’s term and hurt him politically in the presidential election against RONALD REAGAN.

Relations between the United States and Iran began to break down during the IRANIAN REVOLUTION in early 1979. Prior to this Iran’s ruler, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, had been an ally of the United States. The shah had purchased billions of dollars’ worth of U.S. arms and had committed Iran to a program of Western-style modernization—a program that by the 1970s had

created a political and cultural backlash by Islamic fundamentalists (chief among them the AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI). In an attempt to blunt this backlash, the shah resorted to increasingly heavy-handed internal measures, but only succeeded in alienating the Iranian populace. In January 1979 the shah was overthrown and forced into exile, and an Islamic-style theocracy, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, assumed power. The U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran’s capital, warned President Carter soon afterward that allowing the shah into the United States would precipitate a crisis with the new Iranian government, but the shah, ill with cancer, was admitted to a New York hospital on October 23. By this time the exiled shah had been legally deposed and formally sentenced to death in Iran. Less than two weeks later the long-brewing crisis of anti-U.S. feelings broke out when a mob of Iranian militants seized the U.S. embassy, detained 66 members of the staff as hostages, and demanded the extradition of the shah to Iran in return for the release of the hostages. President Carter rejected this, but in December 1979 the shah left the United States, first for Panama and then to Egypt, where he died on July 27, 1980.

Since the hostage taking violated diplomatic convention and international law, Carter was able to rally world opinion against Iran and impose an economic embargo. The White House attempted several failed diplomatic initiatives. The Ayatollah Khomeini, who had privately sanctioned the actions of the hostage takers, refused to see U.S. emissaries and rebuffed U.S. diplomatic efforts. In the only successful diplomatic measure, PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) representatives gained the release of 13 female and African-American hostages. On April 7, 1980, the United States officially broke diplomatic ties with Iran.

Despite continued pressure on Iran, the hostages remained in captivity five months after the crisis began, and domestic pressure mounted on the Carter administration to find a solution. After much deliberation, President Carter decided that direct intervention was needed. Carter then authorized Operation Desert Claw, an ill-fated military rescue plan. The April 24, 1980, rescue mission suffered from having to traverse great distances by air, unexpected sandstorms, and untimely mechanical failures. The final mishap came during a desert refueling stop, when a helicopter collided with a tanker plane loaded with high-octane aviation fuel, killing eight U.S. servicemen.

The failure of the rescue mission did not end negotiations, but the Carter administration appeared to be paralyzed by the crisis. Finally, on January 19, 1981,



Vice President George Bush welcomes Colonel Thomas E. Schaefer, one of the Americans held hostage by Iran.

U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance quietly signed the Algiers Accord, which established the pre–November 4, 1979, situation. Its main clause was the restitution of frozen Iranian financial assets in the United States. In return, on January 20 Iran released the U.S. hostages after 444 days of captivity, just minutes after Ronald Reagan’s inauguration.

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KEITH BUKOVICH

Iranian revolution

The Iranian revolution of 1979 overthrew the Pahlavi dynasty and established an Islamic republic. In 1953 when it appeared that the monarchy was about to be

overthrown, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped to orchestrate a counter coup that kept Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in power. Iran, under the shah, was closely allied with the United States and in the COLD WAR Iran was a staunchly pro-Western buffer on the southern flank of the Soviet Union. Iran was used as a base for United States military and intelligence gathering aimed at the Soviet Union. The United States also supplied considerable assistance to the shah.

In 1961 the shah announced an ambitious plan of development known as the White Revolution. The six-point plan included improvements in women’s rights, healthcare, and education, as well as privatization of state-owned factories and land reform. The proposed nationalization of land owned by the clergy and landed elites led to major demonstrations against the government. The shah repressed all political opposition, and his secret police, SAVAK, imprisoned and often tortured opponents of the regime, especially members of the Iranian communist Tudeh Party.

Conservative businessmen in the Tehran bazaar, traditionally a major force in Iranian politics, and the clergy were also offended by the lifestyles of the elite, who emulated Western dress, consumed alcohol (forbidden to Muslims), and practiced open relations between the sexes. Even the Iranian middle class was dismayed by the extravagant expenses of the 1967 formal coronation of the shah and his wife and the 1971 celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Peacock Throne at Persepolis. In the 1970s Iran became a regional power when the shah used increased revenues from petroleum to buy sophisticated armaments, mostly from the United States.

A number of Iranian intellectuals laid the groundwork for the revolution in books and treatises critical of the Pahlavi regime. Samad Behrangi (1939–68) wrote popular folktales that were in fact veiled critiques of the shah’s regime. He also wrote against what he called “west struckness,” or intoxication with all things Western. Jalal Al-e Ahmad (1923–69), a writer from a clerical family, described those Iranians who copied the West as diseased. Ali Shari’ati (1933–77) was the most influential Iranian social critic. A sociologist, Shari’ati was educated at the Sorbonne. He was familiar with Marxist thought but fused it with Islam, arguing that independent reasoning should be applied to interpreting the Qu’ran to create a new society. A prolific writer, Shari’ati was a major influence on a new generation of Iranian students. In an attempt to halt his writing and political activity, the government arrested Shari’ati, who was tortured, released,

and then placed under house arrest. His books were banned, and he died in exile in London.

The clergy also opposed the shah's efforts to undermine their authority and stop government subsidies for religious schools. AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI, a leading cleric in Qom, a conservative center for the training of Shi'i mullahs, was particularly outspoken in his hostility to the shah. An expert on Islamic law, Khomeini spoke against the acquisition of U.S. military equipment and favored treatment in Iran, and he was arrested several times in the 1960s. In 1964 he was sent into exile to Turkey, and he then took up residence in the Shi'i holy city of Najaf in Iraq, where his activities were closely monitored by the Iraqi government. In 1978 the shah convinced SADDAM HUSSEIN to oust Khomeini, who then moved to France, where he had access to the media, enjoyed freedom of movement, and attracted a loyal following among dissident Iranians.

The shah's regime was accused of increased corruption and nepotism while the gap between the wealthy who lived lavish lifestyles and the poor in the countryside and urban slums widened. The revolt against the regime began in January 1978, with riots in Qom protesting an anti-Khomeini article published in a newspaper. Police forces moved in to crush the riot and killed 100 protesters. To commemorate their deaths as martyrs, protests took place in Tabriz and Yazd in March; these demonstrations led to more deaths when the police moved in to stop them. This initiated a 40-day cycle of riots and repression, with inevitable deaths. In May riots broke out in 34 towns. The demonstrators were encouraged by speeches by Khomeini on cassette tapes that were smuggled into the country. Khomeini emerged as the symbol of opposition to the shah's regime.

In August a fire set by the shah's appointees at a cinema in Abadan killed an estimated 400 students who had gathered to protest the regime. This was followed by "Black Friday" in September, when demonstrators were massacred in Tehran. By the fall a new pattern of strikes by students, teachers, and their supporters emerged. In December, government workers and employees in the petroleum industry as well as the army joined the protests. Women were also active participants in these demonstrations. Most of those who lost their lives were young Iranians, often from the Left. The clergy remained largely in the background but would emerge as the major political force after the fall of the monarchy. The United States failed to find a substitute for the shah, who seemed convinced that Washington would step in to save his regime.

In the face of mounting violence and lack of support even within the military, the shah, ill with cancer, fled the country in January 1979. He left a caretaker government under Shapour Bakhtiar, who had no base of support. Khomeini returned amid massive demonstrations of support in February. Following Khomeini's triumphal return, Bakhtiar fled Iran and was replaced by Mehdi Bazargan. The Iranian Islamic Republic was established on April 1, 1979.

The shah was allowed into the United States for medical treatment in the fall of 1979; this inflamed Iranians, who had demanded his return for trial. The shah, who had difficulty finding a country to grant him asylum, died in Egypt in 1980. In Tehran students, many of them members of newly formed, self-appointed committees (*kometehs*), stormed and took the U.S. embassy and held U.S. hostages for over a year. Khomeini used the resulting crisis and chaos to help cement the clergy's control over the new government. Right-wing Hojatieh groups supporting militant Islam also emerged; they were supported by some ayatollahs and bazaaris.

The 1979 constitution provided for a Majlis (parliament), a president elected by direct representation, and a *velayat e faqif*, a spiritual leader, to act as the final authority in the nation. Khomeini was named the first *faqif*. The Council of Guardians acted as a supreme court to review all legislation of the Majlis. The council frequently rejected parliamentary legislation such as trade nationalization and land reform as un-Islamic. Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was elected the first president by a wide margin in 1980, but he was removed from office by Khomeini in the summer of 1981. Sadr then went into exile to France. Khomeini repressed political opponents and purged members of the old regime as well as the leftist opposition, such as the Fedayin al-Khalq.

The Iranian Revolution had a huge impact on the Islamic world, and many young Muslims, discouraged by the corruption and ineffectiveness of the governments in their own countries, looked to Iran as a possible model for future changes. Khomeini's open support for regime change in neighboring Arab nations aroused the fears of Saudi Arabia and other states and led to the IRAN-IRAQ WAR. However, in spite of internal contradictions, domestic opposition, and condemnation by many international forces, the Islamic regime proved to be remarkably flexible and long lasting.

See also IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988)

The Algiers Treaty of March 6, 1975, signed by Iran's Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and then vice president of Iraq SADDAM HUSSEIN, was intended to solve long-standing border and waterway disputes between the two neighboring countries.

However, with the overthrow of the shah in 1979, which put Iran in the hands of Islamic fundamentalists, the political dynamics changed. By 1980 Iran's new leaders started to hint that they did not feel obligated by the shah's earlier commitments, and Iraqi leaders were complaining that Iran still had not returned certain border areas promised under the 1975 treaty.

In September 1980 Iraqi armed forces moved to reclaim those lands, and on September 22 they crossed the border into Iran. The invasion had consequences that Iraqi president Hussein had not expected. In launching the attack on Iran, Hussein thought the war would be brief and would lead to the downfall of Iran's religious leader, the AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, whom Hussein disliked. Instead, the power of Khomeini and other Islamic revolutionaries increased as Iranians united and rallied to support the war.

Few had expected Iraq to win the war outright. Although Iraq had better technology, more weapons, and a stronger air force, Iran had three times the population and about four times the geographic area of Iraq. Thus the Iran-Iraq War seesawed back and forth for eight grueling years. Some methods of World War I were employed; Iran, for example, often conducted useless infantry attacks, using "human assault waves" made up in part by young, untrained conscripts, as in the Kerbala offensives, which were repulsed by the superior air- and firepower of the Iraqis. Iraq, concerned with the war's trench warfare and stalemate, had its overtures for a peace agreement undercut when its reputation was tainted by UNITED NATIONS reports that it had used deadly (and illegal) chemical weapons against Iranian troops in 1984.

Although both Iran and Iraq attacked each other's oil-tanker shipping in the Persian Gulf, Iran's attacks on Kuwait's and other gulf states' tankers caused the

United States and several Western European nations to station battleships in the gulf to protect those tankers. This in turn led, on July 3, 1988, to the accidental shooting down of an Iranian civil airliner by the U.S. cruiser *Vincennes*, which killed all 290 crew members and passengers aboard.

As many as 1 million people died in the Iran-Iraq War, approximately 1.7 million were wounded, about 1.5 million were forced to flee as refugees, and major cities were destroyed on both sides. The oil industries of both countries also suffered extensive damage due to the fighting; oil exports, and earnings from those exports, naturally dropped. More important, the large oil reserves of Iran and Iraq represented the potential for significant international economic power, but both nations had together largely wasted \$400 billion on the war and along with that the chance to build up their societies.

The effects of the war clearly reached beyond the two combatants. Iran's need for additional weapons led to a compromising relationship for the administration of U.S. president RONALD REAGAN in 1985. In the secret IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, Iran was able to obtain weapons from the United States (the country that Khomeini had called "the great Satan") in exchange for the release of hostages in Lebanon. At about the same time U.S. aid of all types began to appear in Iraq, whereas the Soviet Union supplied about two-thirds of Iraq's weapons. The Iran-Iraq War also ended Khomeini's attempts to spread his fundamentalist Islamic revolution abroad. Although stymied in his ambitions to make Iraq the leading power in the Persian Gulf (and the Arab world), Iraqi president Hussein learned new fighting strategies that he would later use against another neighboring country, Kuwait, which had been his ally during the conflict.

By the time a cease-fire finally arrived on August 20, 1988, the Iran-Iraq War had been the longest and most destructive conflict in the post-World War II era, and none of the basic friction points between Iran and Iraq had been settled. However, in August–September 1990, while Iraq was busy with its invasion of Kuwait, Iraq and Iran quietly restored diplomatic relations, and Iraq agreed to Iranian terms for the settlement of the war: the removal of Iraqi troops from Iranian territory, division of sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab waterway, and an exchange of prisoners of war.

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KEITH BUKOVICH

Iraq revolution (1958)

The Hashemite dynasty in Iraq was overthrown in a bloody revolution in 1958. A group of disgruntled nationalistic army officers headed by General Abdul Karim Qassem and Colonel Abd al-Salam Arif copied the takeover of the Egyptian government by the Free Officers, led by GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, in 1952. On July 14, 1958, the Iraqi forces took over the radio station, post office, royal palace, and government centers in Baghdad.

The royal family was killed. Nuri al-Said, the grand old man of Iraqi politics who had served as prime minister on numerous occasions, was captured trying to escape disguised as a woman and was torn apart by an angry mob. As violence mounted in the capital, the officers declared martial law and established a three-person sovereignty council of one Kurd, one Sunni, and one Shi'i, in an attempt to include the main sectarian groups in Iraq. Qassem became prime minister and minister of defense. Show trials were held of members of the ancien régime, and the new government announced its intention to purge the system of corruption and imperial control.

Qassem was a notable champion for the poor and strongly supported eradicating the slum areas around Baghdad and providing low-cost housing. Under a new land reform program, property confiscated from the old ruling class was distributed to the peasants but without the formation of cooperatives or government planning as in Egypt. As a result, there was a decline in agricultural productivity. The new regime also focused on improving and widening access to education. In a highly popular move most of the oil industry, Iraq's major source of income, was taken over. Politically Qassem played the Iraqi communists against the Arab nationalist forces, especially the BA'ATH PARTY.

The new Iraqi regime supported both the Palestinian and Algerian nationalist movements and withdrew from the hated Western-dominated CENTO, OR BAGHDAD PACT. Internationally it drew closer to the Soviet Union. In the era of COLD WAR politics the West, especially the United States, viewed the Iraqi revolution as a victory for the Soviets and blamed Nasser for the overthrow of the old monarchy.

Although Nasser initially supported the new regime and was pleased at the collapse of the Hashemite monarchy, he had not actually been behind the takeover. Hoping to enlarge the pan-Arab movement and convince Iraq to join the UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, Nasser invited Qassem to Egypt on several occasions, but Qassem found excuses to refuse, and the relationship between the two nations grew increasingly hostile.

Suspected of plotting a coup, Arif was arrested in late 1958, but Qassem pardoned his old ally and permitted him to leave for Europe. Several attempted coups and an attempted assassination of Qassem by Ba'athists failed in 1959. SADDAM HUSSEIN was one of the plotters behind the failed assassination, and he subsequently fled to Egypt. Relationships between the government and the Kurds, led by Mustafa Barzani, also soured, and by 1961 a full-scale war was being waged between the Iraqi army and Kurdish nationalist forces. In the face of mounting political instability, Qassem's personal behavior became more erratic. After Britain declared Kuwait an independent country, Qassem claimed it as an integral part of Iraq in 1961. British and Saudi troops moved into Kuwait to protect it, and Iraq was forced to withdraw its claim and recognize Kuwait as an independent nation.

In 1963 a coup by army officers, including Arif, overthrew Qassem, who was taken prisoner. Although he pleaded for his life, Qassem was executed on orders given by Arif. Abd al-Salam Arif died in 1966, and his brother Abd al-Rahman Arif succeeded him, but the regime was plagued by political instability and the ongoing conflict with the Kurds. In the summer of 1968 Ba'athists led by Ahmed Hasan al-Bakr took over. To protect the new Ba'ath regime from domestic opposition, Bakr had his protégé Hussein control the internal security forces. Hussein gradually consolidated his power within the party and ruthlessly eliminated potential enemies.

The new regime instituted a more far-reaching land reform program and nationalized the oil industry in 1972. Escalating oil revenues in the 1970s were used to build infrastructure, including road and communication lines, and to modernize the education and health care systems. The regime also negotiated a settlement with the Kurds, who obtained an autonomous region in the north. Relations with the Soviet Union were also strengthened. In 1979 Bakr, who had been in poor health for some time, stepped down in favor of Hussein, who ruled Iraq until his regime was overthrown in a U.S.-led military invasion in 2003.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Iraq War

See GULF WAR, SECOND (IRAQ WAR).

Irish Republican Army (IRA)

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is a clandestine paramilitary organization that devoted itself to the removal of the British presence from Northern Ireland and the ending of the partition of the island. Though it was active since the Anglo-Irish War (1920–21), it gained international notoriety only in the last four decades of the 20th century. This campaign was waged against a number of (Protestant) loyalist militias, as well as the British army itself. The group's aims were shared by the Sinn Féin political party, which was labeled the IRA's "political wing" but that always officially disavowed any such connection. Although both groups claimed to speak for all of Ireland, neither enjoyed the support of more than a minority of Northern Ireland's Catholic population.

The roots of the IRA can be traced back to 1919. In that year, nationalist leader Michael Collins melded the various nationalist militias who had participated in the 1916 Easter Rising into a guerrilla army that would supplement the parliamentary maneuverings of the Sinn Féin-dominated Irish Dáil (parliament). Collins ordered the IRA against, first, the British intelligence and police forces in Ireland, and then the "Black and Tan" auxiliary forces that were deployed against them by the British government. Ultimately the IRA succeeded in forcing a truce with the British, the result of which was the negotiation of an Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921. Unhappy with the terms of this treaty, a minority of deputies, led by President Éamon de Valera, walked out of the Dáil and vowed to continue fighting for a republic. The IRA split as well. This led to the Irish Civil War

(1922–23), in which the pro-treaty Free State forces defeated the anti-treaty Republicans.

After the civil war the Free State forces became the regular Irish army; the IRA was driven underground. This situation did not improve when de Valera and his new political party, Fianna Fáil, entered the Dáil in 1927 and were elected to power in 1932. Relations between de Valera, now a constitutional Republican, and the IRA worsened until finally, in 1935, the de Valera government declared the IRA an illegal organization. The 1938 Irish constitution achieved many of de Valera's (and the IRA's) stated objectives. However, it did not end partition, and thereafter the IRA's sole raison d'être would be directed toward that end.

The organization engaged in a bombing campaign on the British mainland during the late 1930s and gave some material support to German agents operating both in Britain and in the republic during World War II. Neither of these actions proved successful, and by the 1950s it was hard to view the IRA as anything but a spent force. The IRA was reborn out of the crisis that beset Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. Inspired by the U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, Catholics in Ulster began to demonstrate for better access to housing and fairer wages. In August 1969 the demonstrations deteriorated into rioting, police repression, and the eventual deployment of the British army. Initially the IRA was caught unawares, as the Belfast graffiti "IRA = I Ran Away" testifies. Largely as a result of this embarrassment, the IRA split in 1970. A group calling itself the "Provisional IRA" (or "Provos") broke off and rededicated itself to a united Ireland through terrorist activity. Within two years the Provos had far surpassed the Officials in popular support, and the three-decades-long war that came to be known euphemistically as "the Troubles" had begun.

In August 1971 the British government introduced a policy of internment of IRA suspects without charge for up to seven days. When by 1972 these methods had not deterred the IRA or contained the crisis, the Loyalist parliament at Stormont fell; Britain introduced direct rule of Northern Ireland from London, and internment was phased out. Beginning with the Troubles, IRA prisoners had enjoyed the status of political prisoners. In 1976 this status was abolished. The IRA turned to hunger strikes. Bobby Sands's 66-day-long hunger strike, which lasted until his death on May 5, 1981, attracted international publicity. Any lasting benefit that might have resulted



A Republican poster, in support of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, in 1974, commemorates the 1916 Easter Rising.

for the IRA was canceled out by the negative reaction to the IRA's assassination of LORD MOUNTBATTEN of Burma in August 1979, and its near miss of MARGARET THATCHER in October 1984.

Away from the world stage the cycle of attacks by, and reprisals against, the IRA continued apace. Hope for an end to the struggle surfaced in 1994, with a cease-fire brokered by Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams, British prime minister John Major, Irish taoiseach Albert Reynolds, and U.S. president BILL CLINTON. After the ratification of the Good Friday accords in 1999 and the progress of the Northern Irish peace process, the relevance of the IRA was called into question. In 2005 the provisional IRA announced the end of its armed campaign. The organization surrendered its weapons under the supervision of UNITED NATIONS inspectors.

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ANDREW KELLETT

Islamist movements

Islamist movements flourished in many parts of the Muslim world in the late 20th century. These movements sought to revitalize Islam as a political force and to create Islamic governments that would rule under sharia (Islamic law). Islam is the world's second-largest religion, with 1.3 billion adherents, compared to Christianity, with 2.2 billion. It is the fastest-growing religion in Africa. The most predominantly Muslim states are in Africa and Asia, but substantial numbers of Muslims also live in the Western Hemisphere and Europe. With 57 member states, the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) was established in 1969 to represent Muslim interests.

Islamist movements were particularly attractive to the large population of young people in Muslim states who were disillusioned by the failures of their governments to provide jobs or to open up authoritarian regimes to meaningful political participation. During the COLD WAR authoritarian regimes in predominantly Muslim countries systematically crushed—often with tacit support of Western nations, especially the United States—all political opposition from the left. They refused to open up their systems to legitimate change. For many young Muslims, both Western capitalism and the Soviet model of state capitalism seemed to have failed to reform and revitalize their countries.

Many also faced an identity crisis brought on by sweeping cultural changes and globalization that threatened old traditions and made the youth feel alienated from their own societies. Dynamic and forceful Islamic leaders stepped in to fill the void.

Most contemporary Islamist movements have been influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, established in the 1920s in Egypt. The writings of the



Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat (left) and U.S. President Jimmy Carter in 1980. Sadat was killed in 1981 by Egyptian Islamists.

Egyptian Muslim activist SAYYID QUTB provided the philosophic underpinnings for many Islamist organizations. Qutb was executed by the Egyptian government in the 1960s and became a martyr in the eyes of many Muslims. By the latter part of the century, many young people considered the brotherhood too moderate and looked to a new generation of more radical activists.

The 1979 IRANIAN REVOLUTION and the writings of AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI also served as a model for future Islamic revolutions. The Iranian revolution also sparked a revival of Shi'i political and religious activism in nations with large Shi'i populations such as Lebanon and Iraq.

RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS

With its vast revenues from petroleum, Saudi Arabia financed madrasas (schools) teaching Wahhabism, their particular militant and puritanical brand of Islam, in Pakistan, AFGHANISTAN, and other nations. For many poor families these schools were the only way to provide any education for their children, who were then socialized in this narrow and inflexible interpretation of Islam. Many of the most radical Islamists were products of these schools. These schools also provided recruits for radical Islamist organizations such as the TALIBAN and AL-QAEDA in Afghanistan.

Much like Christian televangelists in the West, fiery activist imams also used the modern media of television, radio, and cassette tapes to proselytize converts to the Islamist programs. Disaffected youth in Europe, espe-

cially France and Great Britain, were heavily influenced by these leaders. Many Muslims were also angered by the failure to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the perceived support of the United States and other Western nations for Israel over the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. Much opposition to the United States was based not so much on its values as on what it did in the Middle East. Following the killing of Muslims in Somalia, Bosnia, and Chechnya, many Muslims, whether correctly or not, concluded that the West valued its own victims more than it valued Muslim victims. Negative stereotyping of Muslims in much of the Western media also contributed to mounting hostility.

The war against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s was another factor in the rise of Islamist movements. Many Muslim nations, especially Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, provided volunteers and financial support for the mujahideen (Muslim fighters), who fought a jihad (holy war) against the Soviet occupation. In the midst of the cold war many mujahideen were supported, trained, and armed by the United States. After the defeat and withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989, many of these volunteers returned to their own countries, such as Algeria, where they sought to establish Islamic regimes by force if necessary. In Islam jihad is a defensive struggle to protect the community of believers from outside attack, as well as an internal struggle for spiritual enlightenment.

The concept of jihad was sometimes used, or misused, by Islamists to justify violence and TERRORISM. These approaches were discredited and disavowed by some leading Muslim experts, who argued that the Qu'ran specifically forbids terrorism and suicide.

EGYPT

In Egypt following the death of GAMAL ABDEL NASSER in 1970, his successor Anwar al-Sadat attempted to undercut the power of liberal leftists in his government by releasing members of the Muslim Brotherhood from prison and allowing them access to the print and electronic media. The brotherhood and more radical Islamists organizations such as the Islamic Liberation Organization and Holy Flight or Islamic Group soon turned against Sadat. They opposed the increasingly repressive regime as well as Sadat's negotiations with Israel that resulted in the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. They gained members from among disaffected youth throughout the countryside, especially in upper Egypt. In 1981 Khaled al-Islambuli and other Islamists, who had infiltrated the military, assassinated Sadat.

They anticipated that Sadat's death would lead to a massive popular uprising to overthrow the regime. Although some riots broke out in upper Egypt, especially in the town of Asyut, a center of opposition, the regime under Hosni Mubarak maintained control, and the Islamist organizations were brutally repressed. A long period of low-level warfare between government forces and Islamist rebels ensued. After Islamist rebels killed a number of tourists at Deir el-Bahari in upper Egypt in 1997, many Egyptians who were heavily dependent on tourist revenues spoke out against the radicals. However, because the government failed to provide much-needed housing and economic reforms and refused to open up the system to meaningful democratic participation, the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist movements remained major political forces.

In Egypt the so-called new Islamists eschewed violence and argued that to combat extremism, social justice and educational reform were vital for the regeneration of Egyptian society. The new Islamists demonstrated remarkable political and social flexibility and supported reforms in education, gradualism, and peaceful dialogue. They included Yusuf al-Qaradawy; Kamal Abul Magd, a lawyer and former government official; and others. New Islamists wanted Islamic states based on *wassatteyya*, or moderate Islamic tradition, without violence or terrorism.

SUDAN

In the Sudan HASAN AL-TURABI led the Islamist movement and was a major political force until he was removed from office by the military in the 1990s. In Tunisia the Islamic Tendency Movement (ITM), led by Rashid al-Ghannouchi, who had been educated at the Sorbonne, actively opposed the well-entrenched regime of HABIB BOURGUIBA in the 1980s. In 1987 a number of ITM members were arrested and tried, but after Bourguiba was removed from office in a bloodless military coup led by General Zine al Abidine ben Ali, many of them were released or allowed to go into exile. Although ben Ali's regime was able to provide some economic stability, it too became increasingly authoritarian, and ben Ali tightened control over the Islamist parties in the 1990s. Ghannouchi went into exile to Europe and renounced violence.

ALGERIA AND LEBANON

In Algeria the major Islamist party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), was led by Abbas Madani, a professor of psychology; Sheikh Ben Azzouz; and Ali Belhadj, a charismatic and popular preacher. When

the FIS won the first round of free and democratic elections in 1991, the military regime of the National Liberation Front (FLN) cancelled the elections, precipitating a civil war that resulted in tens of thousands of deaths. Many FIS leaders were jailed until 2003. Madani then seemed to drop out of politics, but Belhadj remained unrepentant. As long as the Algerian government failed to solve the basic problems of jobs, housing, and education, Algerian youth—who made up a large percentage of the population—continued to be attracted to Islamist parties.

During the 1980s HIZBOLLAH (Party of God), led by Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, a leading Shi'i cleric, emerged as a major force among Shi'i Lebanese, the largest but most disaffected Lebanese sect. Hizbollah actively fought against the continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, and when Israel finally withdrew from most of southern Lebanon in 2000, Hizbollah gained most of the credit.

Hizbollah then transformed itself into a major political force, and its members were elected to a number of seats in Parliament. It also continued to attack Israeli forces in the disputed Lebanese territory of Shaaba Farms, which Israel argued was Syrian territory. Hizbollah sometimes attacked within Israeli borders as well and was viewed by Israel and the United States as a terrorist organization.

In retaliation Israeli launched a major air, sea, and ground offensive into Lebanon in 2006. As in the 1982 Israeli war against the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) in Lebanon, the 2006 attack not only inflicted heavy losses on Hizbollah but it also devastated the Lebanese infrastructure and caused many civilian deaths. Many Lebanese and even secular Arabs were impressed by Hizbollah's determined military defense against the Israeli attack, and the war actually led to an increase of support and recruits among many Lebanese and Muslims.

PALESTINE

Similarly HAMAS, the major Palestinian Islamist organization, began in the late 1980s in the Gaza Strip as a reaction to the long Israeli occupation. Hamas was led by Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, who was blind and confined to a wheelchair, and Dr. Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi, both of whom were killed by Israel. Many Palestinians, who were overwhelmingly supportive of the secular PLO, hoped that the 1993 Oslo Accords would lead to a truly independent Palestinian state.

However, when the PLO-dominated Palestinian Authority (PA) came to be perceived as increasingly



August 14, 2007: Images of Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah are seen among scores of Hezbollah and Lebanese national flags being waved by Hezbollah supporters during a ceremony to mark the first anniversary of the war with Israel.

ineffective and corrupt and when the Israeli military occupation and continued takeover of Palestinian land for Jewish settlements continued, many young Palestinians turned to Hamas and other more radical Islamist organizations. Some adopted the tactic of suicide missions directed not only against the Israeli military but against Israeli civilians inside Israel's 1967 borders, or the so-called green line. Hamas won the fair and open elections in 2006, and Ismail Haniya, a popular Hamas leader from Gaza, became the prime minister over the PA. Increased Israeli repression and refusal to deal with Hamas contributed to further disillusionment and anger.

During the 1980s–1990s even secular Turkey saw an Islamic revival; Islamic parties became increasingly influential and won democratic elections in the 1990s. However, the Islamic movement in Turkey and in other

Muslim states is not a coordinated monolith. Islamist parties vary greatly both in their outlook regarding what sort of Islamic states they would like to see and their social and political programs. For example, in some, like the Taliban and al-Qaeda, women play no political role whatsoever.

The Taliban was opposed to education for women and banned music and the depiction of the human form in books, even medical textbooks. In contrast, women play an active role in both Hezbollah and Hamas. As authoritarian regimes in Muslim nations as diverse as Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia refused to liberalize the political system and failed to provide much-needed economic improvements, especially in housing and education, Islamic movements and parties remained popular and continued to attract large numbers of disaffected youth.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Janata Party

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), or Indian People's Party, is a pro-Hindu Indian political party that formed the main opposition to the Congress Party in postindependence India. It defeated the Congress Party in the 1977 general election. The BJP asserts that the Indian government should follow Hindu principles and values and has been highly critical of the secular policies espoused by the Congress Party.

It has attracted the sympathies of high-caste Hindus and has an electoral stronghold in the northern part of the country. Its success in securing a larger following among the lower castes has not been complete. The fortunes of the party have been linked to the intensity of anti-Muslim feeling in the country, and it has been repeatedly accused of political and religious extremism.

The forerunner of the BJP was the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), or Indian People's Association, established in 1951 as the political faction of the Hindu paramilitary group Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS, National Volunteers Corps) by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. The BJS started to gain support in the northern regions of India in the late 1960s, defeating the Congress Party in the state election in 1967.

Ten years later the leader of the BJS, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, formed, together with other minor political parties, the Janata Party and successfully challenged the premiership of **INDIRA GANDHI**. In the general election of 1976, the Janata Party was able to capi-

talize on the discontent caused by the authoritarian methods of Gandhi and on the corruption charges leveled against her, her family, and government. The Janata Party won the majority of seats in Parliament and obtained the external support of the communists. Morarji Desai, a veteran fighter for the country's independence, became prime minister, but the Janata government collapsed in 1979, after only two years, because of factionalism.

After the Desai government collapsed the Janata Party was dissolved, and the BJP was formed under the leadership of **ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE**. It started to appeal to the Indian masses in the late 1980s, when it campaigned to build a Hindu temple in an area of Uttar Pradesh considered sacred but already occupied by the Muslim Babri Masjid mosque.

The mosque was eventually destroyed in 1992 by organizations that many considered allies of the BJP. The demolition of the mosque caused widespread rioting throughout the nation. Yet the party obtained a surprising electoral victory in 1996, becoming the largest political party in the lower house of Parliament.

In 1998 Vajpayee formed a coalition government, in power for only 13 months. Vajpayee contested the 1999 election, leading the BJP to become the first party of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), a coalition of parties against the Congress. Because of this electoral success he was once again appointed prime minister, governing for a full term until 2004, when he unexpectedly lost the general election to the Congress,

led by Italian-born SONIA GANDHI, the widow of Indira Gandhi's son RAJIV.

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LUCA PRONO

Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera (meaning "Island" or "Peninsula"), the Arab satellite TV news station, was established in Qatar in 1996. Start-up investment was provided by the Qatari emir, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani. In stark contrast to the government-controlled media throughout the Arab world, Al Jazeera quickly earned a reputation and a widespread global audience for its independent programming and content.

With a motto of "the opinion and the other opinion," Al Jazeera covered the activities and political philosophy of Osama bin Laden as early as 1999. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, bin Laden sent the station cassettes with his political messages. Journalists and talk show hosts at Al Jazeera covered hitherto forbidden topics such as the human rights and political failures of Arab regimes. They also interviewed Israelis on a wide variety of issues. Al Jazeera earned the enmity of Arab governments, many of which made no secret of their desire to preempt or stop its programs. Al Jazeera's talk shows focused on sensitive subjects.

Al Jazeera's independent coverage was initially praised in the West, but after the station carried negative stories about the U.S. war and subsequent occupation in Iraq from 2003 onward, the United States, under the GEORGE W. BUSH administration, publicly criticized Al Jazeera's coverage as biased. At the same time, the United States was accused of planting or paying for positive stories to be carried in the Iraqi media.

The success of Al Jazeera in attracting a huge audience demonstrated the impact of technology and highlighted the importance of information sources to audiences around the world in the 21st century.

See also GULF WAR, SECOND (IRAQ WAR); WORLD TRADE CENTER, SEPTEMBER 11, 2001.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Jesus movement

The Jesus movement flourished in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States and Europe. Young people involved in the hippie, or counterculture, movement were targeted by unorthodox evangelists or found their own way to Christianity. Previous experimentation with drugs, Eastern religion, the occult, and communal lifestyles affected the way these young Christians approached their faith. Just as important was the deep alienation many young people felt toward "anyone over thirty" and the traditional or conventional institutions, including the churches, they controlled. Culturally quite conservative, older church people were often offended by the clothes and hairstyles favored by the young and adamantly resisted making any concessions to their sensibilities or desires regarding worship.

Originally based in innovative churches, Jesus movement churches served as bases for vigorous evangelism on university campuses, beaches, and the streets. Many Jesus people joined more traditional churches, usually evangelical Protestant but also Catholic, Orthodox, or Episcopal. By the 1980s–1990s most evangelical churches had accommodated the worship styles and sensibilities pioneered by the Jesus movement.

For many the belief in an imminent apocalypse led to an interest in "prophecy," which often became a conduit for conservative politics during the COLD WAR. Perhaps ironically, the Jesus movement helped lay the foundation for the New Christian Right. Contemporary evangelical Protestantism was deeply affected by the Jesus movement, absorbing its moral intensity. The latter can be seen most vividly in the revolution that has occurred in worship and popular Christian music.

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JOHN HAAS

Jiang Zemin (Chiang Tse-min)

(1926–) *Chinese leader*

Jiang Zemin was the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1989 until 2002, and the president of the People's Republic of China from 1993 until 2003. Jiang was born in 1926, at Yangzhou, Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1946. In the same year he studied at Jiaotong (Chaio-t'ung) University in Shanghai, graduating with a degree in electrical engineering.

At the end of the Chinese civil war Jiang was appointed commercial counselor at the Chinese embassy in Moscow, a post he held until 1956. He was appointed assistant to the minister, First Ministry of Machine Building, running the Changchun First Automobile Plant. In September 1978, he became vice chairman of the Society of Mechanical Engineering, the position he held before the Cultural Revolution. He then became vice minister on the State Commission on Imports and Exports in 1980, and vice minister of the electronics industries two years later. In 1983 he became minister of electronics industries, a post he held until 1985, when he became mayor of Shanghai.

In 1982 Jiang became a member of the Central Committee of the CCP, and in 1987 he joined the Politburo. A supporter of China's then paramount leader DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hsaio-p'ing), Jiang was also a political ally of the premier Li Peng during the suppression of the pro-democracy student demonstrations in 1989. Subsequently Jiang succeeded Zhao Ziyang (Chao Tzu-jang) as general secretary of the CCP on June 24, and was also elevated to the Politburo Standing Committee. Later that year he succeeded Deng as chairman of the CCP's central military commission. Four years later, on March 27, 1993, Jiang became president of the National People's Congress, and hence the head of state of China.

When Deng Xiaoping died in 1997, Jiang rose to become paramount leader. He was economically more conservative than Deng, who had been critical of the slow pace of some reforms. However, he started a program of privatization, which loosened state control over 300,000 industrial concerns. The massive economic growth that resulted saw the Chinese economy boom and the emerging business class flourish, many

of whom were encouraged to join the CCP. In December 2001 China gained membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), a move that would have been unimaginable only 10 years earlier. The Chinese economy then started growing at an even faster pace.

In foreign affairs, Jiang improved Chinese relations with the United States and many other countries in the West. In 1997 he took part in the first U.S.-China summit conference, and at a follow-up meeting in the next year he openly defended China's human-rights record. In 2001 Beijing won the contest to host the 2008 Summer Olympics, a move that marked China's emergence from the self-imposed policy of isolation of previous decades.

On November 15, 2002, Jiang resigned as general secretary of the CCP and, on March 15, 2003, from the presidency of the National People's Congress. He was succeeded by HU JINTAO in a remarkably smooth transition, but remained the chair of the central military commission until September 2004. He remained an influential figure in Chinese politics.

See also GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA (1966–1976).

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

John Paul II

(1920–2005) *pope*

Karol Józef Wojtyła (*Voy-TEE-wah*) was born on May 18, 1920, to Emilia Kaczorowska and Karol Wojtyła, a lieutenant in the Polish army. The couple had two other children years earlier: a daughter, who died in infancy, and Edmund, who became a medical doctor. When Karol Józef was born, the family lived in Wadowice, Poland, in a flat owned by a Jewish family, directly across from St. Mary's church, where Karol was baptized. His father retired from the army in 1927. Karol's mother died in 1929. Edmund died three years later in Kraków. Karol and his father would live together until the latter's death in Kraków at the start of the German occupation, while Karol was still a teenager.

From 1939 to 1945, Wojtyła eked out an education. Before the Gestapo shut down the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, he had begun studies in Polish



The spiritual leader of the world's Catholics, Pope John Paul II traveled the continents, including visits to the United States (above). The pope was a political leader as well, and during his pontificate, 83 countries established diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

philology. Professors who escaped deportation opened an underground university, which Wojtyła attended. To support himself, he worked in a rock quarry and later in a chemical plant, surrounding himself with books and teaching himself languages.

From his father and parish priests in Wadowice, Wojtyła had learned the importance of prayer. In occupied Kraków, prayer was his lifeline to hope. There young Wojtyła met Jan Tyranowski, a tailor, mystic, and spiritual director. Tyranowski created what he called a “living Rosary”: a group of 15 young men who received from him spiritual instruction and who were commissioned to pass it on to other young people. From Tyranowski, Wojtyła learned contemplative prayer, especially the spirituality of St. John of the Cross.

After his father's death in February 1941, Wojtyła joined Archbishop Sapieha's underground seminary and was ordained by him in November 1946. Sent to Rome, Wojtyła earned the first of two doctoral degrees in theology. Upon his return, Fr. Wojtyła had to devise ways to disguise his ministry. Throughout the 1950s he published

plays, poems, and articles under an alias; chaperoned college students on hiking and kayaking trips to teach the faith without observation; and counseled engaged couples on marital sexuality. He taught at two universities, as a professor of philosophy at the Jagiellonian, and of social ethics at the Catholic University of Lublin. In 1958 Pius XII named Wojtyła auxiliary bishop of Kraków, and in 1963 Paul VI appointed him that city's archbishop.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–65) brought the young archbishop to Rome, into the company of bishops from everywhere. Wojtyła spoke frequently in assemblies large and small, helped draft documents such as the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* (The Church in the Modern World), and published poetry and articles for the people back home describing what the council meant for the church.

Karol Wojtyła was made a cardinal in 1967 and remained archbishop of Kraków for 15 years. He led a synod for the archdiocese, which met 119 times over seven years. He strengthened the seminary and the Jagiellonian theology faculty, inaugurated marriage

preparation programs and family ministries, encouraged youth movements, organized parish-based charitable committees, and made lengthy visitations to his parishes. He continued teaching and publishing without letup.

When Paul VI died in August 1978, Cardinal Wojtyła participated in the conclave that elected Albino Luciani, whose double name John Paul signaled his wish to continue the work of popes John XXIII and Paul VI. Wojtyła returned to Kraków. But the new pope died a month later. Wojtyła departed again for Rome, fearing that he might remain there. He did eventually return, but not as archbishop. On October 16, 1978, Cardinal Wojtyła was elected the 264th successor of Peter and the first Polish pope ever. Like Luciani, he took the double name of John Paul. Immediately, the whirlwind of activities that characterized his papacy began: visits to parishes in Rome, travels outside the Vatican, meetings, writings, and long hours prostrate in prayer. Within three months, his marathon series of international journeys began with a pastoral visit to Mexico. In June 1979, much to the dismay of the communist government, he made the first of several visits to Poland.

The Soviet authorities realized that this pope was dangerous. On May 13, 1981, Mehmet Ali Ağca, hired by the Bulgarian secret police at the behest of the Soviet KGB, shot John Paul as he rode through St. Peter's Square. The wound was serious but not fatal. Though recovery was slow and fraught with complications, the pope resumed his travels as soon as he could, even visiting Poland again in 1983. The most widely traveled pope in history, John Paul II visited a total of 129 countries, plus 145 trips within Italy, and visits to 317 of the 328 parishes in the diocese of Rome.

John Paul intended his papacy to address two major goals. First, he wished to implement Vatican II, a council full of hope for the church's future. He promulgated in 1983 the revised Code of Canon Law for the Latin Church, and in 1990 the revised Code for the Eastern Churches, both built on council teachings. To restore clarity to church teaching, he commissioned the publication of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. He delivered hundreds of catechetical addresses. In 14 papal encyclicals, 15 apostolic exhortations, 45 "apostolic letters," and numerous other writings, he taught on morality, life issues, the dignity of work, the dignity of women, the role of the family, the nature of the Trinity, and the meaning of the Creed. To provide models of the holiness called for in Vatican II, John Paul canonized 1,342 saints,

more than the combined total of persons canonized since the 16th century.

A second goal was to prepare the church for the advent of the third millennium, an era John Paul saw as a springtime of hope. To that end, he announced a "new evangelization" of the world. His biennial World Youth Days attracted millions of young people from the world over. His first encyclical, published in 1979, had mentioned this jubilee as the beginning of a "new Advent" of the Son of God in human history.

A pope is a political, as well as a religious, leader. He is widely credited with a major role in the 1989 collapse of European communism. Perseverance, back-door negotiations, and providential coincidences resulted in the creation of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the state of Israel in 1993. During John Paul's pontificate, 83 countries established diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Through dogged effort, his ambassadors at the UNITED NATIONS were able to forestall activist efforts to reshape marriage and promote abortion on demand at the 1994 Cairo and 1995 Beijing women's conferences.

But some problems proved insurmountable. The number of priests and seminarians continued to decline during John Paul's papacy. Radical feminists persisted in challenging the church's refusal to ordain women to the priesthood. Ecumenical dialogue with most Orthodox churches stalled. Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, excommunicated in 1988 for ordaining bishops without authorization, died unreconciled despite efforts to reinstate him. The pope was criticized for appointing weak bishops and for failing to reform religious orders.

John Paul's decline in health appeared to begin after the 1981 assassination attempt. Intestinal disorders and a series of falls in the early 1990s led to repeated hospitalizations. In 1994 he was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease, which gradually sapped his physical strength. On April 2, 2005, he died of complications from Parkinson's. Karol Wojtyła's reign as John Paul II lasted 26 years and 5 months, the third-longest papal tenure up to that time.

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Johnson, Lyndon B.

(1908–1973) *U.S. president*

Lyndon Baines Johnson, nicknamed LBJ, was the 36th president of the United States. Prior to that, he had been vice president during the presidency of JOHN F. KENNEDY. He is best remembered for presiding over the United States during the VIETNAM WAR, and also for his efforts in promoting CIVIL RIGHTS in the southern parts of the United States.

Lyndon Johnson was born on August 27, 1908, at Gillespie County, Texas, the eldest of five children. His father was Sam Ealy Johnson Jr., a businessman who was also a member of the Texas House of Representatives, and his mother was Rebekah (née Baines), who was the daughter of Joseph Baines, another state legislator. Johnson left high school in 1924, and, after three years working in odd jobs, he studied at the Southwest Texas State Teachers College at San Marcos, Texas, and then taught at Cotulla, Texas.

In 1930 Johnson worked for Democrat Richard Kleberg, who was standing for Congress, accompanying him to Washington, D.C., when he was elected. Four years later he married Claudia Alta Taylor, who became known as “Lady Bird.” It was in Washington that Johnson came to meet Sam Rayburn, the Texan chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Johnson became director of the National Youth Administration for two years and then stood as a Democratic Party candidate for the 10th congressional district, winning his seat.

Johnson won a seat in the Senate in 1948 and spent 12 years there, becoming Democratic whip in 1951, minority leader in 1953, and majority leader in 1955. Johnson survived a serious heart attack in 1955, and became well known for his negotiating talent, using bluster, discipline, persuasiveness, and ruthlessness. In 1960 Johnson lost the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination to Kennedy by 809 to 409 on the first ballot. He then accepted the vice-presidential slot.

As vice president, Johnson found himself unable to do much of the negotiating that he had enjoyed. On November 22, 1963, when Kennedy was assassinated, Johnson took the oath of office as president on *Air Force One*, the presidential plane, just before it took off from Love Field, Dallas, to take Kennedy’s body back to Washington. Johnson immediately set up a commission to investigate the assassination, appointing Earl Warren, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, to chair it.



Lyndon B. Johnson takes the oath of office on Air Force One following the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

Johnson had a hard task maintaining the dignity and authority of the office of the president and ensuring some form of continuity. He had long been a supporter of civil rights, and in February 1964 managed to get the Civil Rights Act introduced in Congress. It was passed by the Senate in June 1964. After it was signed into law on July 2, 1964, ending segregation and any discrimination on grounds of race or sex, the law was challenged in the Supreme Court, which found it was valid. Hoping for the success of this legislation, Johnson made his famous speech on May 22, 1964, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in which he announced his plans for the “GREAT SOCIETY.”

In 1964 the Republican Party chose Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater to run against Johnson, giving the incumbent an easier election campaign than he had expected. Johnson won 486 of the electoral college seats to 52 for Goldwater, with Johnson taking 61 percent of the vote, the largest percentage ever taken in a presidential election.

The emerging problem for Johnson was, however, the growing war in Vietnam. In August 1964 news stories revealed that North Vietnamese gunboats had attacked a U.S. destroyer and then launched another attack several days later. It subsequently emerged that the second attack had not taken place, and there are many doubts over the nature of the first attack. Nevertheless Johnson did believe that the U.S. destroyers had been attacked and launched a retaliatory air strike against North Vietnam. He also managed to get Congress to approve the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving

him the authority to do whatever was needed to deal with the communists in Vietnam. Public support for the war effort fell as the United States suffered huge casualties. By 1967 there were large demonstrations, and by 1968 Johnson had become increasingly unpopular.

On January 23, 1968, the USS *Pueblo*, an American intelligence-gathering ship, was seized by North Korea after ending up in their waters. The crew of 80 were all captured and held for 11 months until the U.S. government apologized and obtained their release, later retracting their apology. Johnson had ordered the USS *Enterprise* into the region, but acted with caution.

In the week after the seizing of the *Pueblo*, the Vietcong launched the Tet Offensive, with television coverage of Vietcong capturing the U.S. embassy. General William Westmoreland had promised that the war was nearly over three months earlier. The United States and South Vietnam quickly managed to defeat the Vietcong attacks, but most people refused to believe the administration's protestations that victory was close. Johnson decided not to contest the election and on March 31, 1968, in a national address on television, stated that he would neither seek nor accept the Democrat Party's renomination.

The 1968 election campaign saw the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., the African-American civil rights leader, on April 4, leading to rioting in Washington, D.C., and many other cities. The assassination of presidential candidate and former attorney general Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles on June 6 resulted in widespread political unease. Vice President Hubert Humphrey was guaranteed the Democrat Party nomination when the party convention was held in Chicago, but antiwar protestors converged on the city intent on making their opposition to the war heard.

Johnson tried to help Humphrey, who called for an unconditional U.S. halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, and in October, a week before the election, Johnson announced the end of all U.S. bombing to open the way for peace talks. It was too late for many people, and they voted for RICHARD NIXON.

In January 1969 Johnson retired to his L.B.J. Ranch near Johnson City, Texas. Johnson suffered a heart attack, and died on January 22, 1973, in San Antonio, Texas, only five days before the Paris Peace Accords stopped the fighting in Vietnam. Lyndon Johnson was buried at his ranch.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Jordan, Hashemite monarchy in

For most of Jordan's modern history, Jordanians knew only one king as architect of the kingdom's domestic development and of its foreign policy. King Hussein consolidated the Hashemite regime in Jordan and defended it against internal and external challenges, neither of which were in short supply. From the foundation of the Hashemite state onward, Jordan maintained close strategic ties to Britain and later the United States. After World War II, and with the onset of the COLD WAR, Jordan also established stronger links with the United States. Western powers came to view Jordan as a conservative bulwark against communism and radical forms of Pan-Arabism, and as a moderating element in the Arab-Israeli conflict. From the beginning, then, Jordan had close ties to powerful Western states and depended heavily on foreign aid from these countries to keep the kingdom afloat.

Jordan's centrality in Middle East politics and geography also carried with it a strategic vulnerability. In the 1950s, when the kingdom was still young and viewed by many Pan-Arab nationalists as an artificial "paper tiger," some Jordanian officials feared that another regional conflict might eliminate the Hashemite state entirely. In 1957 Hussein headed off an attempted coup d'état by pro-Nasserist military officers and used the opportunity to solidify Hashemite royal control.

By the late 1960s the regime was forced to focus outward once again as regional tensions escalated especially between Israel and GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's regime in Egypt. In the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI War, Israeli forces launched what they viewed as a preemptive strike on Arab forces in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, inflicting a devastating defeat on all three countries. The complete failure of the Arab war effort led to Israeli occupation of the Sinai from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan. In less than six days, Jordan lost some of its most prized territory, including the agriculturally rich West

Bank and the more religiously significant East Jerusalem. Tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees poured across the border into Jordan in June 1967, changing the demographics and ultimately the domestic stability of the kingdom. That uneasy situation collapsed in September 1970, when guerrilla forces of the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION fought the royalist forces of the Hashemite government. This Jordanian civil war resulted in a bloody Hashemite victory and the expulsion of PLO guerrilla forces from Jordan.

More than half the population of Jordan today is of Palestinian origin. Although this West Bank/East Bank ethnic divide is sometimes overstated, it remains a significant feature of Jordan's society, its political economy, and of the Jordanian state itself. Much of the Jordanian government, public sector, and military is dominated by East Bank Jordanians, while much of the private sector is dominated by Palestinians.

Following the disastrous 1967 war, the Hashemite regime maintained its claim to the West Bank and East Jerusalem for two decades. But in 1988 in the midst of the first INTIFADA, it renounced these claims and turned instead toward consolidating its rule east of the Jordan River. Indeed, Jordan remained under martial law from the 1967 war until it was lifted in 1992 as part of the overall political liberalization process.

The regime's concerns for stability were underscored dramatically in 1989 by domestic unrest triggered by an economic austerity program initiated under the aegis of the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. With the intifada raging west of the Jordan River, and domestic unrest erupting in Jordan itself, King Hussein initiated measures to address public demands and to reestablish the stability of the regime. That opening

helped reestablish the regime's base of domestic support, thereby shoring up its stability and allowing it to sign a controversial peace treaty with the State of Israel in 1994.

In 1999 King Hussein died after a long battle with cancer. In a surprise move, the king had abruptly changed the line of succession merely weeks before his death, dismissing his brother Hasan as crown prince and appointing instead his eldest son, Abdullah. With Hussein's death, King Abdullah II ascended the Hashemite throne. His reign was marked by strong efforts to continue the economic liberalization process, emphasizing a neoliberal model of development and shoring up Jordan's relations with key Western powers and international economic institutions. But this emphasis on economic development and stable foreign relations also forced political liberalization to a lower priority level. Under Abdullah, the kingdom survived still more regional unrest and even began battling terrorism within Jordan itself. These internal and external security concerns did not dissuade the monarchy from its emphasis on economic development, but they often provided the pretext for lack of progress in reviving Jordan's seemingly stalled program of political liberalization.

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CURTIS R. RYAN

K

Karmal, Babrak

(1929–1997) *Afghan politician*

Babrak Karmal was an Afghan revolutionary figure, a politician, and an ambassador. He served as the third president of AFGHANISTAN from 1980 to 1986 during the rule of the communist Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. An effective orator and an educated politician, Karmal is best known as one of the founders of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and for leading a puppet regime with Soviet financial and military support.

Born in Kamari, a small village east of Kabul on January 6, 1929, Karmal came from a wealthy Tajik military family. His father, Major General Mohammad Hussain, had close relations with the royal family, especially King Mohammad Zahir and Prime Minister General Mohammad Daoud. After graduating from high school Karmal enrolled in law school, pursuing a degree in law and political science, at the Kabul University in 1951. While a student he was arrested and put in prison for five years for organizing demonstrations in support of an Afghani popular revolutionary figure, Abdul Rahman Mahmudi. In prison he befriended pro-Soviet Union leftist political figures like Mear Mohammad Siddeq Farhang. Karmal increasingly became a staunch supporter of the Leninist-Stalinist form of Marxism, identifying the Soviet model as the best way to modernize Afghanistan.

After graduation Karmal continued his close relations with Farhang. The friendship enabled him to play

a major role in establishing the PDPA on January 1, 1965, Afghanistan's first major Marxist political party. Like many other PDPA members who aimed for parliamentary seats, Karmal became a candidate and was elected to the National Assembly from 1965 to 1973, where he was able to gain a reputation for his antireligious and anti-imperialistic communist viewpoints.

Due to internal ideological differences the PDPA split into the Khalq (People) and the Parcham (Flag) factions in 1967. Karmal became the leader of the more cosmopolitan, moderate Parcham bloc. Karmal's faction shared power with Mohammad Daoud's regime after the coup d'état of 1973, when the monarchy was overthrown. Though the alliance was short-lived, since Daoud dismissed the Parcham faction from the presidential cabinet, Karmal was able to reunite the PDPA after much Soviet pressure. In April 1978 the PDPA gained power through a military coup. When Nur Mohammad Taraki, a member of the Khalq bloc, was pronounced the president of the new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA), instituting a regime that had the full backing of the Soviet Union until 1992, the two factions of PDPA began internal fighting.

Karmal and his mistress, Anahita Ratebzad, were sent into "exile" as ambassadors to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, respectively, while Hifzullah Amin, another major Khalq political leader, became the prime minister on March 28, 1979. Karmal later left Prague for Moscow for fear of assassination or execution on his return to Kabul. On December 5, 1978, when the Taraki government initiated a major friendship treaty with

the Soviet Union, numerous uprisings spread around Afghanistan against the Soviet-backed regime. Taraki's radical reform projects for transforming Afghanistan from a traditional religious to a secular modern society led the way to the rise of the mujahideen (or Muslim fighters), who opposed the Soviet-style westernization of the country. Tensions between Taraki and Amin factions within the Khalq bloc led to the assassination of Taraki on October 10, 1979, which eventually led to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. Karmal, the leader of the Parcham faction, returned to Kabul with the full support of the Soviets and was declared the president.

As the third president of the republic, Karmal's most important accomplishments were his call for clemency for political prisoners, the change of the Marxist-style national flag, the promulgation of the basic principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the recognition of the Muslim clerical establishment, and the compensation for the loss of property. Karmal's poor leadership skills and his inability to bring an end to the ongoing guerrilla warfare between the Soviet-backed government and the mujahideen gradually made him a highly unpopular figure. With the full backing of Moscow throughout his presidency, Karmal was regarded as a Soviet puppet, both domestically and internationally. In May 1986 Karmal was replaced as the communist leader by Mohammad Najibullah, and in October 1986 he was relieved of the presidency. After a number of trips between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan after his presidency, Karmal finally settled in Moscow, where he died of liver dysfunction on December 6, 1996.

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BABAK RAHIMI

Karzai, Hamid

(1957–) *Afghan president*

Hamid Karzai was the first elected president of the Islamic Republic of AFGHANISTAN. At the conclusion of the presidential election on October 9, 2004, Karzai was declared its winner, with 55.4 percent of the vote. On December 7, 2004, Karzai took the oath of office as the first democratically elected leader of Afghanistan.

Hamid Karzai was born on December 24, 1957, in the village of Karz, near Kandahar in southern Afghanistan. His grandfather, Khair Mohammed Khan, was a key figure in Afghanistan's war of independence. Karzai's father, Abdul Ahad Karzai, was a popular national figure who was also an influential member of the parliament during the 1960s.

The early education of Hamid Karzai took place in various Afghan schools, including Mahmood Hotaki Elementary School, Sayeed Jamaluddin Afghani School, and Habibia High School. Later, Karzai went to India, where he received graduate education in international relations and political science from the Himachal Pradesh University in Simla.

After the formation of the mujahideen government in 1989, Karzai was made the director of the Foreign Relations Section in the Office of the President, Burhauddin Rabbani. He became a deputy foreign minister in 1992. When the civil war between the contending mujahideen groups engulfed Afghanistan in 1994, Karzai resigned from his official position. He strove for a free and open national assembly (*loya jirga*).

In August 2000, when the fundamentalist TALIBAN regime was ruling Afghanistan, Karzai formed resistance groups and vowed to oust them from power. There was an element of personal revenge to his actions, as his father had been assassinated by the Taliban. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, Karzai, in coordination with U.S. forces, worked to overthrow the Taliban regime of Mullah Omar.

On December 5, 2001, exiled Afghanistan political leaders representing various ethnic tribes gathered in Bonn, Germany, and named Karzai the chair of a 29-member governing committee and the leader of Afghanistan's interim government.

Karzai has traveled extensively around the world and has pleaded for donations in order to rebuild infrastructure and other facilities in his country. Karzai married Dr. Zeenat Quraishi in 1999. He has one sister and six brothers, including Ahmed Wali Karzai, who helps coordinate humanitarian relief operations in the province of Kandahar.

See also AL-QAEDA.

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MOHAMMED BADRUL ALAM

Kaunda, Kenneth

(1924–) *first Zambian president*

Kenneth Kaunda, a Zambian nationalist, led the struggle for independence against the British and became the first president of independent Zambia in 1964. Kaunda was born in what was then Northern Rhodesia and, like many first-generation African nationalists, he was educated at Christian mission schools. He worked as a miner, as a teacher, and, for a short period of time, as an instructor in the army. Kaunda joined several African nationalist movements and in Lusaka became secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC). He quit the ANC to form the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC); when the British banned ZANC in 1959, Kaunda was imprisoned. Upon his release Kaunda became president of the new United National Independence Party (UNIP) that replaced the banned ZANC; he supported demonstrations and civil disobedience against British control. Kaunda became president of newly independent Zambia in 1964 and held the presidency until 1991.

During his tenure in power, Kaunda became increasingly authoritarian and, in a trajectory similar to other African rulers in the 1970s–1980s, declared Zambia a one-party state in 1972. As agricultural productivity faltered, Zambia's economy became dependent on copper exports, and Kaunda was accused of corruption and responsibility for the economic problems. In face of mounting political opposition, Kaunda stepped down from power, and Frederick Chiluba replaced him as president in 1991. Chiluba maneuvered to prevent Kaunda from contesting further elections and, after being accused of involvement in an attempted coup d'état, Kaunda retired from politics in 1997.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Kennedy, John F.

(1917–1963) *U.S. president*

John F. Kennedy was the 35th president of the United States, serving from 1961 until his assassination in November 1963. Prior to that he had a prominent military career, served in the House of Representatives

and then in the Senate from 1947 to 1960, and was the youngest person to be elected president. He is also the only Roman Catholic to be elected president.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts, the second son of Joseph P. Kennedy and Rose (née Fitzgerald). He attended Dexter School, Riverdale Country School, Canterbury School, and later Choate School. Graduating in 1935, he went to London to study at the London School of Economics but fell ill and returned to the United States where he attended Princeton University briefly. He then went to Harvard College, spending the summer holidays in 1937, 1938, and 1939 in Europe. John Kennedy was in Germany in August 1939, returning to London by September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland.

In 1940 Kennedy completed his honors thesis, "Appeasement in Munich," which was subsequently published as *Why England Slept*. In May and June 1941 Kennedy went to South America. He volunteered for the U.S. Army but was rejected because of his bad back. However, using contacts in the Office of Naval Intelligence, he was accepted for the navy in September, and when war broke out with Japan in December 1941, he served in the Pacific. On August 2, 1943, the boat which Kennedy was in, the PT-109, was rammed by the Japanese destroyer *Amagiri* while on a night-time patrol near New Georgia in the Solomon Islands. He towed a wounded man to safety and was personally involved in rescuing two others.

Initially, John Kennedy had some thoughts about becoming a journalist. The death of his older brother, Joe, in 1944, however, propelled him into politics and in 1946 he ran for a seat in the House of Representatives as a Democrat for Massachusetts, winning with a large majority. In 1952 he defeated the incumbent Republican Henry Cabot Lodge for the U.S. Senate, and served in the Senate from 1953 to 1960. His book, *Profiles in Courage*, was published in 1956, winning the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1957. Kennedy's connections with Senator Joe McCarthy were to damage his standing in the liberal establishment, but he did support the Civil Rights Act of 1957. On September 12, 1953, John Kennedy married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier. They had four children: a daughter, stillborn in 1956; Caroline Bouvier Kennedy, born in 1957; John Fitzgerald Kennedy Jr., born in 1960; and Patrick Bouvier Kennedy, born in 1963.

In 1960 Kennedy ran for president. What was particularly noteworthy was the first television debate that Kennedy had with his Republican opponent,



Minutes before the assassination: Texas governor John Connally and his wife (seated, front); Kennedy and the First Lady (back).

RICHARD NIXON. Kennedy defeated Nixon in a tightly fought race, with the Democrats gaining 303 electoral college seats against 219 for the Republicans. An independent, Harry Byrd, picked up the remaining 15 electoral college seats.

On January 20, 1961, Kennedy was sworn in as the 35th president. The first controversy of his presidency concerned the government of FIDEL CASTRO, which had come to power two years earlier. The Eisenhower administration had allowed anti-Castro Cubans to be secretly trained in the southern United States, mainly in Louisiana and Florida, and they had planned to invade Cuba. The plan had been drawn up before Kennedy came to power, and on April 17, 1961, Kennedy approved it. However, he cancelled the air support that was to have been provided by the U.S. Air Force. When the Cuban exiles landed at the BAY OF PIGS in Cuba, they were quickly overwhelmed by the Communists.

The next major crisis, the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, took place from October 14, 1962, when American U-2 spy planes photographed a Soviet Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile site under construction in Cuba. He decided that an attack on the site might result in nuclear war, but that inaction would be seen as a sign of weakness. In the end, he resolved to order a military blockade of the island and eventually came to an agreement with the Soviet Union's premier, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, that the Soviet Union would remove the missiles, and the United States would promise never to invade Cuba, and withdraw some missiles from bases in Turkey.

Kennedy was interested in rapprochement with the Soviet Union, but he had to be perceived as "tough," especially in Europe. On June 26, 1963, he visited West Berlin and addressed a large public crowd with the famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech. In August 1963 Kennedy was able to sign into law the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which prohibited atomic testing on the ground, in the atmosphere, and underwater, but did not prohibit testing underground.

Another foreign policy problem that Kennedy faced was the increased fighting in Laos and VIETNAM. In the former, the Kennedy administration backed a neutral government, and in the latter, the United States was heavily involved in supporting the anticommunist South Vietnamese government led by President NGO DINH DIEM. By 1963 there were 15,000 U.S. military advisers in South Vietnam. Diem had ruled South Vietnam since late 1954 and was becoming increasingly authoritarian. Kennedy felt that it was Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, who was a major problem and wanted Diem to get rid of Nhu. Diem realized that Nhu was his most powerful supporter and refused. This led the Kennedy administration to give the go-ahead for Buddhist South Vietnamese generals to overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem, who, along with Nhu, was murdered. The new regime was inherently unstable, causing the United States to commit more combat soldiers, escalating the war.

The domestic program introduced by Kennedy was known as the New Frontier. He tried to legislate to prevent the continuance of racial discrimination. He also proposed tax reforms and promised federal funding for education, more medical care for the elderly, and government intervention to boost the economy of the nation. Most of these measures were to be introduced by Kennedy's successor, LYNDON B. JOHNSON. It was Johnson who, in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, introduced the measures that Kennedy had supported.

John Kennedy is also well known for his commitment to the space program. With the Soviet Union managing to win all the first stages of the space race, Kennedy pushed for greater effort from the American people. The moon landing took place on July 20, 1969, during Nixon's presidency.

As John Kennedy had only narrowly won the 1960 presidential election, he began his campaign for reelection early. This involved trying to win support from the southern states. He went to Texas in November 1963, where, on November 22, in Dallas, at 12:30 P.M., he was assassinated. A loner, Lee Harvey Oswald, was arrested about 80 minutes later and charged with murdering a Texas policeman. He was then also charged

with murdering John F. Kennedy. Before Oswald could be brought to trial, two days later, on November 24, he was shot dead by nightclub owner Jack Ruby.

There has been much written about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. On November 29, five days after the shooting of Oswald, Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, created the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, known as the Warren Commission because it was chaired by Chief Justice Earl Warren. It concluded that Kennedy was killed by Lee Harvey Oswald acting alone, a view later endorsed by the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations reporting in 1979. Most people now view the Warren Commission report with disdain for the evidence that it missed.

John F. Kennedy was buried at Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia. The bodies of two of his children, his first daughter, and Patrick, his youngest son who died on August 9, 1963, were brought to Arlington and buried with him.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Kenya

Present-day Kenya is a mix of colonial struggle and capitalist vigor. The road to Kenyan independence began in earnest in October 1952. Kenya, under a state of emergency that would last seven years, began its march toward decolonization. The Mau Mau rebellion against British colonial rule prompted the successful request for a state of emergency. Britain rallied its own troops, in addition to African troops, to suppress the rebellion. With new-found intelligence data gathered during the integration of General China, Britain embarked on Operation Anvil on April 24, 1954, in hopes of ending a successful rebellion against them. Operation Anvil severely restricted the already limited freedoms of the citizens of Nairobi. Mau Mau supporters left in the capital were moved from the

city to detention camps. Although the Mau Mau rebellion was not officially over until 1959, the capture of Dedan Kimathi on October 21, 1956, decreased the optimism of those fighting for the end of colonial rule.

The end of the Mau Mau rebellion's main military offensive in 1956 opened the door for voluntary British withdrawal. The first direct elections for Africans to the Legislative Council were in 1957. With moderates making up the majority of the Legislative Assembly, the British government had hoped that power could be passed to those who wished to see a minimal British presence in Kenya. However, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and extremist JOMO KENYATTA formed the government shortly before Kenya became officially independent on December 12, 1963.

Single-party leadership continued after Kenyatta's death in 1978 with Daniel arap Moi. President arap Moi survived an abortive military coup attempt on August 1, 1982, masterminded by air force serviceman Senior Private Hezekiah Ochuka. Ochuka attempted to take the capital, but the coup was suppressed by loyalist forces led by the army, the general service unit, and later the regular police. Intimidated by the strength of the air force, arap Moi disbanded the Kenyan Air Force.

Moi was unsuccessful in nurturing Kenya's postcolonial economy. Sensing radical changes to Kenya's governmental institutions, Moi enacted constitutional reform during the 1988 elections. Elections were opened to the *mlolongo* system, by which voters lined up behind their selected candidate. Over the course of the next years several clauses from the constitution were changed in order to reestablish Kenya's failing political and economic systems. The first democratic elections were held in 1992. Moi was reelected and again in 1997. In the 2002 elections, Moi was constitutionally barred from running, and Mwai Kibaki was elected for the National Rainbow Coalition.

With the absence of civil war in Kenya the country remained relatively stable, but it continued to be a single-party state until the 2002 elections. President Kibaki instituted long-needed reforms, but continued Kenya's tradition of corruption at the highest levels. A draft constitution put forth in November 2005 was defeated by the Kenyan electorate when it was discovered it would only decrease transparency in government. In response, Kibaki dismissed his entire cabinet and appointed new ministers, many of whom belonged to political parties with which he was aligned.

Natural disaster plagued Kenya in the late 1990s, compounding the already poor economic situation. Severe flooding destroyed roads, bridges, and crops; epidemics of

malaria and cholera overran the health care system; and ethnic clashes erupted. Desperate to win back INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) and WORLD BANK funding to assist the millions in need, President Moi appointed his high-profile critic and political opponent, Richard Leakey, as head of the civil service in 1999. A third generation white Kenyan, Leakey was fired by Moi two years later for apparently engaging in corruption. This prompted the ruling party to put forth an anticorruption law in August 2001, whose failure to pass ended Kenya's chances for renewed international aid.

Corruption continued under President Kabaki. His anticorruption minister, John Githongo, resigned in February 2005 over frustrations that he was prevented from investigating scandals. In early 2006 investigations showed that the government was linked to two corruption scandals. Economic devastation brought on by severe droughts compounded the systemic corruption.

Elections in December 2007 sparked weeks of violence, resulting in more than 1,000 deaths. Former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan brokered a deal to form a new government, thus halting the possible threat of civil war.

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RIAN WALL

Kenyatta, Jomo

(1889–1978) *Kenyan president*

Jomo Kenyatta was born in Kenya and as a infant was named Kamau wa Ngengi; he took the name Jomo in 1938. Kenyatta was keenly interested in local traditions and social customs, particularly those of the Kikuyu. His study, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), remains one of the definitive works on the Kikuyu. As a youngster Kenyatta helped his grandfather, a traditional healer, but after being educated at a mission school he converted to Christianity. As a young man, Kenyatta worked for an Indian Asian merchant and in a European business firm.

In the 1920s Kenyatta became the leader of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), which represented the Kikuyu in their land cases against the British, who had

confiscated large tracts of Kikuyu farmland that was then taken by white, usually British, settlers. Kenyatta represented the Kikuyu on negotiating missions to England and visited the Soviet Union in 1930. Upon his return to England as a teacher, Kenyatta was falsely accused of communist ties.

Kenyatta participated in the fifth Pan Africa Congress, which met in Manchester, England, in 1945. Upon returning to Kenya after World War II, he assumed leadership of the Kenyan nationalist movement. In 1952 he was arrested and accused of managing the Kenya nationalist armed movement, known in the West as the Mau Mau; he served nine years in prison or under virtual house arrest. The Mau Mau was accused of terrorist acts against the white, mostly British settlers. Although the Mau Mau revolt was responsible for violence and the murder of some settlers, the Western media exaggerated the levels of violence.

Kenyatta became president of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in 1961 and led a delegation to London to negotiate full independence, or *Uhuru*. In 1964, Kenyatta became the president of the independent Kenyan, republic. Known as *Baba wa Taifa*, father of the nation, Kenyatta maintained economic stability in Kenya, but his opponents also charged him with cronyism and corruption. He died while still in power in 1978 and was succeeded by Daniel arap Moi, who faced increased opposition to his mounting dictatorial powers.

See also KENYA.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Khan, Liaquat Ali

(1896–1951) *Pakistani leader*

Born on October 1, 1896, in the United Provinces of pre-partition India, Liaquat became the first prime minister of Pakistan and a founding father when it became independent on August 14, 1947. He graduated from Aligarh College, and he became interested in the Indian nationalist movement. Afterward, he traveled to Britain to continue his education, obtaining a degree in law

from Oxford University in 1921, and was called to the bar in 1922. Liaquat returned to India in 1923.

He began to identify with the Muslim cause. He joined the Muslim League, which sought to represent Muslims across the subcontinent. In 1926 Liaquat won his first election as a member in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, although as an independent. In 1940 he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly, where he established a reputation as a successful politician of principle, integrity, and eloquence. Although he sought to promote the interests of Muslim Indians, he also worked to quell communal discord. In 1936 he was elected honorary secretary of the Muslim League, and he held the office until independence in 1947. He became increasingly influential within the Muslim League, as illustrated by his appointment as deputy leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in 1940, where he forged a close working relationship as the lieutenant of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League and later the father of Pakistan.

After partition, Liaquat accepted the prime ministership and also served as minister of defense under Jinnah, governor-general of Pakistan. The nation was not only divided into East (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan, it was also plagued by a refugee crisis as migrating Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs fled across the subcontinent before and immediately after the partition. With Jinnah's death in 1948, Liaquat became the dominant leader in Pakistan.

Although Pakistan's political establishments were strongly pro-Western, Islam began to broaden its influence. Pakistan's disputes with India over trade and the division of Kashmir dominated foreign policy, and relations between the two nations remained tense.

Liaquat was assassinated in October 1951. His death ushered in a chaotic period, and democracy soon floundered, culminating in the military seizure power in a coup in 1958.

See also INDO-PAKISTANI WARS (KASHMIR).

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RYAN TOUHEY

Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah

(c. 1900–1989) *Iranian religious and political leader*

Ruhollah Khomeini, an Iranian religious leader known by the Islamic title of ayatollah, was the driving force behind the movement that overthrew Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in 1979; he then became Iran's highest political and religious authority for the next 10 years.

Although Khomeini was born into a poor family, he was the grandson and son of mullahs (Shi'i religious leaders). When he was five months old, his father was killed in a dispute. The young Khomeini was then raised by his mother, later his aunt, and finally his older brother Murtaza. Khomeini was educated in various Islamic schools and received the sort of instruction expected of a mullah's son. Khomeini was an attentive, intelligent, hardworking, and serious student. In about 1922 he settled in the city of Qom, and around 1930 he assumed the surname of Khomeini from his birthplace, Khomein (or Khomeyn). As a respected Shi'i scholar and teacher, Khomeini authored many works on Islamic philosophy, law, and ethics. It was his outspoken opposition to Iran's ruler, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, plus Khomeini's resolute advocacy of Islamic purity, that garnered him support in Iran. In the 1950s Khomeini received the religious title of ayatollah by popular acclaim; by the early 1960s he had received the title of grand ayatollah, which made him one of the supreme religious leaders of the Shi'i community in Iran.

In 1962–63 Khomeini publicly opposed the shah's land-reform program; he also spoke out against the Western-style emancipation of women in Iran. These criticisms led to Khomeini's arrest, which quickly sparked anti-government riots. After a year's imprisonment Khomeini was forced into exile in November 1964; he eventually settled in the Shi'i holy city of Najaf, Iraq, from which he continued to call for the shah's removal from power.

From the mid-1970s Khomeini's stature inside Iran grew. When Khomeini's continued denunciations of the shah caused political difficulties in Iraq, Iraq's ruler SADDAM HUSSEIN expelled Khomeini from the country in October 1978. Khomeini and his second wife then settled in Neauphle-le-Château, a suburb of Paris. From there the Ayatollah Khomeini directed the movement to unseat the shah. Khomeini's call for a general strike in October 1978 led to a crippling strike in the Iranian oil fields in November. These and other strikes resulted in massive demonstrations, riots, and civil unrest, which in turn forced the departure of the shah from the country on January 16, 1979. Khomeini arrived in the Iranian capital of Tehran on February 1 and was popularly acclaimed as

the religious leader of Iran's revolution. The Ayatollah Khomeini appointed a government on February 5 and then moved to live in the holy city of Qom. In December 1979 a new constitution was adopted, which created an Islamic republic in Iran. Khomeini was named Iran's political and religious leader (*fagih*) for life.

Although the Ayatollah Khomeini held no official government office, he proved implacable in his determination to transform Iran into a theocratically ruled Islamic state. He directed the revival of traditional, fundamentalist Islamic values, customs, laws, and legal procedures, explaining how they were to affect all public and private activities in Iran. Khomeini also acted as arbiter among the various feuding secular and religious factions vying for power in the new revolutionary state. Still, Khomeini made final decisions on important matters requiring his personal authority.

The main theme of Khomeini's foreign policy was the total abandonment of the shah's pro-Western position and the adoption of an attitude of hostility to both the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, Khomeini's Iran tried to export its version of Islamic fundamentalism to neighboring Muslim countries. After Iranian militants seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, Khomeini sanctioned their holding of U.S. diplomatic personnel as hostages for more than a year, souring diplomatic relations with the United States for many years. Khomeini also refused to permit an early peaceful solution to the IRAN-IRAQ WAR, which had begun in 1980, by insisting that it be prolonged in hopes of overthrowing Iraq's president, Saddam Hussein. Khomeini finally approved a cease-fire in 1988 that effectively ended the conflict.

Iran's path of economic development almost came to nothing under Khomeini's rule, and his pursuit of victory in the Iran-Iraq War ultimately proved pointless and extremely costly to Iran. Nevertheless Khomeini was able to retain, by sheer force of personality, his hold over Iran's Shi'i masses, and until his death in 1989 he remained the supreme political and religious arbiter in the country.

See also IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; IRANIAN REVOLUTION.

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KEITH BUKOVICH

Khrushchev, Nikita

(1894–1971) *Soviet leader*

Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev was first secretary of the Communist Party and de facto leader of the Soviet Union between 1953 and 1964; he concurrently served as premier from 1958 to 1964. Colorful and highly controversial, Khrushchev was a reformer whose shrewd intellect was frequently overshadowed by his impulsive personality. He abolished the most ruthless aspects of the political system and tried with limited success to catch up with and overtake the U.S. economy. In foreign affairs he forcefully maintained the unity of the EASTERN BLOC and veered between "peaceful coexistence" and several dangerous confrontations with the United States. He was, without question, one of the most important figures of the COLD WAR.

Khrushchev was born in April 1894 in Kalinovka, Russia, near the border with Ukraine. His parents were illiterate peasants, and young Nikita was more familiar with hard labor than formal education. The family relocated to Ukraine in 1908, where he worked various factory jobs and got involved in the organized labor movement. In 1917 he joined the revolutionary Bolsheviks and he later fought for the Red Army. After the war he obtained some Marxist training at a technical college and was assigned a political post in the Ukraine. Over the next 20 years Khrushchev would rise rapidly through the ranks of the Communist Party, and in 1939 he became a full member of the Politburo. His success was largely due to his loyalty to Stalin. During World War II he helped organize the defense of the Ukraine and the relocation of heavy industry into the Russian interior, and he was at Stalingrad when the Red Army turned the tide of the war against Germany.

After the war Khrushchev remained an influential member of the Politburo, and when Stalin died in March 1953, he battled with Georgy Malenkov, Lavrenty Beria, and Nikolai Bulganin for the leadership. Malenkov was made premier and initially seemed to be the true successor, but as first secretary of the Communist Party, Khrushchev possessed the real power. By early 1955 he had emerged as the clear leader of the Soviet Union.

Once in firm control, Khrushchev embarked on ambitious economic reforms. Khrushchev also continued the policy of spending heavily on the military. Under his leadership, the Soviet Union kept pace in the nuclear arms race with the United States and developed a space program that had significant successes.



Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, shown here at the United Nations, initiated radical reforms after the death of Joseph Stalin.

The launch of the *Sputnik* satellite in 1957 and the first manned space flight in 1961 were great technical triumphs for the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev also decided, in a very risky move, to expose the horrors of the Stalinist era and to promote political reforms. In February 1956 he gave a speech to the 20th Party Congress that denounced Stalin's "cult of personality," documented various crimes of the old regime, and introduced the policy of "de-Stalinization." The speech sparked hopes that Khrushchev would tolerate autonomy and perhaps even democracy within the Eastern bloc. These hopes proved illusory when a popular 1956 uprising in Hungary was suppressed by a brutal military intervention authorized by Khrushchev.

This action shocked the West, which had welcomed the assurances of Khrushchev that the Soviet Union desired "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and communism. Khrushchev seemed unable to resist the temptation to taunt the West periodically, and he had several alarming showdowns with the United States. He tried fruitlessly to force the United States and its allies out of Berlin between 1958 and 1961, eventually building the infamous Berlin Wall. He also humiliated Eisenhower in 1960 by revealing the capture of a U.S. U-2 spy plane and its pilot.

Riskiest of all, in 1962 Khrushchev secretly placed nuclear missiles in communist Cuba. The purpose of this gamble was to protect Cuba from U.S. attack and to provide the Soviet Union with instant strategic parity. When U.S. spy planes detected the missiles, however,

a standoff resulted that brought the world alarmingly close to nuclear war.

In the end the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS was resolved through diplomatic back channels, with the Soviets removing the missiles in exchange for a U.S. pledge not to invade Cuba and the removal of U.S. missiles from Turkey. Both sides gained something, but Khrushchev was widely perceived to have backed down in the face of U.S. resolve. By this time he had already made too many enemies within the Soviet Union. Finally, in late 1964, Khrushchev was removed from power by a conservative faction led by LEONID BREZHNEV. His life was spared, perhaps a testament to the success of his political reforms, but Khrushchev spent the rest of his life under house arrest. He died in Moscow in September 1971.

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CHRIS PENNINGTON

Kim Il Sung (1912–1994)/ Kim Jong Il (1942–)

Korean political leaders

Together, father and son Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il form a dynasty that has ruled the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or Communist North Korea, since its creation in 1948. Because of the personality cult established by Kim Il Sung and because Korea remains a tightly closed society, details about the lives of the two men remain scarce. The information that is disseminated officially is so flattering that it is highly suspect. For example, one biography of Kim Il Sung reports that he fought more than 100,000 times against the Japanese in the seven years between 1932 and 1945 and was always victorious.

Kim Il Sung (originally Kim Sung Chu) was born in 1912 in a northeastern province of Korea. His father was a schoolteacher who took his family to Chinese Manchuria in 1925 to escape Japan's harsh colonization of their homeland. For the next 14 years, Kim lived in Manchuria, where he joined the Communist Party in 1931. In 1939 Kim went to the Soviet Union, where he received further military training and was part of the Soviet military force that invaded and occupied Pyongyang in 1945.

According to the terms of the Yalta agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union divided Korea into North and South. Kim stayed in the north with the Soviets, who helped him prevail over other factions and become premier of the new Democratic People's Republic in 1948. Under Soviet and Chinese sponsorship Kim instigated the KOREAN WAR, which lasted until 1953.

A great admirer of Stalin, Kim patterned his rule after the Soviet leader. During the years following the Korean War, Kim solidified his power, purged his enemies, drove out foreign influences, and established himself as almost a god. He also managed, through rigorous control of the press, to exalt his family, raising many of them to the status of national heroes. He decreed that no newspaper could be published without his picture on the front page and without all the stories approved by government censors. His pictures and statues were also in every public building in the nation.

These and other actions were undertaken as part of Kim's self-proclaimed doctrine of *Juchie*, which encompassed the total economic, social, and political philosophy of the country. North Korean citizens born after the Korean War had little or no knowledge of the outside world, since anything foreign was prohibited. His birthday became a national holiday. Since 1976, the Loyalty Festival Period has included February 16 (Kim Jong Il's birthday) and April 15 (Kim Il Sung's birthday).

According to some reports, Korea went to extraordinary lengths to prolong Kim Il Sung's life. Purportedly a clinic staffed with 2,000 specialists was constructed solely for the purpose of caring for Kim and his son. Staff at the clinic experimented with diets and drugs on two teams of men who were similar to the leaders in age and body makeup. These efforts to extend his life all failed and the elder Kim died in 1994.

Kim Jong Il, the eldest son of Kim Il Sung, became his country's next dictator. He was born in 1941 while his father was training in the Soviet Union. The Soviets had established a school for the children of Korea's guerrilla fighters, the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, where Jong Il received his early education. After two years of training at the Air Academy in East Germany, the young Kim returned to Korea and attended Kim Il Sung University.

Kim Jong Il's portraits began to appear with his father's, and he was referred to by titles such as "the sun of the communist future." He made official visits to China and the Soviet Union in the 1980s, further indicating that he would follow his father as ruler. But he was not immediately named as his father's successor.

The title of the country's president was reserved for his father by a constitutional amendment.

Little information is available about the personal life of Kim Jong Il. Some sources report that his half-brother is being groomed as his successor while other reports indicate that his sons are embroiled in a struggle to become heir.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

(1929–1968) U.S. civil rights leader

Martin Luther King, Jr., was a civil rights leader whose campaigns for African-American racial equality made him an American icon. King was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929, the son of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., and Alberta Williams King. He was part of a ministerial dynasty at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, which was begun by his grandfather, who served the church from 1914 to 1931. King preached there from 1960 until his death.

King's initial education was in the segregated Atlanta school system. He left high school at age 15 after gaining early acceptance at Atlanta's prestigious Morehouse College. From Morehouse he went north to attend Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, becoming president of his senior class, and gaining his B.D. degree in 1951. He then accepted a fellowship that allowed him to pursue a doctorate at Boston University, finishing his preliminary studies in 1953 and receiving his degree in 1955. It was during this time that he met and married Coretta Scott on June 18, 1953. Following Dr. King's death Coretta King emerged as a promoter of civil rights and social justice in her own right. She served as leader of the King Foundation until her death in 2006.

In 1953 King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, at age 26 and began to condemn Jim Crow segregation in the course of promoting civil rights reform for the African-American citizens of Alabama. In 1955 he joined the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The boycott lasted for more than a year and King faced retribution and death threats, including the bombing of his home. As with many other



Martin Luther King, Jr., was the most eloquent leader of the American civil rights movement in the 1960s.

civil rights developments, the U.S. Supreme Court ultimately proved the driving force that finally ended segregation on intrastate buses in 1956.

In 1957 King took on the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which became the springboard for his authority and that of the emerging CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. The movement began in black communities and churches but soon drew members from the broader population outside the south. King shaped the SCLC philosophy toward nonviolent protest and pressure, drawing upon Christian teachings, but also inspired by the successful protests of Mohandas K. Gandhi. King was also on the executive committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Through these leadership positions and through growing televised media attention, King became a national figure and a major force in U.S. politics. The movement often faced a violent response to its activi-

ties, particularly as its agenda expanded to include a full range of civil rights issues. The speed of change proved dramatic and unstoppable and received national attention through events such as the 1963 March on Washington, which was inspired by and coordinated with other civil rights leaders but made famous by King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

It has been argued that the focus of this demonstration became less angry and more embracing because of pressure put on King by President JOHN F. KENNEDY, who believed the wrong approach could damage support for civil rights legislation. King's ascendance to national prominence was revealed when he became *Time* magazine's Man of the Year for 1963. These protests helped in the passing, during the presidency of LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Martin Luther King, Jr., received recognition for his gigantic influence when he was made a Nobel laureate in 1964, being awarded the Peace Prize in recognition of his many efforts.

It was in the mid-1960s that King tried to take the civil rights movement to the north, beginning in Chicago in 1966. King and Ralph Abernathy made an effort to confront the poor's living conditions by moving to the slums. Here he faced violence and discrimination as well as Mayor Richard J. Daley's Chicago political administration, which undercut reform activities whenever possible. Eventually King and Abernathy returned to the South, but left a then-young follower, Jesse Jackson, in Chicago to carry on their work. From this base Jackson later built his own organization.

King started to reevaluate his positions on many areas and issues, including social and economic reform as well as the VIETNAM WAR. His rhetoric and speeches took on new tones that seemed to challenge not only segregation, racial justice, and civil rights but also issues potentially far more controversial to the mainstream. His turn to issues of poverty and its eradication led to his and SCLC's involvement in the "Poor People's Campaign" in 1968, which was to culminate in another major march on Washington demanding that the government address the needs of the poorest communities and members of U.S. society.

In April 1968 his campaign took him to Memphis, Tennessee, where he offered his support to the Memphis Sanitation Workers' strike for better wages and conditions. King saw the solution to many of these problems in government-driven job programs to reduce and reverse poverty in the nation in the form of a poor peoples' bill of rights. While staying at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis on April 4, 1968, in preparation for a local

march in support of the strikers, King appeared on the balcony at 6:01 P.M. and was assassinated by rifle shot. He was pronounced dead at 7:05 P.M. King's death was met with shock and dismay. President Johnson declared a day of national mourning, and the vice president, Hubert Humphrey, attended the funeral along with a crowd estimated at 300,000.

A national and international manhunt was launched for the killer, and two months later in London, England, James Earl Ray was apprehended on a passport violation and extradited to Tennessee, where he was charged with King's murder and confessed on March 10, 1969. Ray received a 99-year sentence and spent the rest of his life denying his guilt and requesting a trial. He argued that King had been killed by others and that he was only a fall guy in the midst of a larger conspiracy. Ray and several other inmates escaped from Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary in Petros, Tennessee, on June 1977, not long after Ray testified to the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Controversy has surrounded the Ray conviction and there are many who believe that sinister forces manipulated and orchestrated the assassination plot. Issues have been raised concerning fingerprint evidence and ballistic tests on the rifle used in the crime. In 1997 Ray was visited in prison by King's son Dexter, who supported Ray's demand for a trial. In 1999 the King family instigated a wrongful death civil action against Loyd Jowers, a local Memphis restaurant owner who claimed a role in the assassination. A local jury found that Jowers, even though he had failed a lie detector test in regard to his claim, was guilty and that other government agencies were involved in the assassination. These claims were investigated in detail by the Department of Justice in 2000 and no evidence in support of the allegations was found.

The assumptions concerning a high-level conspiracy were enhanced because of King's conflicts with J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Initially they investigated communist associates of King and the organization, and maintained wiretaps at various times, including intruding on King's privacy and threatening him with exposure of his extramarital affairs. These tapes were placed in the National Archives and will be sealed until 2027.

Besides these attacks on the King legacy and honor, there were concerns expressed in the 1980s over plagiarism. This did lead to a formal inquiry in regards to his doctoral dissertation by Boston University, which concluded that almost a third of his work was taken from another student. Yet the university decided not to revoke his degree. It was also argued that many of his

other writings and speeches received the benefit of literary assistance in the form of ghostwriters.

Nevertheless even in the face of these questions as to his character, Martin Luther King, Jr., remains a major force in U.S. history whose name is one of the most easily recognized in the land. His boyhood home in Atlanta became a national historic site in 1980 and in November 1983 President RONALD REAGAN endorsed a bill creating a Martin Luther King National Holiday, which occurs on the third Monday in January. In addition his name was added to many streets and other public buildings throughout the United States and a King National Memorial in Washington, D.C., began with the purchase of land near the National Mall in 1999. Final design approval came in 2005.

See also MALCOLM X.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Koizumi, Junichiro

(1942–) *Japanese prime minister*

Junichiro Koizumi was born to a political family in Kanagawa Prefecture and educated at Keio University and University College London. He began his political career as a secretary to Takeo Fukuda, who later became prime minister. Koizumi was elected to the House of Representatives (lower house of the Diet) in 1970 as a member of the Liberal Democratic Party. He became minister of posts and telecommunications in 1992 and served three terms as minister of health and welfare, the first beginning in 1996. Koizumi ran unsuccessfully for the presidency of the Liberal Democratic Party in 1995 and 1999 before he was successful in 2001. He became prime minister of Japan on August 26, 2001, and was reelected in 2003 and 2005; he stepped down in 2006.

Koizumi was very popular when first elected. Although his popularity fluctuated over his years in office, he was the longest-serving Japanese prime

minister in two decades. His greatest efforts were directed at revitalizing the Japanese economy. To this end he proposed privatizing the Japan Post, a public corporation that offers banking and life insurance as well as postal and package delivery services. This proposed privatization was a controversial issue in Japan for several reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it employed one-third of all Japanese government employees, who feared the elimination of their jobs. Koizumi also decreased traditional subsidies for infrastructure and industrial development in rural areas, part of an attempt to shift the base of support for the Liberal Democratic Party from rural areas to a more urban core.

Koizumi made several visits to the Yasakuni Shrine in Tokyo, which honors the Japanese war dead, beginning in 2001. Because 14 Class-A war criminals are honored at the shrine, these visits drew international criticism, especially from China and South Korea, Japan's victims. Koizumi's decision to send members of the Japan Self-Defence Force to Iraq in support of U.S. operations in 2003 was also controversial, even though the Japanese troops were theoretically only involved in humanitarian activities.

Koizumi's personal style was quite different from that projected by most Japanese politicians: he called himself a *kakumei no hito*, or revolutionary, although some of his critics considered him more of a *henjin*, an eccentric. His personal appearance, complete with relatively long and unkempt hair and fashionable suits, and his much-publicized interest in rock music, suggested cultivation of this image.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Korea, Democratic People's Republic of

With an area of 120,410 square kilometers, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North

Korea, occupies slightly more than half of the northern part of the Korean Peninsula in northeast Asia. North Korea shares common borders with the Republic of Korea to the south, the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the north, and Russia to the northeast. A four-kilometer-wide demilitarized zone, which runs 238 kilometers across land and another three kilometers into the sea, marks the boundary between the two Koreas near the 38th parallel. The estimated population of DPRK in 2004 was 22,697,553. Pyongyang is the national capital. North Korea remained one of the most isolated states in the contemporary world.

North Korea is a communist state. Its leader, KIM JONG IL succeeded to the position of supreme leadership in 1994 after the death of his father, KIM IL SUNG, although this was not formalized until four years later. Both father and son dominated the North Korean government since its inception. A newly amended constitution in 1998 conferred on the deceased Kim the title of president for life and abolished the office of the president. Kim Jong Il heads the National Defense Commission (NDC), which functions as the chief administrative authority in the country. He is also supreme commander of the Korean People's Army (KPA) and general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP).

The separate state of North Korea was created as a result of the military situation at the end of World War II. When Japan surrendered in August 1945, the northern part of the peninsula was occupied by Soviet forces, while the southern half came under U.S. military authority. The peninsula was consequently divided into two military occupation zones at the 38th parallel. The Soviet occupation authority turned to Kim Il Sung, who had fought the Japanese in Manchuria, to provide leadership in its zone. In September 1948 Kim launched the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with himself as the premier.

In early 1950 Kim Il Sung lobbied his communist allies in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC) to support a North Korean effort to reunite the two Koreas. On June 23, 1950, the commanders of seven combat divisions of the North Korean People's Army amassed near the border and received orders to initiate the "war of liberation." Crossing the 38th parallel, North Korean forces quickly overwhelmed South Korean forces before they themselves were stopped and then pushed back across the border by a UNITED NATIONS (UN) force led by the United States. In November PRC sent "volunteers" to fight alongside the North Koreans when UN forces neared the Yalu River, North Korea's border with China. An

armistice was signed in 1953, establishing a demilitarized zone roughly at the 38th parallel.

The wartime situation gave Kim Il Sung the opportunity to consolidate his position and establish himself as the absolute power in North Korea. In a series of show trials and purges, potential rivals were eliminated. In 1956 members of rival factions were purged from the KWP. In fact, some were made to shoulder the blame for the failure of the unification effort. Two years later the KWP announced that it had ended intra-party dissent. Kim Il Sung was now the undisputed leader, controlling virtually all aspects of North Korean society.

A personality cult soon emerged around the person of Kim Il Sung, who was elevated to the status of “Great Leader,” and his past as a guerrilla fighter against the Japanese, his defiance of the United States, and his exploits in building the nation were mythologized in song and poetry. Institutions such as universities and museums bear his name, and important places in his life are national shrines. A similar personality cult developed around his son and successor, Kim Jong Il, with mythical events written into his biography. Revered as “Dear Leader,” the younger Kim is said to be imbued with extraordinary intellectual and artistic abilities.

North Korea adopted as its guiding ideology *juch’e*, or self-reliance. Occasionally dubbed Kim Il-Sungism, the concept, which emerged in the mid-1950s, is an amalgamation of Marxist-Leninist doctrines with Maoism, Confucianism, and Korean traditions. *Juch’e* in operational terms involves the creation of a self-sustaining national economy and a strong military that can provide self-defense.

After the KOREAN WAR, Kim Il Sung focused on economic development. With a centrally planned command economy, North Korea at first appeared to be making great strides. It recovered quickly from the devastation of the Korean War. In the spirit of *juch’e*, economic planners focused on industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. Equally important for North Korean economic survival was Soviet economic assistance, although limited, and the preferential treatment that North Korean goods received in the Soviet Union, PRC, and the East European satellites through the late 1970s–80s.

The changing geopolitical situation reduced such outside assistance to almost nothing and exposed the vulnerabilities in the North Korean economy. The consequences of a decades-old inefficient economic system could no longer be kept hidden. Energy and food shortages plagued North Korea, a country with little arable land and no oil reserves. Cycles of natural disasters exacerbated the situation. From the late

1990s onward North Korea had to rely on food aid from other countries, including South Korea, to stave off widespread famine.

The relationship between the two Koreas continued a seesaw trend in the Kim Jong Il era. From the mid-1990s onward there were intermittent talks between the two governments. In 1998 when South Korean president Kim Dae Jung initiated his Sunshine Policy, which held out hope for reconciliation between the two Koreas, he found a receptive audience in the north partly because North Korea saw this as a means of securing the necessary economic assistance.

In 2002 the North Korean government also began to abandon some features of its tightly controlled command economy. In addition, it adopted some market features, such as removing price and wage controls. The government also began to court foreign investment and foreign trade, including from the Republic of Korea.

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, North Korea once again garnered attention because of its nuclear weapons program, weapons sales to Iran, and its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Six-party talks involving North Korea, South Korea, Japan, the PRC, Russia, and the United States did not yield definitive results. In 2005, North Korea tested a missile over the Sea of Japan. This approach increased the level of tension and raised the specter of a military confrontation in the Northeast Asia region. In October 2007, North Korea agreed to disable its nuclear facilities by late 2008 in exchange for economic aid.

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SOO CHUN LU

Korea, Republic of

With an area of 98,480 square kilometers, the Republic of Korea (ROK), or South Korea, occupies slightly less than half of the Korean Peninsula. It is bordered to the north by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea), to the south by the East

China Sea, to the east by the Sea of Japan, and to the west by the Yellow Sea. A four-kilometer-wide demilitarized zone, which runs 238 kilometers across land and another three kilometers over the sea, marks the boundary between the two Koreas. The estimated population of ROK in 2005 was 48,422,644. Seoul, located near the border with North Korea, is the capital city.

South Korea has a republican government based on a presidential model. A popularly elected president, who is the head of state, appoints a prime minister as well as other members of the cabinet. A unicameral National Assembly functions as the legislative branch, and the Supreme Court and Constitutional Court make up the judicial branch.

In August 1945 Allied forces led by the United States landed on the Korean Peninsula in the south while Soviet forces moved down from the north, eventually liberating Korea from Japanese colonial rule. The 38th parallel became the boundary dividing the occupation forces from 1945 to 1948. What began as the separation of two administrative units dictated by the Yalta agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in 1945 eventually led to the creation of two separate states dictated by the political and ideological divisions of the COLD WAR.

Domestic developments further complicated the matter. Throughout the war years, various Korean nationalist factions operating at home and in exile jostled to position themselves as the representatives of an independent Korea. In the immediate postwar era, the United States eventually turned to SYNGMAN RHEE, an exiled popular anticommunist nationalist to provide leadership in the south.

In 1947 the newly formed UNITED NATIONS (UN) created a commission to oversee national elections in Korea. Barred from access to the Soviet occupation zone, the commission oversaw the election of the National Assembly in the south in 1948. This body then elected Rhee as the first president. The Republic of Korea was formally established in May 1948.

War once again broke out on the Korean Peninsula when North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel in a failed attempt to reunify the nation under communist rule. The United States promptly intervened in the conflict as part of a UN police action.

The KOREAN WAR cemented the patron-client relationship between the United States and South Korea. In 1954 the two countries signed a mutual defense treaty that formalized their bilateral security arrangements. Although their numbers were reduced after the 1970s, U.S. troops were stationed in South Korea from then

on. Additionally, the United States continued to supply generous military aid to build up South Korea's defense capabilities. South Korea contributed forces to help the United States in Vietnam from 1965 to 1973.

Authoritarian rule characterized the government of South Korea. Rhee combined bellicose rhetoric against the north with repressive tactics at home to silence political opposition. In 1952 he pushed for a change to the popularly elected presidency. Four years later he pushed through a questionable constitutional amendment that permitted a lifelong presidency. This allowed him to run for president again in 1956 and 1960. Meanwhile, domestic, social, and economic problems generated widespread student protests. Rhee resigned and fled to Hawaii, where he lived in exile until his death in 1965.

After a short interregnum during which the country turned to a new constitution that established parliamentary democracy, three military men followed as presidents in South Korea. The first, General Park Chung Hee, launched a coup in May 1961 to overthrow the nine-month-old parliamentary government and placed the Republic of Korea under military rule for two years. At the end of 1963 the country adopted a new constitution that permitted presidents to serve two four-year terms, and Park was duly elected to the office. But he would continue to manipulate constitutional processes, or, in some cases, suspend them altogether, in order to remain in power. In 1971 he declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, and then promulgated a new Yushin (revitalization) constitution. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), which he established, was used to intimidate South Korean dissenters. Park relied on emergency decrees to repress this opposition to his regime; protesters were given long jail terms, a number of students were executed, and the press faced increasingly harsh censorship. Park's regime finally came to an end when the director of the KCIA assassinated him in October 1979.

During the Park Chung Hee era, South Korea made its transition to a modern economy. Inspired by the Japanese economic miracle, the government adopted a series of five-year development plans aimed at transforming an agrarian nation to an industrial power. Comparatively low labor costs allowed South Korea to compete effectively in such labor-intensive industries as textiles. In the 1970s the country shifted its focus away from labor-intensive light industries to heavy industries. This government-controlled economic development effort bore fruit as economic growth rates increased.



The capital of the Republic of Korea is Seoul (above), located near the border with North Korea. The Republic of Korea had an estimated population of 48,422,644 in 2005 and has a government based on a presidential model.

In December 1979 General Chun Doo Hwan, a veteran of the VIETNAM WAR, came to power in a coup. Within months he declared martial law. Charging that pro-democracy student demonstrations in Kwangju Province had been instigated by North Korean infiltrators, he acquired emergency powers that would allow him to disregard any constitutionally recognized rights of the people. He also embarked on a campaign to root out those who criticized his regime. Among those he arrested were three longtime civilian critics of authoritarian rule: Kim Young Sam, Kim Dae Jung, and Kim Jong Pil. But protests persisted, and in 1987 Chun stepped aside in favor of his handpicked successor, Roh Tae Woo, who won a presidential election with only 36 percent of the vote.

Under Roh, South Korea began to pursue new directions in foreign policy in keeping with the geopolitical

trend that hearkened the end of antagonistic camps in the cold war. Roh followed up on an earlier proposal to exchange visits between North and South Korea. Following sports and cultural exchanges, the two countries signed the 1991 Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Cooperation of Exchanges.

Politics in South Korea followed a pattern of democratization from the late 1980s onward. Kim Young Sam, a longtime critic of Park Chung Hee's authoritarian rule, emerged victorious in the 1992 presidential elections, becoming the first civilian president in more than three decades. Kim initiated a campaign to root out longtime corruption in government. Both the former presidents Chun and Roh were indicted for corruption and their roles in the 1979 military coup.

Kim Young Sam also faced pressure to liberalize the South Korean economy. Widely recognized as one of the

economic miracles in Asia, South Korea had an average per capita income of \$10,600. By 1997 economic growth in South Korea showed signs of abatement due to the effects of the Asian financial crisis. The resulting labor and student protests eventually led to the victory of a longtime opposition leader, Kim Dae Jung, in the presidential elections.

Kim Dae Jung presided over a country in the throes of an economic downturn. He pushed for bold reforms to ameliorate the situation. The South Korean leadership worked with the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND in its rescue effort. By 1999 the economy was well on its way to recovery.

It was in foreign relations that President Kim Dae Jung would leave his mark. He pursued efforts to build a more cordial relationship with his northern neighbor by providing economic assistance to the beleaguered north. Such efforts, Kim hoped, would end North Korean isolation and eventually change its governmental system. Although Kim's policy did not yield concrete results, his summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in 2000 raised hopes about eventual reconciliation between the two Koreas. For his efforts, President Kim won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000.

Roh Moo-hyun of the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) became president after the 2002 elections.

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SOO CHUN LU

Korean War (1950–1953)

The first major conflict of the COLD WAR began in June 1950 and ended in an inconclusive armistice on July 27, 1953. Long considered a “forgotten war” in which almost 4 million people, including 136,000 U.S. citizens, were killed or wounded, the Korean conflict attracted increased academic and popular attention in the early 21st century.

Partition of the ancient former kingdom of Korea resulted from Allied maneuvers near the end of World War II. Occupied by Japan during the war, Korea was divided in 1945 at the 38th parallel. The Soviets occu-

pied the northern area while the United States supervised the southern sector. As the cold war between these former allies intensified, this partition line became a new “Iron Curtain” dividing Koreans from each other.

So when the U.S. State Department learned in June 1950 that Communist North Korean forces had crossed the 38th parallel into anticommunist South Korea, President Harry S. Truman feared that South Korean forces alone would be unable to stop apparent Soviet plans to make all of Korea a communist regime. Taking advantage of a temporary Soviet boycott of the UNITED NATIONS (UN) Security Council, Truman persuaded UN members to declare North Korea the aggressor. This, rather than a congressional declaration of war, became the justification for fielding a joint UN force, dominated by U.S. officers and troops, to launch a “police action” in Korea.

UN forces were overwhelmed and pushed ever southward by the North Koreans until September, when General Douglas MacArthur, a World War II hero and Japan's postwar governor, executed a daring amphibious assault at Inchon, just west of South Korea's capital of Seoul. By October the 38th parallel was once again under UN control. But MacArthur wanted to go further. Meeting in October with the president MacArthur assured Truman that neighboring China would not interfere if UN forces reunited Korea under U.S. protection. China, fresh from its own communist revolution in 1949 and secretly armed by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, took exception.

By the bitter winter of 1951 waves of Chinese soldiers had entered Korea and were again pushing UN troops southward. Yet MacArthur continued hostile moves against the Chinese and accused Commander in Chief Truman of “appeasement.” By the time Truman, supported unanimously by his Joint Chiefs of Staff, fired MacArthur for insubordination in April, the Korean conflict had settled into a violent stalemate centered on the original partition line. Peace negotiations began in June 1951, but foundered on the issue of repatriation. Many Chinese and North Korean war prisoners were unwilling to return to the regimes that had sent them into war.

The Korean stalemate became a venomous election issue in the United States, inspiring Republicans like Senator Joe McCarthy of Minnesota to question Truman's and the Democrats' patriotism. Elected president by a large margin in 1952, former General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican, visited the Korean front lines after taking office, but no formal peace treaty ever resulted. A July cease-fire was declared, and the 38th



With her brother carried on her back, a Korean girl walks past a stalled U.S. M-26 tank at Haengju, Korea.

parallel, augmented by a DMZ (demilitarized zone) on either side, again marked the continuing division between North and South Korea. Over the years fighting occasionally broke out along the DMZ. North Korea remained a secretive and fanatically communist regime, while South Korea, despite difficulties adapting democratic political processes, became a major manufacturing power in Asia, rivaling Japan.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Kubitschek, Juscelino

(1902–1976) *Brazilian president*

A canny political centrist best remembered for the construction of the new capital city of Brasília during his term as president of Brazil (1956–61), Juscelino Kubitschek bequeathed a complex political and economic legacy. Coming on the heels of the populist military dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (president 1930–45, 1951–54), Kubitschek dispensed with Vargas's sympathies toward fascism and dictatorial style of governance, distanced himself from the military while endeavoring to placate it, and retained many of his predecessor's

populist policies—including state-supported industrialization and aggressive promotion of foreign investment and economic development. His term saw rapid economic growth and major advances in all major industries. It also left behind record government debt, a highly-mobilized and polarized civil society, and a disgruntled military. Three years after he left office, Brazil descended into military dictatorship that lasted until the mid-1980s (1964–85).

Kubitschek de Oliveira was born in the small back-country town of Diamantina in the state of Minas Gerais on September 12, 1902. His father, a salesman, died when he was two; his mother, a schoolteacher of Slovak ancestry, raised him. Educated as a medical doctor, in 1934 he was elected to the Minas Gerais State Assembly, a position he resigned in 1937 upon Vargas's announcement of his quasi-fascist *Estado Novo* (New State). Serving as mayor of Belo Horizonte from 1940 and the Minas Gerais State Assembly from 1945, he won the presidency in 1955 on the ticket of the Progressive Social Party (*Partido Social Progresista*) under the slogan “fifty years of progress in five.” His critics later lambasted his administration for causing “fifty years of inflation in five.” On taking office, he and his technocrats drew up a Program of Goals, identifying specific growth targets for each economic sector. The basic idea was to bring private capital under state direction to achieve rapid economic growth by focusing on key industries and infrastructure. When he left office, Brazil had a sustainable automobile industry, for instance, built virtually from scratch. Similar growth targets were met in electrification, road construction, and related sectors.

This rapid growth carried a high price, however. As state expenditures grew, Brazil's foreign debt grew, inflation soared, and economic inequality—already among the world's starkest—increased. Working to placate a resurgent left, a recalcitrant right, and an increasingly disenchanted military, Kubitschek ended up with far more adversaries than allies. His administration met many of its targets for growth, investment, and industrialization, while leaving to his successor a macroeconomic mess and sharpened political divisions that culminated in a prolonged military takeover. After the 1964 coup he went into exile, living in Europe and North America, before returning to Brazil in 1967. Nine years later, on October 22, 1976, he died in a car crash.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Kurds

The Kurds were most likely an Indo-European people who migrated from Central Asia to Asia Minor and northern Mesopotamian regions, living among Assyrian and Babylonian inhabitants sometime between the second and first millennium B.C.E. For centuries the Kurds maintained their own civilization, establishing a number of kingdoms and tribal fiefdoms in the high mountain areas in the Iran-Mesopotamia regions. The modern Kurdish people are the descendants of the original Kurds who were living in the Zagros Mountains and northern Mesopotamia, and they now populate territories known as Kurdistan, regions stretching from northwestern Iran to southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, and northeastern Syria. Kurdish tribes can also be found in other countries such as ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, Georgia, and Lebanon.

Kurds are the fourth-largest ethnic population living in southwest Asia. Most sources indicate that today there are more than 30 million Kurds. Kurdish societal structure remains tribal, with loyalty of each Kurdish group directed toward an immediate family clan, but many modern Kurds now live in large cities. They do share a common cultural heritage that goes beyond their tribal social structure. The distinct Kurdish language belongs to the Iranian subgroup of the Indo-European languages.

The Kurds are mainly Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i theological school of thought, which places more emphasis on the consensus of the community than on the authority of individual clerical scholars as a source of interpreting Islamic law. Many Kurds in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey also adhere to Sufism, or the mystical branch of Islam. Kurdish Islam evolved into a distinct form of vernacular religion with unique Kurdish cultural characteristics. A minority of Kurds are also Shi'i Muslims, Smaller Baha'i, and Christian; Jewish communities can also be found among the Kurdish population, with the Jewish Kurds mainly living in Israel.

The modern political history of the Kurds has been a quest for national autonomy. Although the 19th century saw a number of rebellions, Kurdish nationalism made its first appearance with the 1880 revolt of the Kurdish

League, led by the charismatic Sheikh 'Ubaydallah of Nehri. Despite defeat by the Ottomans, Sheikh 'Ubaydallah's movement marked the first Kurdish national rebellion that included Kurds of the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia. With the rise of the Young Turks Revolution in 1908, which removed the rule of 'Abdülhamid and restored the 1887 constitution, the Kurds began to form their own political parties. Following the demise of the Ottoman Empire, on August 10, 1920, Britain, France, and Italy designed the Treaty of Sèvres, which officially recognized Kurdish claims for national autonomy and an independent Kurdistan. The treaty was signed by the Allies and Turkey, recognizing that the Kurds have the right to exercise local autonomy.

Following the signing of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, which mainly settled the boundaries between Armenia, Greece, and Turkey, the newly founded Atatürk government rejected the Treaty of Sèvres and subsequently found an opportunity to suppress the Kurdish right for national independence. The Kurds revolted against the Turkish state in 1925, 1930, and 1937, all three revolts led by Sheikh Sa'id and Sayyid Reza of Dersim, and all three brutally defeated. After that, all Kurdish nationalist movements experienced the same fate.

A recent liberation movement for national autonomy was led by the Kurdish Worker's Party, or *Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan* (PKK). The Marxist nationalist party was founded in 1973 and toward the end of the 1970s expanded its influence in the Kurdish regions of Turkey by using guerrilla warfare and terrorism as a way to destabilize the Turkish authority. The PKK proved to be the most violent of all Kurdish political groups in the modern history of Turkish nationalism. In return the Turkish army used various violent means to put down the Kurdish rebellion. These included the arbitrary murder and detention of Kurdish civilians, and the repression of Kurdish thinkers, journalists, and businessmen. The PKK lost much of its strength with the 1999 capture of the organization's leader, Abdullah Öcalan. On August 2004 the party declared a unilateral cease-fire.

The struggle for Kurdish nationalism, however, was most fruitful in Iraq. From 1919 to 1945 all the Kurdish rebellions against the British Army and the Iraqi regime were ruthlessly crushed. The Barzani family played a central role in these rebellions. Mustafa Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) led the struggle when, on July 14, 1958, the monarchy was overthrown by General Abdul Karim Qassim. The republican coup raised the Kurdish expectation for more equal participation in the Iraqi state. But Qasim's regime quickly discarded

Barzani's call for Kurdish independence, and in 1961 he renewed fighting with the Kurds. From 1961 to 1963 and from 1974 to 1975, Mustafa Barzani led an armed struggle. Later in the 1970s Barzani went into exile in the United States, where he died in 1979.

In 1979 Masoud Barzani succeeded his father to lead the KDP. With the help of thousands of armed fighters, the *peshmargan*, he gained control of major parts of northern Iraq. After the FIRST GULF WAR the KDP emerged as one of the most significant Kurdish political organizations, operating with relative freedom to govern sections of northern Iraq while achieving the first enduring semiautonomous Kurdish state in history. In the early 21st century Barzani continued to play a major role in Kurdish politics in Iraq, where he shared power with his Kurdish rival Jalal Talabani.

Talabani was a major Kurdish nationalist and the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which was established in 1975. Formed mainly by urban intellectuals and leftist thinkers, the PUK emerged as KDP's main political competitor. In the early 1990s he helped the Kurdish uprising against the Ba'athist state while working closely with the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to establish the no-fly zone over northern Iraq to protect the Kurds from bombing and chemical attacks by SADDAM HUSSEIN's army. After years of rivalry, the PUK joined forces with the KDP and other Kurdish parties to create the Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan to represent the Kurds in the Iraqi National Assembly elections of 2005 and 2006. In post-Ba'athist Iraq, Talabani was named the president of Iraq on April 6, 2005, and again on April 22, 2006, by the Iraqi National Assembly.

See also GULF WAR, SECOND (IRAQ WAR).

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BABAK RAHIMI

Kuwait

Kuwait is one of the Gulf States, located at the head of the Persian Gulf, with Iraq to its north and east and Saudi Arabia to its south. Iran is located directly across



Minaret towers in Kuwait City. The tiny nation became the center of world attention in the early 1990s after Iraq invaded it.

the Gulf waters. The geography of Kuwait is dominated by mostly flat deserts interspersed with a few oases in Kuwait's 6,880 square miles of territory. *Kuwait* is a diminutive form of the word for fort. The official language is Arabic.

From the 19th century onward the Sabah clan allied with the indigenous commercial elites, and Kuwait developed as a thriving mercantile community with an economy based on foreign trade. Although never directly under Ottoman rule, the Al-Sabahs paid financial tributes to the empire and recognized the sultan's power, but Ottoman threats to annex Kuwait pushed the Sabahs to ally with Britain. An 1899 treaty gave Britain control over Kuwait's foreign affairs, and Kuwait became a British protectorate. From that time forward, border issues continually plagued the country. The British relinquished control in 1961.

After independence the Sabah family governed Kuwait as emirs with a constitutional monarchy. The emir ruled the country through the council of ministers, which mostly consisted of family members appointed by the emir himself. The judicial system was based on Islamic law, or sharia, particularly the Maliki school of jurisprudence, but many of the criminal and commercial laws were based on prior British laws. The legislative branch was composed of a National Assembly (Majlis al-Ummah), whose 50 members were elected to four-year terms.

Political parties are legally banned and instead, several organizations have representatives in parliament. Prior to 2005, voting was restricted to men who were able to prove that their ancestry in Kuwait dated prior to 1920 and who were not members of the armed forces. In 2005, women were granted the right to vote. After 2005 the government granted citizenship to 5,000 *biduns*, people without documents—originally from Syria, Iraq, and Jordan—per year. Foreigners, called expatriate workers in Kuwait, are needed to fill positions in the workforce and especially in the oil, construction, and service sectors. Since these immigrant workers are not entitled to free government services and benefits and cannot become citizens, there is some hostility between the native Kuwaiti population and the majority immigrant population.

The economy is mostly based on oil and overseas investments. In the 1970s the petroleum industry increased its extraction and processing capabilities, and by the mid-1980s 80 percent of the oil extracted in Kuwait was also being refined there. Oil production led to a Kuwaiti economic boom, with both direct and indirect services and products. By 2006 Kuwait had one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.

See also GULF WAR, FIRST (1991); HUSSEIN, SADDAM.

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RANDA A. KAYYALI

Kyoto Treaty

The purpose of the Kyoto Treaty, also known as the Kyoto Protocol, is to reduce global warming by reduc-

ing greenhouse gas emissions. Countries that ratify the Kyoto Treaty agree to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions to 5 percent below their 1990 level by the year 2012.

The treaty was first proposed in 1997. The Kyoto Treaty took effect on February 16, 2005, after ratification by Russia met the requirement that the treaty be ratified by countries accounting for at least 55 percent of global carbon emissions. As of September 2005 156 countries representing over 61 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions had signed the treaty; notable exceptions included the United States and Australia. Developing countries such as China and Russia are exempt from the requirement that they reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Greenhouse gases contribute to global warming through what is known as the “greenhouse effect.” The analogy refers to a greenhouse used for gardening, in which sun rays are allowed to penetrate the glass walls and ceiling and warm the air within the greenhouse, and the warmed air is prevented from leaving the greenhouse by those same glass walls and ceiling. In the case of Earth, the planet is warmed by solar radiation which can penetrate Earth’s atmosphere, but a proportion of radiation reflected off the Earth cannot escape back through the atmosphere due to its different wavelength. Scientists estimate that without the greenhouse effect, the average surface temperature on Earth would be -18°C .

The Kyoto Treaty allows nations to engage in carbon emissions trading. This means that a signatory may increase their carbon emissions and remain within compliance by purchasing “credits” from countries that have decreased their emissions. Countries can also qualify for credits by engaging in clean energy programs and fostering forests and other natural systems referred to as “carbon sinks” because they remove carbon dioxide from the environment.

The current concern with greenhouse gases has to do with the increasing quantities of those gases, and the role they are believed to play in global warming, that is, an increase in the average temperature of the Earth’s surface and atmosphere. It is the consensus scientific opinion that global temperature has risen $0.4\text{--}0.8^{\circ}\text{C}$ since the late 19th century and that human activities are the cause of most of this change. Scientists who endorse the global warming hypothesis predict that the rise in temperature will continue to intensify with increasing industrial development and the resultant increase in greenhouse gas emissions. Predicted effects of continued global warming include a rise in sea level, leading to

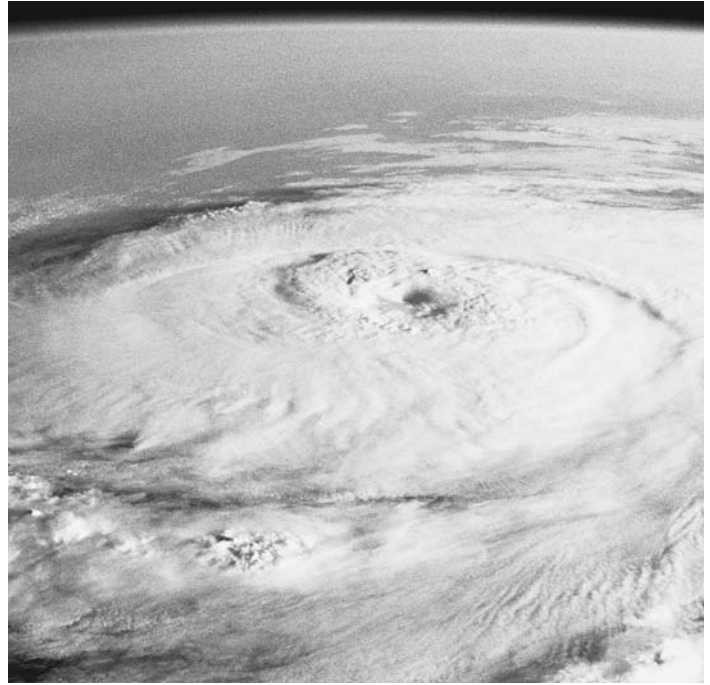
coastal flooding, extreme weather, and food shortages due to crop failures.

Not all scientists accept the global warming hypothesis, however. Alternative explanations include the argument that the increase in temperature has not been clearly established, that it is within the range of normal variation to be expected over time, or that it is due to the period when measurement began having been unusually cold. Others argue that although the global temperature does seem to be rising, there is no proof that the rise in temperature was caused by human activity.

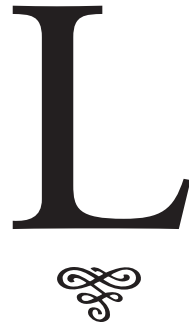
See also ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH



A hurricane photographed from space. Global warming is predicted to lead to a rise in sea levels and more frequent hurricanes.



Latin American culture

Latin American culture is as diverse as its people. The region is vast: 8 million square miles of land organized into 20 countries, spread across South and Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Centuries of colonization created a rich ethnic mix, combining indigenous peoples with settlers from Europe and slaves from Africa, along with smaller populations of imported workers from Asia and the Middle East. What is now seen as the common culture of the region is the result of generations of adaptation and change.

The traditional music of early indigenous civilizations was mostly lost during the first violent decades of colonization. Early Spanish adventurers noted that the music of Mesoamericans was exclusively for religious ceremony, not for entertainment. They played wind instruments, such as wooden panpipes and a clay flute called the *tlapitzalli*, or percussion instruments.

The Spanish brought with them stringed instruments and a mature musical style derived from their own multiethnic background. Later, African slaves added their unique vocal rhythms and their instruments—including the marimba, the clave, conga drums, and maracas. Together, these elements were fused into a variety of new and different musical and vocal styles that came to worldwide acclaim in the 20th century.

Music and dance grew together; most popular dance styles carry the same name as their musical styles. Latin dance tends to be highly physical, with steps and patterns drawn from different ethnic and cultural styles.

The tango, for example, developed in the port cities of Argentina in the early 20th century, first as a music form blending several ethnic styles, including the Argentine and Uruguayan *milonga*, the Cuban habanera, the Slavic polka and mazurka, Italian street music, the Spanish contredanse and flamenco, and African-Uruguayan *candombe*. Originally the music of the underclass, the tango became popular in Europe and America in the 1920s, spurred by the Italian-born film star Rudolph Valentino, who had been an exhibition dancer specializing in the tango before he became the first sex symbol of the movies. It was the first in a long line of Latin dance styles to gain popularity both inside and outside their native lands.

Other forms of Latin music and dance include the samba, the rumba, the cha-cha, the paso doble, the mambo, salsa, and merengue, among many others.

From the beginning of the colonial period to the 19th century, Latin American painting was dominated by European styles. Early Latin art was also dominated by Catholic iconography. Local artists learned the techniques of Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and Flemish masters, frequently interlacing these styles with the themes and traditions of their precolonial world.

With the advent of independence in the early years of the 19th century, Latin American art began to move away from the baroque towards a more simple, neo-classical style, strongly influenced by current French trends. As nations began to build their own identities, artists were on hand to memorialize revolutionary leaders and pivotal events. Spanish and colonial themes were still present, but when it came time to set up their

universities and art institutes, it was French institutions that provided the model. Latin art remained focused on portraiture, landscape and decorative art until the 1920s, missing out almost entirely on the Impressionist movement and its offshoots.

Muralism was the first major art movement to bring Latin American artists world acclaim. The movement arose in Mexico in the 1920s, when a group of established artists began using public spaces for huge paintings that usually focused on themes of social justice and equality. Through their work, such artists as Diego Rivera, José Clemente, and David Alfaro Siqueiros became active participants in shaping the political and social movements of the time. Murals were public art, meant to challenge and inspire all citizens. Muralism quickly spread outside of Mexico, inspiring artists from the United States to the Chile.

By 1945 many Latin artists were turning away from nationalistic themes and toward the international avant-garde and modernist movements. In recent decades, artists have focused on the relationship between the modern era and the distant past as well as the national and the international, and mix a variety of media, often drawing from the folk art traditions of indigenous peoples.

Latin American literature began with the conquistadors and missionaries of the 16th century and was dominated by Spanish and Portuguese styles and techniques for generations. Early Latin American writers benefited from the literary movements in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, and elements of French classicism were present by the early 1700s. Mexico City, Lima, Quito, Bogotá, Caracas, and Buenos Aires grew into literary centers on a par with European salons.

With independence in the early 1800s most Latin American writers turned to nation-building as they joined the effort to create a national identity out of the ashes of colonialism. They also had a new form to play with: fiction, a genre long forbidden by the Spanish crown. The first Latin American novel was published in 1816. Politics and literature were closely intertwined throughout the 19th century, with new works not only by essayists and historians but also poets, playwrights, and novelists. Romanticism also struck a deep chord in Latin American art and literature during the period.

Contemporary Latin American literature runs the gamut from cosmopolitan intellectualism to magical realism drawn from traditions of the rural past. Since the 1960s it has taken a prominent place in the international literary world. Poets Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, and Octavio Paz were awarded the Nobel Prize

in literature in 1945, 1971, and 1990, respectively; Miguel Angel Asturias took the Nobel Prize in literature in 1967, and Gabriel García Márquez won in 1982.

Cinema came to Latin America in the early years of the 20th century, but it took many years for it to spread evenly across the region. Only Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil had the kind of large, stable economies necessary to launch a film industry. Even in these countries, early directors were marginalized by European and American studios that dominated the film distribution systems and monopolized Latin markets. This did not change until the Great Depression and World War II, when financial and political concerns slowed down the flow of foreign films. However, by the mid-1950s, the industry had drifted back toward the prewar status quo.

Latin American film came into its own in the 1960s–70s, as native-born directors tapped into the new experimental film techniques coming out of Europe and the social and political movements sweeping across their countries to create a unique cinematic voice. The last 25 years have seen an expansion and maturation of Latin American cinema. As in the United States, the industry is constantly trying to find a balance between popular entertainment and more artistic ventures.

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HEATHER K. MICHON

Latin American politics

On a December day in 1956 a small band of armed men pushed off from the shores of eastern Mexico with their eyes on Cuba. FIDEL CASTRO and ERNESTO “CHE” GUEVARA were among this group of revolutionaries, and they dreamt of a new Cuba free from social classes, capitalism, and American imperialism. After two years of guerrilla warfare, Castro and his band succeeded in overthrowing the Cuban government and seized power. Almost immediately their new vision of a socially just society unfolded as the new regime expropriated foreign holdings, transferred industries to state ownership, and “volunteered” Cuban citizens to work on state-run farms. This new vision of Cuba stemmed from the growing tide of Latin American nationalists turning toward Marxist theories in the decades after World War II. This

brand of Marxism centered on erasing centuries of inequity and poverty with far-reaching change aimed at dismantling capitalism and promoting social justice for all. The struggle between rich and poor dominated the rhetoric of Latin American Marxism, but with a unique spin that included U.S. multinational corporations among the rich. The CUBAN REVOLUTION presented a new political paradigm to Latin America, one driven by Marxist ideology and armed revolution. It would influence Latin American politics for the rest of the 20th century.

As the economic boom of World War II faded in the 1950s, international demand for Latin American exports—chiefly agricultural—waned. High machinery costs driven by postwar rebuilding in Europe held back industrialization and economic growth in Latin America. Economic hard times fused with the legacy of conquest and colonialism incited demands for sweeping, fundamental change. Some Latin Americans, including Fidel Castro, explored and then embraced Marxist ideology as a viable solution to ending the region's poverty and economic dependency on industrialized nations.

The COLD WAR wore heavily on U.S.–Latin American relations, and the Cuban Revolution signaled an alarming turn to an American government in the throes of the “red scare.” Even more distressing to American policymakers was Castro's involvement in the launching of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) in 1967 to encourage Marxist revolutions throughout the region. Leftist revolutionaries such as the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, the Montoneros and People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Argentina, and the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) are some of the armed Marxist guerrilla movements supported by Castro and OLAS. The United States sponsored a military alliance with anticommunist governments throughout Latin America.

This national security doctrine increased the power of the military in Latin American societies as the United States encouraged military involvement in cracking down on Marxist guerrillas and their supporters. Soon some military leaders viewed civilian democratic governments as corrupt and a hindrance to social and economic change. These generals believed that the solution to Latin American problems lie in rapid social and economic development. During the 1970s almost every Latin American country succumbed to military rule. Many of these authoritarian governments looked to a free market economy as the means to change and seized upon low interest rates to borrow heavily to finance development. Any protests or cries for change, which increasingly came from urban residents-turned-guerrillas, were vehemently

suppressed. In Argentina, scholars estimate that as many as 20,000 people “disappeared” at the hands of the military. The El Salvadoran military massacred peasants thought to be aiding leftist guerrillas, and in Guatemala, tens of thousands of indigenous people suspected of similar actions were killed by the military.

By the 1980s government deficit spending coupled with a wavering global economy resulted in skyrocketing inflation and foreign debts. This economic crisis provoked criticism of the status quo from citizens and accusations that military leadership represented incompetent government. One by one, Latin America's military regimes retreated to the barracks and handed leadership back to civilians. The 1990s saw many democratic, civilian leaders embracing neoliberalism, a philosophy centered on making Latin America competitive on the global market. State-owned industry was privatized, protective tariffs reduced, military budgets cut, foreign investment encouraged, and social programs and bureaucratic structure streamlined. More benefits of modernity came to Latin America, especially technology, yet most Latin Americans remained too poor to participate in free market capitalism as consumers. A few guerrilla movements continued to flourish, like Sendero Luminoso (SHINING PATH) in Peru, violently working toward their goal of revolution.

Latin American politics from the 1950s represents tumultuous decades, marred by the violence of “dirty wars” perpetuated by U.S.-backed military regimes. Marxist guerrillas throughout this time period sought revolutionary change of Latin American society.

By the 2000s the move to the left in Latin American politics saw LUIZ INÁCIO LULA DA SILVA winning the presidential elections in Brazil in December 2002, Evo Morales being elected as president of Bolivia in December 2005, and, in the following month, Michelle Bachelet won the second round of the presidential elections in Chile, becoming the first woman president of Chile and the first left-wing president since the overthrow of SALVADOR ALLENDE. Moreover, the move by Venezuelan president HUGO CHÁVEZ, a socialist, toward a national referendum in 2007 to reelect him to the presidency despite constitutional limits, foretold a continuing left-wing power center in Latin America.

See also EL SALVADOR, REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR IN (1970S–1990S); GUATEMALA, CIVIL WAR IN (1960–1996); NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION (1979–1990).

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Latin American social issues

The recent history of Latin America is a story of profound political and economic change. During the second half of the 20th century, Latin America witnessed a transformation of society as the region struggled to find itself in the face of modernity and economic expansion. Crushing poverty facilitated alternative forms of religious faith that spoke to the condition of many Latin Americans. Migration from the countryside to the city and north to the United States spoke to a yearning for a better life. A thriving drug trade centered on a global market employed organized violence against national governments that tried to curb the trade. Centuries of oppression led to an organized and influential indigenous movement that mobilized to demand Indian rights and autonomy. Latin American countries plunged into the uncertainty of the oil industry with the hopes of increased revenues and instead found unpredictable results and mixed blessings. These factors offer a window into the dramatic social transformation of Latin America from 1950 to the present.

Latin American spirituality underwent profound changes in recent history. Liberation theology spoke to a new turn in the role of the Catholic Church in Latin America, although it was not a phenomenon unique to the region. For centuries, the church stood as a conservative element in association with the state; the church legitimized authoritarian rule. However, beginning in the 1960s, many priests, nuns, and lay workers drew on their personal experiences working with the poor to question the responsibility of the church in the unequal distribution of wealth in Latin America. Some Latin American theologians began to speak of the role of the church and Christians in helping the poor, a mission clearly laid out in the Bible. Liberation theology is an understanding of the Christian faith developed out of the suffering and social injustice experienced by the poor. As such, it is a critique of society and the ideologies supporting the dominant hegemony, including the traditional role of the Catholic Church. It gave the poor a voice and created new forms

of community-based activism. Liberation theology was a formidable force in Latin America for a few decades—especially in Central America, Brazil, and Chile.

Liberation theory gained momentum in 1968 when a group of 130 Latin American bishops met in Medellín, Colombia to discuss the church and its relationship to the populace. The bishops promoted an empowering education program for illiterate rural peasants that affirmed the dignity and self worth of the students. This education was carried out in small community-based groups where people could gather together to read the Bible and discuss its relevance to their lives without a priest or church building. Engaging Catholicism without a priest represented a new idea. Rural priests often served thousands of parishioners and could only visit some communities once a year. Priests, nuns, and lay people used the Medellín conference as a springboard for a new approach to their work with the poor.

Those Catholic personnel dedicated to the poor quickly learned through their charitable work that the condition of the lowest classes of Latin American society could only be relieved through sweeping structural changes. This would involve direct political action. Some base communities served as the vehicle for political action as participants experienced an awakening, or consciousness-raising about their devalued position in society. Many Christian-based communities served not only as sites of literacy education and Bible study but also places where a reinterpretation of traditional religion promoted a transformative perspective on the world. Some groups worked toward improvements in local basic services, such as healthcare and transportation. In spite of this, base communities represented a small fraction of Catholics, and by the 1980s, enthusiasm for liberation theology waned.

Protestantism is a relatively new player in Catholic Latin America. Brazil is home to Latin America's largest Protestant community with half of the region's estimated 40 million Protestants, but Central America boasts the largest number of evangelicals in terms of the percentage of the population. European migration to the continent brought the traditional Protestant churches, such as German Lutheranism and British Anglicanism. Despite the influence of European immigrants, North American missionaries bear the responsibility for the tremendous growth in Protestantism in Latin America, especially evangelical forms like Pentecostalism. Sharing liberation theology's sense of consciousness-raising, Pentecostalism allows participants a refuge from suffering and social injustice by providing a spiritual space in which believers can regain some feeling of control over their lives.

Additionally, unlike Catholicism and mainstream Protestantism, Pentecostalism permitted anyone to become a spiritual leader, even the illiterate and poverty stricken. Women, in particular, have been attracted to evangelical churches due to their inclusive nature.

Evangelicalism has taken hold throughout the war-torn countries of Central America, especially in rural areas. In Guatemala rural Mayan women, mostly widows, fill evangelical churches in search of a sense of community that has been lost. These churches provide a network of support that replaces destroyed kinship ties. Protestant churches offer a religious alternative and a message of hope to the underdogs of society. For women, the evangelical Protestant ban on drinking alcohol makes Protestant husbands an attractive marriage partner. In addition, the phenomenon associated with Pentecostalism in particular, such as speaking in tongues and faith healing, has given women positions of power within their religious communities. Despite North American origins, evangelical Protestantism in Latin America is a unique phenomenon. Its churches emphasize the notion of community and belonging more than its northern counterparts. In addition, in Latin America being an evangelical does not necessarily denote a right-wing conservative political identity as it tends to in North America.

Latin America's economic setbacks have not only influenced new religious movements but have also led to mass migrations of people. Latin Americans have moved from the countryside to the city and from Latin America to North America. Prior to the 1930s the majority of Latin America's population resided in rural areas. The global economic depression of the 1930s dealt a hard blow to the Latin American export economy, and rural residents began to leave the countryside. This exodus peaked over a 30-year period from 1950 to 1980 and succeeded in transforming Latin America's social structure from predominantly rural to overwhelmingly urban.

By 1980 family-based farming was no longer viable as market-oriented modern agribusiness became the norm. Thousands streamed into Latin America's major cities in search of industrial jobs and a better life. Women comprised a majority of the rural-urban migrants, as industrialization opened many jobs for female workers. Rapid urbanization quickly outpaced housing, basic services, and job markets. Rural residents arrived in the cities to find dirty, disease-ridden, and overcrowded shantytowns with spotty electrical power and water shortages. Rural-urban migration caused a labor surplus, which led to the rise of a vast informal sector of the economy consisting of street vendors, rubbish scavengers, and prostitutes.

Latin Americans also migrated north to the United States for economic, political, and social reasons. Mexicans currently represent the greatest percentage of Latin Americans immigrating to the United States. They often have come looking for work, and many resided in the southwest long before it belonged to the United States. During the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Mexicans and Mexican Americans routinely crossed back and forth over the border, with little or no regulation. During the 1930s, the government supported the repatriation of Mexican workers to provide more jobs for Americans. However, with the onset of World War II, labor shortages fueled the BRACERO PROGRAM, which allowed Mexican agricultural workers to come into the country on a temporary basis. The Bracero Program lasted until 1964. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 called for penalties for those hiring undocumented workers, but also granted amnesty to many undocumented immigrants already living in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1990 favored the legal immigration of family members of U.S. citizens and permanent residents.

CUBAN IMMIGRANTS

Many Cuban immigrants came to the United States fleeing a repressive political regime. Cubans enjoyed a privileged status in relation to other Latin American immigrants due to the U.S. foreign policy on Cuba. As early as 1960 the U.S. government had created a special center for Cuban refugees, and their path to legal residence in the United States was easily cleared. These first waves of immigrants represented the Cuban elite and middle class and individuals and families with financial resources, specialized job training, and American connections. In 1980 FIDEL CASTRO opened the door for Cubans to leave the island, and a deluge of mostly male semi- and unskilled workers flowed into south Florida. This migration overwhelmed U.S. authorities, and many of the refugees were placed in detention camps for months. Currently U.S. officials observe a quota on Cuban immigrants, but the Cuban-American community continues to thrive and grow.

Central Americans also have migrated to the United States seeking refuge from wars and violence that have disrupted the economy and everyday life, especially in El Salvador and Guatemala. In the 1980s migrants from El Salvador left their homes due to civil war and political repression. Unlike Cubans fleeing political repression, many Salvadorans were denied permanent residency and deported. Churches in the U.S. southwest developed a "sanctuary movement" to protest U.S. treatment of these refugees, providing a safe haven for those fleeing

violence. In the 1990s a small minority of Salvadoran immigrants brought violence to the United States in the form of street gangs. Many of these gang members were targeted by U.S. immigration officials in Los Angeles, California, and sent back to El Salvador.

Not only are Latin Americans moving north, Latin America drugs are making the trip as well. One of the largest social problems facing Latin America is drug trafficking, especially in Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru. The drug trade embodies simple supply and demand economics. This multinational drug trade negatively affects U.S.–Latin American relations as many of the region's leaders believe that the U.S. war on drugs focuses unfairly on the supply side of the equation. Unfortunately, in countries suffering from crushing poverty, drugs represent a viable economic option. The debt crisis of the 1980s and the collapse of prices for tin and coffee on the international market fueled the Latin American drug trade. In several Latin American countries, Peru and Bolivia in particular, the drug trade acted as an economic buffer, offering alternative sources of income when other options vanished. The drug trade creates an atmosphere of violence. Drug cartels breed corruption and threaten the integrity and stability of the state, democracy, security, public health, moral values, and international reputation.

DRUG TRADE

Poverty and unemployment in Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia—along with the high prices Latin American cocaine fetched in the United States—fueled the drug trade and offered viable economic alternatives. Colombia and Bolivia saw a significant boost to its national economy from drug revenues, but violence and corruption went hand-in-hand with the economic boom. In Peru, the world's largest producer of coca leaves, the environmental destruction wrought by the drug trade is appalling. Large tracks of rain forest have been clear-cut for cultivation, and the pesticides and herbicides used for growing coca have leached into forest water systems. The involvement of guerrillas in the drug trade has further complicated the situation, and threats to the integrity of the state continue in these nations. Despite billions of U.S. dollars poured into curbing the Latin American drug trade, major traffickers have been affected very little.

The drug trade has impacted Latin American indigenous groups in remote rural areas, as they are often caught in the crossfire between traffickers and the government. In Peru many have fled the countryside for shantytowns in the cities, hoping to escape the violence brought on by traffickers and guerrillas, especially the SHINING PATH. Such issues have led to an explosion of indigenous

groups organizing for a better life. The sophistication and power of indigenous organizations forced many Latin American states to negotiate with Indian peoples and create new legislation that protected their rights. The traditional relationship between the state and its native peoples is changing, with *indigenismo* policies that strove for assimilation abandoned in favor of embracing multiculturalism and pluriethnicity. Despite claims of embracing multiculturalism, not all Latin American states have actually implemented policies aimed at improving the lives of indigenous peoples.

One of the best-known indigenous movements occurred in 1994 in Chiapas, Mexico. Landless Maya formed the ZAPATISTA Army of National Liberation (EZLN) as an outlet for their struggle for rights and recognition in national life. The EZLN briefly occupied several towns in Chiapas. When negotiations with the Mexican state began, the first demands of the Zapatistas centered on Indian autonomy and rights. The EZLN did not advocate a separation from the Mexican nation-state, but rather called for the state to implement the tenets of the constitution of 1917 regarding indigenous peoples. The Zapatistas drew international attention to the plight of Mexico's indigenous population and provided inspiration to other Indian groups in Latin America.

OIL INDUSTRY

The oil industry directly affects the quality of life for all Latin Americans; unpredictable oil prices have varying impacts on the economy as a whole. Latin America has a few significant oil-producing countries: Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia. In fact, Mexico and Venezuela have become key suppliers to the United States. Latin America's oil industry has undergone many transformations. From the 1930s to the 1970s, foreign owners controlled significant portions of the Latin American oil economy, with the exception of Mexico, which nationalized its oil industry in 1938. By the 1970s Latin America's oil industry was mostly nationalized, as foreign investors looked to the oil fields of the Middle East instead.

The Latin American oil industry has been subject to the volatile political, economic, and social history of Latin America, with varying degrees of success. While some nations expected their large oil reserves to clear the way for economic development, the region's major oil-exporting economies experienced obstacles in transforming oil revenues into a continuous source of funding. High oil prices aided significant producers that were dependent on exports for revenue and foreign exchange, like Mexico, Venezuela, and Ecuador. For oil-importing countries, such as Brazil, Peru and Chile, the price of

oil served as a vital factor in inflation, production costs, the trade balance, and currency strength. In the past 20 years, oil prices have been more precarious than any other export commodity. The impact of an unpredictable oil market fluctuates depending on a nation's reliance on oil production and exports. The historical and current state of Latin America's oil industry suggests that it is the management of oil resources, not oil wealth itself, that can create economic problems.

Latin America's tremendous economic growth and development after 1950 transformed the region but intensified the misery of many Latin Americans. Rapid growth and urbanization led to mass migrations of people trying to find a niche in a hostile environment. Industrial progress brought thousands of rural residents into Latin America's major cities with the hope of a living wage, but failed to alleviate poverty. Devastating poverty fuels the drug trade, which for many peasants and indigenous people offers the only viable economic endeavor for survival. The oil industry, especially in Mexico and Venezuela, promised hope but has seemingly failed to materialize into concrete change for the better. Liberation theology and the growth of evangelical Protestantism speak to a suffering poor searching for a ray of light in a bleak world. The promises of prosperity that accompanied economic growth proved to be empty for many people in Latin America. Although Latin America experienced economic progress, true transformations of society and social justice continue to elude the region.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Lebanese civil war

The modern boundaries of Lebanon were drawn under the French Mandate, which replaced Ottoman rule after the latter's defeat in World War I. Under Ottoman rule,

Lebanon had been limited to the area of Mount Lebanon, which was inhabited by two major religious communities—Maronite Christians and Druze. With the conception of “greater Lebanon” in 1920, predominantly Sunni Muslim coastal cities such as Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon, and the predominantly Shi'i Muslim south were annexed to Mount Lebanon, yet the 51 percent majority remained Maronite Christians. The Maronites and Sunnis made an agreement in 1943 in the National Pact, which distributed the presidency of the republic, the parliament, and the government posts according to religion in a confessional system that favored the Christians in a 6 to 5 ratio.

In the 1970s, the demographics changed in Lebanon, and the Maronites made up around one-third of the population, with two-thirds of the population being Muslims. When the Muslims called for more constitutional power to reflect the population change, the Christians refused. To complicate matters, the influx of Palestinians into Lebanon following the events of Black September in Jordan in 1970 served to exacerbate Maronite fears of an Arab-Muslim takeover. The National Front, the umbrella organization representing left-wing organizations and Muslim groups, endorsed the Palestinian cause and used the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) to pressure the Maronite-oriented right-wing groups. The confessional government receded into a state of paralysis that undermined public confidence. This resulted in the formation of militias on both sides: Christians aiming to keep the status quo and Muslims and leftists fighting for change.

On April 13, 1975, the date marking the beginning of the Lebanese civil war, unidentified gunmen fired on a church in Ain El Rimmaneh, a Christian suburb of Beirut, killing four people, including two men from the Phalange militia, a Maronite armed group. The Phalange accused the Palestinians, and later that day, the Phalange massacred 26 Palestinians traveling on a bus in Ain El Rimmaneh. The incident sparked full-scale hostilities between the Lebanese Front militias and National Movement. Between April 1975 and October 1976, when the Arab summits in Riyadh and Cairo dispatched the Arab Deterrent Force, Lebanon broke down into its sectarian parts. As the Lebanese army disintegrated, Christian militias massacred Palestinian inhabitants of Debayeh, Karantina, and Tel El Zaatar, and the Palestinians massacred Christians in Damour. The Lebanese president Sleiman Franjeh then asked the Syrian army to intervene. In 1978, under the pretext of increased PLO attacks from Lebanon, the Israeli army invaded southern Lebanon but withdrew the same year, creating a security zone controlled by proxy through the

South Lebanon Army (SLA). Meanwhile, alarmed by the hostilities in southern Lebanon, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) created the UN Interim Force in Lebanon.

In 1982 Israel reinvaded Lebanon; this time its troops reached Beirut and laid siege to the city. Through international mediation, the PLO left Beirut, and the pro-Israeli Bashir Gemayel was elected president. After Gemayel's assassination in September 1982, under the watch of the Israeli troops, Gemayel's supporters entered the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila and massacred around 1,500 Palestinian civilians. After the massacre, the American-French-Italian Multinational Force (MNF), which had overseen the PLO evacuation, returned to Beirut.

In 1983, as the IDF unilaterally withdrew to southern Lebanon, French, U.S. military headquarters, and the U.S. embassy in Beirut were bombed. The first "reconciliation" conference held in Switzerland failed. Hostilities between the Lebanese factions escalated, and the MNF left Beirut. Lebanon descended into chaos as various groups battled for dominance, radical Shi'i groups kidnapped Western nationals, and the Shi'i Amal movement laid siege to the Palestinian refugee camps.

In 1988 the term of Lebanese president Amin Gemayel (Bashir's brother) expired without the parliament electing a new president. In East Beirut, Gemayel assigned the commander of the army, General Michel Aoun, as the head of an anti-Syrian caretaker military government. In West Beirut, Syria set up a rival government. General Aoun declared war on Syria and Syrian troops, with the help of their Lebanese allies, and laid siege to East Beirut. In November 1989 the Lebanese parliament met in Taif, Saudi Arabia, and agreed on a formula to end the war. General Aoun rejected the Taif Agreement and the election of President René Moawad and claimed the authority of the prime minister, issuing a decree dissolving the parliament. In November President Moawad was assassinated, and President Elias Hrawi was elected. Early in 1990 the Lebanese parliament approved the constitutional amendments that embodied the political reforms of the Taif Agreement.

In 1991, the year that the fighting ended, the Lebanese government gained legitimacy and approval from most Lebanese; it then ordered the disarmament and dissolution of militias and the release of the Western hostages taken during the 1980s. The fragile peace continued to hold during the following decade.



Lebanon was the site of years of civil war and external invasions, creating turmoil in an already troubled part of the world. Above: U.S. Marines prepare to leave at the conclusion of a multinational peacekeeping operation in the mid-1980s.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1982).

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RAMZI ABOU ZEINEDDINE

Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)

The dominant political party in Japan from 1955 to 1993 was the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). It began in 1955 with the merging of Shigeru Yoshida's Liberal Party and Ichiro Hatoyama's Japan Democratic Party, because both shared a common opposition to the Japan Socialist Party. However the roots of the LDP date to the late 19th–20th century. Two Japanese political figures, Itagaki Taisuke and Saigo Takamori, played roles in the emergence of the modern LDP.

Japanese political development before the occupation by the United States after World War II can best be viewed in broad cycles. Modern Japanese history begins with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Facing a continued challenge from the West to modernize and change their isolationist policies, Japanese feudal lords, samurai, and others overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate that had ruled from 1603 to 1867. The result was a complete alteration of the Japanese system in order to compete with the West. Japan then changed many of its old political, economic, and social institutions to conform with Western-style examples. From the Meiji Restoration came a series of cycles in Japanese political history that would continue until after World War II.

First came the Freedom and People's Rights Era, with its associated demands for more liberalization, which lasted from 1878 to 1889. Japan then underwent a militarist period from 1894 to 1905 that was characterized by wars with both China and Russia. Afterward, a cycle of liberalization known as the Taisho Democracy dominated the politics from 1912 to 1915 and again from 1918 to 1930. An age of militarism, again marked by international aggression, dominated the politics of Japan from 1931 to 1945. The beginnings of the Liberal Democratic Party can be traced to the Freedom and People's Rights Era.

Itagaki Taisuke claimed a powerful role in late 19th-century Japan. He used his position to advocate peace instead of rebellion in order for the Japanese people to

gain a voice in government. In 1874 Itagaki and his supporters penned the Tosa Memorial, a criticism of the seemingly unchecked power of the oligarchy and a call for representative government. By 1878 Itagaki had become impatient at the lack of reform and moved to create the Aikokusha, the Society of Patriots, in order to achieve representative government. In 1877 the Satsuma rebellion pitted the samurai led by Saigo Takamori against the citizen-based Meiji army. The Meiji victory solidified its position over the samurai. By 1881 Itagaki founded the Jiyuto, the Liberal Party, which favored the adoption of French styles of political representation.

At the same time, Okuma Shigenobu emerged as a voice in favor of the British model of representative government. Okuma founded the Rikken Kaishinto, the Constitutional Progressive Party, in 1882. The two opposition parties led to a pro-government party called the Rikken Teiseito, or the Imperial Rule Party, in 1882. A number of violent and nonviolent demonstrations among the political parties soon led to government suppression and restrictions on political activism. Restrictions on the political parties led to fighting within the parties as well as with others. The Jiyuto, which had fought against the Kaishinto, fell apart in 1884. Okuma also resigned his leadership of the Kaishinto party. A call for more democratic governance, through the movement for Freedom and People's Rights, added to growing demands for a more politically liberal Japanese system of governance.

By 1889 popular demand led to the enactment of the Meiji constitution. Modeled after that of Prussia, the constitution resulted in a limited democracy. A representative body, the Diet, of directly elected members came into being. Ultimately, the government was run by bureaucrats much like its Prussian example.

By 1890 the call for more direct representation resulted in the first national election. Both the Jiyuto and Kaishinto reorganized for the elections and combined to win over half of the seats in the House of Representatives. The first two decades of the 20th century brought the transformation of the Freedom and People's Rights into the Liberal Party and later the Seiyukai. The era of political parties, however, gave way to the militarist period of 1931 to 1945. After the war the modern Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) emerged as the result of a merger between the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party. The LDP reflected a broad coalition of those calling for military protection by the United States and the economic rebuilding of the war-torn infrastructure under a capitalist system. The first postwar government

was LDP-created, and the party would dominate until the 1990s.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Liberian civil wars (1989–1996 and 1999–2003)

The small West African state of Liberia has suffered almost constant civil war since the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, launched an uprising against the Liberian government in December 1989. The civil war quickly became a chaotic conflict with seven distinct factions contesting control of the nation. All of the groups fought for possession of Liberia's natural resources: iron ore, exotic timber, rubber, and especially diamonds. The resources were used to fund war efforts as the nation's economy collapsed, and because it had little global strategic importance, aid from major world powers was not forthcoming.

An attempt was made by the Nigerian-dominated Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to mediate and end the violence between 1990 and 1992 through peacekeeping and helping to hold new elections. Charles Taylor's forces attacked the interim government, derailing the process. A new coalition government was formed by Charles Taylor's enemies in 1993 but fighting continued as the coalition tried to form a democratic government. In early 1996 Taylor's forces attacked the capital, Monrovia, destroying much of the city in prolonged fighting. All sides then came together to negotiate and agreed on disarmament and demobilization of their forces. Elections were held in July 1997, and Charles Taylor won using the campaign slogan "He killed my Ma, he killed my Pa, but I'll vote for him." Many Liberians simply wanted the war to end and believed that Taylor would continue to fight if he was not elected. Peace returned to Liberia, but Taylor cracked down on his former enemies.

A coalition of Taylor opponents formed the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)

army in 1999. The LURD invaded Lofa County to gain control of the diamond fields. LURD forces pushed south from northern Liberia toward the capital and captured two-thirds of the country by 2003 before laying siege to Monrovia.

During the course of the Liberian civil war, a rebel group in neighboring Sierra Leone, known as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and led by Foday Sankoh, was sponsored by Charles Taylor. Fighting lasted from 1991 to 2002. Taylor used the RUF as a way to destabilize Sierra Leone, which was serving as the base for the ECOMOG peacekeepers who were trying to stop Taylor from winning control of Liberia. The RUF began their terror campaign in 1991, brutally punishing all who were not part of the RUF. They were exceptionally harsh toward civilians whom they accused of supporting the Sierra Leone government. Mass murder, systematic rape, and widespread amputation of hands, arms, and feet were the tools that the RUF used to control the population. Hands were chopped off to prevent voting, which required a thumb for fingerprinting.

To fill their ranks, the RUF also practiced widespread abduction of children. Boys starting as young as nine years old were forced to fight, often under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Girls were used as servants and sex slaves. Like Taylor in Liberia, the RUF targeted the resources of Sierra Leone to fund their war effort. During the course of the struggle against the RUF, several national governments existed, led by military juntas or civilians. Several attempts were made by ECOMOG at mediation, and talks were held to form coalition governments, but the RUF always broke agreements and returned to fighting. Between 2000 and 2002 the RUF was defeated by attacks from government forces, ECOMOG, and Guinean troops. In May 2002 elections were held, and the RUF won no seats in parliament. Over the next three years the fighting subsided and the peacekeepers left. During both of the conflicts, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) was absent despite evidence of ethnic cleansing.

In August 2003 President Charles Taylor resigned and fled to Nigeria. In the summer of 2006 Taylor was captured and sent to the Hague to be tried for war crimes. Foday Sankoh was arrested in 2000 after his soldiers fired on protesters. Foday Sankoh had stopped fighting after signing the Lome Peace Accord in 1999. He was held in UN custody and died from a stroke while awaiting trial for war crimes.

The legacy of more than a decade of constant fighting has been continuing misery for the peoples of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Both countries have many thousands

of amputees who are unable to care for themselves; education has broken down; a whole generation suffers from posttraumatic stress disorder; the economy is ruined; the infrastructure is in shambles; and both nations rank at the bottom of the Human Development Index according to the United Nations.

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COLLIN BOYD

Libya

Following the defeat of the Libyan forces led by Omar Mukhtar in the 1930s, Italy consolidated its imperial control over the three main provinces of Libya: Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan. During World War II Libya became a battleground between the Axis forces and the Allied forces of France and Great Britain. By 1942 the Italians had been defeated, the British occupied Tripolitania and Cyrenaica; and the French occupied Fezzan. In Tripolitania the British retained direct control, but in Cyrenaica they granted greater autonomy; the French administered Fezzan through direct military control.

After the war a number of different solutions were offered regarding the future of the Libyan territories. Italy demanded the return of Libya to its jurisdiction. Other Western nations suggested a trusteeship, while some advocated independence. Egypt, Libya's neighbor to the east, was interested in acquiring control over the territory. Competing Libyan political forces also had conflicting goals. Some wanted the continuation of Sayyid Idris's Sanussi leadership, while a political society of young educated Libyans like Mukhtar pushed for unity and complete independence.

When the powers failed to agree, the matter was turned over to the newly formed UNITED NATIONS (UN). After protracted negotiations the UN General Assembly recommended in 1949 that Libya—comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan—should constitute a unified state that should obtain independence no later than January 1, 1952. Thus for the first time in its history, the General Assembly acted as a world legislator with binding authority.

In 1951 Libya became a unified nation under the monarchy of King Idris. At the time Libya was one of the poorest countries in the world, and Idris relied heavily on Western assistance. He also retained considerable executive power and drew support from tribal leaders, traditional politicians, and a few successful businessmen. This narrow power base alienated many, who grew increasingly disaffected with the old regime. Idris continued to rule Libya until he was overthrown in 1969 by MUAMMAR QADDAFI.

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HISHAM M. SABKI

Lin Biao (Lin Piao)

(1908–1971) *Chinese communist general*

Although his contributions to the development of modern Communist China are overshadowed by those of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the leader of both the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the country, Lin Biao nevertheless played an important role.

Lin Biao was born in Wuhan, China, in 1908. The son of a landowner, he joined the Socialist Youth League in 1926. Attending the Whampoa Military Academy he met another future communist leader, ZHOU ENLAI.

After the collapse of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in China in 1911, much of China countryside was ruled by warlords. During the 1920s there was a push to reunify the country. Two of the main groups were the new CCP, formed in 1921, and the Kuomintang (KMT), the Nationalist Party. The emerging leader in the KMT was Chiang Kai-shek. Lin Biao managed to survive the purges, and, along with Mao and the remaining communists, escaped into China's interior. He participated in the Long March; 30,000 survived out of 100,000 who had begun the trek. They included leader Mao, LIU SHAOQI, and Zhou Enlai.

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, Lin Biao utilized guerrilla tactics to fight the invaders behind enemy lines, something that gave the CCP patriotic prestige. At the end of World War II, war broke out again between the CCP and the KMT. The CCP created the People's Liberation Army (PLA), in which Lin Biao served as a commander. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the creation of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

OF CHINA (PRC). Lin continued to play a major role in both the government and the military and commanded “volunteers” from China in the KOREAN WAR (1950–53); he was promoted to the rank of marshal.

In 1968 Mao embarked on the GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION to attack his critics and regain control of the party. Mao set out to eliminate his competition. Lin Biao worked closely with Mao and fought against the faction led by Liu Shaoqi, who had been state chairman since 1959. Lin was also instrumental in assembling Mao’s writings into the *Quotations of Chairman Mao*, or the “Little Red Book,” which received nationwide distribution.

Lin’s power rose when Red Guards, Mao’s young supporters, began to fight one another adding chaos that grew into anarchy. The minister of defense was called by Mao to meet the enemy to suppress the Red Crosses in 1967. For this he was appointed vice chairman of the CCP and Mao’s successor at the 9th Party Congress in 1969.

However, Mao became increasingly suspicious of him as the Lin’s power grew. Conversely Lin’s impatience to replace Mao culminated in a failed assassination attempt in 1971. Lin and his wife attempted to flee to the Soviet Union, but the plane that their air force officer son piloted crashed in Outer Mongolia, and all were killed.

Lin’s rise and fall demonstrate the murderously unstable politics in Maoist China.

See also GANG OF FOUR AND JIANG QING.

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MITCHELL NEWTON-MATZA

literature

Since 1950, vast numbers of new books have been published, and many from before 1950 have been republished as new editions, facsimiles of old editions, and, in recent years, as digital books. From the 1970s, there was also the emergence of what became known

as “airport fiction,” describing books that were sold to air travelers with plenty of time to occupy. Digital books in particular have allowed access to many old and formerly out-of-print books and offer computer-searchable functions giving readers and scholars the ability to find information more quickly. While this has allowed easier access to reference works, the vast majority of works of fiction continue to be published in book form. While many writers have other means of income, some have become very successful through their book sales, with British writer J. K. Rowling, the creator of Harry Potter, becoming the first writer to make more than \$1 billion from sales of her books.

BRITISH WRITERS

British writers have dominated much of the English-speaking world, with Bertrand Russell winning the Nobel Prize in literature in 1950, Sir Winston Churchill winning in 1953, William Golding—author of *Lord of the Flies*—winning in 1983, V. S. Naipaul in 2001, and Harold Pinter in 2005. Since 1950, other important British novelists include Richard Adams, author of *Watership Down*; Kingsley Amis, author of *Lucky Jim*; Martin Amis; Julian Barnes; H. E. Bates; Malcolm Bradbury, author of *The History Man*; John Braine, author of *Room at the Top*; Anita Brookner, author of *Hotel du Lac*; Anthony Burgess, author of *Clockwork Orange*; postfeminist writer Angela Carter; Norman Collins; Margaret Drabble; Daphne du Maurier; novelist and poet Lawrence Durrell, author of the Alexandria Quartet, and his younger brother naturalist and zoologist Gerald Durrell, author of *My Family and Other Animals*; John Fowles, author of *The French Lieutenant’s Woman*; Graham Greene; L. P. Hartley, author of *The Go-Between*; Laurie Lee, author of *Cider with Rosie*; Malcolm Lavry, author of *Under the Volcano*; Jessica Mitford, author of *Hons and Rebels*; John Mortimer, creator of Rumpole of the Bailey; Iris Murdoch, author of *The Sea, The Sea*, the 1978 winner of the Booker Prize; Anthony Powell, author of *A Dance to the Music of Time*; V. S. Pritchett, author of *The Spanish Temper*; Dame Edith Sitwell; Sir Osbert Sitwell; and C. P. Snow. There were also a number whose major literary work was in the first half of the 20th century who also produced more works in the second half, including W. H. Auden; Robert Graves, author of *I, Claudius*; Aldous Huxley, author of *Brave New World*; W. Somerset Maugham; J. B. Priestley; Welsh-born novelist Howard Spring; Dylan Thomas, author of *Under Milk Wood*; and P. G. Wodehouse, creator of Jeeves.

There have been many writers of historical fiction, including a number who set their books during the Napoleonic Wars: Bernard Cornwell (pseudonym for Bernard Wiggins), creator of Sharpe; C. S. Forester (pseudonym for Cecil Louis Troughton Smith), creator of Horatio Hornblower; Alexander Kent (pseudonym for Douglas Reeman), creator of Richard Bolitho; Patrick O'Brian (pseudonym for Richard Patrick Russ), creator of the Aubrey-Maturin series; and Northcote Parkinson, creator of Richard DeLancey. Other writers of historical novels include: Charlotte Bingham; Catherine Cookson; George Macdonald Fraser, who resurrected Flashman from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* for the "Flashman Papers"; Robert Harris; and Jean Plaidy (pseudonym for Eleanor Hibbert). Colonial and postcolonial themes have been explored by writers Joy Adamson, author of *Born Free*; Rumer Godden; Elspeth Huxley, author of *The Flame Trees of Thika*; Ruth Praver Jhabvala, author *Heat and Dust*, the 1975 winner of the Booker Prize; M. M. Kaye, author of *The Far Pavilions*; Richard Mason, author of *The World of Suzie Wong*; John Masters, author of *Bhowani Junction*; R. K. Narayan, author of *Vendor of Sweets*; Paul Scott, author of "The Raj Quartet"; and Leslie Thomas, author of *The Virgin Soldiers*. James Clavell, author of *Shogun*, covered Asian historical topics. Romance novelists include Barbara Cartland, author of 723 titles; Anne Baker; Barbara Taylor Bradford; Jackie Collins; Lena Kennedy; Anne Mather, author of over 150 novels; Betty Neels, author of over 130 titles. The publishers Mills and Boon print thousands of romance titles, many written to a formula.

Popular thriller writers include Eric Ambler; former politician Jeffrey Archer; Desmond Bagley; Len Deighton; Ian Fleming, creator of James Bond; Ken Follett; Frederick Forsyth, author of *The Day of the Jackal*; John le Carré (pseudonym for David Cornwell), creator of George Smiley; Alastair Maclean; and Douglas Reeman. War stories by Paul Brickhill; Nicholas Monsarrat (pseudonym for John Turney), author of *The Cruel Sea*; and Eric Williams, author of *The Wooden Horse* and *The Tunnel* have also sold well. Crime writers include Edward Aarons, author of the "Assignment" books; Margery Allingham; Agatha Christie; John Creasey; P. D. James (pseudonym for Phyllis White); and Ruth Rendell; and there have also been others who have set their stories during particular historical events such as Ellis Peters (pseudonym for Edith Pargeter), creator of Cadfael in medieval Shropshire; and H. R. F. Keating, who set his Inspector Ghote novels in British India. Mention should also be made of Josephine Tey whose novel *The*

Daughter of Time changed the way many people have viewed *Richard III*. Playwrights include Arnold Wesker, who wrote *Chicken Soup with Barley*, and Terence Rattigan, author of *Separate Tables*. Poets include T. S. Eliot, who won the Nobel Prize in 1948, and D. J. Enright, author of *The Laughing Hyena*.

Fantasy writers such as C. S. Lewis, creator of *Narnia*; Mervyn Peake; Terry Pratchett; and J. R. R. Tolkien, author of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, have all been very popular. In science fiction, Douglas Adams, author of *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*; J. G. Ballard, who became famous for his semi-autobiographical *The Empire of the Sun* rather than his science fiction; Arthur C. Clarke, author of *2001: A Space Odyssey*; and John Wyndham have all been popular, with their books published in many languages.

Children's story writers include Enid Blyton, creator of Noddy; Anthony Buckridge, creator of Jennings; Richmal Crompton, author of *Just Williams*; and the historical fiction of Cynthia Harnett, Rosemary Sutcliff, Geoffrey Trease, and Ronald Welch (pseudonym for Ronald Felton). The most famous playwrights include Harold Pinter, the Nobel laureate; John Osborne, author of *Look Back in Anger*; Dennis Potter, author of *Son of Man*; Tom Stoppard. Poets include John Betjeman, Ted Hughes, and Philip Larkin. Historians include Alan Bullock, E. H. Carr, Leonard Cottrell, Antonia Fraser, Christopher Hibbert, Christopher Hill, James/Jan Morris, John Prebble, and Hugh Trevor-Roper. There have also been a range of accounts of adventure, including Sir John Hunt's *The Ascent of Everest*; Colonel P. H. Fawcett's *Exploration Fawcett*; *A Dragon Apparent* by Norman Lewis; Patrick Leigh Fermor's *The Travellers Tree*, and similar books. Mention should also be made of Cornish writers A. L. Rowse and Derek Tangye. Travel writers include H. V. Morton; Eric Newby, author of *A Short Walk in the Hindu Kush*; and Freya Stark, author of *Beyond the Euphrates* and other books about the Middle East.

AMERICAN WRITERS

There have also been many prominent U.S. writers in this era, including four who won the Nobel Prize in literature: Ernest Hemingway in 1954, John Steinbeck in 1962, Canadian-born Saul Bellow in 1976, and Toni Morrison in 1993. Others include James Baldwin, author of *Another Country*; Paul Bowles, who moved to Tangier, Morocco, in 1952; Allen Drury, author of *Advise and Consent*; Alex Haley, author of *Roots*; Harper Lee, author of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1961; Mary McCarthy, author of

Hanoi; Norman Mailer, author of *Armies of the Night*; James Michener; Chaim Potok; J. D. Salinger, author of *The Catcher in the Rye*; John Updike, author of *Rabbit, Run* and *The Witches of Eastwick*; Gore Vidal, author of *Myra Breckenridge* and historical novels; and Richard Wright, author of *The Outsider*. In recent years the writer who has achieved the largest number of sales has been Dan Brown, author of *The Da Vinci Code*.

Cowboy books have always been popular. Historical novelists include Steven Saylor, author of the Roma Sub-Rosa novels featuring Gordianus "the finder," and surgeon and novelist Frank Slaughter. War stories include those by Irwin Shaw, author of *The Young Lions*; and Herman Wouk, author of *The Caine Mutiny*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1952. Crime writers such as Truman Capote, author of *In Cold Blood*; Patricia Highsmith; and Mario Puzo, author of *The Godfather* have also sold many copies of their books.

Science fiction writers such as Isaac Asimov, fantasy writers such as Ursula Le Guin, and horror writers such as Stephen King have sold well. There have been many popular writers such as V. C. Andrews; Clive Cussler; John Grisham; Thomas Harris; Robert Ludlum, author of *The Bourne Identity*; satirist P. J. O'Rourke; Danielle Steel; and Kathleen Windsor, author of *Forever Amber*. Playwrights include Arthur Miller, author of *The Crucible*; Eugene O'Neill, whose *Long Day's Journey into Night* was published posthumously in 1956; Thornton Wilder who started writing in the 1920s but whose plays included *The Matchmaker*; and Tennessee Williams whose most famous works such as *A Streetcar Named Desire* were written in the 1940s, and who won the 1955 Pulitzer Prize with *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*. Mention should also be made of Edward Albee, author of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, his first full-length play. There have also been many important nonfiction writers, including Rachel Carson, author of *Silent Spring* (1963); political commentator Noam Chomsky; economist and Professor J. K. Galbraith; and John Gunther, author of the "Inside" books. American poets include Robert Lowell, Ogden Nash, and Sylvia Plath.

OTHER AUTHORS IN ENGLISH

Elsewhere in the English-speaking world, there have been many other Nobel laureates, including Samuel Beckett from Ireland, in 1969, author of *Waiting for Godot*; Patrick White from Australia, in 1973; Wole Soyinka from Nigeria, in 1986; Nadine Gordimer from South Africa, in 1991 (and the Booker Prize in 1974); Derek Walcott from St. Lucia, in 1992; Seamus Heaney

from Ireland, in 1995; and J. M. Coetzee, author of *The Life and Times of Michael K*, from South Africa, in 2003. Prolific South African writer Bryce Courtney, author of *The Power of One*, moved to Australia.

Irish writers include Brendan Behan, author of *Borstal Boy*; James Donleavy, author of *The Ginger Man*; Frank McCourt, author of *Angela's Ashes*; and William Trevor, author of *The Old Boys*. Australian writers include Thea Astley; Peter Carey; Albert Facey; feminist Germaine Greer; Xavier Herbert, author of *Poor Fellow My Country*; George Johnston, author of *My Brother Jack*; Thomas Keneally, author of *Schindler's Ark*; Colleen McCullough, author of *The Thorn Birds*; David Malouf, author of *Fly Away Peter*; Alan Moorehead, author of *The White Nile*; poet Les Murray; Neville Shute (pseudonym for Nevil Shute Norway); Christina Stead; Arthur Upfield, creator of the aboriginal detective "Bonaparte"; and Morris West, author of *The Devil's Advocate* and *The Ambassador*. New Zealand writers include Janet Frame, author of *Owls Do Cry*, crime writer Ngaio Marsh, and Alan Duff, author of *Once Were Warriors*.

The writer most strongly identified with South Africa is Wilbur Smith, who set most of his books in South Africa and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Other South African authors include Stuart Cloete, author of *Rags of Glory*, and Alan Paton, author of *Cry, The Beloved Country*. There have also been many Canadian authors, perhaps the most famous from this period being novelist Margaret Atwood and Thomas Costain.

EUROPEAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN WRITERS

French writers since 1950 include Nobel laureates François Mauriac (1952), Algerian-French writer and philosopher Albert Camus (1957), diplomat and poet Saint-John Perse (1960), Jean-Paul Sartre (1964; he declined the prize), and Claude Simon (1985). Other famous writers of this period include writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir; structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, author of *Anthropologie structurale*; André Malraux; historical novelist Zoë Oldenburg; and Jean Tardieu. Belgian writer Georges Simenon created Inspector Maigret and wrote over 500 books; and Frenchman Gerard de Villiers wrote the best-selling "S.A.S." murder mysteries set in various countries around the world. Writers in Germany who won the Nobel Prize in literature include German-Swedish writer Nelly Sachs, in 1966; Heinrich Böll, in 1972; Günter Grass for *The Tin Drum*, in 1999; and Austrian feminist playwright and novelist Elfriede Jelinek, in 2004. Mention should also be made of Bul-

garian-born novelist Elias Canetti, who won the prize in 1981 for his writing in German. The Italian Nobel laureates were lyrical poet Salvatore Quasimodo, in 1959; poet and writer Eugenio Montale, in 1975; and playwright and theater director Dario Fo, in 1997. Possibly the best-known Italian writers are Giuseppe di Lampedusa, who wrote *The Leopard*, which he completed just before his death, the book being published posthumously; Lois de Bernières, author of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*; and Alberto Moravia, author of *Women of Rome* and *Roman Tales*.

A number of writers in Spanish won the Nobel Prize in literature: Juan Ramón Jiménez, in 1956, Vicente Aleixandre, in 1977, and Camilo José Cela, in 1989. Salvador de Madariaga wrote many books on Spain and the Spanish-speaking world, most of which were translated into English. The others were the Guatemalan Miguel Ángel Asturias, in 1967; Chilean poet Pablo Neruda (pen name for Ricardo Elicer Neftali Reyes Basoalto), in 1971; the Colombian Gabriel García Márquez, author of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, in 1982; and the Mexican Octavio Paz, in 1990. From Portugal, José Saramago won the Nobel Prize in 1998, and in recent years there has been extensive literature about Portuguese Africa. Portuguese-language poets include the Angolan nationalist and later president Agostinho Neto; there have also been many books by Brazilian lyricist Paulo Coelho.

From the Soviet Union, Boris Pasternak, author of *Doctor Zhivago*, was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1958 but declined it. Other Russians who became Nobel laureates include novelist Mikhail Sholokhov (1965), dissident novelist and dramatist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1970), and Joseph Brodsky (1987). Mention should also be made of Russian-born writer Vladimir Nabokov. From Eastern Europe, Jewish-Hungarian writer and concentration camp survivor Imre Kertész won the Nobel Prize in 2002; writer and poet Jaroslav Seifert from the Czech Republic won the prize in 1984. Polish-born American writer Isaac Bashevis Singer won the prize in 1978 for his work in Yiddish, poet Czesław Miłosz in 1980, and Wisława Szymborska in 1996. In 1961 the Yugoslav writer and diplomat Ivo Andrić won the Nobel Prize for his *Bosnian Chronicles*, which covers many aspects of Bosnian history. Two Greeks became Nobel laureates: poet and diplomat Giorgos Seferis, in 1963, and modernist poet Odysseas Elytis, in 1979.

From Scandinavia, Nobel laureates since 1950 include Swedes Pär Lagerkvist, in 1951, Eyvind John-

son, and poet Harry Martinson, in 1974, and Icelandic writer Halldór Laxness, in 1955. There was also much renewed interest in the Viking sagas, many of which were translated and published in English and French during this period.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA

For Middle Eastern literature, Israeli writer Shmuel Yosef Agnon was one of the joint Nobel Prize winners in 1966 for his work in Hebrew. Other important works of Israeli literature include Menachem Begin's *The Revolt*, and books about Jerusalem by Teddy Kollek. Palestinian writers include American resident Edward Said and Lebanese writer Edward Atiyah, author of *An Arab Tells His Story* and *Lebanon Paradise*. North African writers include Naguib Mahfouz from Egypt who won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1988; Gamal al-Ghitani from Cairo has written many books, including *Zayni Barakat* about the Mamluks in Egypt; and Algerian writer Albert Memmi wrote *The Pillar of Salt*. There have also been many prominent Turkish writers, including Yashar Kemal, author of *Memed, My Hawk*; Irgan Orga, who did much to explain Turkish history and culture to English-language readers; and postmodernist writer Orhan Pamuk, who won the Nobel Prize in 2006. Most African books tend to have been written in English, French, or other European languages, but the author of what has been described as the most quintessentially African story is Camara Laye, from French Guinea, author of *The Dark Child*, or *The African Child*.

In India, there have also been large numbers of writers who have written in English, including Dom Moraes; India's first prime minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, who wrote *The Discovery of India*; and Salman Rushdie, author of the controversial *Midnight's Children* and the even more controversial *The Satanic Verses*.

ASIAN WRITERS

Mao Zedong, the leader of China from 1949 until his death in 1976, wrote poetry, but is best known as a writer for his "Little Red Book," for which 900 million copies were issued in Chinese, and in other languages, including Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Malay, Spanish, and Vietnamese. It was first published in April 1964, and its red plastic cover made it well known around the world. Many other Communist Party publications, such as the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, also had millions of copies printed. To help promote new literary works

published in China, the monthly journal *Chinese Literature* was published from 1951.

Of the other Chinese writers since 1950, perhaps the best-known is Han Suyin, whose five-volume autobiographical saga began with *The Crippled Tree* and whose *A Many Splendoured Thing* became a best seller around the world. In more recent times, Jung Chang wrote *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, describing the family's life during the Cultural Revolution. Mention should also be made of the prolific writer and academic Lin Yutang and de Lucy Ching, author of *One of the Lucky Ones*. Xingjian Gao, who wrote about the Tiananmen Square protests, was declared a persona non grata in China; he won the Nobel Prize for literature in 2000.

Two Japanese writers won the Nobel Prize in literature: Kawabata Yasunari in 1968, and Oe Kenzaburo in 1994. However, the most famous Japanese writers of this period were undoubtedly Abe Kobo and Mishima Yukio. Many Korean works have been translated into English and published by Heinemann Asia, but apart from translations of Lady Hong's *Memoirs of a Korean Queen*, few Korean books have managed to achieve much literary interest outside Korea. The works of North Korean leaders KIM IL SUNG and KIM JONG IL have been published in many different editions and several languages, by the Foreign Languages Press in Pyongyang.

For mainland Southeast Asia, there have been many books published in Burmese, Khmer, Thai, and Vietnamese, and even a number being published in Lao. After independence, there have been many books published in Burmese, including many items on Burmese history. With the import of books now restricted, this has helped the Burmese publishing industry and local literature. Prior to 1970, there were a number of novels published in Khmer, with a massive increase in the Khmer-language publishing industry from 1970 to 1975, including the work of Long Boret, prime minister from 1973 to 1975.

Similarly Vietnamese literature has followed political trends, with many books published in South Vietnam until 1975, and then few works of literature published in Vietnam until the 1990s. In Thailand, the prosperity of the country has ensured a regular number of books in Thai being published. After Malaya became independent, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur encouraged writing in Malay, which has flourished. In neighboring Singapore, there have been many books published, a large number being historical works covering aspects of Singapore's history, but also many nostal-

gic novels about the country's colonial past and a number of stories set in modern Singapore.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen)

(1891–1969) *Chinese general and politician*

Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen) was an important military and political leader of Guangxi (Kwangsi) Province, along with Bai Chongxi (Pai Chung-hsi), between 1925 and 1949. He joined the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist Party), founded by Sun Yat-sen, and commanded the Seventh Army; it played an important part in the Northern Expedition (1926–28) that brought the Koumintang to power. Li distinguished himself as a skilled military commander in the Northern Expedition and the Sino-Japanese War, where he commanded the Nationalist troops in an important victory in 1938 at Taierzhuang in Shandong (Shantung) Province. Li and Bai, however, represented the Warlord Era, joining the KMT in part to preserve and expand their regional power by controlling their army as distinct units that often disobeyed the central government. Their group is called the "Guangxi clique" and fought against the central government in Nanjing (Nanking) between 1929 and 1930. They also allowed the fleeing Chinese Communists to pass of through Guangxi during the Long March.

When the National Assembly convened in Nanjing in 1948 to implement the new constitution, Li was elected vice president of China (Chiang Kai-shek was president). Li became acting president when Chiang resigned in 1949. However, Chiang still retained most of his power and the loyalty of key army commanders, and when Li failed to negotiate a settlement with the CCP in the civil war, Chiang abruptly resigned, and Bai chose to flee to Taiwan.

After Li's departure for New York, Chiang resumed the presidency in Taiwan. Li refused to join the Nationalists on Taiwan and was impeached in absentia. The United States became an outspoken critic of Chiang's rule. Li remained in the United States until 1966, when he returned to mainland China and voiced support of the Communist government. He died shortly afterward.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

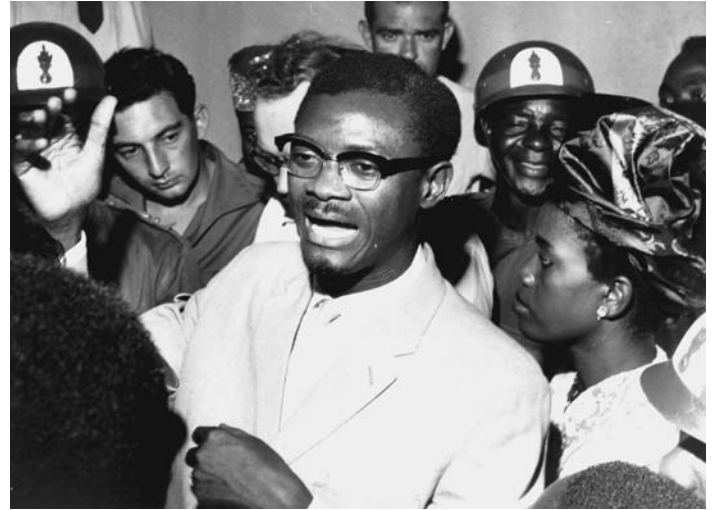
Lumumba, Patrice

(1925–1961) *Congolese prime minister*

Patrice Lumumba was the first prime minister of the independent Republic of the Congo. Born in Kasai Province in the eastern Congo, he came from a small tribe or ethnic group—the Batatele. This background was to handicap him in future dealings with rivals who came from major tribal groupings.

Lumumba was born July 2, 1925. Educated by Protestant missionaries, he entered the postal service and became a contributor to the nascent Congolese press. He also became active in trade union activities, and by 1955 was president of a regional labor union. Convicted of post office embezzlement, Lumumba, after his release from prison in 1957, went on to forge a nationwide political party, the Congolese Nationalist Movement, in October 1958. After attending an All-African Peoples' Conference in newly independent Ghana in December 1958, Lumumba became a militant nationalist.

In 1959 he joined other nationalist leaders in opposing the Belgian plan for gradual independence in five years. The Belgians were forced to promise independence by June 30, 1960. Elections held in May 1960 gave Lumumba's party the largest number of votes, and he was offered the position of prime minister. At that time he began to talk about economic and social changes. Because some of the rhetoric sounded socialist, many in the West feared that the anticolo-



Patrice Lumumba (center) became the first prime minister of the independent Republic of the Congo in May 1960.

nialist tone in his speeches meant an alliance with the Soviet Union.

After he formed an independent government, on June 23, 1960, Lumumba faced disorder seven days later. Army units rebelled, the province of Katanga seceded, and Belgium sent in troops. Lumumba called upon the UNITED NATIONS (UN) to restore order; however, it did not intervene. He then turned to the Soviet Union for planes to transport his troops. He also asked independent African states to support him. These steps were ineffective and caused his internal allies to turn away from him. On September 5 the president of the Congo, Joseph Kasavubu, who had advocated a more moderate course and favored some form of autonomy, declared Lumumba deposed. On September 14 the army head, Joseph Mobutu, seized power with the approval of Kasavubu. Mobutu and Kasavubu soon reached an accommodation with the UN, which recognized the government in October 1960.

Now powerless, Lumumba sought to travel to Stanleyville (now Kisangani) in northeast Congo, where he still had support. On his way there, however, he was intercepted by soldiers of Joseph Mobutu. After an imprisonment of three months, Mobutu turned Lumumba over to Moïse Tshombe, the head of secessionist Katanga Province, on January 17, 1961. Lumumba was murdered that same night. In retrospect, Lumumba's ideas and rhetoric do not appear so radical. He supported a united Congo as opposed to its division along regional/ethnic/tribal lines. He supported the end of colonialism and

proclaimed neutrality in the COLD WAR, with an emphasis on “Africanist” values. These sentiments ultimately led to his undoing.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN



Macao (1999)

Macao (or Macau) is a tiny peninsula of eight square miles located 40 miles west of HONG KONG on the southern China coast. It became a Portuguese settlement and trading center in 1557; Portugal paid the Chinese government rent for the land until 1849, after which it became a de facto Portuguese colony. By the late 20th century Macao had just under half a million people, about 96 percent Chinese, 2–3 percent Eurasians of mixed Portuguese-Chinese ancestry, and 1 percent Portuguese from Portugal. Despite long Portuguese control, few Chinese residents learned Portuguese, the official language of the colony. As a result few Chinese worked in the government. Most Eurasians, called Macanese, were bilingual; many of them worked for the government bureaucracy. The government was nonelected until 1974, when a revolution in Portugal brought in a liberal government there that enacted new laws established by a partially elected legislative assembly. The main sources of government revenue were tourism, light industry, and gambling casinos.

Negotiations for the return of Macao to China began in the 1980s. However, China gave priority to its negotiations for the return of the much more important British colony of Hong Kong, and it was not until agreement had been reached for Hong Kong's rendition that talks between Portugal and China began in earnest. Because of the asymmetry of power between China and Portugal the Chinese government imposed most of the terms of Macao's rendition. A Joint Decla-

ration was signed in April 1987, and a Sino-Portuguese Joint Liaison Group was created in 1988 to manage the transition and prepare for the handover in 1999. As in the case of Hong Kong, Macao was given the status of a Separate Administrative Region (SAR) and assured of autonomy governing many aspects of its life for 50 years. However, China could control its foreign affairs and defense, a Chinese-appointed chief administrator would head its administration, and the Chinese People's Congress would have final say in judicial decisions.

The handover took place at the end of 1999. According to Macao Basic Law, the government of Macao consists of a Western-style partially elected legislature, with a framework of separation of power among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, an independent judiciary, and freedom of expression and the press.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria (1947–) *Philippine president*

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo is the daughter of former Philippine president Diosdado Macapagal. When she

ascended to the presidency in January 2001, Arroyo joined the small group of female Asian leaders who had followed in their fathers' footsteps to assume prominent political positions in their respective countries.

An economist by training, Macapagal-Arroyo spent two years at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. She then returned to the Philippines, where she graduated from Assumption College in Manila in 1968 with a degree in commerce and economics. She went on to earn graduate degrees in economics from Ateneo de Manila University and the University of Philippines.

In 1968 she married José Miguel Arroyo. The couple had three children. She spent her early professional life as an economics professor and held teaching positions in various institutions in the Philippines, including all three of her alma maters.

Macapagal-Arroyo entered government service when she was invited by President Corazon Aquino to join the Department of Trade and Industry as assistant secretary in 1987. In 1989 she became the undersecretary. At the same time she also held the post of executive director of the Garment and Textile Export Board.

Macapagal-Arroyo made her first foray into politics when she campaigned successfully for a seat in the Philippine Senate in 1992. Three years later she was overwhelmingly reelected. She drew upon her own academic training and experience to push for social and economic reform legislation.

In 1998 she entered presidential politics as a vice presidential candidate, running with presidential candidate José De Venecia. While she emerged victorious with almost 13 million votes, the largest number ever earned by a presidential or vice presidential candidate, her running mate lost to the incumbent vice president, Joseph Estrada.

President Estrada appointed his vice president to the cabinet as secretary of the Department of Social Welfare and Development. But the Estrada administration quickly became embroiled in a corruption scandal. Macapagal-Arroyo resigned her cabinet post and joined in the chorus calling for Estrada's resignation. In January 2001, the Philippine Supreme Court removed Estrada from office, and Macapagal-Arroyo ascended to the presidency.

As president Macapagal-Arroyo faced many challenges, not the least of which was questions about the legitimacy of the court's action. She had to contend with demonstrations by pro-Estrada supporters in May 2001. She declared a State of Rebellion, which was lifted a few days later. Two years later she faced another challenge to her authority when junior officers and sol-

diers mutinied to push for reforms to the armed forces. The incident ended in their peaceful surrender.

A more pressing problem was the Philippine economy. The Asian financial crisis, the SECOND GULF WAR, and the mounting deficit contributed to turbulent economic times. Late in 2001 Macapagal-Arroyo announced the implementation of Holiday Economics, a policy that involved adjustments to national holidays so that Filipinos could enjoy longer weekends. The government hoped this would promote domestic tourism and in turn stimulate economic growth. The program yielded mixed results.

National security issues also preoccupied Macapagal-Arroyo. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Macapagal-Arroyo quickly pledged Filipino support for President GEORGE W. BUSH's War on Terror in the hope that her domestic problems could now be subsumed under the fight against international terrorism. After the U.S. invasion, the Philippines sent a small number of troops to Iraq to work on civic and humanitarian projects, but Macapagal-Arroyo ordered their withdrawal to free a Filipino civilian who had been taken hostage in July 2004.

In 2004 Macapagal-Arroyo decided to seek another six-year term. In a four-way race, Macapagal-Arroyo emerged victorious in May 2004, but questions about legitimacy continued to dog her presidency when revelations involving her remarks to an election officer about needing a certain number of electoral votes surfaced, leading to accusations of corrupt electoral practices.

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SOO CHUN LU

Makarios III

(1913–1977) *Cypriot political leader*

Archbishop Makarios was born in the village of Panayia in the Paphos district of Cyprus on August 13, 1913, and died on August 3, 1977. Makarios, meaning *blessed*, was the name chosen by Mikhalis Khristodoulou Mouskos when he was ordained as a deacon

in 1938. After being ordained, Makarios enrolled in the theological school at the University of Athens, Greece. While studying in Athens during World War II, Makarios lived under the Nazi occupation. After the Allies liberated Greece, Makarios traveled to Boston to further his theological studies. In 1948, while in the United States, Makarios was elected bishop of Kitium, Cyprus.

Shortly upon his return to Cyprus, Makarios became involved in the Cypriot *enosis* movement for a union with Greece, and in 1950 he was elected archbishop of Cyprus. His association with EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), an underground organization that focused its attention on freeing the island from British colonial rule, caused Makarios to be exiled to the Seychelles by the British, who charged him with encouraging acts of terrorism. One year later he was allowed to return to Cyprus; when the British withdrew, Makarios was elected the first president of Cyprus. With his new outlook on the independent nation of Cyprus, Makarios distanced himself from the *enosis* movement. He attended the Belgrade Conference of the Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries; his political position made him a target for the supporters of *enosis*.

In 1965, when his term of office was to expire, the Cypriot people extended his term to 1968. In 1968 and 1973 he won reelection. Makarios was heavily pressured by the Greek government to increase Greek influence on Cypriot politics. Athens had been under the control of a military junta, which disliked Makarios and his reluctance to push for *enosis*. Makarios replied to the GREEK JUNTA in the form of a letter demanding that the remaining Greek National Guard stationed in Cyprus be withdrawn. He also accused the junta of plotting against his life and against Cyprus. Thirteen days later, the junta ordered the Greek National Guard in Cyprus to overthrow Makarios and take control of the island. Makarios survived the attempted coup and escaped to England. The coup caused permanent damage in Cyprus by giving Turkey a pretext for a Turkish invasion that split the island in two, separating the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. After a brief exile, Makarios returned to Cyprus in December 1974 to resume his presidency until his death in 1977.

See also CYPRUS, INDEPENDENCE OF; CYPRUS, TURKISH INVASION OF.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Malaysia, Federation of

The modern nation of Malaysia came to being at one minute past midnight on September 16, 1963, and within weeks was embroiled in controversy. Its formation was not looked upon kindly by its neighbor Indonesia, and soon scores of "spontaneous" demonstrations filled the streets of Jakarta as angry Indonesians shouted their displeasure outside Malaysia's new embassy. Indonesian foreign ministry spokesmen made their feelings clear to Australia: Indonesia did not like being encircled by what it saw as the British Commonwealth.

From that shaky start Malaysia emerged as a prosperous nation keen to embrace the world of new technology. In 2006 Malaysia was a nation of around 25 million people, building its own cars, possessing a burgeoning manufacturing industry, and exploiting its waters for oil, gas, and fish.

Four areas—all British colonial possessions—were combined to make up Malaysia: the Federated Malay States, Singapore, British North Borneo, and Sarawak. Brunei, which had expressed interest, did not become a part of Malaysia. The four component parts of the new country had developed a common identity following Japanese occupation during World War II. Indonesia and the Philippines opposed the union and Indonesia supported military rebels in Malaysia after its formation.

The new country was led by Prime Minister Abdul Rahman, who had been a principal figure before independence, and his premiership lasted until September 22, 1970. Known generally as Tunku—a Malaysian title for a prince—Abdul Rahman had trained as a lawyer in Britain, and upon his return to Malaysia worked as a prosecutor. He became a leader of UNMO, the leading nationalist party, and became the natural choice to lead the campaign for independence from Britain. This was achieved for the new nation of Malaya in 1957, with Abdul Rahman as its prime minister. Regional discussions then took place about including the other British possessions in the region, the island of Singapore, and, to balance the racial mix, the eastern states of Sabah and Sarawak in the new nation. As a result, Malaysia was formed in

1963. Abdul Rahman went on to become the prime minister, leading the Alliance Party. He died in 1990.

Several issues troubled the new nation. One was the exit of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 to become a sovereign country. The VIETNAM WAR of the United States and its allies against the North Vietnamese Army and the Vietcong was another issue.

In 1969 racial riots broke out between Malays and non-Malays, chiefly over attempts to make Bahasa Malaysia the national language and over privileges that had been conferred on people of Malay race. Hundreds of people were killed in the riots. The government acted to cement the position of Malays with the creation of the title *bumiputra*, or son of the soil, which was given to the indigenous peoples of Sarawak and Sabah as well as Malays. Many of Chinese descent left the country as a result.

Malaysia's internal policies and its external relations were dominated for years by the often-aggressive Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, who came to power in 1981. Mahathir saw Malaysia prosper through his vision for the country's future. A series of five-year plans were installed with the aim of having the country become a fully industrialized nation by 2020. This plan seemed successful until 1997, when economic crisis beset Southeast Asia, and a recession ensued.

Internal politics gained international notoreity in September 1999 when a dispute between the deputy prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim, and the prime minister became public. Anwar was arrested and, after a trial for alleged sodomy held in the full glare of world publicity, was sentenced to six years in jail. He was released before serving the full prison term.

Geographically, Malaysia is split in two. Peninsular Malaysia borders Thailand at its northern end. In the south the island nation of Singapore is connected to Malaysia by a causeway. Kuala Lumpur is the capital, with several universities and major industries as well as government institutions. Eastern Malaysia, with only about 15 percent of the population, occupies about fourth of the island of Borneo—Indonesia owns the lower section, with tiny Brunei surrounded by Malaysia on the western coast.

Politically the population of nearly 24 million is divided into 13 states, four of which have a governor, with the remainder ruled by hereditary sultans. All states have unicameral state legislatures reelected every five years that deal with state matters. One of the nine sultans is elected for five years to be the paramount ruler of Malaysia.

Major industries include the harvesting and export of palm oil, rubber processing, electronics, tin mining, light manufacturing, timber logging, petroleum production, and agriculture processing. Malaysia also exports electronic equipment.

Malaysia's foreign affairs are dominated by its relationships with neighboring giant Indonesia, the tiny island of Singapore, and a sometimes testy relationship with the West. Forest burning in Indonesia is a source of irritation between Malaysia and Indonesia as well as offshore oil exploration claims. An ongoing rebellion in Thailand's Muslim-majority southern provinces also causes border tension.

Malaysia has been a member of the ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) since its founding in 1967. It now includes 10 nations and over 500 million people. ASEAN primarily exists to promote economic growth, friendship, and regional stability.

With its series of five-year economic plans, Malaysia aims to become a fully industrialized nation by 2020.

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THOMAS A. LEWIS

Malcolm X

(1925–1965) *American civil rights leader*

The militant African-American leader was born Malcolm Little, later taking the Muslim name el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz. His life story, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, was published posthumously in 1965, making him a hero among African Americans.

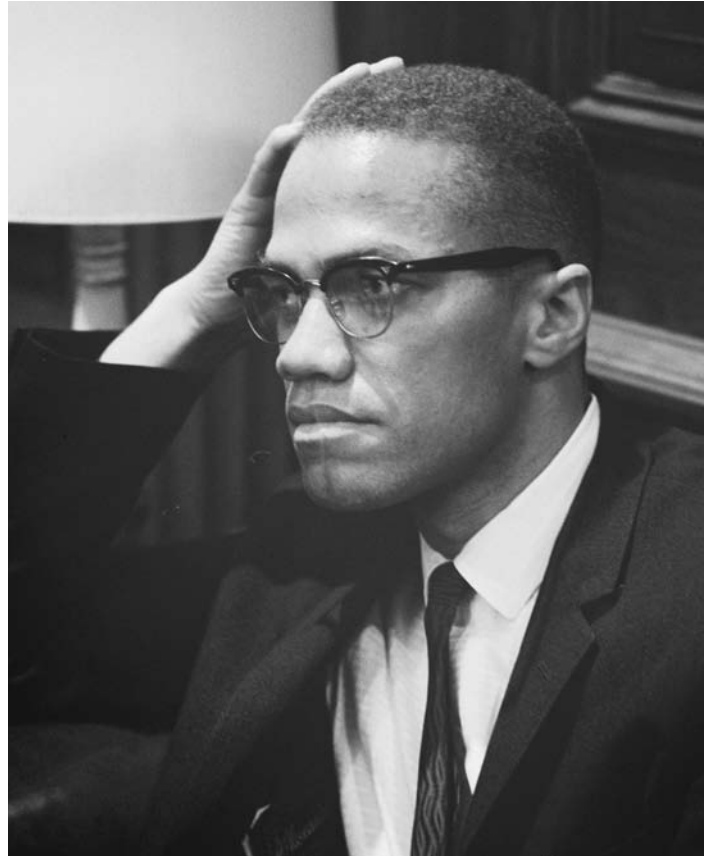
Malcolm Little was born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. His father was Earl Little, a lay preacher and supporter of Marcus Garvey. One of Earl Little's uncles had been lynched, and three of his brothers died at the hands of whites. His mother's family was from Grenada. The family moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1926, and then to Lansing, Michigan, where Malcolm grew up. He saw his family's house burned down by the Ku Klux Klan. Two years later, in 1931, his father was found dead after having been run over by a street car; it was believed that he had been murdered by the group who set fire to his house. Soon afterward Malcolm's mother was declared insane and was moved to a mental institution. Malcolm did well at junior high

school, graduating at the top of his class, but a teacher he admired told him that it was unrealistic for African Americans to aspire to be lawyers. After several years in foster homes, Malcolm spent some time in a detention home and then moved to Boston to be with his sister.

He found work shining shoes, then joined the New Haven Railroad, but he quickly found himself involved in crime. He was refused an army position in World War II after allegedly claiming that as soon as he had a gun, he would organize other African Americans. In 1946, he was arrested with another African American and two white women stealing goods to sell to a pawnshop. The women claimed that they had been coerced into the crime, and Malcolm was jailed for 10 years. In prison, Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam, which held the belief in the inherent superiority of black people. Released from prison in 1952, he visited the Nation of Islam headquarters in Chicago, where he met with Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the sect. Many African Americans believe that their surnames came to them from white slave owners; Malcolm Little changed his family name to “X.”

Over several years, Malcolm X toured the United States and was regarded as one of the best speakers and organizers for the Nation of Islam. He talked much of the exploitation of African Americans by whites and urged black separatism rather than integration and racial equality. Indeed, he felt that there should be greater black self-dependence and that violence was justified for self-protection. This latter belief alienated him from many of the civil rights leaders at the time who urged for nonviolent resistance to racism. In 1959 Malcolm X went to Africa for the first time, visiting the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Sudan, Nigeria, and Ghana, partially to help organize a tour by Elijah Muhammad that followed. The Nation of Islam in the United States grew in numbers, and in 1961 he founded *Muhammad Speaks*, the official journal for the Nation of Islam. Settling in Harlem, New York, he became a minister at Mosque Number Seven.

Malcolm X had become a controversial figure in the Black Muslim movement, meeting with Cuban leader FIDEL CASTRO in September 1960 when the Cuban politician was in New York to address the UNITED NATIONS General Assembly. The Cuban delegation refused to stay in the Shelburne Hotel after being asked to pay in advance, and moved to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem, where Malcolm X and other African-American community leaders met them.



Malcolm X is most associated with the militant struggle for civil rights for African Americans in the United States.

In 1963 Elijah Muhammad suspended him from the movement when he described the assassination of U.S. President JOHN F. KENNEDY as a “case of chickens coming home to roost,” a remark that was regarded as extremely controversial. In March 1964 Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam and in the following month went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had wanted to set up his own organization as a more radical wing of the Nation of Islam, but his time in Saudi Arabia led him to see that whites were not necessarily innately evil and that compromise was possible. In October 1964 he reaffirmed that he had embraced orthodox Islam, but this did not prevent death threats from white extremists and also rival Black Muslims. He was shot dead on February 21, 1965, at a Harlem ballroom. Three Black Muslims were later convicted of the murder. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, compiled by writer Alex Haley from numerous interviews with Malcolm X shortly before the latter’s murder, was published posthumously and became an overnight best seller. Malcolm X had married Betty X (née Sanders) in Lansing, Michigan, and

they had six daughters; the youngest two, twins, were born after Malcolm's murder.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, U.S.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Mandela, Nelson

(1918–) *South African leader*

Nelson Mandela was considered by many to be the most respected world leader alive in the early 21st century. During the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa, he remained unembittered by a regime that offered him only indignity and poverty. His story cannot be separated from that of his family, colleagues, and supporters in the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and a wider coalition of liberation groups in South Africa. In his fight for the right to live an ordinary life, Mandela gave up career and family, lived the life of an outlaw, and endured 27 years of imprisonment.

Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, the eldest child of his father's third wife, Nosekeni Fanny, in the village of Mvezo, Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, in the southeast of South Africa, and was called Rolihlahla. He was given the name Nelson Mandela at age seven when he attended a mission school, the first member of his family to do so. Madiba, as ANC leaders call him affectionately, is his clan name. Following his father's defiance of a local magistrate, the family lost their inheritance and moved to Qunu, a large village north of Mvezo, where Mandela enjoyed an idyllic childhood as a herd boy. When he was nine, his father died and he was sent to the house of Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo, the acting regent of the Thembu people, who raised him to become an adviser to the Thembu royal house.

Through education Mandela gradually developed a tribal and national identity. Tribal elders expected him to learn by observation and passed down Xhosa history and culture to him. He witnessed the free speech and consensus decision-making of the men of the Thembu court, and also learned about British

and Dutch imperialism. At 16, he was circumcised, a traditional site of passage into manhood. Following his mother he became Christian, was baptized into the Methodist Church, and enrolled in a number of mission schools. At the Clarkebury Boarding Institute, Mandela reveled in sports and learned that ability was more important than lineage. He then attended Healdtown, the Wesleyan College at Fort Beaufort, 175 miles southwest of Umtata, the largest liberal arts school for Africans south of the equator, and was appointed prefect. His education made him both an Anglophile and an African, as he came to admire British manners, to meet people from other tribes, and to think independently.

At 21, Mandela entered University College, Fort Hare, the only institution for higher education for blacks in South Africa. He studied law and joined the Student Christian Association, where he met Oliver Tambo. Mandela started a B.A., but did not complete it until 1943 because he disagreed with the principal about the voting system for the Student Representative Council. At 23, to escape an arranged marriage, Mandela ran away to Johannesburg, where he lived on a meager wage and studied at night to complete his degree at the University of South Africa. Mandela was so poor that he went without food, wore patched clothes, and walked six miles to and from work to save the bus fare. Although the partners at the law firm discouraged politics, Walter Sisulu and Gaur Radebe—a fellow articulated clerk—believed that politics was the only long-term solution to the problem of race relations in South Africa. In the 1950s Mandela opened the first firm of black African lawyers with Oliver Tambo.

Mandela joined the ANC in 1943 and helped transform it from a deferential nongovernmental organization to a mass movement. Founded in 1912, the ANC was the oldest African organization in South Africa and advocated multiracialism. By the 1940s, however, the ANC was more concerned with maintaining the privilege of elite black South Africans. Mandela enrolled in the law program at the University of Witwatersrand, where he met white and Indian students his own age who would also become leaders in the struggle. The ANC formed a Youth League on Easter Sunday 1944, and adopted its proposal for boycotts, strikes, and protest demonstrations. The Youth League had been inspired by Indian demonstrations in 1946 in response to laws restricting their movement and their right to buy property.

The National Party won national elections in 1948 and passed the Group Areas Act in 1950. Apartheid, or the separation of black and white into urban areas on

the basis of white superiority, became law. On Freedom Day, May 1, 1948, two-thirds of African workers stayed at home, and the government banned meetings by anti-apartheid activists. A coalition of groups organized a National Day of Protest (NDP) on June 26, 1950.

The Defiance Campaign, in which 8,500 volunteers defied laws and went to jail on the anniversary of the NDP in 1952, was Mandela's apprenticeship as a freedom fighter. Mandela believed that the form of resistance was determined by the enemy, and that nonviolent resistance was a tactic rather than a principle. He traveled the country explaining the campaign and training volunteers to respond to police nonviolently. The government began to ban people, which was like informal imprisonment, and to conduct arrests and raids of the homes and offices of people linked to nongovernmental organizations.

The government increased repression with the Sophiatown evictions in 1953, the Bantu Education Act of 1955—which transferred control of education to the Native Affairs Department—and the massacre of 69 peaceful protesters at Sharpeville in 1960. Oliver Tambo left the country and formed the external wing of the ANC. Mandela was arrested for treason in 1956, and when the trial ended in 1961, the government began to appoint its own judges, to use torture in prison, and—starting at the end of 1963—to harass and imprison wives of freedom fighters, including Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela, whom Mandela had married in 1958.

For the next two years Mandela went underground and became an outlaw, disguising himself as a chauffeur, chef, or garden boy. By 1962 the ANC had established a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), which adopted a policy of sabotage of infrastructure. Mandela studied guerrilla warfare and surveyed the country's industrial areas, transport system, and communications network. He attended the Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa in Addis Ababa, and organized financial support for the MK. The government passed the Sabotage Act, which allowed house arrests that were not subject to challenge in court, restricted the printing of the words of banned people, and passed the Ninety-Day Detention Law, which allowed detention without charge.

On his return to South Africa Mandela was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He defended himself against the charges of inciting the country to strike and leaving the country without travel documents. Standing in the courtroom in his *kaross*, or traditional clothing, he put the state on trial, arguing that in a state where there was no justice without representation,

he had no option but to follow his conscience in defiance of the law.

In late May 1963 Mandela was transferred to Robben Island, to the north of Cape Town. He knew about the island from childhood stories of Xhosa warriors who had been banished there. Nine months into his sentence the police discovered Rivonia, the house from which the ANC had operated underground; they arrested the commanders of the MK and charged them with sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government. Realizing they could face the death penalty, the accused defended themselves on moral grounds. Mandela rejected the allegation that he was a communist and admitted his African nationalism and support for British parliamentary democracy. The MK, seeking to respond to increased Afrikaner repression and growing African restlessness, had adopted a policy of sabotage to prevent civil war and to provide the best conditions for future relations.

PRISON LIFE

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment; he would be imprisoned for 27 years. By 1962 Robben Island had become the toughest correctional facility in South Africa. Prisoners were classified into four groups according to political opinion and the extent to which they were prepared to adopt servile behavior. D prisoners could write and receive only one letter of 500 words every six months to or from their immediate families, defined according to Western culture. Prisoners were not permitted to touch their relatives or to speak in their native language. They were given insufficient clothing, bedding, and food. In 1979, after 15 years of protests, African, Indian, and mixed-race prisoners received the same food as white prisoners, including fresh vegetables and meat.

Mandela considered the struggle in prison a microcosm of the struggle in the country. He refused to be robbed of his dignity, to show emotion, or to despair. He fought for reforms such as better food, study privileges, and dismissal of officers, communicating his complaints during the visits of dignitaries such as the Red Cross, three justices of the Supreme Court, and Mrs. Helen Suzman, the only member of the Liberal Progressive Party in the parliament and the sole parliamentary opposition to apartheid. Mandela's first protest was against short trousers. He refused a pair of long trousers until all prisoners were given them in 1965. He endured 13 years of hard labor in the limestone quarry until it was abolished in 1977. It took three years to convince the authorities that prisoners needed sunglasses, and when they were given them, the prisoners had to pay for these

glasses themselves. Sunday services with a sympathetic preacher, books, games, tournaments, plays, concerts, and gardening provided some relief.

Beginning in the early 1980s, Mandela sought to bring the government and the ANC to the point of talks. In March 1982 Mandela was transferred off Robben Island, and in 1988 he was relocated to a cottage within Victor Verster prison, in the town of Paarl, northeast of Cape Town. South African president F. W. de Klerk began to dismantle apartheid. He seemed prepared to negotiate with Mandela, but often sought to secure his own power through the guise of equality.

On February 3, 1990, Mandela was released and greeted by a great crowd in Cape Town. He challenged the people to bring the government to the negotiating table. After his release Mandela knew that his dream of a simple family life would again be sacrificed as he worked for a new South Africa. (His first marriage, to Evelyn, had ended in 1955 when she became more interested in the Jehovah's Witnesses than in politics.) In 1992 Mandela and Winnie separated. Democratic elections were held in 1994. Mandela was elected president for a five-year term and immediately embarked upon an ambitious program of reconstruction, which remained the struggle for South Africans into the 21st century.

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JULIA PITMAN

Manley, Michael

(1924–1997) *Jamaican political leader*

A leading spokesperson for Third World socialist movements and social justice for the world's downtrodden and underprivileged, Michael Norman Manley dominated Jamaican politics from the time of his father's death in 1969 until his retirement from politics in 1992. Serving three terms as prime minister (1972–76, 1976–80, and 1989–92), he headed Jamaica's People's National Party (PNP), founded in 1938 by his father, Norman

Manley, which led the drive for Jamaican independence from Great Britain, achieved in 1962. Likened in his impact on global affairs to INDIRA GANDHI of India, JULIUS NYERERE of Tanzania, KWAME NKRUMAH of Ghana, and other prominent Third World figures of the cold war era, Manley was born in Kingston, Jamaica on December 10, 1924. His Jamaican-born black father, an Oxford-trained attorney, was a leading figure in the island's political life from the 1930s until his death; his England-born white mother, Edna Swithenbank Manley, was a highly regarded artist and sculptor.

Despite his privileged background, which he readily acknowledged, in 1942 at age 18 Manley enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force, serving in the European theater but seeing no combat. After the war he attended the London School of Economics, becoming a protégé of prominent British socialist Harold Laski. Returning to Jamaica, in the early 1950s he became involved in the country's burgeoning trade union movement; in 1962 he was appointed to a Senate seat in the newly independent nation-state and became vice president of the PNP. Described as "tall, handsome, charismatic, and a spellbinding orator," Manley promoted a pragmatic left-socialist democratic populism that resonated among large sectors of the Jamaican electorate.

Determined to improve the living conditions of his country's poor majority and to enhance Jamaica's standing vis-à-vis the more advanced industrial world, during his first term as prime minister he increased the state's role in the country's bauxite industry, the country's principal export commodity and a major source of foreign exchange. He also instituted a range of left-populist policies in the arenas of health, education, and unemployment. A shrewd politician, he cast himself as an authentic expression of the needs and aspirations of Jamaica's poor and dispossessed, allying himself with the religio-nationalist Rastafarian movement and integrating reggae music and other forms of Afro-Caribbean artistic expression into his political repertoire. After his 1980 electoral defeat by Conservative E. P. G. Seaga, and in the context of the neoliberalism of the Reagan-Thatcher years, Manley recast his policies during his third and final term in office (1989–92), privatizing some industries, cutting government spending, and pursuing more orthodox monetary, trade, and investment policies, while never relinquishing his rhetorical or practical commitment to improving the living standards of the majority.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Marcos, Ferdinand and Imelda

(1917–1989 and 1929–) *Filipino leaders*

Although popularly elected at first, Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda, transformed the Philippines into a police state during the early 1970s. With the financial and political backing of the United States, which valued their strong anticommunist policies, the Marcoses ruled for 15 years before being forced from power by popular protest in mid-1986.

Ferdinand Marcos was born in Llocos Norte Province at the northwestern tip of Luzon, a rice- and tobacco-growing region. His father was a politician and educator, his mother a teacher from a prominent local family. Marcos was a brilliant law student in the 1930s; he successfully convinced the Philippine Supreme Court to drop a murder conviction against him for shooting a political rival of his father. During World War II, Marcos fought in the Battle of Bataan and claimed to have led a guerrilla unit, the *Maharlikas*, against Japan. Many critics doubted the veracity of his claims.

In 1949 Marcos won a seat in the Philippine House of Representatives. In 1954, he married Imelda Romualdez, a well-connected former beauty queen. He became a senator in 1959 and served as president of the senate from 1963 to 1965. He was elected president of the Philippines in 1965.

During his first term, Marcos championed a number of large-scale development projects that earned him the support of both elites and peasants. He built roads, bridges, schools, and hospitals. Politically, such programs fared far better than the land reform agenda that Marcos had made a key part of his campaign. Much of the money for these projects came from the United States, which was eager for the support of Asian nations in its struggle against communism.

Marcos won a second term in 1969. Soon after, the situation within the country deteriorated; economic stagnation, crime, and political instability came to characterize national life. A communist insurgency erupted in the countryside. With the instability as pretext, and, as later accounts would reveal, actually engineering much of it, Marcos began arrogating more powers to himself. In September 1972 he instituted



From left: Lady Bird Johnson, Ferdinand Marcos, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Imelda Marcos stand in front of the White House.

martial law and would rule by decree for much of the next decade and a half.

During this period Marcos proclaimed the beginning of a New Society, which would cast away the personal and political values of colonialism in favor of modern values. But even as Marcos and his supporters called for self-sacrifice they began to pocket enormous sums of money from the public till. Marcos broke up many of the business conglomerates run by some of the country's leading families and handed these profitable enterprises to his own family members and loyal supporters. He also nationalized industries and created monopolies to enrich himself and his supporters.

Marcos ended martial law in January 1981 with Proclamation 2045. Although he appeared to loosen his grip on power, the New Republic proved to be little more than a repackaged version of the corrupt and repressive New Society. Because of a boycott by the main opposition parties, Marcos won a large victory in the June 1981 presidential election.

However, years of corruption began to affect the economy as its national debt climbed to \$25 billion by early 1985. Marcos's health also began to fail. Because he suffered from what was believed to be kidney disease, his wife Imelda took on more responsibilities, including meeting foreign dignitaries. The United States also began to withdraw its support of Marcos.

The assassination of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino Jr., the main opposition leader, in August 1983 ignited a people's movement that would result in the exile of the Marcoses three years later. Aquino and his wife, Corazon, had been

long-term rivals of Marcos. It is widely believed that had martial law not been declared, Aquino would have won the 1972 presidential election. Although a high-level commission blamed Marcos loyalists for the killing, the government ignored its findings. Aquino's murder and the subsequent cover-up became the rallying point for a diverse group of opponents.

Still confident of his popularity, in November 1985 Marcos called a "snap" election for February 1986, 16 months before the end of his term. After the Marcos-controlled National Assembly declared him the victor, Catholic Primate of the Philippines Cardinal Jaime Sin, Minister of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile, and Lieutenant General Fidel V. Ramos rallied around the legitimate winner, Aquino's widow Corazon Cojuangco Aquino. The People Power Movement forced Marcos out of office on the day of his inauguration. He fled in a U.S. Air Force plane with his family and closest supporters and eventually settled in Honolulu, Hawaii.

In ensuing months details emerged about how he had used his office to accumulate vast amounts of wealth. Filipino officials estimated that Marcos and his wife and supporters stole between \$5 and \$10 billion. The great symbol of this corruption amid poverty became Imelda Marcos's collection of shoes, handbags, and formal gowns, which numbered in the thousands. Ferdinand Marcos died on September 28, 1989, in Hawaii. Imelda Marcos returned to the Philippines in 1992, served in the House of Representatives from 1995 to 2001, and lost two bids for the presidency.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

Marshall, Thurgood

(1908–1993) U.S. Supreme Court justice

Thurgood Marshall was special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a U.S. Supreme Court justice during the 20th-century CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the United States. Marshall is lionized for his argument before the Supreme Court in the case *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*, which ended the federal sanction of segregation

in public schools. He was also the first African-American Supreme Court justice.

Thurgood Marshall was born Thoroughgood Marshall on June 2, 1908, in Baltimore, Maryland. His father was a steward at a country club, and his mother was an elementary school teacher. Marshall was named for his paternal grandfather, a slave from the Congo who won his freedom. His grandfather had chosen the name Thoroughgood when he enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War. At age six, Marshall legally had his name changed to Thurgood due to criticism from his peers.

Marshall was a self-proclaimed hell-raiser in elementary school and was first introduced to the Constitution of the United States when he was forced to read it as punishment. He took great interest in Article III, which concerned the judiciary branch, and also in the Bill of Rights. Even from an early age, he was troubled by civil rights abuses.

Marshall graduated with honors from Douglas High School in Baltimore, Maryland, and then attended the all-black Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania, the oldest African-American institute of higher education in the country. In his junior year Marshall married his first wife, Vivian Burey. The next year, Marshall graduated Lincoln University.

Experience on the debate team at Lincoln University had inspired Marshall to major in prelaw. After graduation Marshall applied to the University of Maryland Law School, but was rejected due to his race. He then turned to Howard University Law School in Washington, D.C. It was there that Marshall met Charles Hamilton Houston, the vigorous vice dean of the Howard law school. Houston inspired Marshall's interest in constitutional law and instilled in him the idea of lawyers as "social engineers" capable of effecting change for the African-American community.

Marshall graduated Howard University Law School as valedictorian and opened a law practice in Baltimore. Marshall acted as legal counsel to the local chapter of the NAACP. In 1933 Marshall argued his first major court case with the NAACP, in which he won the first African-American student, Donald Gaines Murray, a place in the University of Maryland Law School, the school that had rejected Marshall. In fact, Murray was the first African-American student to enter a state law school below the Mason-Dixon Line.

In 1935 Charles Hamilton Houston became chief counsel for the NAACP. A year later, Marshall joined the New York City chapter of the NAACP as Hous-



Thurgood Marshall was the first African-American justice on the United States Supreme Court.

ton's assistant. When Houston retired to private practice in 1938, Marshall took over as chief counsel for the NAACP. Marshall founded the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) to attack segregation through judicial and legislative means.

Throughout the 1950s Marshall traveled the South arguing civil rights cases before state and federal courts. He received several death threats during this tour and narrowly avoided a lynching. Of the 32 cases Marshall argued before the Supreme Court on behalf of the NAACP, he won 29. In 1954 Marshall won the landmark case for the NAACP, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The unanimous Supreme Court decision overruled the *Plessy v. Ferguson* precedent. A year after the *Brown v. Board* decision, Marshall's wife, Vivian Burey, died; Marshall remarried the same year. His second wife, Cecilia Suyat, was a secretary at the NAACP's New York City office.

In 1962 President JOHN F. KENNEDY appointed Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit. Marshall struggled with the decision to leave behind 23 years as the NAACP head counsel, but ultimately followed his sense of duty to his coun-

try. After serving three years on the Court of Appeals, Marshall was appointed by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON as solicitor general of the United States, the third-highest office in the Justice Department. President Johnson proceeded to nominate Marshall to the Supreme Court in 1967. Marshall's nomination was confirmed in the Senate 69 to 11, and he was sworn in as the first African-American Supreme Court justice on October 2, 1967. Marshall served on the court for almost 24 years.

On the liberal Warren court, Marshall joined a majority in favor of civil rights for minorities and the expansion of rights for all citizens. Marshall focused his energy on negotiating unanimity among his fellow justices to increase the weight of the Warren Court's rulings. However, as the court grew more conservative in the 1970s and 1980s, Marshall became famous for his vehement minority dissents, arguing in favor of affirmative action, due process, and First Amendment rights, and against the death penalty.

Thurgood Marshall died of heart failure in Bethesda, Maryland, on January 24, 1993. His legacy as Mr. Civil Rights marked him in history alongside activists such as MALCOLM X and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, U.S.

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ANNA BROWN

Marshall Plan

World War II decimated Europe's infrastructure and economy, leaving bombed and gutted buildings, destroyed factories and businesses, and high unemployment. Hit hardest were areas of industrial production and transportation. With Europe debt-ridden and financial reserves depleted by the war, the problems could not be easily fixed. Both U.S. and European officials put forth several plans, all of which were rejected. The one alternative for recovery called for German reparations.

However, many officials felt such a plan would be the same mistake that was made after World War I and opted instead for U.S. investment in Europe.

The United States initiated the European Recovery Program (ERP), generally referred to as the Marshall Plan. On June 5, 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, in addressing the graduating class of Harvard University, outlined the U.S. government's intentions for aiding European recovery. Marshall called for Europeans to create a plan that the United States, whose economy had grown rapidly during the war and the one major power whose infrastructure remained intact, would then subsidize. State Department officials would work with the nations of Europe to develop the program, which was named for Marshall.

A month after Marshall's speech European officials, led by British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin and French foreign minister Georges Bidault, met in Paris to discuss options for the proposal at the Conference of European Economic Cooperation (CEEC). Invited by the Western powers as a sign of good faith, the Soviet Union attended the conference as well. However, Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov walked out, calling for Soviet rejection of the plan. Seeing it as a U.S. scheme to subjugate Europe by promoting free trade and economic unity, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin pressured Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary into rejecting it as well.

In September the CEEC approved the formation of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to oversee the European side of the recovery program. Except for Germany and Spain, every nation outside the Soviet sphere joined.

On April 2, 1948, the U.S. Congress formally authorized the ERP through passage of the Economic Cooperation Act, which President Truman signed the next day. Truman appointed Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker automobile corporation, as head of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), the U.S. agency that operated the ERP. W. Averell Harriman, a Lend-Lease representative to Britain and secretary of commerce under Truman, was made special representative to the participating countries to advise them on the program. Beginning operations in July 1948, the ECA had the objectives of strengthening European currencies, encouraging the development of industrial production, and facilitating international trade within Europe and its partners, especially the United States.

Meanwhile, the OEEC met to determine European needs prior to any distribution of appropriations under the act. The revitalization plan proposed to the United States asked for \$22 billion in aid. Congress approved

a Truman-backed \$17-billion aid package with strong bipartisan support. The amount of aid received varied by country on a per capita basis. For instance, Great Britain received an approximate total of \$3.3 billion while Iceland received only \$43 million. Moreover, Allied nations and major industrial powers were given priority aid over those that had sided with the Axis powers or had remained neutral during the war. The same went for countries seen as strategic in the fight against communism, like West Germany.

The basic idea of the plan was simple: The United States gave monetary grants to participating countries, which then utilized that aid to buy the materials needed for recovery—typically from the United States. The ECA and local governments jointly administered and processed the exchange, examining and distributing the aid where needed. As a result the U.S. economy flourished as the European recovery effort grew. Early on, imports consisted mostly of essential items like food, fuel, and materials for reconstruction; however, as western Europe stabilized and the COLD WAR heated up, aid went more toward rebuilding military capabilities to defend against communist expansion.

On the other hand, eastern Europe's forced rejection of the Marshall Plan clearly showed the division in Europe leading toward the cold war. Unlike its former allies, the Soviet Union imposed large reparations on former Axis nations in its sphere of influence. Finland, Hungary, Romania, and East Germany were all forced to pay large stipends to the Soviet Union as well as to provide supplies and raw materials. Consequently the economies of eastern Europe did not recover as quickly, if at all, under Soviet rule.

Over the four years of the Marshall Plan's existence, participating countries received in total close to \$13 billion in economic aid; with the exception of West Germany, the economies of all surpassed prewar levels when the program ended in 1951. Under the provisions of the plan none of the aid had to be repaid, as it was absorbed and reinvested in the economies of Europe and the United States. The lone exception was West Germany, which had to repay the United States a reduced amount of \$1 billion; the final payment came in 1971. Seen as the first instrument of sustained European economic integration, the European Recovery Program removed tariff barriers, ended protectionism, and established institutions that could control the economy on a continental level—an idea European leaders had sought to institute in the past.

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STEVE SAGARRA

McCarthyism

The term *McCarthyism* defined a period of U.S. history during the 1950s when there was intense concern about Communist infiltration of American society. It took its name from U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin, who was involved in accusing many people of being Communist or having Communist sympathies. These people were then often subjected to aggressive investigations, questioning by congressional committees. In many cases they faced harassment and, in some cases, what became known as “selective prosecution.”

After World War II, the U.S. government became increasingly worried about the establishment of Communist or pro-Communist governments throughout all of eastern Europe. Many people in the United States started to feel threatened by the Soviet Union. This certainly increased in 1949, when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb and the Communists were victorious in the Chinese civil war in the same year. With the start of the KOREAN WAR the following year, the idea of communism seeking to expand over the whole world was seen in many circles in the United States as a very real possibility.

In January 1950 Alger Hiss, a high-level official in the State Department, was convicted of perjury. He would have been charged with espionage, but the statute of limitations had run out. Instead, he was charged with lying when he testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the major group involved in questioning suspected Communists.

On February 9, 1950, Senator Joe McCarthy produced a piece of paper that he claimed contained a list of 205 people working in the State Department who were known to the secretary of state as having been members of the Communist Party. McCarthy received much press coverage, and the term *McCarthyism* has been traced to a *Washington Post* cartoon by Herblock, published on

March 29, 1950, showing a tottering pillar on which an elephant—the symbol of the Republican Party—is being asked to stand.

In July 17, 1950, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were arrested. Both were members of the Communist Party, and the couple both worked on the Manhattan Project at the Los Alamos National Laboratory during the war. With the American government eager to find out how the Soviet Union had managed to explode their atomic bomb so quickly, investigations led to the Rosenbergs, who were charged with stealing atomic bomb secrets for the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were found guilty, although doubts were cast on the constitutionality and the applicability of the Espionage Act of 1917, under which they were tried, as well as the perceived bias of the trial judge, Irving R. Kaufman. The Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953, being the first U.S. civilians to be executed for espionage, and the first Americans ever to be executed for espionage in peacetime.

With many high-profile cases like those of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs, it was not long before the FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, started assigning increasingly large numbers of his agents to investigating Communists and suspected Communists. In this, the FBI were subsequently found to have broken laws, being involved in burglaries, opening mail, and installing illegal wiretaps.

From 1947 on, the House Un-American Activities Committee had started to question people connected with Hollywood, serving subpoenas on film actors, directors, and some screenwriters. The first 10, known as the “Hollywood Ten,” refused to cooperate and pleaded the First Amendment’s guarantee of free speech and free assembly. The defense was rejected, and eight of the 10 were jailed for a year, and two for six months. Thereafter, witnesses tended to plead the protection of the Fifth Amendment, refusing to give any evidence that might incriminate them. Those questioned could either use this as a defense or name other Communists.

Senator McCarthy came to head the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. He then started searching through the card catalogs of the overseas library program of the State Department, finally getting them to remove books which were deemed to be communist or pro-communist. The blacklists then started, although in many ways these had been operating since November 1947, when Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, issued a press release that came to be known as the Waldorf Statement.

Several hundred people were jailed during the McCarthy period, as it became known, with between 10,000

and 12,000 losing their jobs. A few scholars, such as John D’Emilio, have managed to show that more people were targeted for homosexuality than communism. In the film industry more than 300 actors, actresses, writers, and directors were not able to find work because of the blacklists.

In 1952 the U.S. Supreme Court voted to uphold the decision made in lower courts in *Alder v. Board of Education of New York* that state-based loyalty review panels could fire any teachers deemed subversive. As tensions mounted, Arthur Miller launched his attack on McCarthyism in his play *The Crucible*, using the Salem witch trials of 1692 as a metaphor in which the accusation was tantamount, in the public mind, to guilt.

It was Edward R. Murrow, the CBS broadcast journalist, who criticized McCarthy on March 9, 1954, on his “Report on Joseph R. McCarthy,” stating that the senator had been abusive toward witnesses. Soon afterward, when McCarthy attacked the U.S. Army’s chief counsel, Joseph Welch, Welch replied, “Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?” It was a rebuke that slowly led to a move away from McCarthyism.

Gradually, even President Dwight D. Eisenhower began to see McCarthy as extremely distasteful. In November 1954, when the Republicans lost control of the Senate, McCarthy was dumped from the Government Committee on Operations of the Senate. Soon afterward he was formally censured by a vote of 67 to 22 for conduct “contrary to Senate traditions.” McCarthy remained as a senator for another two years. He had always been a heavy drinker and died on May 2, 1957, from cirrhosis of the liver.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Meir, Golda

(1898–1978) *Israeli politician*

Known for most of her life as Goldie Mabovitch, Golda Meir spent her formative years in Kiev, Ukraine, where



Israel’s first woman prime minister, Golda Meir, was noted for both her idealism and her practical nature.

pogroms and anti-Semitism plagued her life. Golda’s only memories of this time were of being afraid, hungry, and cold. Tired of their lives in Kiev, the Mabovitch family moved to Byelorussia in 1903 and then to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1906. Upon graduation as valedictorian from junior high school, Meir pleaded with her parents to allow her to attend high school and become a teacher.

At 14 she ran away from home to live with her sister in Denver. She attended high school and worked at a restaurant, where she overheard debates about Zionism, anarchism, socialism, and suffrage. Meir met Morris Meirson in 1915, and they moved back to Wisconsin so she could finish high school. With her parents’ support she enrolled in Wisconsin’s normal school for teaching in 1916 and taught Yiddish the following year. Meir and Meirson married in 1917, and she began working with the Poalei Tzion movement.

Meir and Morris then moved to Palestine. Their first child was born in 1924. That same year Meir was elected as an officer of Histadrut, where she met influential Zionists including David Ben-Gurion, with whom she would be professionally connected for much of her career. She

was elected secretary of the Women's Labor Council in 1928 and separated from her husband; however, they never officially divorced. Meir helped found Mapai, Israel's major labor party, which led every coalition government for the first three decades of its existence. In the mid-1930s Meir was elected to the executive board of Histadrut, became the fundraiser for the Jewish Agency, and was elected as the head of the agency's Political Department.

Following Israel's declaration of independence in 1948, Ben-Gurion appointed Meir as Israel's ambassador to the Soviet Union. Unhappy to leave the newly established Israel, she returned and was appointed minister of labor and national insurance, in which post she remained until 1956. She adopted the Hebrew name Golda Meir. As foreign minister from 1956 to 1966, she attempted to build bridges with the emerging independent countries in Africa via an assistance program based on Israel's nation-building experience. Diagnosed with cancer in 1963, Meir retired from the Knesset; however, her retirement was short-lived. Supportive of the Mapai Party merger and multiparty alignment, she was elected secretary general of the coalition in 1966. When Prime Minister Eshkol died in 1969, Golda Meir became the world's third female prime minister.

Combining idealism and practicality, Meir led a full professional and personal life. She dedicated her career to leading Israel's struggle in survival and peace. Both of these objectives were thwarted when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel during Yom Kippur in 1973. Meir was blamed for overestimating the strength of the Israel Defense Forces and misjudging the surrounding Arab countries' intentions. In 1974 she resigned and during the following four years worked on her autobiography and spent time with her family until her death in 1978.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1973).

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JENNA LEVIN

Menchú, Rigoberta

(1959–) *Guatemalan peace activist*

Catapulted to international fame by her moving testimonial, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* (1983), Rigoberta Menchú

Tum was born on January 9, 1959, to a poor family of Quiché-Maya Guatemalan Indians, among the largest of Guatemala's 26 indigenous ethno-linguistic groups. Her gripping narrative of her life, her community, and their struggles for peace and justice in the highlands, coffee plantations, and cities of Guatemala was the principal impetus behind her receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. In recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation based on respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, the prize committee stated that ". . . Rigoberta Menchú stands out as a vivid symbol of peace and reconciliation across ethnic, cultural and social dividing lines, in her own country, on the American continent, and in the world. . . . In her social and political work, she has always borne in mind that the long-term objective of the struggle is peace."

In 1999 her narrative was challenged as partly fabricated. The allegations opened up a wide-ranging debate about the veracity of her account and the nature of truth in testimonial narratives. Challenges to specific episodes in her account did not question the genocidal nature of the Guatemalan government's anti-insurgency campaigns; the extremes of exploitation, oppression, and violence suffered by the country's indigenous peoples; or Menchú's moral courage or commitment to peace and justice. In response to the controversy, the Nobel Prize Committee reaffirmed its decision.

As a vast anthropological and historical literature attests, Guatemala's indigenous population has been subject to centuries of victimization and oppression by more powerful groups. This is the context for understanding Rigoberta Menchú's narrative, life, and struggles for justice. In her teens she became involved in the social justice initiatives of the Catholic Church and in the women's rights movement. Her father, Vicente Menchú, was a political activist, jailed and tortured for his alleged involvement in the death of a plantation owner. Upon his release he joined the Peasant Union Committee (CUC), and in 1979 Rigoberta did the same. The next year Vicente was killed by security forces during a peaceful protest action at the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City. Soon after, she became involved in a strike by farm workers on the Pacific coast and in other anti-government actions, and in 1981 was compelled to flee the country. In exile she became a leading figure in the international movement for indigenous rights in Guatemala. In 1983 she narrated her testimony to a Venezuelan anthropologist, who published her account the following year. The book proved enormously influential, used in colleges and universities worldwide. In 1999 a U.S. anthropologist detailed numerous discrepancies in her account. Controversy has raged

since. A predominant consensus acknowledges many of the discrepancies while affirming the essential veracity of Menchú's account. Since 1992 she has received many honors and prizes and in 2007 remained active in the struggle for the rights of indigenous peoples and women in Guatemala and Latin America.

See also GUATEMALA, CIVIL WAR IN, (1960–1996).

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Mexico, agrarian reform in

Among the principal causes of the Mexican revolution (1910–20) were the country's highly unequal landowning patterns and growing landlessness among the rural majority, especially during the regime of dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910). The 1917 constitution, which has governed Mexico since that time, included among its provisions several articles addressing the land issue, most prominently Article 27, which states in part: "The nation shall at all times have the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the utilization of natural resources . . . in order to conserve them and to ensure a more equitable distribution of public wealth."

Article 27 also stipulated that only *ejidos* (inalienable village-owned collective lands, generally distributed by villages to individual heads of households) and individual Mexican citizens could own Mexican land or subsoil rights. In the early 1920s, under intense international pressure, Article 27 was watered down in a series of constitutional amendments to permit foreign firms, most notably U.S. oil companies, to be granted concessions on Mexican territory for the exploitation of natural resources.

Actual implementation of Article 27 varied greatly in accordance with the proclivities of individual presidents. In the 23 years from 1917 and 1940, approximately 30.6 million hectares were redistributed to villages and individuals. Around one-third of this total (34 percent) was redistributed from 1917 to 1934 under the presidencies of Venustiano Carranza

(1917–20), Alvaro Obregón (1920–24), and Plutarco Calles and his subordinates (1924–34), amounting to a little over 10.5 million hectares. The remaining two-thirds (66 percent), amounting to some 20.1 million hectares, was distributed by the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40).

After 1940, the popular clamor for land declined substantially, in consequence of both the aggressive implementation of the constitution's land reform provisions under Cárdenas; formal representation of rural producers in national and local governments via the National Peasant Confederation (Confederación Nacional Campesino, or CNC); and the growth of rural-urban migration and the attendant shift in the nation's demographic structure. According to one leading scholar, "[the] era of agrarian violence that began in 1810 finally ended with the land reform of the 1930s." (Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, p. 348.)

After 1940, the national government under the PRI favored large commercial agricultural enterprises at the expense of smaller production units, resulting in growing impoverishment among rural dwellers. Under President Luis Echevarría (1970–76), the government again emphasized the *ejido* sector, adding some 17 million hectares to the *ejido* total. This was the last major redistribution of Mexican land. In 1992 the government radically altered the nature of the *ejido*, in effect privatizing it by permitting *ejido*-holders (*ejidatarios*) to sell, rent, lease, or mortgage their properties. The neoliberal, free market, privatization-oriented reforms under President Vicente Fox (2000–06) continued the erosion of the *ejido*, though the institution remained important in many rural areas, while local struggles for land (as waged by the ZAPATISTA movement in Chiapas, for instance) promised to continue into the foreseeable future.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Mobutu Sese Seko

(1930–1997) *Congolese president*

Mobutu Sese Seko, a member of the Ngbandi ethnic group, was born in Lisala, Belgian Congo, in 1930. After receiving a Catholic education from white missionaries,

he began his public life by serving in the Belgian Colonial Army. He was a colonel by 1960 and appointed chief of staff of the Congolese Army by newly independent Congolese prime minister PATRICE LUMUMBA.

The struggle for Congolese independence left behind ethnic fighting and soon civil war. By September 1961 fighting erupted between Congolese troops and the UNITED NATIONS (UN) forces sent to quiet the growing civil discontent. Sensing growing political disarray in the Congo, Mobutu seized power on November 24, 1965, in a successful coup over President Kasavubu following a power struggle between Kasavubu and his prime minister, Moïse Tshombe. Mobutu declared himself president for a five-year term, placed Moïse Tshombe on trial for treason, and condemned him to death.

Mobutu took full executive powers into his own hands. The coup marked the beginning of the Second Congolese Republic and the reestablishment of minimal law and order. Mobutu appointed Colonel Leonard Mulamba as his prime minister and inaugurated a campaign of national reconstruction. This was highlighted by the 1966 establishment of the Movement de la Révolution (MPR), with himself as president. Mobutu went on to eliminate all opposition to his control while centralizing all decision making into his own presidency.

Mobutu's rule was not made official until 1967 when he instituted a new constitution. However, the years between 1967 and 1970 saw substantial clashes with students who had become disillusioned with Mobutu and his authoritarian rule. Nevertheless he was reelected president in 1970.

Like many African leaders who would follow, Mobutu embarked on a campaign of pro-African cultural awareness, renaming the country the Republic of Zaïre in October 1971. He ordered all Africans to drop their Christian names, and priests were warned that they would face five years' imprisonment if they were caught baptizing a Zaïrois child with a Christian name.

The Shaba Wars of 1977 and 1978 threatened Mobutu's constitutionally entrenched presidency. Several thousand soldiers of ex-prime minister Tshombe's former Katanga army exiled in Angola had become suspicious of Mobutu's offers of amnesty. In 1977 these same soldiers crossed the border into Shaba province.

The continuing economic slump, combined with the attack by the Katanga troops, forced Mobutu to solicit foreign aid to restabilize the country. France, motivated by the opportunity to defeat Communist-backed troops in Africa, airlifted 1,500 elite Moroccan paratroopers into the Shaba region. The rebel army retreated but

advanced again a year later in greater numbers. Mobutu persisted in his requests for international assistance and this time received help from Belgium and France, with logistical support from the United States.

The rebels were defeated again. In return for their assistance, France and Morocco urged Mobutu to democratize his increasingly hostile regime. Mobutu responded with pseudo-elections with a secret ballot that allowed 2,000 candidates to contest 270 seats in the legislative council and another 167 candidates to contest 18 elective seats in the political bureau. Mobutu was reelected.

The remainder of Mobutu's presidency would focus on high-profile foreign relations efforts meant to polish the tarnished image of his nation. He restored relations with Israel in 1982 and sent troops into Chad as part of a peacekeeping mission in 1983. Mobutu went on to suspend Zaïre's membership in the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY in 1984 in support of Morocco's walk-out over the Western Sahara question.

Recognizing the failing economic situation in Zaïre, in 1990 Mobutu called for a dialogue between the state and the people of Zaïre. The resulting dialogue saw 100 demonstrating students massacred by troops at Lubumbashi in May of that year. Mobutu announced his resignation as chair of the MPR in an attempt to rise above the problems within the party. He went on to establish a special commission to draft a new constitution by April 1991 that finally allowed free operation of political parties.

In January 1993 the High Council of the Republic declared Mobutu guilty of treason and threatened impeachment unless he recognized the legitimacy of the transitional parliament set up by the new constitution of 1991. Strikes and disorder followed while Mobutu attempted to reassert his authority. He reconvened the dormant national assembly as a rival to the High Council of the Republic and created a conclave that appointed Faustin Birindwa as prime minister. He announced the dissolution of the High Council and the dismissal of the Birindwa government in January 1994.

Mobutu was overthrown in the First Congo War by Laurent-Désiré Kabila. When Mobutu's government issued an order in November 1996 forcing Tutsis to leave Zaïre on penalty of death, they erupted in rebellion. From eastern Zaïre, with the support of presidents Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, they launched an offensive to overthrow Mobutu. Ailing with prostate cancer, Mobutu was unable to coordinate the resistance. On May 16, 1997, following failed peace talks, Mobutu went into temporary exile in Togo,

but lived mostly in Morocco. Mobutu died on September 7, 1997, in exile in Rabat, Morocco.

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RIAN WALL

Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott

The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, served as the most prominent example of effective grassroots activism within the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s, while also demonstrating the limits of such activism in the absence of support from the federal government. The boycott centered on the Jim Crow laws that governed the Montgomery bus system. The buses were segregated, with white riders allowed to sit in the front while black riders were limited to the back of the bus. The bus drivers, all of whom were white, were empowered to order black riders out of their seats to allow whites to sit if necessary.

The immediate catalyst for the boycott was the arrest of Rosa Parks, the secretary for the Montgomery chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for refusing to vacate her seat to allow a white man to sit down. Parks's arrest on Friday, December 5, 1955, became a rallying point for the African-American community. A committee called the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed that weekend, and decided to boycott the bus system until a set of limited demands were met. The association chose the 26-year-old pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as its primary spokesperson.

White leaders in Montgomery initially believed that the boycott would fizzle out due to the winter season and the fact that most of the African Americans in Montgomery utilized the buses to travel to work. The bus company desired a settlement. City officials, on the other hand, with the support of racist organizations, decided to try to break the boycott through legal pressure, harassment, and intimidation. The city threatened to cancel the insurance of black-owned taxi companies, ticketed cars containing more than one passenger, and arrested the leaders of the association on felony conspiracy charges.

The NAACP, although somewhat critical of the boycott, led a legal challenge to Montgomery's laws segregating public transportation. A federal district court ruled in the NAACP's favor, leading to an appeal by Alabama officials to the Supreme Court (*Browder v. Gayle*). On November 13, 1956, the Court ruled that the segregation of public transportation violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. The buses were integrated within a month. Despite this victory, the rest of the Jim Crow laws governing race relations in Montgomery remained intact, as did the segregation of transportation across most of the rest of the South. Furthermore, the response of Montgomery leaders provided an indication of the willingness of many whites to resist even limited African-American attempts to obtain civil rights.

The boycott did have some positive consequences. It demonstrated the potential effectiveness of nonviolent protest accompanied by aggressive legal action. It also launched the public career of Martin Luther King Jr., who shortly thereafter founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to continue to organize further peaceful grassroots protests across the South, setting up the more extensive and successful efforts of the 1960s.

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RICHARD M. FILIPINK, JR.

Montoneros (Argentine urban guerrillas, 1970s)

In the early 1970s in response to the military dictatorship in Argentina, a number of left-wing urban guerrilla groups formed in opposition to government authority. The most audacious and active of these groups was the Montoneros, which engaged in a number of high-profile kidnappings, bank robberies, bombings, and assassinations from 1970 to 1977 before being crushed by the military as part of a broader crackdown on “subversion” and dissent in that country's Dirty War. Most Montoneros were young, disaffected university students and would-be professionals from the urban middle class who engaged in acts of violence to advance their

political goals. Many were also women, in keeping with the sexual revolution then transforming much of North America and Europe.

In previous decades, leftist guerrilla groups had formed in the Argentine backcountry, though most had had little impact on the country's political life. These included the Tigermen (Uturuncos) in 1959, modeled on Cuban revolutionary FIDEL CASTRO's July 26 Movement; the People's Guerrilla Army, active in the early 1960s; and the 17th of October group, formed in 1968. In March 1970 a new group, the Argentine Liberation Front (Frente Argentino de Liberación), kidnapped the Paraguayan consul. In June 1970 another group, claiming the mantle of the deposed president JUAN PERÓN and calling itself the Montoneros, kidnapped and executed former Argentine president Pedro E. Aramburu, in reprisal for Aramburu's 1956 execution of the Peronist general Juan José Valle and 27 of his compatriots after a failed rebellion.

By the end of 1970 at least four leftist guerrilla organizations, three Peronist and one Trotskyist, were active in Argentina, each with fewer than several hundred members. In 1971–72 the Peronist groups, active mostly in and around Buenos Aires, staged a number of sensational, Robin Hood–like operations. In addition to bank robberies and assassinations, the guerrillas kidnapped government officials, prominent businessmen, and executives of multinational corporations, who were released for cash payments to Buenos Aires' poorest residents. In 1973 the Peronist guerrilla groups coalesced into the Montoneros, led by Mario Firmenich, leader of the original Montoneros formed in June 1970.

Proclaiming traditional unions decadent and corrupt, and popular social revolution as their goal, the group aimed to precipitate a generalized crisis that would usher in a period of radical social transformation, empowering the poor and redistributing the country's wealth in favor of workers and peasants. On June 20, 1973, during events marking Perón's second return from exile, pitched battles broke out between the Montoneros and pro-union paramilitaries in which scores, perhaps hundreds, died (the "Ezeiza massacre"). After Perón's reelection as president in September 1973, the Montoneros stepped up their attacks against Peronist unions, most spectacularly in their assassination of José Rucci, general secretary of the Confederación General del Trabajo. In September 1974 they received an estimated \$60 million in cash and \$1.2 million in charity distributed to

the poor as ransom for the release of several prominent businessmen.

The army, police, and affiliated right-wing paramilitary groups (most notably the "Triple A," or Alianza Anticomunista Argentina) responded to the upsurge in Montonero violence with a generalized crackdown on organized dissent. Thousands were imprisoned and tortured and thousands more executed and "disappeared" in the Argentine Dirty War (1976–83). In 1976 there were an estimated 7,000 Montoneros. A year later the organization ceased to exist as a viable guerrilla force.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Morocco

Following the establishment of the French protectorate over Morocco in 1912, numerous nationalist movements emerged; after World War II these parties, especially the Istiqlal (Independence) led by Allal al-Yusuf, mobilized opposition to the French regime. There was also a small urban-based Communist Party led Mehdi Ben Barka. The Sultan Muhammad Ben Yusuf, the king of the old Alaouite dynasty, supported the nationalist demands. In 1947 he gave a rousing speech in the international city of Tangier in which he pointedly did not declare his loyalty to the French. This was seen as support for the nationalist cause and was a turning point in the struggle.

After riots broke out in the major port city of Casablanca, the French promptly appointed a hard-line military man to restore order. As discontent continued to escalate, the sultan demanded the establishment of his own government. In 1953 the French sent Muhammad into exile, but he did not abdicate. The French attempted to install the highly unpopular Muhammad Ben Arafa, a prince of the Glawi house, as their puppet ruler, but he barely escaped an assassination attempt by Moroccan nationalists. Violence increased, and Arafa fled. Faced with mounting violence and an ongoing war in Algeria, the French granted Morocco independence in 1956. Muhammad returned to become King Muhammad V in 1957.

Morocco gradually reasserted its authority over Spanish-held territory in the north but the Spanish retained

control over a small enclave and several offshore islands that they hold until the present day. In 1959 Tangier lost its special status and was integrated into Morocco as a free port.

Although the Istiqlal remained a key force in the Cabinet, Muhammad V had widespread governmental authority and enjoyed popular support as well as religious respect based on *baraka*, or good fortune. After his death in 1962, his son succeeded as King Hassan II. Hassan instituted a new constitution in 1962 but continued to exercise wide executive powers. The Istiqlal split in 1959, and a new group, the Union Nationale des Forces Populaire (UNFP), supported by Ben Barka, emerged. Following increased political opposition, Hassan proclaimed a state of emergency with full legislative and executive powers in 1965. Ben Barka went into exile in France, where he was kidnapped and presumably killed with the complicity of the Moroccan government in 1965. Political demonstrations against the regime continued in major cities throughout Morocco in the late 1960s, but Hassan remained in power owing to a combination of loyal courtiers, army officers, and security police.

In 1971 armed cadets stormed the royal palace during Hassan's birthday party, but when they failed to kill the king the attempted coup collapsed. In 1972 Hassan survived an airplane attack orchestrated by the formerly loyal general Mohammad Oufkir. The coup plotters, including Oufkir, were killed or imprisoned. In spite of ongoing charges of corruption and nepotism, Hassan remained in power.

Economically, Morocco was predominately an agricultural country but phosphates were its primary export and source of hard currency. Tourism was another major source of income. With a growing young population, Morocco, like many poor countries in the global south, found it increasingly difficult to provide adequate education or jobs for its youth. Many attempted to flee the poverty of the countryside by moving to the cities, where they joined the ranks of the unemployed, or by traveling to Europe as migrant workers. In the 1990s and afterward, these disaffected youth often sympathized with or joined Islamist movements.

In 1975 Hassan claimed the territory of the Western Sahara, formerly held by Spain, as part of Morocco and launched the so-called "Green March" of hundreds of thousands of Moroccans to take the territory. An ongoing war ensued; although the United Nations demanded a referendum to settle the issue, Morocco has consistently delayed the election and the matter remains unresolved until the present day.



U.S. secretary of defense Caspar W. Weinberger meets with King Hassan (right) of Morocco.

Although Morocco has had some success in furthering education and welfare projects and modernizing its economy, wide disparities between urban and rural areas and differing population and tribal groups remain. Following Hassan's death in 1999, his oldest son succeeded as King Mohammed VI. Well educated, Mohammed VI was keen to modernize the country; he also liberalized the political system, releasing many political prisoners from his father's regime. In 2004 he also instituted a new family code to grant women more power.

Islamists, many of whom opposed Morocco's close ties with the West and the modernizing programs, remained the major opponents to King Muhammad VI's regime.

See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS; WESTERN SAHARAN WAR.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Mossadeq, Mohammad

(1882–1967) *Iranian nationalist*

Mohammad Mossadeq led the oil nationalization movement in Iran in the early 1950s. Mirza Mohammad Khan (later Mossadeq al-Saltaneh) was born in 1882 into a wealthy aristocratic family closely connected to the royal family of the Qajar dynasty. His father, Mirza Hedayat Ashtiyani, served the Qajar government as the minister of budget and finance from 1874 to 1895. Mossadeq, who was deeply influenced by his mother's progressive opinions about female roles in society, tried to extend the rights of women in Iran.

When his father died, Mossadeq succeeded him in the family profession as a *mostowfi* (auditor). He was appointed chief *mostowfi* in the province of Khorasan at the age of 14. Mossadeq, who supported the Constitutional Revolution, was elected to the First National Assembly as a deputy from Isfahan.

However, his credentials were rejected because he had not yet attained the minimum legal age to serve as a deputy in Parliament. He studied public finance in Paris and obtained a doctoral degree in law at Neuchâtel University in Switzerland in 1914. After returning to Iran, he held several important posts successively, including vice minister of finance, governor of Fars, minister of finance, governor of Azerbaijan, and foreign minister.

After Reza Khan ousted the Qajar shah from the throne during the 1921 coup and established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925, Mossadeq became a leader in the nationalist opposition to the Pahlavi dictatorship. Mossadeq was imprisoned in 1940. When Reza Shah was dethroned by the Allies in 1941 for sympathizing with the Nazis, and his son Mohammad Reza was installed as the new shah, Mossadeq was released. In 1944 Mossadeq was elected as a deputy from Tehran to the 14th Parliament. During that time, he played a significant

role in enacting the Single-Article Bill, which forbade the government from granting foreign concessions without the approval of parliament.

In October 1949 a group of politicians, university students, merchants, and guilds in the Tehran *bazaar* (marketplace) gathered in front of the shah's palace to protest the rigging of the 16th parliamentary election. These protesters, led by Mossadeq, established the National Front. Under Mossadeq's leadership, the National Front drove the movement to nationalize the British-run petroleum industry. The oil nationalization law was approved by both the Senate and Parliament in March 1951.

Mossadeq was elected prime minister on April 30, 1951. The British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) opposed the oil nationalization law and sued the Iranian government in the International Court in the Hague. Mossadeq attempted to establish Iranian political and economic independence and to democratize the system established by the Pahlavis; he favored both the nationalization of the oil industry and domestic reforms. However, his government fell in August 1953 as the result of a coup d'état that was backed by the United States that opposed the oil nationalization and Mossadeq's alleged communist ties. Mohammad Reza returned to power and Mossadeq was imprisoned on charges of acting against Iran. He was subsequently placed under house arrest; Mossadeq died at age 85 on March 5, 1967. He is regarded as a national hero.

See also IRANIAN REVOLUTION.

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MARI NUKI

Mountbatten, Louis, Lord (earl Mountbatten of Burma)

(1900–1979) *British political leader*

Lord Louis Mountbatten was the youngest son of Prince Louis of Battenburg and Princess Victoria of Hesse. His mother, a granddaughter of Great Britain's Queen Victoria, was the daughter of Queen Victoria's second daughter, Princess Alice, who, in turn, had married

Grand Duke Louis IV of Hesse. The Battenberg family was descended through morganatic marriage from the grand duke of Hesse and by Rhine. Lord Mountbatten was born on June 25, 1900, at Frogmore House, Windsor, England. His family included his sisters Princess Alice, the mother of Philip, duke of Edinburgh; Queen Louise of Sweden; and a brother, George Mountbatten, later the second marquess of Milford Haven.

Following in his father's footsteps, Mountbatten entered the navy in 1913 and saw service on the *Lion* and the *Elizabeth* during World War I. His father was first sea lord at the outbreak of conflict, but because of his German ancestry was forced to resign. Anti-German feeling grew during the course of the war, and this led King George V to relinquish all German names and titles. Accordingly the royal family name became Windsor, and *Battenburg* became *Mountbatten*.

In the interwar years, Lord Louis continued his career in the navy. He married Edwina Cynthia Ashley in 1922. Although Mountbatten's marriage lasted until the death of his wife in 1960 and appeared a close one, there remained claims of adultery and sensational affairs on both parts throughout the course of the marriage.

A captain at the start of World War II, Mountbatten commanded destroyers, losing the destroyer *Kelly* in battle off Crete in 1940. During these early years of conflict he saw action in the North Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Western Approaches. He became a commodore in 1941 and rose to become, in a relatively short period, chief of combined operations. In this post he took on a key role in planning for the Allied invasion of continental Europe. His appointment as supreme allied commander, South East Asia Command, in 1943 gave him the rank of acting admiral. Consequently he was instrumental in Allied operations to drive the Japanese from Burma, and in 1945 he accepted the Japanese surrender in Malaya. His command required diplomatic skills to balance the different Allied commanders in this theatre of operations.

Mountbatten's distinguished wartime service was awarded with nobility, becoming first Viscount Mountbatten of Burma in 1946 and then Earl Mountbatten of Burma and Baron Romsey in 1947. In the same year Mountbatten was appointed viceroy of India, and after partition he remained as governor-general until 1948. This meant overseeing the Indian and Pakistan drive to independence, and in this process he became a close friend of the Indian National Congress leader JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. Apparently this close relationship did not extend to Pakistan's Muslim League leader

Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The partition of India was not an easy affair, and much violence and death came as a result. Some critics held Mountbatten responsible for these difficulties because he rushed partition and independence without proper security arrangements being in place.

After India, Mountbatten remained in the navy and performed a number of critical duties. He became first sea lord in 1955 and served in the important post of chief of defense staff from 1959 to 1965.

Mountbatten was assassinated by the Provisional IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY on August 27, 1979, while on vacation in County Sligo in the Republic of Ireland. A bomb was planted on his boat. The explosion killed his eldest daughter's mother-in-law, the Dowager Baroness Brabourne; his elder daughter's fourth son, Nicholas Knatchbull; and Paul Maxwell, a crew member.

The murder was widely condemned by both the president and the prime minister of Ireland. Mountbatten was buried in Romsey Abbey. The investigation that followed led to the arrest and conviction of Thomas McMahon in 1979 for the murders; although given a life sentence, he was released from prison following the Good Friday Agreement of 1998.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Mugabe, Robert

(1924–) *Zimbabwean president*

Robert Mugabe was educated in mission schools and earned a degree in higher education from Fort Hare University in South Africa. As a young man, he joined the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) with Joshua Nkomo, but split off to form the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which led a guerrilla warfare struggle against the white-dominated Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia. After protracted negotiations with Great Britain, Zimbabwe finally attained full independence under a one-person, one-vote rubric in 1979. Mugabe initially led a coalition government with his rival Nkomo, but gradually evolved a one-party state under his sole rule. In the 1980s Mugabe was hailed as an African statesman

by Western governments. Zimbabwe had a biracial government and made economic progress; Mugabe's regime also was successful in raising educational levels for boys and girls, with one of the highest literacy rates in Africa. In the 1990s Mugabe became increasingly dictatorial and refused to cede power even in face of the 2000 elections, when the opposition electoral vote was clearly the majority. Amid widespread charges of corruption and vote rigging, Mugabe's ZANU party declared victory in the spring 2005 elections. Mugabe also retained the right personally to select two dozen members of parliament. He also ordered the confiscation of white-owned land that was then distributed to his supporters. On the pretext of urban renewal, he also tore down urban shanty towns that were centers of political opposition to his regime. The resultant political crisis contributed to economic chaos and declining productivity as well as wide-spread condemnation from European nations, but, in spite of his advanced age, Mugabe announced his determination to remain in power, despite an apparent victory by the opposition in the national March 29, 2008, elections.

See also RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Musharraf, Pervez

(1943–) *Pakistani leader*

Born in Delhi on August 11, 1943, to an educated middle-class family, Pervez Musharraf immigrated with his family to Pakistan during the Indian partition later that decade. Musharraf's education included enrollment at the Pakistan Military Academy, the Staff College in Quetta, and the National Defence College. He rose very quickly through the Pakistani military ranks despite the fact that he and his family were not members of the Punjab upper class, which dominated the Pakistani officer corps. His military career began in 1964 with various commands that included artillery and infantry units and then leadership over commando units. Musharraf graduated from the Royal College of Defence Studies in the United Kingdom before being named the director-general of the mili-

tary by Prime Minister BENAZIR BHUTTO, and he participated in the INDO-PAKISTANI WARS of 1965 and 1971.

In 1998 Musharraf became the army chief two days after the resignation of General Jehangir Karamat, the first army chief of staff to ever step down. Some analysts suggested that the appointment of the non-Punjab Musharraf by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was designed to prevent him from becoming too powerful. But Musharraf, along with other military officers, soon became frustrated with the prime minister's diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis with India. A crisis that resulted would end Pakistan's democratic experiment.

General Musharraf took over the government of Pakistan in a bloodless coup on October 12, 1999, and became the 12th president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on June 20, 2001. The coup began when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif attempted to fire Musharraf and replace him with the director of the Pakistani Intelligence Services, or the ISI, Khwaja Ziauddin. Out of the country when the crisis began, Musharraf immediately returned to Pakistan, and, with the support of senior military officials, Musharraf landed and assumed control of the government, ultimately exiling Sharif. He then suspended the national assembly.

In April 2002 Musharraf held a national referendum in order to legitimize his rule, which was extended for five years. The majority of Pakistani political parties, however, boycotted the election, and voter participation was believed to have been about 3 percent. In October 2002 general elections were held, and the pro-Musharraf PML-Q party won a number of seats. On December 14, 2003, a bomb exploded just minutes after Musharraf's motorcade crossed a bridge in Rawalpindi. Eleven days later another attempt to assassinate him resulted in the death of 16 people nearby. Musharraf temporarily broke the deadlock in December of 2004 in order to pass the Seventeenth Amendment, which legalized his 1999 coup. In January 2004 another referendum extended his presidency until October 2007. Several significant issues marked Musharraf's presidency. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States Musharraf allied with the United States in the War on Terrorism. Radicals within Pakistan continued to target him for assassination. In November Musharraf declared emergency rule and dismissed the Supreme Court. He arrested opposition leaders and restricted media. In late November his new, personally appointed Supreme Court dropped all challenges to his legitimacy as president, and Musharraf renounced his military role. On December 15, 2007, Musharraf ended the state of emergency, ahead of the scheduled January 8 elections. The December 27 assassination of Benazir Bhutto, however, intensified the opposition to Musharraf,

and his party was soundly defeated in delayed parliamentary elections in February.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

music

Since 1950 there have been many styles of music and large numbers of important musicians who have influenced people throughout the world. It has also been a period where—although concerts continued to be held—for many people, music was heard on the radio, television, played on record players, tape recorders, video players, CD players, and also on Walkmans, MP3 players, and iPods. The use of juke boxes has gradually fallen from favor; “musac” was installed in many hotels, shopping centers and supermarkets, and during the 1990s there was the emergence—initially in Japan, and later elsewhere—of karaoke. Many of the major companies—HMV, Sony, CBS, and others—have been quick to move with the changes in technology. With large numbers of countries becoming independent, there has also been the composing of many national anthems, and the active encouragement of local music, both traditional and contemporary. The period from 1950 also saw the emergence of film music by many famous film music composers, including Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897–1957), and also other musicians and singers. There have also been more developments, including the increasing importance of music in schools, with most primary and secondary schools around the world teaching music, and many millions of students learning to play musical instruments, with the mass production of quality instruments reducing the costs of acquiring a good instrument.

CLASSICAL AND STAGE MUSIC

Classical music during this period has remained strong, with the well-known musical works from early periods—by Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Wagner and others—remaining popular; indeed Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy” has become the European anthem. In addition there have been new classical composers, such as Benjamin Britten (later Baron Britten of Aldeburgh; 1913–

1976), then Dmitry Shostakovich (1906–1975), with George Gershwin (1898–1937) contributing “classical jazz.” There have also been many great classical soloists of the period, with a few to remember being violinists Yehudi Menuhin (later Lord Menuhin of Stoke d’Abernon; 1916–99), David Oistrakh (1908–74), Alfredo Campoli (1906–91), and Nigel Kennedy (b. 1956); cellists Jacqueline du Pres (1945–87), Pablo Casals (1876–1973); Mstislav Rostropovich (1927, 2007); flautist James Galway (b. 1939); and classical guitarist John Williams (b. 1941). There were also some others such as pianist Richard Clayderman (b. 1953), who sold tens of thousands of recordings. In addition there have been important conductors of classical music such as Herbert von Karajan (1908–89) of the Vienna State Orchestra, Daniel Barenboim (b. 1942); Andre Previn (b. 1929), Antal Dorati (1906–88); Vladimir Askenazy (b. 1937), Zubin Mehta (b. 1936); Raphael Kubelak (1914–96), and Leonard Bernstein (1918–90), who was also a composer of *West Side Story* (1957) and much else.

Mention should also be made of minimalist compositions during the 1960s made by Terry Riley, Steve Reich, and Philip Glass, with early 21st-century composers being Oliver Knussen, Thomas Adès, and Michael Daugherty.

Singing, which had been very popular before the 1950s, had a resurgence of interest with the Eurovision Song Contest and other events. The Australian-born operatic soprano and concert singer Joan Sutherland (b. 1926) is internationally acclaimed for her coloratura roles; and the New Zealander Dame Kiri Te Kanawa (b. 1944) is also a popular opera singer. Other operatic singers who have been famous include the Three Tenors: Luciano Pavarotti (1935–2007); Plácido Domingo (b. 1941); and José Carreras (b. 1946). Singers include British duos Pearl Carr and Teddy Johnson, and Lennie Peters (1939–92) and Dianne Lee (b. 1950). There has also been a revival of interest in musicals with Andrew Lloyd Webber’s (b. 1948) *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971), *Evita* (1978), *Cats* (1981), and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1986) playing to packed audiences. *Cats* became the longest-running musical in the history of British theater, and it only closed on Broadway, New York, in 2000 after 7,485 performances. Composer Richard Rodgers (1902–79) and lyricist Oscar Hammerstein (1895–1960) were extremely influential. Famous singers include Bing Crosby (1903–77); Cliff Richard (b. 1940), who operated with the backing band “The Shadows”; Frank Sinatra (1915–98); Tommy Steele (b. 1936); Liberace (1919–87); singer and songwriter Barry Manilow (b. 1943); Elton John

(b. 1947), who was also a pianist and one of the most popular entertainers of the late 20th century; and American Eartha Kitt (b. 1927), who became famous for her sultry vocal style.

Protest music has had an important role, with many lyric writers and singers having a major political message. They include the Australian Peter Garrett (b. 1953) of Midnight Oil, now a politician, and Raul Alarcon, who led the “No Waltz” in a protest against the Chilean dictator General AUGUSTO PINOCHET UGARTE, adapting music from *Blue Danube* by Strauss. Others include American singer Joan Baez (b. 1941), who protested against the VIETNAM WAR, and Irish “mouth musician” Sinead O’Connor (b. 1966). Some protest groups came together at Woodstock, New York, in 1969. Folk music has long been popular throughout the world and has had a revival, with traditional folk music from Bob Dylan (b. 1941) and other singer-songwriters attracting large audiences.

FUSION

The early 1950s saw country and bluegrass music come into the mainstream. At the same time, rock and roll was taking shape from the musical intersection of blues, rhythm and blues, and some injections of that same country music. Though at times the listeners and marketers of country and rock music would seem demographically and geographically different, as the decades progressed musical creativity would spark lively interconnections and fusions between the styles.

With each new generation of musicians and listeners through the latter half of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, country and rock would each return to their beginnings in the music of earlier days. In the 1950s and 1960s much of that earlier music was being brought back to popular attention by the artists of the folk music revival.

Artists such as Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, the Weavers, and Leadbelly—who had taken up music as a tool of social protest during the Great Depression and World War II—would inspire newer generations of singers, songwriters, and players. These musicians would find in music a tool not only for political comment but for personal introspection.

Though it is often of a much rawer and rowdier nature, such personal emotional expression is a defining factor in the blues. Many folk revival musicians of the 1960s revered blues heroes such as Son House and Robert Johnson. A decade earlier in the Mississippi Delta, where that music had its genesis, a white singer had started making records that would cross the

boundaries of country, blues, pop, and folk in a way no one had done before. His name was Elvis Presley.

Presley grew up poor in rural Mississippi. He was working as a truck driver in Memphis when he stopped by Sun Studios one day to record a birthday song for his mother. Studio owner Sam Phillips heard in Presley’s style something he’d been on the look out for: a white singer who had the sound of the black Delta in his voice. Presley’s first single, released in 1954, was a textbook exercise in fusion and changes to come: The A side was “That’s All Right Mama,” written by blues musician Arthur “Big Boy” Crudup, while the B side was bluegrass giant Bill Monroe’s “Blue Moon of Kentucky.” Presley’s early recordings are some of the strongest bridges between folk, blues, country, pop, and rock and roll. His voice, too, remained distinctive, however far from the energy of those roots he sometimes strayed.

An occasional drop-in at Presley’s early Memphis sessions was another singer with a distinctive voice who would go on to become a towering and long-lived presence in country, folk, gospel, and rock and roll. Johnny Cash’s authentic yet mysterious image as The Man in Black was as unique as his music, and his troubled life as well as his religious commitment drew listeners on both sides of that divide to his music, which ranged from the folk-tinged “Folsom Prison Blues” to the fiery “I Walk the Line” to the roots-rock hybrid “Get Rhythm.” That fusion of blues, country, rock, and gospel with an up-tempo danceable beat appealed to teenagers across the country and across the races in the 1950s, but by the end of that decade it had begun to die off as a style. It would be a temporary lull, though, as San Antonio native and California transplant Rosie Flores and others would revive it beginning in the 1980s.

Another singer with a memorable voice and strong writing style had a far briefer career than either Presley or Cash, but his music did as much as theirs to intermingle the rivers of sound that flowed from country, rock, and folk during that decade and beyond. Hank Williams fused blues and longing and honky-tonk country melodies so successfully that his rural-themed images helped his music cross over to pop and rock listeners. Songs such as “I’m So Lonesome I Could Cry” and “Hey Good Lookin’” became standards in the 1950s and remained so well into the 21st century, for audiences across pop, bluegrass, and country.

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw country music become sugar-coated with strings and choral arrangements, in what was called the Nashville sound. Producers there were going after a pop market that was mired in productions that valued sound over substance. These

producers had their successes, and some good or at least interesting music came out of them—Patsy Cline crossed over to pop success, as did Roger Miller and Jeannie C. Riley—but it was not long before restless offshoots of both country and pop began taking the sounds in new directions. In pop, the motor city of Detroit saw the birth of the Motown sound and the popularity of artists such as Smokey Robinson, the Temptations, and the Supremes, and the beginning of musical integration as white listeners came in droves to hear black artists. In Memphis, Stax records and Booker T and the MGs proved vital forces.

THE SONGWRITER

Many artists drew from the folk music revival and expanded on it. The strongest of these were the evolution of the folk songwriter from a balladeer who told stories of events or history to one who wrote and sang powerfully of his or her own emotions, and the parallel return of musician as social rebel and commentator on social injustice.

The decade of the 1960s saw the emergence of the songwriter as a major and lasting force in country and popular music. Record buyers and concert goers began to notice and remember who wrote the songs. The time was filled with good, passionate, and original tunesmiths such as Tom Paxton and Ian and Sylvia Tyson, as well as with singers and players whose gift was to interpret the songs of others.

Bob Dylan's poetic, iconoclastic imagery was for many the defining music of the decade. Although Dylan was not a powerhouse singer himself, the power of his ideas nonetheless drew people to buy his records and come to his concerts. Fellow artists covered his songs as well, with the top three women artists of the folk music revival, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, and Carolyn Hester, among those who made Dylan's songs an integral part of their work.

The Minnesota-born Dylan counted dust-bowl folk troubadour Woody Guthrie as an essential hero, and like Guthrie, Dylan was not willing to be bound by some-one else's idea of who or what he should be as an artist. In 1965 he played an electric guitar onstage at the famed Newport Folk Festival. That shook things up at the time and raised questions about the limits and bounds of folk, rock, and country that still prompt vital discussion today.

Gram Parsons was another songwriter of the 1960s with a legacy as a writer and as a performer who blurred the boundaries between rock and country, a legacy that has endured despite his early death. Raised in Florida

and Georgia, the Harvard dropout found his way out to California not long after Dylan's tradition-breaking set on the stage at Newport. Parsons joined the Byrds, a rock band that quickly became more folk and country oriented under Parsons's influence. The list of songs Parsons had written already included the country and folk classics "Brass Buttons" and "Luxury Liner." The Byrds' 1968 release, *Sweetheart of the Rodeo*, contained another, "Hickory Wind," which is perhaps the song that best shows Parsons's love for and understanding of traditional country.

Country music was a door Parsons opened for Emmylou Harris, who was his duet partner during the last years of his life. Harris was singing at folk clubs in the Washington, D.C., area when Parsons first heard her. A year later, with a recording contract for his solo debut in hand, he hired her to sing on the project. Two years later, a return to the drug and alcohol abuse he thought he'd conquered led to Parsons's death.

While Harris was forging ways to stay true to her vision of country music, rocker Bruce Springsteen was moving closer to folk, and country artists such as Uncle Tupelo, the Tractors, and singer-songwriter Marty Stuart—who got his start in bluegrass—were moving toward rock rhythms and styles. The lines between roots rock and alternative country in band settings continued to blur, defined more by volume and dress, and occasionally by lyrical content, than by differences in melody. Singers and songwriters like Stuart, Gretchen Peters, and Mark Selby, while rooted in country, also found chart success with songs recorded by pop, blues, and rock artists.

Peters, a thoughtful songwriter and gifted singer who made the move from Colorado to Nashville in the mid-1980s, just about the time Marty Stuart was scoring chart hits, wrote music that found her equally at home performing at the Folk Alliance convention, cowriting with rocker Bryan Adams, and seeing her tunes cut by country new traditionalist Patty Loveless, blues rocker Bonnie Raitt, and pop country superstar Shania Twain.

Though she recorded one of Gretchen Peters's songs on her first release, Shania Twain soon turned to making recordings of songs she wrote herself or with her husband, rock producer Robert John Lange. The more rock-laced they got the more controversy followed her country music career, but it was a clearly a combination that fueled millions of dollars in music sales and brought many listeners into the country section of record stores who had never ventured there before.

Alison Krauss, known for the clarity of her voice and her wide-ranging song selection, might have seemed to

be going in a far different direction than Twain, but the two had more in common than sharing a stage. Twain reached pop and rock audiences with a blend of lyrics and style that crossed both those boundaries. Krauss built her foundation on traditional bluegrass and continued to play it, but took her listeners to true bluegrass versions of pop and rock songs they would likely not have encountered.

It is a characteristic that has marked all the artists who have been involved in the fusion of country music and rock: a musical imagination that can see and hear beyond borders, and an understanding of what can be changed and what can remain the same, where the heart of the music lies. The period since 1950 has seen a massive increase in popular music, or “Pop Music,” as it has come to be known. The earliest type was probably the blues, evolving from African-American traditions and gaining popularity in the United States during the 1930s, with jazz taking over as an art form characterized by blue notes and improvisation. By the 1950s, records of jazz music were sold throughout the world. Jazz musicians from 1950 include many who played from the 1920s and 1930s: Louis Armstrong (1901–71), Count Basie (1904–84), and Duke Ellington (1899–1974). There have also been a number of major political figures who have played jazz in public, including Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, King Rama IX (BHUMIBOL) of Thailand, and former U.S. president BILL CLINTON.

POPULAR STYLES

Country music, often known as country and western music, officially started in Tennessee in 1927 with Jimmie Rodgers, and became popular with the increased sale of records. This style of music remained popular in the United States and in Australia. Australian country musicians include Slim Dusty (1927–2003); Australian country and western music enthusiasts meet regularly at Tamworth, New South Wales, each year.

Although the rock and roll period is usually regarded as the late 1950s and the 1960s, some of the traditions go back to the late 1920s. Nevertheless, most of the important rock and roll musicians date from the 1950s: Chuck Berry (b. 1926), Fats Domino (b. 1928), and Elvis Presley (1935–77) being three of the earliest well-known names in this style, with Presley’s title of “King of Rock and Roll.” He recorded over 450 original songs, not least “Blue Suede Shoes” (1956), “Jailhouse Rock” (1958), “Little Sister” (1961), “Viva Las Vegas” (1964), and “Suspicious Minds” (1969). The Beatles, which included Paul McCartney (b. 1942), John Lennon (1940–80), George Harrison



Dubbed the “King of Rock ‘n Roll,” Elvis Presley came to prominence in the United States in the 1950s.

(1943–2001), and Ringo Starr (b. 1940), was the most famous of the early bands. Jim Morrison (1943–71), of The Doors, used tempo and lyrics that had the ability to tap the mood of American youth in 1967. He left the United States in 1971 to move to Paris, where he died three months later.

Other pop groups include ABBA, Adam and the Ants, the Boomtown Rats, the Dead Kennedys, NXS, The Osmonds, The Rolling Stones, the Spice Girls, U2, and The Who. The British television series *Top of the Pops* helped promote many of the groups, and also a large number of prominent pop stars including Bono (b. 1960) from U2, Bob Geldof (b. 1951), Boy George (b. 1961), Gary Glitter (b. 1944), rock guitarist and singer Jimi Hendrix (1942–70), Michael Jackson (b. 1958), Mick Jagger (b. 1943), Jonathan King (b. 1944), Madonna (b. 1958), and Marilyn (b. 1962). Geldof

became even more famous with his Live Aid (1985) musical recordings, which raised money for his Ethiopian famine appeal; and Madonna has been involved in songwriting, acting in films, and many other parts of the entertainment industry. Progressive rock came about largely from the 1960s in Britain and also in Europe, with bands such as Alice Cooper, led by Alice Cooper (b. 1948), Pink Floyd (made famous with “Dark Side of the Moon”), and Genesis.

The mid-1970s saw the emergence of punk rock, with hard rock music played at fast speeds with simple lyrics and fewer than three chords. The groups include Television, the Ramones, and the Sex Pistols—the latter with Sid Vicious (1957–79) and Johnny Rotten (b. 1956) gaining notoriety. These generally used electric guitars, electric bass, and drums—with other subtypes developing, such as grunge, with Nirvana’s Kurt Cobain (1967–94), pop punk; Emo (emotionally charged punk rock); and Gothic rock.

There were also heavy metal groups, which tended to have aggressive and driving rhythms, with the music highly amplified and distorted, and grandiose lyrics, with many of the audience involved in “head banging.” Groups included A.C./D.C., Aerosmith, Black Sabbath (starring Ozzy Osbourne, b. 1948), Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin, Meatloaf, and The Sisters of Mercy.

Other types of music of the period from 1950 include funk, hip hop, salsa, soul, and disco. Some early developments in African-American music included gospel and also, in the Caribbean, steel bands. Funk music originated from African Americans, with the most famous musician in this style being James Brown (1933–2006), the “Godfather of Soul.”

Hip hop music tends to have rapping and largely came about with disc jockeys trying to repeat the percussion rhythms of funk or disco songs. Salsa music largely came from the Caribbean and became popular in many Latin countries in Central and South America and in the Mediterranean. It is also very popular among Cuban exiles in the United States. Soul music grew out of the African-American gospel singing and blues tradition from the 1950s, with musicians such as Aretha Franklin becoming well known.

Disco music, for dance, essentially drew from funk, salsa, and from the Caribbean soul music, being popular in night clubs. Reggae music, some associated with the Rastafarian movement, has also become popular in Britain and other places with large expatriate West

Indian communities. The most famous reggae musician, Bob Marley (1945–81), incorporated a rock-influenced hybrid, making Marley an international superstar.

In the 1990s, there was a development of New Age music, representing some form of connection to Mother Earth or Gaia. This included the sound of animals, as well as quiet songs that had the idea of aiding meditation and helping energize yoga sessions, having a calming influence, and representing essentially a cultural backlash and alternative to punk rock and heavy metal. This has also been reflected in a rise in interest in choir music by the King’s College Choir from Cambridge, England; the Mormon Tabernacle Choir from Utah; Welsh male voice choirs; and British marching bands from the coal mines in the north. There has also been a resurgence of the massive Estonian choirs, and renewed interest in Australian Aboriginal music, with the Yothu Yindi band being probably the best-known group. There has, similarly, been a revival of Zulu and other African chants, and also music from remote places such as harp music from Paraguay and Tibetan music.

There has also been much music around the world often collectively known as world music, for instance, in Greece, Nana Mouskouri (b. 1934). There have also been many internationally acclaimed African singers and musicians, the most famous probably being Ali Farka Touré (1939–2006) from Mali. There have also been many Algerian and Egyptian singers. In India, music played on a sitar by Ravi Shankar and others has been popular in its own right and in Bollywood films.

In China, Chinese operatic music has remained, in spite of China becoming communist—although there were major changes in Chinese music during the CULTURAL REVOLUTION from 1966, with Jiang Qing (Madam Mao) taking part in promoting new revolutionary themes in music. Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Gamelan music in Java and Bali continues, and there has been much interest in pop music, with “45” records of the music of Sim Sisamouth of Cambodia and others being popular during the early 1970s.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Namibia

Namibia's government is a multiparty, multiracial democracy. The country is bounded on the north by Angola and Zambia, on the east by Botswana and South Africa, on the south by South Africa, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. The total area of Namibia is 824,269 square kilometers. Windhoek is the capital and the main city. The population was estimated at about 2 million in 2005. The dominant religion is Christianity, mostly Lutheran, with English and Afrikaans as the common languages.

Namibia spent much of the 20th century under colonial rule. As South West Africa, it was a possession of Germany. From 1904 to 1906 the Namibians rose against their German rulers. The rebellion was crushed, and most of the indigenous people were stripped of their land. On July 19, 1915, the last German troops surrendered to the South African expeditionary corps at Khorab, and the South African military occupation of Namibia began. Namibia was seen as a valuable asset to whoever controlled it because of its mineral wealth and agricultural potential.

On December 17, 1920, South Africa received official approval from the League of Nations to rule Namibia under a "C" mandate. This type of mandate was designated for former German territories that were not considered to be likely to pass into independence in the foreseeable future. It led to decades of tension. Although the South Africans publicly claimed that the mandate should be viewed as a position of great trust

and honor, in practice it offered profits and advantages to South African nationals. For all essential purposes, Namibia had been annexed to South Africa, with the interests of Namibians subordinate to those of whites.

The South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a Marxist guerrilla group founded in 1960, began fighting for Namibia's independence in 1966. In 1966 the UNITED NATIONS (UN) passed Resolution 2145, which revoked South Africa's mandate and changed the country's name to Namibia. The UN brokered a peace agreement in 1977 in which South Africa accepted UN control over Namibia. Only in 1988, however, did South Africa agree to withdraw from Namibia. The new government held UN-supervised elections in 1989, which SWAPO won decisively. Sam Nujomo, one of the leaders of the independence movement, became Namibia's first president. After independence, the government pursued a policy of compromise with opposition groups and worked to address racial inequalities.

There is an extreme disparity between the income levels of blacks and whites. However, the living standards of blacks have been steadily improving, and the major economic resources in the country are no longer controlled exclusively by whites. The country's modern market sector produces most of its wealth, while a traditional subsistence agricultural sector supports most of its labor force. The principal exports are diamonds, copper, uranium, gold, lead, cattle, and fish. Ranching is still controlled largely by white citizens and foreign interests. In other industries—notably mining, fishing, and tourism—the participation of indigenous entrepreneurs has

been increased to provide economic opportunities for blacks. The unemployment rate of nearly 40 percent in 2000 primarily affected the black majority.

Namibia struggled to bring equality to its indigenous population. Racially, in 2005, black Africans made up 87.5 percent of the population, with white Africans numbering 6 percent and people of mixed race making up 6.5 percent.

By law, all indigenous groups participate equally in decisions affecting their lands, cultures, traditions, and allocations of natural resources. However, Namibia's indigenous citizens were unable to fully exercise these rights as a result of minimal access to education, limited economic opportunities under colonial rule, and their relative isolation. Virtually all of the country's minorities are represented in Parliament, in senior positions in the cabinet, and at other levels of government. The San, also known as Bushmen, are particularly disadvantaged. The government took numerous measures to end societal discrimination against the San. However, many San children do not attend school, making advancement difficult.

The future of Namibia remained in doubt at the start of the 21st century. The spread of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) held the possibility of devastating the country. Over 20 percent of Namibian adults were infected with HIV. Additionally the presence of numerous refugees from nearby war-torn nations held the potential to drag down the economy and involve Namibians in cross-border conflicts. Desertification, land degradation, and wildlife poaching were likely to remain issues of concern in the foreseeable future.

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STEVEN DIETER

Nasser, Gamal Abdel

(1918–1970) *Egyptian president*

Gamal Abdel Nasser led the 1952 EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION that overthrew the corrupt and ineffective monar-



Gamal Abdel Nasser (center left) led the 1952 Egyptian revolution that overthrew the corrupt monarchy of King Farouk.

chy of King Farouk. Nasser was born into a working-class family in Asyut province. His father was a postal clerk. Nasser graduated from the Royal Military Academy in Cairo and served in the Sudan. He fought in the 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR at Falluja, where Egyptian forces held out against Israel until the war's end. After the 1948 war, Nasser and other junior officers blamed King Farouk for the war's substandard weaponry and lack of military strategy.

Nasser was one of the founders of the secret Free Officers group that was determined to oust Farouk and set Egypt on a different path. Although the older and better-known Brigadier-General Muhammad Naguib was put forward to the public as the head of the officers' group, Nasser was in fact the acknowledged leader. He was known for carefully listening to all viewpoints and then making decisions. On July 22, 1952, the Free Officers overthrew the monarchy in a practically bloodless coup d'état. A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) was established with Naguib as its head. Nasser and Naguib clashed over whether to keep a parliamentary system or to establish a one-party state with populist support, a course Nasser favored. The majority of the officers favored Nasser, and a single party, the Liberation Rally, was established in 1953. After a failed assassination attempt on Nasser in 1954, the Muslim

Brotherhood, with whom Naguib had close ties, was banned, and Naguib was removed from power. A new constitution was implemented in 1956 and Nasser was elected president by a huge majority of Egyptian voters. He was twice reelected to the position. A highly charismatic figure and a brilliant speaker in colloquial Arabic, Nasser was extremely popular with the majority of Egyptians and among average Arabs everywhere.

Not an ideologue, Nasser was a pragmatic political leader who sought to develop Egypt economically and socially. He moved toward socialism and the Soviet Union after his requests for military aid had been rebuffed by the United States. His regime jailed members of both the Egyptian Communist Party and the Muslim Brotherhood on the right.

After attending the BANDUNG CONFERENCE in 1955, Nasser joined with JAWAHARLAL NEHRU of India and MARSHAL TITO of Yugoslavia in championing positive neutralism, in which Third World nations would not forge solid alliances with either the United States or the Soviet Union in the COLD WAR but would instead act in their own best interests. Neither of the superpowers liked this approach, but the United States was particularly hostile to it. Steering a neutral course, Nasser opposed the Western-led CENTO/BAGHDAD PACT and opposed Arab regimes such as the Hashemite monarchies in Iraq and Jordan and the conservative, extremely pro-Western Saudi Arabian monarchy.

Nasser also spoke of Egypt belonging to three circles: the Arab, African, and Islamic worlds. Under Nasser, Egypt became a center for African and Arab political leaders and students. Although he was personally a devout Muslim, Nasser was committed to secular government and persecuted Islamists, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, which sought to establish a state based on Muslim religious law and practice.

Like all Arab leaders, Nasser supported the Palestinian cause and their right to self-determination. He permitted some fedayeen (self-sacrificers) guerrilla attacks from the Egyptian-administered Gaza Strip in Israel, but he also recognized the superiority of Israel's military. Consequently he initially sought, through back channels, to negotiate settlements to the conflict with Israel. Israel insisted on face-to-face negotiations, and the attempts all failed.

In 1956 after the United States had refused to grant aid for building the ASWĀN DAM, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. The nationalization led to the 1956 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, in which Great Britain, France, and Israel jointly attacked Egypt. The war was a mili-

tary loss for Egypt but a political victory after which Nasser became indisputably the most popular man in the entire Arab world.

During the so-called Arab cold war Nasser's influence dominated the liberal, progressive, and socialist governments in Syria and elsewhere, versus the conservative pro-Western monarchies, including Jordan and Saudi Arabia. With the formation of the UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC of Egypt and Syria in 1958, Nasser perhaps reached the peak of his popularity.

Following the devastating military losses in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Nasser accepted responsibility and resigned. Massive and generally spontaneous public demonstrations calling for his return led him to resume the Egyptian presidency, but he never regained the unquestioning support throughout the Arab world that he had previously enjoyed.

In 1970 Nasser was called upon to mediate a truce between the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) and King Hussein of Jordan in the bloody war between the two. Shortly thereafter he suffered a massive heart attack, in part brought on by the tensions of the negotiation, and died in late September. Although Nasser was mistrusted and opposed in most of the West and Israel, millions of mourning Egyptians joined his funeral cortege. The legacy of Nasserism, secular pan-Arab nationalism, and state-directed socialism, spread throughout most of the Arab world during Nasser's lifetime, but declined and, except in Lebanon, largely diminished after his death.

See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Ne Win

(1911–2002) *Burmese ruler*

U Ne Win was one of the central figures in 20th-century Burmese history and bears a heavy responsibility for creating one of the most vicious, despotic regimes of the modern world.

Ne Win was born into a middle-class family in Burma as it was becoming more firmly integrated into the British Empire. His original name was Shu Maung, and he

studied at University College, Rangoon. When Japanese troops invaded Burma in World War II, he was one of many Burmese who welcomed their defeat of the British. He became one of the “30 Comrades” who received secret military training from the Japanese and subsequently led the Burma Independence Army (BIA) into Rangoon. By this time, he had changed his name to Ne Win, or Brilliant Sun. However, he subsequently became disillusioned with Japanese rule and, together with Aung San, nationalist leader of the Burmese, he switched the allegiance of the BIA to the Allied forces. When Burma won independence in 1948, he was appointed to command the military forces of the country and played an important role in dealing with the conflict between the central government and ethnic minority groups.

U Nu was ruling the country during the early post-independence years as head of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), which had been created by Aung San. However, the gradual breakdown of unity within the AFPFL led U Nu to invite Ne Win and his Burmese Socialist Party to form a caretaker government. Ne Win yielded power at the 1960 general election but then seized power in 1962 on the grounds that the policies of U Nu's new government had led to a renewal of fighting and religious conflict.

As ruler, Ne Win announced the Burmese Way of Socialism, which combined elements of socialism, anti-imperialism, and forced puritanism. The results were increasingly disastrous for Burma's economy and society. Despite progressive strengthening of control over power, intensive censorship, isolationism, and mass arrests, his government was never fully able to suppress the opposition. The international community was critical of his rule, but he was able to gain support from China to maintain his rule. As time went on his personal idiosyncrasies became more prominent, which included increasing reliance on mysticism and superstition. One bizarre move was his insisting that all currency be issued in denominations divisible by nine or in other numbers he considered to be auspicious.

In 1987 rioting intensified across the country and led to Ne Win's resignation the following year. Power passed to the State Law and Order Restoration Committee (SLORC), which renamed the country Myanmar. Ne Win maintained some behind-the-scenes role in the government.

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JOHN WALSH

Nehru, Jawaharlal

(1889–1964) *Indian leader*

Jawaharlal Nehru came from a distinguished Kashmiri Brahmin family. His father, Motilal Nehru (1861–1931), was a successful lawyer who joined the Indian National Congress (INC), becoming its president in 1920. The elder Nehru founded a nationalist newspaper named *The Independent* and was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly in accordance with the India Act (or Mongatu-Chelmsford Reform of 1919) between 1923 and 1924, and in 1926. He was also the author of the 1918 Nehru Report, which advocated dominion status for India.

Jawaharlal Nehru was educated at Harrow and Cambridge University in England, returning to India in 1912. He had a brief career as a barrister but soon gave up the legal profession and joined the Indian National Congress. He became a follower of Mohandas Gandhi, accompanying him in civil disobedience campaigns for self-government for India and serving many terms in jail. He rose quickly in the Congress, becoming leader of its left wing, its secretary between 1929 and 1939, and also its president. He used five months of internment in Ahmadnagar Fort in 1944 to write a book titled *The Discovery of India* that explored India's cultural heritage. When freed from prison, he participated in negotiating sessions with British authorities in attempts to find mutually acceptable formulas for advancing India's quest for independence. Although he condemned the provisions of the India Act of 1935 as totally inadequate, he nevertheless campaigned for the legislative elections that it authorized, winning impressive majorities in all non-Muslim provinces in 1937. Triumphant Nehru stated that henceforth there were “only two parties” in India, the British-controlled government and the INC. Such statements motivated Mohammed Ali Jinnah, president of the All India Muslim League (which won in the Muslim majority provinces) to rally Indian Muslims to work toward a separate nation, Pakistan.

World War II shattered hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity. While the Congress refused to cooperate with the British war effort without first achieving independence

and ordered all its provincial ministries to resign, the League hailed the day that the order was given as a day of deliverance for Muslims. League ministries cooperated with British authorities throughout the war and thereby gained valuable governing experience. Nehru spent the war years in jail for leading campaigns of noncooperation, and out of jail negotiating with British missions on the timetable for the transfer of power to Indians. His longest stint in prison was between August 1942 and March 1945.

Elections in Britain in 1945 had brought the Labour Party to power. Prime Minister Clement Attlee appointed LOUIS, LORD MOUNTBATTEN, Allied supreme commander in the Southeast Asia war theater, the last viceroy to India to complete the handover of power, set for August 1947. By that time the Muslim League had become firmly committed to Pakistan, and Gandhi and Nehru were forced to concede to a partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan, which was accompanied by communal rioting and large-scale movement of refugees, with countless killed. Nehru became the first prime minister of independent India.

The years between 1947 and 1964, when Nehru was prime minister and the Congress Party held a majority in the Indian parliament, are called the Nehru Era. Economically, Nehru was committed to industrial expansion and adopted many features of the planned economy of communist nations, although he also allowed free enterprise. He abandoned the Gandhian vision of handicraft industries. India's neutral stance and leadership among the nonaligned nations resulted in both the Communist and the Western blocs giving large amounts of economic aid to India. Farming remained in private hands, and there was no state-sponsored land distribution to the peasants. Economic development was stymied by rapid population growth, spurred by medical advances that increased life expectancy. Nehru conceded that India had to run fast in order to stand still because, despite steady gains in gross national product, per capita income showed little growth, and most of the population remained very poor.

Under Nehru (and afterward), India's main international problem was Pakistan. The two newly independent nations went to war immediately over control of Kashmir, a princely state in the north with a Muslim majority population but ruled by a Hindu prince. Under the terms of the partition all princely states had to choose to join either India or Pakistan, and the ruler of Kashmir opted to join India, which immediately sent in its military. Pakistani forces also crossed into Kashmir, touching off the first INDO-

PAKISTANI WAR. A cease-fire under a UNITED NATIONS mandate went into effect in 1948, but the dispute remained unsettled, and Kashmir remained partitioned in 2006. A small war in 1961 expelled the Portuguese from their enclave, called Goa, in southwestern coastal India. As a republic, India remained a member of the COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. Nehru's foreign policy was aimed at securing Indian leadership among the nonaligned nations in the COLD WAR; most of them were newly independent countries in Asia and Africa. However, he found his quest for leadership challenged by the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, which, although communist, also sought to lead the Third World. Nehru's friendship with China hit a roadblock over Tibet, a Chinese territory that Great Britain had sought to draw into its sphere of influence since the late 19th century. Tibet had enjoyed autonomy under the weak Chinese republican governments after 1912, which ended when the communist government of China militarily took control of Tibet and began consolidating its power there. A disputed boundary between the two nations remained unresolved, China contending that the McMahon Line drawn by the British in 1914 included 52,000 square miles of Chinese territory in India. Relations were exacerbated when a failed Tibetan revolt against China led to the flight of the Tibetan leader, the DALAI LAMA, to India, which gave him and his followers political asylum. A brief war broke out between India and China (September–November 1962) in which the Indian army was decisively defeated. The victorious Chinese army, however, did not advance beyond the area in dispute. The war was a severe blow to Nehru's prestige.

See also BANDUNG CONFERENCE (ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE); GANDHI, INDIRA.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Nepal civil war

The Nepal Maoist/communist rebellion, more often called the Nepal civil war, started on February 13, 1996, as an armed attempt by communist forces to overthrow the mainstream government and replace it with a targeted "People's Republic of Nepal." The rebellion was



The country of Nepal, nestled in the Himalya Mountains, faces a civil war as communist forces try to overthrow the mainstream government and replace it with the People's Republic of Nepal.

spurred by growing dissatisfaction and unrest with the monarchy and mainstream political groups. In late 2006, the conflict was ongoing.

The war's origins can be traced back to Nepal's political past. Nepal started out as a monarchy in the 17th century under the Shah dynasty and came under British rule in 1816 as a result of defeat in the Anglo-Nepalese War. Nepal gained independence from British rule in 1923. During this period, some Nepalese became interested in communism while others favored democracy. In 1959 an experimental democratic government was instituted, but it was overthrown by King Mahendra in 1961.

Communists were present in Nepal in the 1960s, but King Mahendra had banned political parties. When King Birendra allowed political parties to exist again

in 1990, with Nepal's government transforming into a constitutional monarchy, the communists formed the United People's Front (UPF). In 1994 the antigovernment element of the UPF split, forming the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), which upheld the communist principles of Mao Zedong. Tensions in the country, because of corruption and controversy in elections, led the CPN to decide that an armed uprising was the only way to achieve their goals.

On February 13, 1996, the CPN launched simultaneous attacks on police and government targets. The leader of the communists is a shadowy figure called Prachanda. However, the methods used by the communists within Nepal can be considered something short of terrorism; there have been reports of torture, random killings, bombings, abductions, and intimidation

of civilians and government officials. The Royal Nepal Army fought the communist forces in what they called a police action, and have not declared war.

Kilo Sera 2, launched in June–August 1998, was a government operation cracking down on the communist rebels. The government believed that enforcement of law and order was all that was needed to quell the rebellion. The operation is considered to have added fuel to the rebellion instead of discouraging it, since the people were more sympathetic to the rebels.

In June 2001 Crown Prince Dipendra went on a shooting rampage and killed most of the royal family—including his father, King Birendra, and his mother, Queen Aishwarya. As a result, Gyanendra, the late king's brother, took the kingship, although he let the parliamentary government continue operating. Although disagreement on the prince's choice of wife was considered the reason for the rampage, conspiracy theories circulated that made King Gyanendra the mastermind of the killings for the purpose of seizing power in Nepal.

In 2002, under the banner of the War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the United States, Europe, and India began supporting the Nepalese government with supplies and financial aid. On February 1, 2005, King Gyanendra dismissed Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, restoring an absolute monarchy in Nepal and further fueling suspicions that he had masterminded the 2001 royal family killings. This action, however, caused further aid from other countries to cease.

In April 2006 King Gyanendra agreed to cease his absolute monarchy and return power to his parliament, led by Prime Minister G. P. Koirala. In May 2006 the Nepalese government called a cease-fire and started peace talks with the rebels, though the rebels participated in talks without agreeing to lay down their arms. In July, a UNITED NATIONS delegation came to mediate peace terms, and both the government and the rebels agreed to let the UN team mediate.

As of 2006 more than 12,700 casualties had been reported, and 150,000 people had been displaced as a result of the war. On November 21, 2006, a peace accord was signed between the rebel forces led by the mysterious Prachanda and Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala, officially ending hostilities. But it remains to be seen whether this will be the end of long-term tensions in the country.

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CHINO FERNANDEZ

Ngo Dinh Diem

(1901–1963) *South Vietnamese leader*

Ngo Dinh Diem was president of South Vietnam from 1955 until his death in 1963. He was born into a privileged family from the Vietnamese elite. Ngo Dinh Diem's ancestors were among the first to convert Vietnamese to Catholicism in the 17th century. As a Catholic, he was closely aligned with the French colonial rule in Vietnam.

In 1933 Ngo Dinh Diem was appointed to the Ministry of the Interior under the emperor Bao Dai, who ruled under French tutelage. However, he was soon forced to resign since the French opposed his proposed reforms. For 12 years he resided in Hue without holding public office. He did not return to power until 1954, when Bao Dai invited him to join his new government. Nevertheless, within a year he had engineered the ousting of the emperor and established himself as president of South Vietnam with dictatorial powers. He had been able to achieve this because of the support of the United States, which believed that his opposition to communism would make him the best candidate to lead a pro-Western united Vietnam.

The United States was soon frustrated by Ngo Dinh Diem's intransigence and refusal to accede to the terms under which the United States had backed him. These included most notably the implementation of the Geneva Accords, which required general elections throughout the country in 1956. Instead he appointed members of his family to senior positions within the administration.

When it became clear that he had no intention of following U.S. policies, U.S. authorities withdrew their support and permitted Vietnamese army officers to assassinate him in November 1963.

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See also NGUYEN VAN THIEU; VIETNAM WAR

JOHN WALSH

Nguyen Van Thieu

(1923–2001) *South Vietnamese leader*

Nguyen Van Thieu was president of South Vietnam (Republic of Vietnam) from 1967 until it fell to the Communist North Vietnamese forces in 1975. He played a major part in the U.S. war in Vietnam and lived the remainder of his life in exile.

Nguyen Van Thieu was the son of a small land-owning family in a Vietnam colonized by the French. He aspired to freedom for his country and joined HO CHI MINH's liberation struggle in 1945. However, he subsequently defected to fight on the side of the French against his former allies. His ability as a military leader was soon recognized and, from 1954, he took command of the Vietnamese Military Academy of South Vietnam after it won independence from France. He served under NGO DINH DIEM but also took part in Ngo's assassination in 1963, with the tacit support of U.S. authorities. He subsequently took a leading role in Nguyen Cao Ky's military government, and was elected president of the Republic of Vietnam in 1967 and then reelected unopposed in 1971.

Nguyen Van Thieu's administration tended toward authoritarianism, with U.S. support possibly because the United States had no alternatives. Nguyen Van Thieu was nevertheless critical of U.S. policies and politicians. He resented their lack of interest in Vietnamese culture and history, refusal to learn the Vietnamese language, and demands for democracy. Even as he was airlifted out of Saigon in 1975 just before it fell to communism, he accused the United States of running away and abandoning his country.

He was as an ally of U.S. president LYNDON B. JOHNSON and then RICHARD NIXON, as he led the South Vietnamese state against the Communist forces. He worked with U.S. military advisers and then with the large-scale deployment of U.S. and allied forces. As the Communists gained ground, he agreed to participate in negotiations that resulted in the peace

agreement of 1973. As U.S. forces withdrew from South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese advanced, he ordered all South Vietnamese forces to protect Saigon, but was unsuccessful. As the city fell he resigned as president and fled to exile, first in London and then in the United States.

See also VIETNAM WAR.

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JOHN WALSH

Nicaraguan revolution (1979–1990)

On July 19, 1979, a multiclass coalition led by the SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, [FSLN], or Sandinistas) overthrew the 43-year Somoza dictatorship, inaugurating the period of the Nicaraguan (or Sandinista) revolution. Nicaragua, under the FSLN, is considered the last major battleground of the COLD WAR in the Western Hemisphere. In the early 1980s the revolutionary regime embarked on a series of successful programs in health care, literacy, and related arenas and enjoyed wide spread support. By the mid-1980s the regime and revolutionary process began to weaken, largely the result of a crippling U.S. trade embargo and the U.S.-supported CONTRA WAR under U.S. President RONALD REAGAN. On February 25, 1990, a coalition of anti-Sandinista political parties defeated the ruling regime at the polls, effectively ending the 11-year revolutionary experiment.

The origins of the revolution lie in decades of politically exclusionary dictatorship under the three Somozas; the long history of U.S. military, economic, and political intervention in Nicaraguan affairs; the crushing poverty suffered by the majority of the country's citizens; and the political and military organizing efforts of the FSLN. Named after Augusto C. Sandino, the nationalist rebel who fought the U.S. Marines to a stalemate from 1927 to 1932, the FSLN was founded in 1961 by CARLOS FONSECA AMADOR, Tomás Borge, and other Nicaraguans inspired by the example of FIDEL CASTRO and the CUBAN REVOLUTION. After nearly two decades of organizing and struggle, and the death of Fonseca in 1976, by the late 1970s the Sandinistas had garnered the support of the majority of western Nicaragua's

urban poor and a substantial segment of its business and landowning class. Their political program emphasized opposition to the Somoza dictatorship (*Somocismo*) and U.S. imperialism; nationalism, democracy, and social justice at home; and political nonalignment abroad. In 1979 a divided elite, the intransigence and corruption of the regime of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and a relatively benign U.S. administration under President JIMMY CARTER combined to create a strategic political opening, which the FSLN exploited to defeat Somoza's National Guard (Guardia Nacional) and seize state power. An estimated 50,000 Nicaraguans died in the uprisings and insurrections against the Somoza regime, around 1.7 percent of the country's population of 3 million. The economy was devastated, with GDP declining 7.2 percent in 1978 and 25.9 percent in 1979, and the country saddled with \$1.6 billion in foreign debt and severe shortages of food, medicine, and other basic commodities.

REVOLUTIONARY STATE

After ousting Somoza, the Sandinistas embarked on a far-reaching program of social and economic reform. The preexisting national government was abolished, replaced by the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction (JGRN, or Junta), established in Costa Rica in early 1979 and the country's supreme political authority. From 1979 to 1984 *de facto* political power was wielded by the FSLN's nine-member Joint National Directorate (DN), whose policy prescriptions guided the JGRN.

The Fundamental Statute of the Republic of Nicaragua, decreed by the JGRN in August 1979, abolished the previous constitution and established three branches of government: executive (the JGRN, comprised of five members); legislative (the Council of State, inaugurated in May 1980 and composed at that time of 47 members); and judicial (the Courts of Justice). After national elections in November 1984, the National Assembly replaced the Council of State, and the JGRN was dissolved, replaced by elected president Daniel Ortega. In January 1987 a new constitution was promulgated codifying these and other changes.

Promoting democracy from below, the revolutionary regime found much of its legitimacy in the many popular organizations (*organizaciones populares*) that helped bring the Sandinistas to power, and which continued to play a key role in the revolution after 1979. Chief among these were the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs, or neighborhood committees); the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the Rural Workers

Association (ATC), the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), and the Luisa Amada Espinosa Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE).

Incorporating gender equality into its platform, the FSLN focused considerable attention on women's issues, including maternal health, child care, political equality, and others, though critics later charged that the party largely reproduced the patriarchal norms of the larger society.

The new government also abolished the National Guard and police forces, and in their stead created the Popular Sandinista Army (Ejército Popular Sandinista, or EPS), under the direction of the Ministry of Defense; and the Sandinista Police and State Security Forces, under the Ministry of Interior. One of the major tasks of the new regime was to launch extensive land reforms through its Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA), headed by DN member Jaime Wheelock. Sandinista agrarian reform efforts in the 1980s, like those of Cuba in the 1960s, have been the topic of enormous controversy. On seizing power, the government expropriated all land owned by Somoza and his allies, a total of some 800,000 hectares, or 20 percent of the country's arable land. Most was given over to various types of state-run cooperatives. Criticized for favoring these state-run farms over privately owned peasant farms through differential loan and credit policies, MIDINRA's post-expropriation policies were among the chief reasons cited by opponents of the regime for the growth of counter revolutionary (*contra*) forces within the country beginning in the early 1980s.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL POLICIES

In the realm of popular welfare, the revolutionary government embarked on a wide range of reforms. These included a more extensive social security system; large state subsidies for housing and staple foods; the creation of a national health care system; a major expansion of public schooling; and a Literacy Crusade that earned the UNESCO Literacy Prize in 1980. In the cultural arena, the Ministry of Culture promoted a host of revolutionary cultural products and forms including music, theater, dance, and visual arts, in part through the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC).

A major issue through the 1980s was the relationship between the Sandinista regime and the ethnic minorities of the Atlantic coast region, which had a very different history and culture from mestizo-dominated, Spanish-speaking western Nicaragua. Despite the FSLN's efforts to grant the Atlantic coast population substantial

political and cultural autonomy, from the early 1980s opposition to the regime mounted among the region's indigenous (Miskitu, Sumu, and Rama Amerindians), Garifuna (Afro-Amerindian), and English-speaking Afro-Caribbean (or Creole) population—minorities that together comprised around 35 percent of the coastal (*costeño*) population of some 270,000.

Another major issue concerned the revolution's relationship to the Roman Catholic Church. Critics of the regime emphasized the disrespect shown to Pope John Paul II in his visit to Managua in March 1983, which they argued was emblematic of the FSLN's anti-Catholicism, while the regime's supporters stressed the influence of liberation theology on Sandinista efforts to promote equal rights and social justice.

On November 4, 1984, the Sandinistas held national elections—to be held every six years—in which they garnered 67 percent of the vote and won 61 of 96 seats in the newly created National Assembly. The elections were denounced as fraudulent by the United States but judged as fair by international observers from Europe and the Americas, including the Latin American Studies Association.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Internationally, the Sandinista government pursued a policy of nonalignment, garnering the support of the Nonaligned Movement, and forging alliances with and receiving foreign assistance from western Europe (including France, West Germany, Spain, Italy, The Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark), as well as Cuba, the East bloc, and the Soviet Union. The United States, under President Reagan, interpreted the regime as a Cuban and Soviet beachhead and bulwark of communism.

On April 1, 1981, the Reagan administration announced a cutoff of aid, thereafter successfully depriving the regime of credits and loans from the Inter-American Development Bank and other U.S.-dominated transnational financial institutions. On December 1, 1981, Reagan issued a Presidential Finding authorizing the Central Intelligence Agency to “support and conduct paramilitary operations against . . . Nicaragua,” which included support for contra forces, composed principally of several thousand former members of Somoza's National Guard exiled in Honduras. In February and March 1984 the United States mined the harbor at Puerto Corinto, western Nicaragua's largest port, and in May 1985 Reagan announced a U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua. These and related hostile acts galvanized a growing peace and justice movement,

in solidarity with the revolution, in the United States, Europe, and Latin America.

END OF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIMENT

By the late 1980s the regime was beleaguered by the combined effects of the trade embargo, the contra war, hyperinflation, and growing popular discontent in consequence of the devastation of the contra war, severe economic dislocations, and the policy of universal military conscription. Losing the February 1990 elections to Violeta Chamorro and the National Opposition Union (UNO), the regime peacefully ceded power, leaving the country with some \$12 billion in debt. After 1990 the legacy of the revolution continued to exercise a major influence on the country's social, political, and cultural life, while a retooled FSLN wielded considerable political power in a series of coalition governments. A substantially reconfigured Sandinista Party regained the presidency in 2006 with the election of Daniel Ortega.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Nigeria

Nigeria is located in western Africa on the Gulf of Guinea between Benin and Cameroon. It occupies 923,768 square kilometers (356,667 square miles), making it one-third larger than the U.S. state of Texas. Nigeria stretches 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) from north to south, and is 1,100 kilometers (700 miles) wide from the Atlantic coast to its eastern border.

Nigeria's population has grown extremely rapidly from 35 million to over 137 million in 2004. It is home to one out of every six Africans. The population is extremely diverse and contains as many as 250 separate ethnic groups and a reported 500 languages. The major population divisions include the Hausa (29 percent), who live in the north; the Yoruba (21 percent), who occupy the southwest; the Igbo or Ibo (18 percent), who are in the southeast; and the Ijaw (10 percent), who reside in the east. The Fulani (9 percent), found primarily in the north, along with a large number of smaller groups, complete the essential Nigerian

ethnic matrix. This societal complexity makes for enormous governing difficulties. There is also the divide of religion, with the north heavily Muslim and the south largely Christian. One attempt to foster better unity was the adoption of English as the nation's official language. Fifty percent of the population now has a basic command, although there are many more who speak a smattering of broken or "pidgin" English.

Administratively the nation is currently divided into 36 states and one capital territory. Abuja, located in the center of the country, became the nation's capital in 1991, replacing in this capacity the large port city of Lagos with its over 13 million people.

Modern Nigeria is a product of the late 19th-century British Empire builders. Before this time it was part of a wide-ranging section of West Africa made up of many peoples and territories, all occupying much smaller tribal areas. Lagos became a full British colony in 1861. The country's name is taken from the river Niger. The actual official designation of Nigeria is often attributed to the wife of a colonial official who in 1898 merged Niger with "ia" to create today's identity, which means literally "black area."

All of West Africa, including Nigeria, was the subject of even earlier European interest. The Portuguese came to the area in the late 15th century, attracted by the lucrative slave trade with local tribes. The profits were such that the Portuguese slave trading monopoly was broken in the 16th century as other Europeans, including the British, wanted a share of the riches. Lagos and Badagry became important markets for the exchange of a variety of products, particularly gin and firearms.

Although the slave trade was abolished in the British Empire and in the United States after 1807, British commercial interest in the area didn't decline, and the penetration of the interior rivers by steamships began in earnest after the 1840s. Lagos became a key base and, in 1886, the National African Company, later the Royal Niger Company, received a royal charter to oversee trade in the Niger Delta, which included governing rights. The company's interests also expanded northward. These operations became too expensive and, in 1897, the company's governing provisions were removed, and the British government asserted its authority, creating in 1900 a North Nigeria Protectorate. By 1902 after a time of armed resistance, the Sokoto Caliphate and Kano submitted to British authority.

Lugard, who had become governor-general, now combined all the protectorates with Lagos to form, in January 1914, the Federation of Nigeria. A policy of

indirect rule followed during which local tribal leaders, emirs, and sultans administered their areas in conjunction with the colonial civil service. As late as the 1930s only a few hundred British officers were in country. Infrastructure was improved, including railroad construction to the north, but education in the Muslim areas lagged behind Christian-led efforts in the south. The north remained essentially a distinct enclave.

Nationalism became an increasing factor during the 1930s and was essentially motivated by the notion of Pan-Africanism. Yet a Nigerian sense of nationalism was made more difficult by the area's many regional and tribal divides. The end of World War II left Britain weary of the demands and costs of empire, and moves toward change occurred as early as 1946. At this time a constitutional reform was introduced that created in the first instance three regional legislatures. A fourth midwest regional legislature was added in 1963. Full self-government came to these regions in the 1950s. The desired goal was the formation of a federal legislative structure for all of Nigeria, a system that the north finally agreed to join in 1959. Direct elections occurred in 1959, and a federal government was founded. This new government, meeting for the first time in 1960, declared Nigeria's independence on October 1.

This sense of national hope proved short-lived. Old antagonisms emerged and threatened any idea of lasting unity. The conflicts came quickly with the Yoruba opposing western regional reorganizations. This lack of stability undermined the national government, creating a pattern for the future that would include ethnic fighting and massive corruption. In 1963 Nigeria became a federal republic with an elected president in an effort to strengthen central authority. The elections in 1964 produced more arguments and rioting over suspected electoral fraud. The Nigerian National Alliance took control of parliament, and the United Progressive Grand Alliance of eastern and western groups became their main opposition. This unsettled situation led eastern Igbo-dominated army officers to stage a coup in January 1966. Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi took command and instituted bloody purges of the political establishment. Fighting broke out within the army itself. After only four months in charge General Ironsi was dead, and Yakubu Gowon, a lieutenant colonel soon to be general, had taken over as leader of the military government.

The situation failed to settle, particularly after the Hausa murdered approximately 20,000 Igbo who lived in the north. Retaliations led to more discord, motivating the eastern region's military governor, Lieutenant

Colonel Odemugwu Ojukwu, to declare on May 30, 1967, the eastern region an independent entity called the Republic of Biafra. This situation led to a bloody civil war, perhaps the worst in modern African history. The war lasted three years and cost numerous lives. At war's end the victorious Federal side declared a period of reconciliation and launched a campaign to reconstruct the devastated area.

Nigeria was now firmly in the hands of Gowon's Supreme Military Council, which did promise a return to civilian rule in 1976. Efforts were made to transform the economy from its agricultural base to a more modern mixed economy. There were serious attacks on corruption and moves to control the government's role in the expanding oil industry, which from the late 1960s saw Nigeria become one of the world's largest exporters. Criticism of Gowon's rule was steadily mounting. While attending a 1975 Organization of African Unity conference, Gowon found himself the victim of another coup led by the Sandhurst-trained brigadier general Murtala Mohammed.

General Mohammed consolidated his authority, purged government offices, created more administrative states, and put military governors in control of the media. He also imported new Soviet aircraft for the military. His time in office, though, proved short-lived. He was assassinated by fellow officers in 1976. His replacement was General Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba, who would years later become Nigeria's president. In 1979 Obasanjo produced a new constitution based on the U.S. model and prepared for elections to return the country to civilian rule.

The fall in oil prices in 1981 brought problems for the new government as debts mounted. The result was a poor business climate. Blame was projected onto many quarters, violence was frequent, and foreign workers were expelled. The unrest also brought an end to the Shagari presidency, which again saw a disgruntled military react, cancelling Shagari's 1983 election. Mohammed Buhari, the chief of the army, took over the government with the standard promises to end corruption and reverse the fortunes of the state. However, Buhari didn't last long, and in August 1985 he was overthrown by General Ibrahim Babangida. General Sani Abacha gave his support to this coup, and in 1990 he positioned himself for later rule when he became minister of defense.

Army control did not reverse the economic crisis, which was now dire. Currency devaluation was demanded as a term for continued INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) and WORLD BANK financial support in the form of loans. Again a return to civilian rule was planned,

and state elections were scheduled for 1991, with a presidential election to follow in 1993. To the military's surprise, Moshood Abiola won. The military, however, rejected the result, Babangida imprisoned Abiola, and in the midst of continuing confusion General Sani Abacha took over as military president.

Nigeria's perennial problems did not disappear under Abacha. Corruption, mismanagement, inefficiency, and waste were continuing factors in government and civilian life. Opponents were persecuted, foreign debt increased enormously, and all reforms failed as poverty increased so rapidly that Nigeria became by the late 1990s one of the world's poorest countries.

The government particularly punished the Ogoni people who occupied the southeastern oil areas, suppressing their politicians and executing many of them. Although international condemnation of these many rights abuses was considerable, the political situation did not loosen until Abacha's death in 1998 of a suspected heart attack. His successor, General Abdulsalam Abubakar, once again said that civilian rule would return. Another new constitution came in 1998 and elections followed in 1999. Olusegun Obasanjo, who had been freed from prison only months before, led the People's Democratic Party to election victory and thus ended nearly 16 years of military rule.

The new government attempted to reverse Nigeria's deep-seated economic and social problems and gave particular attention to reclaiming the billions that were stolen during the rule of General Abacha. However, reform proved illusory, and corruption and waste remained major factors in Nigeria's continued poor economic and social performance. Violence also mounted between the Muslim and Christian sections of society. This situation became worse after 2000 following the institution of sharia law in the Muslim-dominated north.

The 2003 elections represented the first time in Nigeria's history that one civilian government gave way to another without military intervention. The elections even included the former Biafran leader, Colonel Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu. Voting irregularities were also considerable, and violence and ethnic fighting were frequent. There were attempts to make the presidential election more national in focus to reflect more broadly based issues. The ultimate hope was that more unity might result. Obasanjo's party won a majority in both houses, and with 60 percent of the vote he secured a second four-year term as president.

It remained to be seen whether a more democratic government could cope with Nigeria's significant number of problems. The average Nigerian became poorer in the

civilian transition, and disputes loomed among many of its peoples over ethnic and religious differences. In the Niger Delta, the Ijaw people campaigned for a bigger share from the oil industry, which led to serious disruptions, kidnappings, and strikes. These violent outbursts hurt oil production. The vast wealth that oil was supposed to bring has not filtered through Nigerian society.

The question remains: Can the instability, political and economic corruption, and grinding poverty be reversed?

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Nixon, Richard

(1913–1994) *U.S. president*

Richard M. Nixon was the 36th vice president of the United States from January 20, 1953, until January 20, 1961, and was the 37th president of the United States, serving from January 20, 1969 until August 9, 1974. He was the only person ever elected twice as vice president and twice as president, and was the only president to have resigned the presidency.

Richard Milhous Nixon was born on January 9, 1913, at Yorba Linda, California, the son of Frank Nixon, an owner of a service station, and Hannah (née Milhous), a strong Quaker. Richard, the second of five children, attended Whittier College, then Duke University Law School, graduating in 1937. He then returned to Whittier where he practiced law, and also met Thelma Catherine (“Pat”) Ryan when the two were cast in the same play at a local community theater. They married in 1940.

Moving to Washington, D.C., Nixon worked in the Office of Price Administration and in August 1942 joined the U.S. Navy, becoming an aviation ground officer in the Pacific and ending up as a lieutenant commander at the end of the war. He then entered politics and in 1946 was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives for the 12th district of California, defeating the incumbent, Democratic Congressman Jerry Voorhis. Voorhis had been elected for five consecutive terms, and Nixon was critical of him for his liberal views. In 1948

Nixon was able to win both the Democratic and the Republican primaries, and on his return to Washington, became a leading member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAAC) until 1950. He rose to national, if not international, attention in his investigation of Alger Hiss.

Nixon’s cross-examination of Hiss before the HUAC established his anticommunist credentials, and in 1950, Nixon ran for the Senate against the Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas. This campaign also included innuendoes, with “pink sheets” being distributed comparing how Douglas voted in the Senate with the voting record of Vito Marcantonio, a left-wing senator from New York. This led to Nixon earning his nickname “Tricky Dick,” coined by a small Californian newspaper, the *Independent Review*, and taken up by Douglas.

In 1952 Nixon managed to win the vice presidential nomination on a ticket with Dwight D. Eisenhower. Nixon was seen as an uncompromising anticommunist, but was tainted with allegations of corruption. Journalists discovered that Nixon had operated a slush fund with money from Southern Californian businessmen, and Nixon went on the attack. He listed his family’s assets, admitting that his six-year-old daughter Tricia had received, as a gift, a cocker spaniel called Checkers, and he announced that the family would be keeping it. The public responded favorably to Nixon’s frankness, and the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket won 442 electoral college votes.

Nixon had two terms as vice president and during that time is said to have redefined the role of the office. He became a prominent spokesman for the Eisenhower administration, particularly on aspects of foreign policy. Nixon chaired a number of cabinet sessions when Eisenhower was incapacitated owing to illness, but Eisenhower left most power with some advisers, with Nixon always excluded from the inner circle. He also went on a tour of Latin America in 1958, his progress being followed by anti-American demonstrators, and to the Soviet Union in 1959 where he met with Soviet premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

Nominated as the Republican Party’s presidential candidate in 1960, Nixon used his experience as vice president to try to upstage the Democrat Party’s choice of JOHN F. KENNEDY. The campaign has become best-known for the first television debates between the two candidates. Kennedy was able to portray himself as representing a generational change in leadership, looking younger and “fresher” than Nixon. He was certainly able to respond to Nixon’s attacks, but although Nixon



President Richard Nixon speaks with guests during his daughter Tricia's wedding at the White House.

looked terrible in some of his television appearances, many people who listened to the debates on the radio felt that he did better than Kennedy. The election was close, with Nixon losing by fewer than 120,000 votes, with queries about the voting in Illinois and Texas. Nixon chose not to challenge the results too much, and his dignity won him the support of many.

Retiring to private life in California, Nixon then wrote a book, *Six Crises*, in which he described his role facing six crises in his career as a congressman, senator, and then vice president. It was influential, and Mao Zedong was to read it in preparation for Nixon's 1972 visit to China. Nixon contested the governorship of California in 1962, losing to the incumbent, Democrat Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown. He then again retired from politics and went to New York, where he practiced law as the senior partner in Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander.

He was disappointed when Barry Goldwater was chosen as the Republican Party choice in the 1964 elections, writing that Goldwater lost the entire campaign

when he (Goldwater) declared that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." By contrast, Nixon built up a reputation as a moderate and an expert in foreign policy, which contributed to the Republican Party choosing him as their candidate in 1968.

By 1968 Nixon had put together a coalition of supporters that managed to ally itself with Southern conservatives led by Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Nixon promised to name a Southerner to the Supreme Court, oppose court-ordered "busing" urged by the civil rights movement, and chose a hard-line vice-presidential candidate who would have Southern support. His choice was Maryland governor Spiro Agnew. Nixon stood against a disunited Democratic Party, which was split between supporters of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy who opposed the VIETNAM WAR, and Hubert Humphrey, choice of the mainstream Democratic Party. Robert Kennedy's assassination had resulted in Humphrey being chosen as the candidate after a torrid party gathering at Chicago which led to fighting in the streets. Nixon promised that he would get "peace with honor" in Vietnam but was not specific about how he was going to achieve this. It did not stop him criticizing Vice President Humphrey, who, as part of the LYNDON B. JOHNSON administration, was blamed for the increasing casualties there, especially with the Tet Offensive at the start of the election campaign. Nixon, however, was more worried that the candidacy of George Wallace, as a pro-segregationist party, might split his vote in the South. Nixon won comfortably with 301 electoral college seats to Humphrey's 191 and Wallace's 46. However, the popular vote was far closer: Nixon, 31.7 million, and Humphrey, 30.9 million.

After the election, Nixon was determined to introduce a number of reforms. As soon as he became president, he changed the civil rights and law enforcement legislation. He established the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Office of Minority Business Enterprise. Nixon pushed through the space project, with Neil Armstrong landing on the Moon on July 20, 1969, and speaking to Nixon from the Moon. In January 1972 Nixon also approved the Space Shuttle Program. He also launched, in his State of the Union speech in January 1971, an additional \$100 million to be added to the National Cancer Institute budget for cancer research, inaugurating his "War on Cancer." He had also proposed the Family Assistance Program (FAP) to replace the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which

would have provided poor families with a guaranteed annual income. The move was defeated in the Senate, but it did lead to the Supplemental Security Income program and many other related programs. Overall, Nixon's aim was to reduce inflation by limiting government spending, but from 1971 the government ran up what was then the biggest deficit in U.S. history.

Nixon's main aim was to achieve an "honorable" settlement to the conflict in Vietnam. To achieve this, his first major task was to increase "Vietnamization," by which the United States reduced the number of its soldiers while increasing the number of South Vietnamese soldiers. This became known as the Guam Doctrine, or the Nixon Doctrine. With the U.S. command worried about the state of readiness of the South Vietnamese troops, Nixon resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, which had been suspended by Lyndon Johnson just before the 1968 elections. In fact, Nixon expanded the war by organizing the secret bombing of Cambodia in March 1969, and supporting the overthrow of Cambodia's ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in March 1970. Straight after this, the Vietnamese Communists tried to gain control of Cambodia, and soon afterwards Nixon ordered U.S. soldiers and South Vietnamese forces to attack Viet Cong sanctuaries in Cambodia.

NIXON AND CHINA

Nixon also started a series of initially secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese through his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, who met with the North Vietnamese foreign minister, Le Duc Tho. As these progressed, Nixon began establishing links with the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. The United States lifted its trade and travel restrictions in 1971. When the Chinese indicated that they would favor high-level contacts, the U.S. and Chinese table-tennis teams took part in reciprocal visits, with Kissinger visiting China, and then Nixon making his own visit to China in February–March 1972—the first by a U.S. president while in office. Nixon felt that better relations with China would put pressure on the Soviet Union. Before Nixon left China, the Shanghai Communiqué recorded that Nixon acknowledged the "one China" policy by which the United States accepted that Taiwan is a part of one China. In May 1972 Nixon visited the Soviet Union and began détente, with several talks on limiting nuclear weapons such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

By October 1972 Nixon was close to reaching an agreement with the North Vietnamese, having achieved most of his objectives just before the U.S. presidential elections. The South Vietnamese raised objections, while

the North Vietnamese refused to compromise, knowing how much Nixon wanted the agreement. No agreement was reached by the elections, with the Christmas bombings of North Vietnam forcing the North Vietnamese back to the negotiation tables, and the final agreement being signed in January 1973 in Paris.

All U.S. military personnel were to be withdrawn, all prisoners of war were to be released, and there would be a ceasefire, along with a heavy rearming of the South Vietnamese. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho were awarded the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize, but Tho declined to receive it.

Nixon also was involved in controversial actions around the world. He oversaw the channeling of millions of dollars to the Chilean opposition, and supported the military overthrow of SALVADOR ALLENDE in Chile in 1973, allying itself to the subsequent government of General AUGUSTO PINOCHET. In the Middle East, Nixon supported Israel during the Yom Kippur War, an action that led to the 1973 oil crisis. The administration also supported General Yahya Khan in the INDO-PAKISTAN WAR of 1971, seriously affecting relations between India and the United States for many years.

In 1972 Nixon was renominated for the presidential election along with Spiro Agnew. This led to the formation of the Campaign for the Reelection of the President (CRP), which was nicknamed by his opponents CREEP. On June 17, 1972, five men were arrested for being involved in a burglary at the Democratic Party national headquarters in the Watergate Hotel complex in Washington, D.C. It soon emerged that these men had been hired by the CRP and were charged. With no evidence available at the time linking Watergate to Nixon, Nixon easily won the November 1972 elections with 520 electoral college votes.

THE COVER-UP

The Watergate scandal became a major issue in 1973, with Nixon having White House counsel John Dean organize a "cover-up." Two journalists from the *Washington Post*, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, felt there was more in the Watergate story than was made out, and started receiving information from a source who went by the code name "Deep Throat," who later turned out to be Mark Felt, deputy director of the FBI. In February 1973 the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, chaired by Senator Sam Ervin, was established to investigate the Watergate affair, and John Dean was interviewed in televised hearings. He started accusing Nixon of involvement in the cover-up of Watergate, with other witnesses testifying

about illegal activities by Nixon and his administration, which initiated an organized program of harassment of other politicians, journalists, and others.

It became evident that Nixon had installed a recording system in the Oval Office soon after he became president, but Nixon refused to comply with a subpoena. Nixon then ordered his attorney general to fire Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor who was investigating Watergate.

When the attorney general, Elliot Richardson, resigned, Nixon fired Richardson's assistant when he also refused to fire Cox. He then managed to get solicitor-general Robert Bork to fire Cox. Finally in July 1974 the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Nixon's claim of "executive privilege" was no excuse. A transcript of one of Nixon's conversations, made available on August 5, 1974, showed that the president had discussed the use of the Central Intelligence Agency to block the FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in. Three days later Nixon, faced with the prospect of impeachment by the House of Representatives and conviction in the Senate, announced his resignation effective at noon the following day.

Nixon's vice president, Spiro Agnew, had resigned his office in 1973 after facing charges of bribery, extortion, and tax evasion. He had been replaced by GERALD FORD, who followed Nixon as president. On September 8, 1974, President Ford gave Nixon a presidential pardon. In retirement, Nixon and his wife settled at San Clemente, California, and he wrote his memoirs. He then spent most of the rest of his life writing about foreign policy. He was partly able to restore some of his reputation as an elder statesman. In 1980 he flew to Egypt, where he was present at the funeral of the former shah of Iran, being highly critical of the JIMMY CARTER administration's handling of Iran. Pat Nixon died on June 22, 1993, and Richard Nixon died from a massive stroke on April 22, 1994, in New York City.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Nkrumah, Kwame

(1909–1972) *Ghanaian prime minister*

Kwame Nkrumah was born in the British-controlled Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) in West Africa. He trained as a teacher and studied in both the United States and England. Nkrumah helped to organize the 1945 Pan Africa Congress and remained a staunch supporter of African union and cooperation. An ardent nationalist, Nkrumah served as general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention but split from the party to establish the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949. His book, *I Speak for Freedom*, was an impassioned defense of African independence.

Nkrumah was jailed by the British for his activist campaigns but was freed in 1951. He led the Gold Coast to complete independence in 1957. The newly independent nation of Ghana had a sound economy and under Nkrumah's leadership was looked to for direction by other African states. Nkrumah championed the Organization of African Unity (OAU), formed in 1963. He also was an outspoken opponent of the apartheid white-dominated regime in South Africa.

However, Nkrumah became increasingly dictatorial and established Ghana as a one-party state in 1964 when he took the title of president for life. A cult of personality arose around Nkrumah, and a trend of one-party states under dictatorial "rulers for life" emerged in many African states during the 1970s. Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup d'état in 1966; in subsequent years he lived in exile and died in Romania in 1972.

See also GHANA.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Noriega, Manuel

(1938–) *general and dictator of Panama*

A close ally of the U.S. military and intelligence establishment from the late 1950s to the late 1980s, General Manuel Noriega was the dictator of Panama from 1983 to 1989. Intimately involved with U.S. covert efforts



General Manuel Noriega walks to his seat aboard a U.S. Air Force aircraft, escorted by agents from the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). The former Panamanian leader was flown to the United States, where he was held for trial on drug charges.

to overthrow the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and to combat leftist revolutionary movements elsewhere in Central America, Noriega ran afoul of U.S. policy-makers in the aftermath of the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR; was indicted on federal drug charges in February 1988; and was overthrown in late December 1989 in the U.S. invasion of Panama. He surrendered to U.S. officials in early January 1990; was transported to the United States; tried for drug trafficking in April 1992; found guilty in September; and sentenced to 40 years in prison, where he has remained. Convicted in France for money laundering, and in Panama in absentia for murder, it is unlikely that he will ever be freed.

Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno was born on February 11, 1938, in Panama City, the illegitimate child of a poor single woman who died when he was a small boy. Raised by his godmother in Panama City, he entered the military and was trained at the Military School of Chor-

rillos in Peru, where in the late 1950s he was recruited by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. His relationship with U.S. intelligence agencies deepened during his training at the SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS in Fort Gulick, Panama, where he completed his coursework in 1967. Commissioned as an intelligence officer in the Panama National Guard the same year, he rose rapidly in rank. In 1969 he helped dictator General Omar Torrijos fend off a coup attempt, and soon after was appointed the country's Chief of Military Intelligence.

A shrewd political operator who deftly played both sides of the fence, through the 1970s he received hundreds of thousands of dollars as a CIA informant, and passed U.S. secrets to FIDEL CASTRO and other U.S. adversaries. Allegedly complicit in the July 1981 plane crash that resulted in Torrijos's death, with U.S. backing he became the country's de facto head of state in August 1983.

By this time he was working closely with the administration of U.S. president RONALD REAGAN in its efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas. He also used Panama's strict secrecy laws to launch drug money-laundering operations, actively collaborating with the drug cartels of Medellín, Colombia. Washington turned a blind eye to his role in the drug trade, emphasizing instead his collaboration with U.S. hemispheric "war on drugs." Despite mounting evidence of Noriega's involvement in the drug trade, in 1987 Attorney General Edwin Meese issued Panama the Drug Enforcement Agency's "highest commendation" for the country's anti-narcotics efforts. Meanwhile Noriega's base of support, in Washington and at home, had eroded. The Iran-contra scandal purged Washington of many of his top supporters, while opposition in Panama mounted, mainly in consequence of his brutality in dealing with his opponents. The ax fell in February 1988 with a 12-count indictment on racketeering and narcotics charges issued by U.S. federal prosecutors. After nearly two years of escalating tensions, on December 20, 1989, U.S. forces launched "Operation Just Cause," invading Panama, killing an estimated 300 civilians, wounding 3,000, and seizing Noriega. Launched in the name of the "war on drugs," the invasion had a negligible impact on the hemispheric drug trade, which has grown rapidly since.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a trilateral trade pact among the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Implemented on January 1, 1994, the agreement is intended to foster open and unrestricted commercial relations among its three signatories. Supplemental agreements, also part of NAFTA, are the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC), the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), and the Understanding

on Emergency Action (Safeguards). Administered in the United States by the International Trade Administration of the Department of Commerce, NAFTA is one of several regional trading blocs in the Western Hemisphere. These include the Andean Community of Nations (CAN, among Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru, f. 1969); the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM, f. 1973), the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR, among Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Paraguay, f. 1991), and the Central America–Dominican Republic–United States Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR, f. 2004). NAFTA's supporters conceive of the agreement as an important stepping stone in the creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which would include the 34 nation-states and territories of the Western Hemisphere. In its goal of fostering unrestricted commercial relations, NAFTA follows the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor, the World Trade Organization (WTO).

NAFTA has sparked a huge debate between its supporters and opponents. Its principal supporters in the private sector consist of the hemisphere's largest corporations, most of which are based in the United States. They argue that in all three countries NAFTA will increase living standards, create new jobs, protect the environment; and ensure compliance with labor laws. Its principal opponents include labor, environmental, faith-based, indigenous rights, and consumer rights groups. They maintain that NAFTA, like the WTO, promotes a "race to the bottom" by favoring large corporations over smaller enterprises, benefiting the rich more than the poor; increasing inequality, causing a net loss of jobs, fostering environmental degradation, and failing to adequately protect the rights of workers. The communiqué of sub-commander Marcos, spokesperson of the ZAPATISTAS of Chiapas, Mexico—a group whose rebellion against the Mexican government was timed to coincide with NAFTA's implementation—convey many of the principal arguments of NAFTA's opponents.

A large scholarly literature mirrors this debate. On the whole, the evidence demonstrates that NAFTA has increased trade dramatically while failing to meet its supporters' expectations with regard to employment, poverty, inequality, the environment, and labor rights. In Mexico, poverty, inequality, and unemployment have all increased substantially since NAFTA's implementation. In the United States and Canada, the creation of new jobs has not kept pace with the outflows of capital and jobs traceable to NAFTA. The leftward tilt in Latin American politics since the 1990s has buttressed that

continent's opposition to multilateral trade agreements like NAFTA, the WTO, and the proposed FTAA.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The NATO alliance is dedicated to the maintenance of the democratic freedoms and territorial integrity of its 26 European and North American member countries through collective defense. This alliance has been the dominant structure of European defense and security since its founding in 1949 and continues to serve as the most formal symbol of the United States' commitment to defend Europe against aggression. Following the end of the COLD WAR, the organization also took on a peacekeeping and stabilizing role within Eurasia.

NATO was founded with the Washington Treaty of April 4, 1949, which was signed by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, and the United States. The 12 founding members were later joined by 14 others, including Greece and Turkey, which allowed the alliance to secure the Mediterranean. From the outset, NATO was intended to deter Soviet expansion into central and western Europe.

The Washington Treaty reflected the will of the signatories to further democratic values and economic cooperation, to share the obligations of defense individually and collectively, to consult together in the face of threats, to regard an attack against one member as an attack against all members, and to collectively and individually assist the victims of an attack. The treaty also delineated the geographic boundaries of the alliance, created the North Atlantic Council to implement the treaty, made provisions for new members to join, governed ratification according to constitutional processes, and made provisions for review of the treaty.

NATO's civil and military organization materialized during 1949–95. The basic structures developed during this period remained into the 21st century. The civilian headquarters for the North Atlantic Council



Hungarian troops under NATO command stand on guard at NATO headquarters in Kosovo.

(NAC), which maintains effective political authority and powers of decision in NATO, is located in Brussels, Belgium. NATO's secretary-general chairs the NAC and oversees the work of the International Staff (IS). Member countries maintain permanent representatives. The council serves as a forum for frank and open diplomatic consultation and the coordination of strategic, defense, and foreign policy among the alliance members. Action is agreed upon on the basis of common consensus rather than majority vote. Twice a year the defense ministers of the member countries meet at the NAC, and summit meetings involving the heads of state of each member country occur, during which major decisions over grand strategy or policy must be made. After the end of the cold war, the NAC was supplemented by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) as well as the NATO-Russia Joint Council. These newer bodies facilitate peaceful coordination and cooperation between NATO and the Russian Federation and other former members of the Soviet-led WARSAW PACT alliance.

The secretary-general of NATO also chairs the Defence Planning Committee (DPC), which is tasked with planning for the collective defense of the member countries. The DPC provides guidance to the alliance's military authorities to improve common measures of collective defense and military integration. The DPC consists of the permanent representatives; like the NAC, the DPC also serves as a forum for meetings between the defense ministers of the member states twice a year.

The senior military representatives of the member states form the Military Committee. The Military

Committee is subordinate to the NAC and consists of the chiefs of staff of the member nations, who advise the NAC on all military matters and who oversee the implementation of the measures necessary for the collective defense of the North Atlantic area. The committee is supported by the International Military Staff (IMS), which meets twice a year at chiefs of staff level and more often at the national military representatives level. Until 2003 operational control of military forces operating under the NATO flag fell to Allied Command Europe and Allied Command Atlantic.

In 2003 NATO undertook a major restructuring of its military commands. The Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) became the Headquarters of Allied Command Operations (ACO). ACT is tasked with driving transformation in NATO and establishing future capabilities, while ACO is responsible for current operations.

Throughout the cold war NATO faced a powerful counter-alliance in the Warsaw Pact and turmoil within the organization itself. Indeed, in 1949 the alliance members could only marshal 14 divisions of military personnel against an estimated 175 Soviet divisions. At the NAC meeting in 1952, the members established a goal of fielding 50 divisions backed up by several thousand aircraft by the end of the year and 96 divisions by 1955. Also in 1952 the alliance introduced a new strategic concept: mass conventional defense of Europe coupled with long-range nuclear strikes against the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members. However, the cost of raising the 96 divisions required to implement this strategy proved too great, and it was quickly abandoned. In 1953 Dwight Eisenhower put forward a new strategy, which focused more on nuclear deterrence. The new strategy came to be known as "massive retaliation" and would have involved extensive use of nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and eastern Europe if their forces had broken through NATO's conventional defenses in central Europe.

Nuclear crises over Berlin and Cuba in the late 1950s and early 1960s suggested a need for a more gradual strategy than massive retaliation. President JOHN F. KENNEDY endorsed a strategy of "flexible response" in 1961–63, which favored deploying more conventional forces in central and northern Europe from both the United States and the other NATO members. Disagreement over this new strategy led France to withdraw from NATO's integrated military command structure in 1967. NATO adopted a new doctrine in December 1967, which endorsed a flexible conventional and nuclear response to Soviet aggres-

sion. At the same time, the NAC adopted a new grand strategy favoring stable and peaceful relations with the Warsaw Pact countries.

NATO was further challenged in the mid-1970s when the Soviet Union deployed large numbers of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe that were capable of striking all of the European NATO allies. In response the members agreed to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Germany, the United Kingdom, the Low Countries, and Italy. However, a more cordial relationship between the alliance and the Warsaw Pact during the 1980s led to the dismantling of these intermediate weapons at the end of that decade.

After the end of the cold war, NATO retained several important formal and informal functions. First, it serves as a permanent and institutionalized link between the United States and an ever-growing number of European allies. In addition, it prevents the renationalization of European defense policies. Moreover, NATO allows an institutionalized relationship with Russia and several of the former Warsaw Pact countries that have yet to join the alliance. Finally, it serves peacekeeping and stability functions in Europe and Asia.

NATO invoked article 5 of the Washington Treaty for the first time following the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States. Many NATO countries participated in the U.S.-led war in AFGHANISTAN against AL-QAEDA and the TALIBAN.

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SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

Numeiri, Jaafar

(1930–) *Sudanese leader*

Jaafar Numeiri was born in January 1930 in Omdurman, the Sudan. In 1952 Numeiri graduated from the Sudan Military College, and in 1966 he gradu-

ated from the U.S. Army Command College in Texas. Influenced by GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's Free Officers Movement in Egypt, Numeiri joined a group of military officers sympathetic to pan-Arab, socialist ideas. In 1969 Numeiri, with the help of four other officers, orchestrated a coup to overthrow the Sudanese government. He then became the new prime minister and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Sudan.

In July 1971 Sudanese communists staged a coup, and Numeiri was imprisoned. Shortly after his incarceration, Numeiri escaped and rallied loyal forces to put down the revolt and brutally crush the communists. Numeiri quickly moved to strengthen his base of political support by changing domestic and foreign policies. In the 1971 referendum on the presidency, Numeiri received a 98.6 percent affirmative vote and was sworn in for a six-year term as president. Spurred by Numeiri's view of Arab socialism, in 1969 the Sudan agreed in the Tripoli Charter to coordinate foreign policies with Libya and Egypt. This union, which developed into a federation of Arab Republics, was extremely short-lived and was never really implemented.

Numeiri inherited the problem of civil war in the southern Sudan, which had begun in 1955, even before Sudanese independence. A positive step toward resolving the war was taken in 1972 with the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement. A cease-fire was declared in the south, and autonomy was granted to the non-Muslim southern region of the Sudan. In an effort to bolster support for his regime, Numeiri imposed sharia, Islamic law, over all of the Sudan in 1983. He also unilaterally decreed the division of the south into three regions corresponding to the old provinces; these decisions led to the resumption of the civil war.

The mounting economic crisis led to urban riots, and spreading famines in rural areas marked the final phase of the Numeiri era. In April 1985, while Numeiri was out of the country on official business, the military launched a successful coup against his regime. Until 1999, when he was allowed to return to the Sudan, Numeiri remained in exile in Egypt while the Sudan continued to suffer through civil war, drought, famines, and mounting political repression from Islamist forces.

See also SUDANESE CIVIL WARS (1970–PRESENT).

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

Nunavut Territory, Canada

As early as 1963, some natives of Canada's Northwest Territories began agitating for greater autonomy within a nation where the vast majority live within 200 miles of the U.S. border. In particular the eastern Inuit (formerly called Eskimos) sought to control more aspects of their Arctic lives above the tree line. Not until 1999 was Nunavut ("our land" in the Inuktitut language) separated from other northern territories by an act of Parliament. On April 1, 1999, the Territory of Nunavut was born with Iqaluit, a city of 6,000, as its capital.

Canada's creation of Nunavut was a dramatic example of the growing awareness of indigenous rights in several nations. As in the United States, where Native Americans began rallying for recognition and respect, creating the AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT, aboriginal groups in Australia and Canada's 630 officially recognized "First Nations" likewise began demanding greater self-determination. In 1973 after a long period of refusing to abide by most treaty rights, Canada changed course and signed six major treaties, including Nunavut's.

Straddling the Arctic Circle, and including Ellesmere and Baffin islands and Cape Dorset—a center of Inuit indigenous art—Nunavut has a population of 29,500, 80 percent of it Inuit, in 26 settlements spread across 770,000 square miles, a fifth of Canada's total land mass. Most of this vast territory is inaccessible by road or rail; everything arrives, expensively, by air. The government of Nunavut, whose first premier was lawyer Paul Okalik, oversees an annual budget of about \$500 million (U.S.), more than \$18,000 per resident. About 84 percent comes from the federal government in Ottawa.

Prior to the 1950s most Inuit were still leading traditional lives based on hunting and fishing. The COLD WAR changed that. In an agreement with Canada, the United States built the Distant Early Warning, or DEW, Line, a system of radar installations designed to detect Soviet invasion across the North Pole. Although the DEW Line was useless against nuclear submarines or intercontinental ballistic missiles, it remained in place for 30 years. In 1985 Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. president RONALD REAGAN signed a new defense agreement. Abandoned DEW Line installations littered

the Arctic landscape, in some cases leaching PCBs and industrial solvents into the ground.

Around the same time as the DEW Line's installation, Canada's government began to move Inuit families into permanent settlements where they were offered health care, education, and other services, but at a price. Their new lifestyle pushed many Inuit communities from subsistence hunting to fur trapping for the cash needed to buy newly available "southern" goods.

Reliable sources of income remain scarce in Nunavut, although mining, fisheries, tourism, and cultural products are being aggressively explored. The Internet plays a significant role, allowing Nunavut's widely separated citizens to communicate with each other and the world via expensive satellite hookups that leaders hope to replace with fiber-optic installations.

The emergence of global warming patterns in the Arctic poses both threats and opportunities. Some believe that the storied Northwest Passage, now frozen most of the year, will soon be navigable in summer, cutting almost 5,000 miles from a sea voyage between Europe and Asia. Nunavut's government has discussed building a deep-water port and a 185-mile all-season road. On the other hand, climate change would likely further endanger Inuit ecology and traditions of self-sufficiency.

See also ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

Nyerere, Julius

(1922–1999) *Tanzanian president*

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, born in 1922, attended a mission school in Tanganyika, Makerere University College in Tanganyika, and the University of Edinburgh. He returned to teach at a Roman Catholic school near

Dar es Salaam and was known as *Mwalimu*, or teacher. In 1954 he organized the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and was elected to the legislature as Tanganyika prepared for full independence in 1961. Nyerere was elected as the first prime minister of the newly independent state and became President of the Republic in 1962. When Tanganyika and Zanzibar unified as Tanzania, Nyerere became the nation's first president in 1964.

In the 1967 Arusha Declaration, Nyerere instituted a state program of *ujamaa* (familyhood) based on collective sharing, traditional African values of the family, and collectivization of farms. *Ujamaa*, a form of African socialism, was supported by the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, but in the global economic system, Nyerere's *ujamaa* failed to bring economic growth, and in 1976 he was forced to admit defeat and end the program.

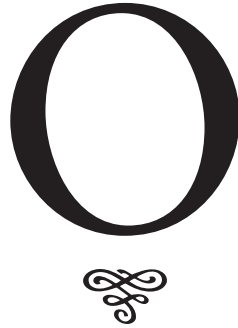
Nyerere was an effective spokesperson in the campaign to end the apartheid system in South Africa and was also one of the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He hosted the African National Congress and Pan-African Congress, as well as other African nationalist movements that struggled against western imperial forces in Mozambique and Rhodesia. He was also a sharp critic of African dictatorships and publicly condemned Idi Amin's dictatorship in Uganda. In the first contemporary military intervention by an African state against another, under Nyerere's leadership, the Tanzania military attacked Amin and forced him out of power.

Refusing to run for reelection, Nyerere retired voluntarily in 1985. He was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi and served as a sort of elder statesman in Africa until his death in 1999.

See also AFRICAN UNION.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Olympics (1950–present)

One of the goals of Baron Pierre de Coubertin—founder of the modern Olympic Games and organizer of the first modern games in 1896—was to encourage international understanding through sports, and help to create a more peaceful world. But after 50 years and two world wars—the bloodiest and most violent wars the world had yet seen—the Olympic dream of de Coubertin seemed very distant indeed. Too often the competition between nations would overshadow the competition of the athletes, and occasionally even the athletes themselves would be the center of controversy.

In fact the Olympic Games found themselves, in 1948, in the middle of the geopolitics of the COLD WAR. The world found itself poised on the brink of nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and it seemed the world needed the Olympic Games and de Coubertin's vision of peace now more than ever. Often, however, the Games would be just another proxy in the ideological battle between liberal democracy and communism.

One of the most famous incidents of the 1956 Melbourne Games was the water polo match between the Soviet Union and Hungary. This match followed the Soviet quashing of the Hungarian uprising; because of political tension between the countries, the match was contested with such intensity that blood was seen in the swimming pool.

But in addition to political theater, the games also provided many moments of genuine human drama,



Towering over the city, the Olympic Stadium in Montreal, Canada, was built for the 1976 Summer Olympics.

where athletes strove to best one another under daunting pressure, after years of sacrifice and training.

For the 1960 Summer Games, held at Rome, the games were broadcast live on television throughout Europe. Highlights of the games were Cassius Clay's (Muhammad Ali) gold medal in boxing, and Abebe Bikila's barefoot gold medal-winning performance in the marathon.

The 1968 Winter Olympics were held at Grenoble, France, with many events spread around the region. The French skier Jean-Claude Killy, aged 24, won all three Alpine skiing gold medals. The 1968 Summer Games were held at Mexico City; the high altitude brought athletes in as much as a month early to acclimatize. Bob Beamon broke the world long jump record at the games; his record stood until 1991. The 1972 Summer Olympics were held at Munich, Germany, where U.S. swimmer Mark Spitz won seven gold medals and the Soviet Union's gymnast Olga Korbut won three gold medals. These games also featured the controversial results of men's basketball in which the American team believed that it had been cheated out of the gold medal. The games are best remembered, however, for the attack by Palestinian terrorists on the Israeli team, which resulted in the death of 17 people.

At the 1976 Olympics held at Montreal, Canada, extra security was introduced. These games featured a boycott by African nations that protested the presence of New Zealand. The cause was a match between a New Zealand rugby team and a team from South Africa. This was in violation of a Commonwealth boycott of South Africa. The major stories of the games were Lase Viren winning both the 5,000 m and the 10,000 m again, and the Romanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci, aged 14, winning gold medals with the first-ever perfect score in Olympic gymnastic competition.

At the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics, artificial snow was used, and the U.S. speed skater Eric Heiden won five gold medals. This also marked the presence of the first Chinese Olympic team since 1948 (prior to the Communists taking over). For the United States, these games will always be remembered for the "Miracle on Ice," the victory of the American ice hockey team over the superior Soviet squad; for many, the American victory was seen as a win over communism. The 1980 Summer Games were held at Moscow, USSR, with 100,000 people at the opening ceremony. However, the United States led a boycott over the Soviet Union's invasion of AFGHANISTAN in the previous year. The games were best remembered for the rivalry between British runners Sebastian Coe and Steve Ovett; each won

one gold medal. The 1984 Summer Games were held at Los Angeles. The Soviet Union and its close allies organized a boycott in retaliation for the U.S.-led one four years earlier. The best-remembered events of these games included the 200 m record set by U.S. runner Carl Lewis, who also won the 100 m, the long jump and the sprint relay, matching the feats of Jesse Owens in 1936; and also another U.S. runner Mary Decker falling over in the women's 3,000 m race and blaming the British/South African runner Zola Budd. The Los Angeles Olympics was also the first summer games to which China sent a team since 1948. There was also some international concern over the high level of advertising and commercial endorsements during the games.

At the 1988 Summer Games held at Seoul, South Korea, there were no major boycotts or security problems in spite of worries about North Korea's hostility to the games. In the track events, Florence Griffith-Joyner won three gold medals for sprinting, and Kristin Otto of East German won six gold medals. The Seoul Olympic Games also saw Ben Johnson, a Canadian sprinter, winning the 100 m race in world record time only to be stripped of his gold medal three days later after he failed a drug test.

The 1992 Summer Olympic Games, held in Barcelona, Spain, saw the athletes of the former Soviet Union contesting as a single team for the last time, the return of South Africa, and also a team sent by the reunited Germany. In 1994 the Olympic Winter Games were held, this time at Lillehammer, Norway, beginning a different timetable for the Winter Olympics.

At the Atlanta Summer Olympics in 1996, the centenary games, a bomb killed two people in the Centennial Olympic Park, but fears of international terrorists proved unfounded with a local man arrested for the bombing. At the Nagano Winter Olympics held in 1998, curling, women's ice hockey, and snow boarding were all introduced as new Olympic sports.

The Sydney Olympic Games in 2000 saw the summer games return to the Southern Hemisphere for the first time since 1956. The new events introduced included the triathlon and tae kwon do. The public cheered the presence of the team from East Timor at the Opening Ceremony, and also the North Korean and South Korean athletes who marched together.

The highlight was Australian Aboriginal runner Cathy Freeman winning the women's 100 m race in front of a home crowd. It saw the U.S. team win 40 gold medals, 24 silver medals, and 33 bronze medals; Australia's team won 16 gold medals, 25 silver medals, and 17 bronze medals.

The 2002 Winter Olympic Games were held at Salt Lake City, Utah. The choice of Salt Lake City saw accusations of corruption and bribery that had first occurred following Atlanta being awarded the Olympics in 1989. A number of members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) were found to have received bribes in exchange for their votes, with files held in Salt Lake City revealing demands for and expectations of bribes by IOC delegates being made public. In a similar story, during the pairs figure skating competition, a judge was accused of collusion in awarding the gold medal to the Russian pair over the Canadian skaters; the situation was resolved when both figure skating pairs were awarded the gold.

In 2004 the Summer Olympic Games were held at Athens, Greece, the site of the first of the modern Olympic Games held in 1896. These games witnessed several scandals, the majority of them involving performance-enhancing drugs. At least 20 violations were noted, the most of any Olympic Games. The issue of athletes taking drugs to gain an edge over rivals has become one of the dominant concerns of the games in the 21st century. In addition, the International Olympic Committee must also deal with the issue of letting professional athletes into a competition that was originally designed just for amateurs. Some critics contend that allowing professional athletes will give developed nations an unfair advantage over underdeveloped nations, while others contend that the records set at the Olympics will mean little unless the best athletes are allowed to compete. Despite these challenges—and the ever-present fear of terrorist attacks—the Athens Games saw a record 202 nations participate with over 11,000 athletes.

The Olympic Games have proved to be a tempting avenue for nations to express a political point of view, or in more drastic fashion, commit violence in the name of one cause or another. Despite the intrusion of politics, it is perhaps a testament to de Coubertin's dream that athletes the world over still strive together in peaceful competition along the ideals expressed in the Olympic motto: *Citius, Altius, Fortius* (Faster, Higher, Stronger).

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

Organization of American States (OAS)

The Organization of American States (OAS) was founded on April 30, 1948, in Bogotá, Colombia, by 21 member states. Successor organization to the Pan-American Union (1889–1947) and retooled to correspond to the changed security environment of the post–World War II era, the OAS was founded as a regional agency of the United Nations. Its purposes, according to its official charter, are “to strengthen the peace and security of the continent; to promote and consolidate representative democracy, with due respect for the principle of non-intervention; to seek the solution of political, juridical, and economic problems . . . ; [and] to eradicate extreme poverty,” among others. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., since its founding, in 2007 the OAS counted 35 member states, with Cuba suspended from participation since 1962, making 34 active member states.

Mirroring the organizational structures of the UNITED NATIONS, the OAS is governed by a General Assembly and Permanent Council and led by a secretary-general elected every five years. It has numerous affiliated organizations, organs, and entities, including the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR, f. 1959); the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD, f. 1968); Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE, f. 1999); and many others. Four “Protocols” introduced major revisions to the original OAS Bogotá Charter: the Protocols of Buenos Aires (1967), Cartagena de Indias (1985), Washington (1992), and Managua (1993). In 1994 the OAS organized the first Summit of the Americas, an event henceforth held every few years.

Since its founding, the OAS has been dominated by the United States. During the the COLD WAR era, its overriding concern was limiting Soviet and communist influence in the Western Hemisphere. Because Marxist, communist, and socialist doctrines proved popular in many parts of Latin America in the postwar era, OAS member states could pursue one of three options: openly defy the United States and adopt a socialist or

Marxist-oriented government; ally with the United States in its anticommunist policies; or pursue a “third way” by aligning with neither the Soviet nor the U.S. bloc. In a handful of instances, OAS member states openly defied the United States, such as in Guatemala (1944–54), Bolivia (1952–64), Cuba (1961–), Chile (1970–73), Nicaragua (1979–90), Grenada (1983), Panama (1989), and Venezuela (1999–). In these and other cases, the United States violated the OAS charter regarding nonintervention, which stipulated that “No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State” (Chapter IV, Article 19). More often, OAS member states cooperated with U.S. anticommunist efforts or sought to pursue a nonaligned stance in international affairs. The United States most commonly interpreted the latter as alignment with international communism and therefore a direct threat to its national security. In the post-cold war era, the OAS has exerted a greater degree of autonomy from U.S. domination.

See also NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO); WARSAW PACT.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was established in 1960. Its first meeting was held in 1961, and, beginning in 1965, it was headquartered in Vienna. The charter members included Venezuela, IRAN, Iraq, KUWAIT, and SAUDI ARABIA. Abd Allah al-Tariki, the Saudi director of petroleum affairs, played a leading role in the organization's inception. OPEC membership was later expanded to include LIBYA, Algeria, Indonesia, Qatar, NIGERIA, UAR, Gabon, and Ecuador. In 1968 the major Arab oil-producing nations formed OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries). OPEC members met on a regular basis to set quotas for production; however, the organization lacked the mechanism to enforce the quotas,

which were frequently ignored or openly flouted by individual producing nations.

Nations with large populations such as Iran, Algeria, and Nigeria tended to push for price increases. Nations with small populations and lesser economic domestic demands preferred stable prices. Because of their production capacity and huge reserves, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were able to increase production to prevent price increases or to keep prices low. In the 1980s Saudi Arabia's proven oil reserves contained over 168 billion barrels, Kuwait had over 66 billion barrels, and Iraq had 43 billion barrels, as compared to 27.3 billion barrels in the United States. By the 1980s the United States was also importing over half its oil, as compared to only 25 percent in the early 1970s.

In 1970 the new revolutionary government in Libya under MUAMMAR QADDAFI forced production cuts to secure higher royalties. The petroleum companies—dominated by the so-called seven sisters, Western-owned corporations—bitterly opposed such pressure tactics, but because of ever-increasing demands they ultimately agreed to Libyan terms. The rest of the oil-producing nations soon followed suit and secured similar concessions. The price of oil then rose from \$2 to \$3 per barrel and then to \$5 per barrel.

During the peak of the oil boom in the 1970s Sheik Ahmad Zaki Yamani, secretary-general of OPEC from 1968 to 1969, served as the Saudi Arabian minister of petroleum. During the 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR King Faysal in Saudi Arabia was persuaded to use oil as a weapon, and cuts in supplies to those nations supporting Israel were announced. However, Faysal was a staunch anticommunist, and, when the United States and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat argued that the oil boycott could increase the threat of communism in the Arab and Muslim world, King Faysal effectively ended the boycott by withdrawing Saudi support in 1974. In 1986, when Yamani supported raising oil prices, King Fahd removed him from office.

With its huge reserves Saudi Arabia, and, to a lesser extent, Kuwait, could force price modifications by simply increasing production. By 1996 Saudi Arabia had become the world's largest petroleum exporter. After the IRAN-IRAQ WAR Kuwait began to flood the market, exceeding its quota and driving down prices. The lower prices hurt Iraq at the very time that it was desperately trying to increase revenues to rebuild its economy; this was a contributing factor in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the resulting FIRST

GULF WAR. Depressed prices, largely caused by high production by the Arab Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, also contributed to Ecuador's withdrawal from OPEC in 1992.

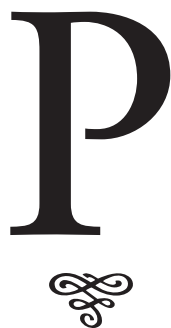
Owing to increased demand by burgeoning Indian and Chinese economies and ongoing wars in Afghanistan and the Middle East, the price of oil reached \$60 per barrel in 2006 and prices continued to rise. High prices resulted in huge profits for Western oil companies as well as for the oil-producing nations. In one quarter of 2006 Exxon-Mobil, the world's largest petroleum corporation, posted profits of over \$7 billion. Although governments talked about cost control measures, alternative fuel sources, and conservation, few practical programs were adopted either in the

West or in Asia. Thus it remained certain that petroleum would continue to be the world's primary energy source for the foreseeable future.

See also GULF WAR, SECOND (IRAQ WAR).

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JANICE J. TERRY



Pakistan People's Party

The Pakistan People's Party was founded by Berkeley- and Oxford-educated politician and lawyer ZULFIKAR BHUTTO. During the presidency of General Ayub Khan, Bhutto served as a cabinet member and eventually as foreign minister. Ayub went to war with India over Kashmir in 1965, and eventually, with the intervention of the Soviet Union, signed the TASHKENT AGREEMENT, which restored prewar boundaries and diplomatic relations between the two countries. Bhutto opposed Ayub's signing of the Tashkent Agreement, resigned his post, and formed the Pakistan People's Party in 1967.

The People's Party championed the causes of socialism and democracy and denounced the Ayub regime as a dictatorship. Bhutto's countrywide campaign against Ayub also drew support from businessmen, small factory owners, students, and rural dwellers. Under the pressure of mounting public unrest, Ayub resigned in 1969 and handed over power to General Yahya Khan. When elections were held in 1970, the People's Party captured a majority of votes in West Pakistan, whereas a clear majority was won in East Pakistan by the AWAMI LEAGUE of Sheik Mujibur Rahman. While the Awami League promoted greater autonomy for East Pakistan, the People's Party argued for a strong centralized government. Differences between the two parties, and General Yahya's inability to play a neutral role in the conflict, led to civil war. In 1971 East Pakistan seceded to become BANGLADESH, and the People's Party formed a government in Pakistan.

In power, the People's Party stood for the nationalization of industry and education and for land reform. At the same time, Bhutto drafted the country's fourth constitution, according to which he gave himself the title of prime minister, reduced the president to a figurehead, and granted himself powers that were as broad as those held by the military dictator whom he had opposed. Factionalism within the People's Party, accusations of preferential politics, a tribal uprising in Baluchistan over the exploitation of local resources such as natural gas, and underrepresentation of Baluchis in the structures of the state undermined Bhutto's government. The deaths of thousands in the uprising in Baluchistan, oppressive measures taken by Bhutto against political opponents, and accusations of having rigged the elections of 1977 led to a military coup by the army chief of staff General MUHAMMAD ZIA-ul-HAQ.

Bhutto was tried for orchestrating the murder of a political opponent, found guilty, and hanged on April 4, 1979. The leadership of the People's Party was assumed by his daughter, BENAZIR BHUTTO. After General Zia was killed in a plane crash, rumoured to be sabotage, the People's Party came to power under Benazir Bhutto in the elections of 1988. However, her government was short-lived, she was arrested, and her government dissolved by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the president at the time.

The People's Party next came to power in 1993, but the government was again short-lived; violence between ethnic and linguistic groups erupted frequently in Karachi, the government lost control of the urban

center, and a power struggle between Benazir Bhutto and her brother Mir Murtaza Bhutto led to divisions within the party. In 1996, during his sister's tenure as prime minister, Murtaza Bhutto was shot dead outside his residence in a police encounter. Opposition leaders accused the People's Party of state terrorism against its political opponents, and the government was dismissed in 1996 again under charges of mismanagement and corruption. Benazir Bhutto continued to head the party in exile and upon her return to Pakistan in 2007. After her assassination on December 27, her husband and 19-year-old son were appointed party co-chairmen.

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TAYMIYA R. ZAMAN

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in 1964 under Ahmed Shukairy to represent Palestinian national demands for self-determination. In 1964 the Palestine National Council (PNC, or parliament) of 350 representatives met in East Jerusalem and voted on the Palestine National Charter, or declaration of independence, that declared historic Palestine as the homeland of the Palestinian Arabs. The charter has been amended several times. In 1968 the charter added that "armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine." In 1988 the PLO under YASIR ARAFAT's orders agreed to drop the use of terrorism, recognize Israel's right to exist, and essentially accept the establishment of the independent state of Palestine in the Occupied Territories of the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank—the so-called mini-state solution. Although some Palestinian groups opposed Arafat on these issues—the changes were agreed upon by the Palestine National Council, dominated by pro-Fatah Arafat supporters. Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) continued to dominate the PLO until 2006.

After the Arab defeat in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Shukairy stepped down as chairman of the PLO, and Yasir Arafat, the leader of Fatah, the largest guerrilla group,

was elected chairman. Arafat remained the leader of the Palestinian national movement until his death in 2004. The PLO constantly struggled to remain independent from any Arab government and often found it difficult to steer a neutral course among rival Arab governments.

Secular and all-inclusive, the PLO was an umbrella organization of some 10 different Palestinian groups, including the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), under Dr. George Habash, and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), led by Naif Hawatmeh; the Arab Liberation Front, supported by Iraq; and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command, a PFLP splinter group supported by Syria and sometimes Libya.

The Palestine National Council operated until the 1993 Oslo Accords as a government in exile. The PNC comprised over 300 members, including fighters, union members, students, and women. The Palestine Central Council acted as an advisory board of approximately 60 representatives from all the various factions. The Executive Committee ran the PLO on a daily basis and comprised 15 members. In contrast to many other Arab governments, the PLO was highly democratic and engaged in lively and often public debates about strategies and tactics.

The Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) was the PLO's military wing and was often made up of fedayeen (self-sacrificers). By the 1970s the PLA had an estimated 10,000 fighters based mostly in Lebanon and Syria. After the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon the PLA was forced to scatter to a number of Arab countries. After the establishment of the Palestine Authority (PA) under the 1993 Oslo Accords, many soldiers were subsumed under the police force.

The Palestine National Fund was the PLO's economic arm. The fund was financed by donations from Palestinians in exile as well as taxes levied on Palestinians working in some Arab nations such as Libya. Individual Arab governments, such as oil-rich Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, also provided aid. Those regimes cut off aid after the PLO supported SADDAM HUSSEIN and Iraq in the FIRST GULF WAR.

After the 1967 war, some groups within the PLO endorsed terrorist attacks on civilians. The PFLP simultaneously skyjacked four planes, landing them at a remote airstrip in Jordan in 1970; this incident precipitated "Black September," when the Jordanian army attacked and defeated Palestinian forces and ousted the PLO, which then moved its base of operations to Lebanon. Attacks on Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics

followed in 1972. The cycle of violence escalated as PLO groups launched raids inside and outside of Israel and Israel assassinated Palestinian leaders in the Middle East and Europe. As a result many innocent civilians on both sides were killed and wounded.

Within the Arab world the PLO was recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Although it was condemned as a terrorist organization by Israel and the United States, the PLO gradually gained international recognition, and, once it renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to exist, even Israel and the United States entered into both public and secret negotiations with it.

The PLO also established an extensive network of social services, including schools, orphanages, and hospitals. The Palestine Red Crescent was active in providing health and emergency care. SAMED provided an economic infrastructure of small businesses, workshops, and factories manufacturing textiles and even office furniture in Lebanon and Syria. Many of these institutions were destroyed in the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In the 1970s the PLO also sponsored some agricultural cooperatives in Sudan, SOMALIA, and other African nations. It also sponsored art and cultural events. The Palestine Research Center, based in Beirut, focused on collecting materials and publishing books and articles on Palestinian history in order to preserve its cultural heritage. The center was also destroyed, and materials were taken by the Israelis in the 1982 war. The PLO also maintained information bureaus and had diplomatic representatives in major world capitals.

In the midst of the 1987 INTIFADA, or Palestinian uprising, in the occupied territories, a rival Islamist organization, HAMAS, emerged to challenge Fatah's leadership. Financed by devout Muslims, especially in conservative Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Hamas prospered first among poor Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip. Because it competed with the PLO, Israel initially ignored Hamas but subsequently found that in many ways it proved a more dangerous enemy. When the PLO, in spite of concessions to Israel, failed to achieve a viable Palestinian state, many more young Palestinians who had grown up under Israeli military occupation joined Hamas.

When the Palestine Authority was established in the territories evacuated by the Israeli military in 1994, Arafat became the leader of the PA; he won a clear-cut majority as president in open and fair elections in 1996. However, the PA leaders, most of whom were members of Fatah who had spent years outside the Occupied Territories, were also accused of corruption and inefficiency. After Arafat's death Mahmud Abbas was elected president in



A banner featuring Yasir Arafat, who was the leader of the Palestinian national movement until his death in 2004.

2005. Fatah dominated the Palestinian parliament until it was defeated by the Islamist Hamas party in the 2006 elections and Ismail Haniyeh became prime minister. As the two main political forces—Fatah and Hamas—competed for power and the Israeli occupation of most of the territories continued, the future of the PLO remained uncertain.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS; TERRORISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Park Chung Hee

(1917–1979) *South Korean president*

Park Chung Hee became president of South Korea after leading a military junta that instigated a coup in 1963. He held this position until his death in 1979.

Born Pak Chong-hui in 1917 in the farming village of Sonsan in southeastern Korea, Park was the youngest of seven children of a poor farmer. His teachers recommended he continue his education at a normal school

in the provincial capital, where he trained to become a grammar school teacher.

After teaching for only two years Park enrolled in a Japanese military academy, in spite of being a Korean. During the last years of World War II, Park served as a second lieutenant in the Japanese army. He returned to South Korea after the end of World War II, received further military training, and became a captain in the army of the Republic of Korea (South Korea). Under suspicion of having cooperated with the communist forces in the north, Park resigned from the army, but was quickly called back into service.

As soon as U.S. and Soviet troops withdrew from Korea in 1949, the Democratic People's Republic (North Korea), under the leadership of KIM IL SUNG, invaded the south in an attempt to reunite the nation. The resulting Korean conflict lasted until 1953 and involved not only the two Koreas but also troops from the United States, CHINA, the USSR, and a number of other nations. At the close of the conflict a "demilitarized zone" was established roughly along the 38th parallel between the two countries. Park had continued to rise in the South Korean army to the rank of brigadier general.

The combined effects of long years of brutal Japanese occupation and two wars left South Korea in severe distress. Its problems were exacerbated by the corrupt administration of President SYNGMAN RHEE. On April 19, 1960, after Korean students rebelled against the government, President Rhee declared martial law, but the army did not support him. Rhee resigned, making way for an ineffective new government. After nine months, a military coup led by Park Chung Hee overthrew the new government and established the Military Revolutionary Committee as the nation's governing body.

The Revolutionary Committee was later renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), which was invested with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. This military regime was tightly controlled by a few leaders with Park as chairman. A few months later the Political Activities Purification Law was passed, making it illegal for civilian leaders who had served in the First and Second Republics to engage in political activity. President Yun Po-Sun resigned in protest in March 1962, enabling Park to become acting president. Park and the Supreme Council undertook a drastic revision of Korea's constitution, giving the president control of the National Assembly and giving him broad emergency powers. In August 1963 Park resigned from the military and joined the Democratic Republican Party. He easily won the fol-

lowing election and served as president of the Third Republic of Korea beginning in 1963.

Although Park was no longer a member of the military, there was no doubt that the military upheld his regime. In the following years Park promoted an extensive industrialization program, instituted educational reform, and extended diplomatic relations, but his regime became increasingly authoritarian and repressive.

Park Chung Hee was easily reelected president in 1967, and in 1969 he again instituted constitutional changes. This time he had the constitution amended to allow him to run for a third term, which he won in 1971. Student demonstrations and increasing dissatisfaction among the general public at the beginning of his third term led Park again to change the constitution, creating a stronger centralized power in the new Fourth Republic. Park called this the Yushin Honpop, or Revitalizing Reforms Constitution. When protests against his increased powers erupted they were quickly and violently quelled.

Park Chung Hee was shot to death by the head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency on October 26, 1979, allegedly accidentally as he was arguing with another dinner guest, but questions remain.

See also KOREAN WAR (1950-1953).

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Pathet Lao

The term *Pathet Lao* (land of Lao) is generally used to describe the communist movement of Laos that began in 1945 and continued until 1975, when Laos became communist. It was one of three groups active in the politics of Laos, the other two being the Royal Lao Government (RLG) and the neutralists.

Laos became a French protectorate in 1893. During World War II, the Japanese took control of Laos and declared it independent from French colonial rule on March 9, 1945. After Japan's surrender, an independent Lao Issara (Free Laos) government was proclaimed on September 1, joined by the Pathet Lao,

with its strong nationalist leanings. There was a Lao committee section in the Indochinese Communist Party, and the separate existence of the Lao communist movement was established in 1945. The leader of the Pathet Lao, Prince Souphanouvong, had met the Vietnamese Communist leader HO CHI MINH in 1945 and gained control of central Laos with the help of Vietnamese troops. The prince had nurtured the communist movement and was prepared to fight against the French, who had seized the capital city, Vientiane, in 1946. Laos was soon engulfed in the FIRST INDOCHINA WAR, and the Pathet Lao fought along with the Vietminh and the Khmer Rouge. The granting of limited independence on July 19, 1949, by the French was not accepted by the communists. However, Souvanna Phouma joined the new French-sponsored government in February 1950, where Souphanouvong proclaimed the parallel government of Pathet Lao along with its political organ, Neo Lao Issara (Lao Free Front).

The French defeat at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, ended its colonial rule in Indochina. The Pathet Lao was recognized as a political party with control over Phong Saly and Sam Neua Provinces and began to consolidate its position.

In December 1959 the military-dominated government of Phoumi Nosavan arrested the Pathet Lao members of the National Assembly, although Souphanouvong escaped. Laos was plunged into civil war. North Vietnam supported the Pathet Lao by sending arms, ammunitions, and troops. The U.S. government included Laos in its containment strategy defense against North Vietnam and China. Another attempt was made to bring peace to Laos with the Geneva Accords of 1962. But the attempt failed, and Laos was soon embroiled in the VIETNAM WAR.

A three-pronged coalition between the Pathet Lao, the royal government, and the neutralists did not last long, and the United States and Hanoi stepped up economic and military assistance to their respective allies. War in Laos became a sideshow in the Vietnam War, marked by heavy civilian death toll. The Pathet Lao military advance captured more territory and by 1972 controlled four-fifths of the land and half the population of Laos.

Finally, the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements on Vietnam in 1973 led to accelerated negotiations in Laos. An agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord on Laos was signed in the same year. With the United States out of South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese conquered the south in 1975. After the fall of South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao assumed effective

control of Laos, and the coalition government in Laos was dissolved. On December 2, 1975, the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR) was formed with Souphanouvong as president.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Paz Estenssoro, Victor

(1907–2001) *Bolivian revolutionary*

Leader of Bolivia's Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria, or MNR) and a leading figure in the BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION, Victor Paz Estenssoro was elected to the presidency four times and played a major role in Bolivia's 20th century history. His overall political trajectory over four decades can be described as a gradual shift from the militant left to the neoliberal right, though whether that transformation entailed an abandonment of principles or growing pragmatism remains a matter of debate.

Born in Tarija, Bolivia, on October 2, 1907, to a prominent family, he received his law degree from San Andrés University in La Paz in 1927. Thereafter he occupied a variety of administrative posts before serving as deputy in the National Congress, where he emerged as a leading figure in the opposition movement. In 1941 he cofounded the MNR, a leftist political party advocating far-reaching social and economic reforms. From 1943 to 1946, he served in the cabinet of Colonel Gualberto Villarroel but was forced out by domestic and U.S. opposition. Finishing third in the 1947 presidential elections, he triumphed in 1951, results nullified by the oligarchic regime of Mamerto Urriolagoitia. There followed a period of widespread social unrest, spearheaded by labor unions and peasant leagues, culminating in April 1952 in the overthrow of the government and the MNR's assumption of power.

In his first administration, Paz Estenssoro launched an ambitious program of social and economic reform—slashing the size of the military, extending the franchise,

nationalizing the tin mines, breaking up large estates, and instituting universal public education—that met many of the demands of his constituency but galvanized right-wing opposition to MNR rule. That opposition mounted during the administration of his successor and MNR cofounder Hernán Siles Zuazo, as did the political polarization of the country. During Siles Zuazo's presidency, Paz Estenssoro served as ambassador to Great Britain before returning to Bolivia to seek another term as president. He won handily, and in his second term struggled to keep the fragmenting MNR together and consolidate the gains of the revolution, while fending off a resurgent oligarchy and military and growing challenge from an increasingly militant left, led by his vice president, the labor leader and populist Juan Lechín. Expelling Lechín from the MNR and amending the constitution to permit his reelection, he won a third term in 1964 but was promptly ousted in the military coup of November 3, 1964, which ended the Bolivian revolution.

Going into exile in Lima, Peru, he returned to Bolivia to lend his support to the left-leaning military regime of Hugo Banzer Suárez, an action that led to a break with Siles Zuazo and undermined his populist credentials. Soon repudiating the Banzer regime, in 1974 he was expelled from the country and went into exile in the United States. He returned in 1978 to run again for president, came in third, and after the results were nullified by the military, ran again in 1979, coming in second. The military again intervened, and in 1980 Paz Estenssoro again went into exile. In 1985 he was elected as president for the fourth and last time, during which he followed a neoliberal model, slashing state expenditures and reining in hyperinflation. He retired from politics in 1989 and died on June 7, 2001, leaving a complex political legacy.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Peace Corps, U.S.

The Peace Corps started in 1960 as part of U.S. efforts to win the COLD WAR and as an attempt to better the lives of people in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It is the brainchild of President JOHN F. KENNEDY. The

Peace Corps has sent more than 180,000 volunteers to over 135 countries in its many years of existence.

The Peace Corps is one of the most enduring legacies of the Kennedy administration. Kennedy, then a candidate for the presidency, first mentioned the Peace Corps when he challenged students in a speech at the University of Michigan on October 14, 1960, to dedicate several years of their lives to helping people in the developing countries of the world. The students responded so enthusiastically that, in his inaugural address on January 20, 1961, Kennedy repeated his call. The president, concerned with the image of the “ugly American” who lacked compassion for those suffering from disease and the effects of poverty, argued that the Third World needed technical, managerial, and skilled labor. He wanted the United States to forge a new relationship with developing nations.

Kennedy issued an executive order creating the Peace Corps on March 1, 1961. Sargent Shriver became its first director. On September 22, 1961, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Peace Corps to promote world peace and friendship.

The agency aims to help the people of interested countries meet their need for trained workers, promote a better understanding of Americans among the peoples served, and promote a better understanding of other people on the part of Americans. By demonstrating the benefits of the U.S. system and capitalism, it also helped contain communism during the cold war. By respecting the cultures of their host countries, volunteers built a goodwill that was politically useful.

Goodwill was also achieved through good works. Peace Corps volunteers have been road surveyors, nurses, agricultural technicians, engineers, and teachers as well as information technology experts and business development consultants. At the start of the new millennium, the agency also committed volunteers as part of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. From its beginnings the agency encouraged women to enroll. African Americans were also welcomed. However, not every volunteer was accepted by the agency.

Since the start of the Peace Corps only one in five applicants has been accepted. A bachelor's degree is the minimum education required for acceptance. The Peace Corps prefers more education as well as experience in a given field. At the start of the process volunteers are grouped into six programming categories: environment, agriculture, health, community development, business and skilled trades, and education. Volunteers are then interviewed and rejected if they are not U.S. citizens, are under 18 years of age, are under supervised



A Peace Corps volunteer teaches children at the St. Vincents Home for Amerasian Children in Pup'yong, Korea. Peace Corps volunteers have traveled to more than 135 countries in virtually every continent around the world.

probation, have been involved in intelligence organizations such as the Central Intelligence Agency, possess dependents, or do not have skills needed by the agency. During the evaluation process the Peace Corps recruitment office looks at an applicant's motivation, commitment, emotional maturity, social sensitivity, and cultural awareness. A background check is performed, and the agency assigns a worker to a particular nation in need of the volunteer's skills.

For those volunteers who are chosen, training programs are exhaustive, often running from 7:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. seven days a week. The agency has written its own textbooks for every nation.

The countries that have welcomed Peace Corps volunteers include such African nations as Cameroon, Chad, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, and Tanzania. Latin American and Caribbean countries that have had Peace Corps volunteers include Belize, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Montser-

rat, and Nicaragua. In Asia volunteers have served in Fiji, Mongolia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Western Samoa, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In Europe volunteers have worked in Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Estonia, and Poland. Former Peace Corps countries include Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, India, Iran, Libya, Liberia, Pakistan, Somalia, South Korea, and Venezuela.

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Perón, Juan Domingo

(1895–1974) *president of Argentina*

Subject of what many consider the most powerful political mythology in the modern history of Argentina—that of Peronismo (Peronism)—Juan Domingo Perón remains, despite his eminently public life, a deeply enigmatic figure—at once a populist, a man of the people, a friend of the working class, a dictator, a demagogue, an enemy and ally of the military, and the politician most responsible for a host of failed government policies that nonetheless continue to resonate among large segments of the populace. For three decades—from his burst onto the political stage in 1944–45 until his death in office in 1974—Perón dominated the Argentine political landscape, while his ambiguous and divisive legacy endured long after his death. Understanding modern Argentine history requires understanding the complex political legacy he bequeathed.

Born on October 8, 1895, in a small town near Lobos in the province of Buenos Aires to a farming family, by some accounts out of wedlock, Perón entered the military at age 16 and rose gradually in rank. In 1929 he married Aurelia Tizón, who died nine years later of uterine cancer. In 1938, the year of his wife's death, he traveled widely in Europe, where he came to admire the regime of Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. In 1943 he participated in a coup against the conservative regime of Ramón Castillo, and soon after became head of the Department of Labor—one of the weakest government ministries—which he used as a platform to build his own power base, forging alliances with segments of Buenos Aires's powerful labor unions. Named vice president and secretary of war, on October 9, 1945, he was ousted and jailed by enemies in the military. There followed one of the defining events of modern Argentine history, when mass demonstrations by *los descamisados* (the shirtless ones) forced his release on October 17. Four days later he married the actress Eva (Evita) Duarte. Until her death, also from uterine cancer, in July 1952 at age 33, Evita was wildly popular among working people and coequal in creating and popularizing the Perón mythology.

Building on his strong political momentum, Perón was elected president in February 1946. During his first term (1946–52), at the height of his political power, he implemented a host of populist policies intended to solidify his support among the country's powerful labor unions, proclaiming his populist vision a “third position” between capitalism and communism. His policies sparked rising government debt and growing

economic crisis while polarizing Argentine society into Peronist and anti-Peronist factions. Reelected in 1951, he was ousted in September 1955 in a military coup. For the next 18 years he lived in exile, mainly in Spain, in 1961 marrying nightclub singer María Estela Martínez, or Isabel Perón. Following years of military dictatorship marked by growing social discord and political polarization, he returned to Argentina in 1973 and won his third term as president. He died in office on July 1, 1974, his wife and vice president, Isabel, succeeding him until her ouster by a military coup in March 1976.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Philippine revolution (1986)

A popular, spontaneous, nonviolent, and distinctly religious movement restored democracy to the Philippines, on February 22–25, 1986. After nearly 400 years of colonization by Spain and the United States of America in the first half of the 20th century, the Philippines enjoyed a democratic form of government until Ferdinand Marcos became president in 1965. However, in 1972 Marcos declared martial law, citing communist insurgency but in reality because he faced the prospect of defeat in the presidential elections.

Martial law (lifted in 1981) was disastrous for the country. Government-sanctioned atrocities occurred frequently, the media was rigidly controlled, and anyone suspected of being a dissident was imprisoned. One such political prisoner was Benigno Aquino Jr. (nicknamed “Ninoy”), a brilliant politician who was elected to the National Senate at the age of 35 and became Marcos's most serious rival to the presidency. He was imprisoned for eight years.

In 1980 Aquino was allowed to travel to the United States for surgery, and, for the next three years, he lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with his family. But he was assassinated in 1983 upon returning to the Philippines. An independent panel investigating his murder put the blame on a military conspiracy involving “some of the country's highest ranking officers,” but without giving any names. The event galvanized the nation as



Philippine president Corazon Aquino addresses workers at a rally at Remy Field concerning jobs for Filipino citizens.

millions of Filipinos mourned his death and led to the “People Power” movement.

However, it took three more years before People Power would become a reality. In the interim, opposition to the Marcos regime became more frequent and vocal. Public rallies and demonstrations were often met by military reprisals. Eventually the military, too, became divided, with some calling for reform.

Late in 1985 Marcos called a “snap” presidential election on February 7, 1986. It was a move calculated to restore his popular mandate. Many people welcomed this, although it was a foregone conclusion that there would be massive electoral fraud. Corazon (“Cory”) Aquino, the assassinated leader’s widow, with neither political aspirations nor experience emerged as the popular candidate.

Expectedly, Marcos declared himself the winner. But the People Power nonviolent revolution would eventually triumph by the defection of two men in Marcos’s camp: the civilian defense minister and a high-ranking general of the armed forces. They were supported by the archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Jaime Sin, who called on Filipino civilians for help. At first a trickle, then hundreds of thousands of ordinary Filipinos from all economic strata responded, converging on the streets with no weapons, calling on the advancing soldiers and marines to join the protest.

FIRST WOMAN PRESIDENT

Within four days, the number of defecting soldiers made it clear that Marcos no longer controlled the military. The United States asked Marcos to step down from power and to desist from military action. Fearing for their lives, Marcos and his family were flown out of the country and took refuge in Hawaii. Corazon Aquino was inaugurated as president on that day, the first woman president of the Philippines.

The popular and nonviolent People Power revolution of 1986 restored democracy, but it did not solve all the problems of the country. Twenty years later, the country still faces many political, economic, and social ills. But what People Power demonstrated was the moral superiority of nonviolent and prayerful resistance to political tyranny and moral evil.

See also MARCOS, FERDINAND AND IMELDA.

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JAKE YAP

Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto

(1915–2006) *general and dictator of Chile*

President and dictator of Chile from the bloody overthrow of democratically elected Marxist president SALVADOR ALLENDE on September 11, 1973, until his resignation from the presidency in March 1990, General Augusto Pinochet (pee-noh-CHET) ranks among the most controversial figures in modern Chilean history. The years of his rule as president and dictator (1973–90) saw large-scale human rights abuses by the Chilean military, with an estimated 3,200 dissidents killed and

disappeared, and thousands more imprisoned, tortured, and exiled. The 17 years of his dictatorship also saw major neoliberal reforms of the country's economy, as promoted by the "CHICAGO BOYS," that resulted in the privatization of many state industries and entitlement programs—most notably the social security system—and that severely circumscribed the role of the state in the national economy. A polarizing figure, revered by some and decried by others, Pinochet left a complex legacy of state repression and radical economic reform with which Chileans continue to grapple.

Born in the Pacific port city of Valparaíso on November 25, 1915, the son of a custom's inspector, Pinochet graduated from Santiago's military academy in 1937. In 1971 he was appointed to the key post of commander of the Santiago army garrison. In the midst of rising social and political tensions sparked by Allende's socialist policies, Pinochet garnered the trust of the president, who in August 1973 named him commander in chief of the army. Three weeks later Pinochet led the coup that resulted in Allende's overthrow and imposition of military dictatorship. The months following the coup were the most violent of the regime, with tens of thousands of Allende supporters rounded up, interrogated, and imprisoned, and hundreds executed. Among the most enduring images of the Pinochet dictatorship was the scene in the Santiago's main sports stadium in late 1973, used as a clearinghouse for recently arrested prisoners, with a sunglasses-clad Pinochet overseeing the detention and interrogation process. In 1980 a new constitution made the nation's military the "guarantors of institutionality" and imposed a range of limitations on citizens' political activities. In 1988 a plebiscite showed a solid majority opposed to continuing dictatorship, and in 1990 he stepped aside to permit national elections and a return to democratic government. The human rights violations of the Pinochet regime were documented in the final report of the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (the Truth Commission, or Rettig Report), presented in February 1991 to then-President Patricio Aylwin.

On stepping down as army chief, Pinochet was granted a permanent seat in the country's Senate, immunizing him from prosecution. Human rights activists pursued a novel legal strategy by charging him for genocide, torture, and kidnapping in a Spanish court. In October 1998 he was arrested in Britain on the charges. There ensued a 16-month legal battle over the Spanish court's extradition order. In 2000 he returned to Chile and was declared unfit to stand trial due to mental and physical ailments. Living the rest of his life in seclusion with his family, dogged by lawsuits and legal charges, he died on

December 10, 2006. Public opinion polls after his death showed that slightly more than half of Chileans believed that he should have been prosecuted for his regime's human rights violations.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Poland (1991–present)

Poland was the most rebellious of the Soviet-bloc countries, with mass protests in 1956, 1968, 1970–71, 1976, and 1980–81. The society was heavily influenced by the Catholic Church, and the memory of the Polish pope, JOHN PAUL II, remains very strong. After the political changes of 1990, Poland made fast progress toward achieving a market economy and a democratic government and making Polish democracy work effectively by civic engagement in public discourses.

Roundtable talks on Poland's first free elections took place in 1988–89. In April 1989 the communist leadership agreed with the Solidarity leadership on competitive elections, where just 35 percent of the seats were open to genuine competition. During the following presidential elections, in November 1990, Lech Wałęsa—a former electrician, shipyard worker, and leader of the opposition since 1980—became the first democratically elected president of Poland. Later on, the parliamentary elections were held with the participation of over 100 political parties. The country saw a rough democratic start, and elections were declared again in 1993. At that time, the successor of the communist party, the Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), received the largest share of the votes. In November 1995, in the second presidential elections, Aleksander Kwasniewski defeated Wałęsa and became the second president of democratic Poland.

The leading political issue of the last years of the 1990s was negotiations with the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). Poland joined the defense organization in 2000. During subsequent years, talks with the EUROPEAN UNION (EU) regarding the Polish accession received much attention. Poland joined the EU in May 2004.

In the presidential elections of 2000 and the parliamentary elections of 2001, the successor of the Communist Party, the SLD, won. However, that government lost popularity rapidly after it failed to fulfill promises to upgrade the road network of the country and to undertake a profound reform of the national health system. In addition, these years saw corruption scandals. Right after Poland's admission to the EU, the cabinet resigned and a new cabinet was formed, with Marek Belka as prime minister. Secrecy in the governing party and scandals contributed to the outcome of the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2005, when the conservative Law and Justice (PiS) and Citizens Platform (PO) became the largest parties in the Polish parliament, the Sejm. PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński declined the option of becoming prime minister because his twin brother, Lech Kaczyński, was still in the race for the presidential seat. Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz was nominated for that post; however, Jarosław Kaczyński is still considered one of the most influential persons in contemporary Polish politics. Lech Kaczyński did win the presidential election. The main emphasis of his presidency was on combining modernization with tradition and Christianity. The influence of the Kaczyński might increase European skepticism and the focus on Polish Catholic traditions in the near future.

In the second half of the 1980s Poland's economy struggled with mounting macroeconomic imbalances, which culminated in 1989, when hyperinflation and an extremely high central budget deficit hit the country. After that time, Poland was regarded as one of the most successful transition economies in eastern and central Europe. The country's GDP per capita rose from 31 percent of the EU average in 1992 to 41 percent by the end of the 1990s. One of the challenges of the economic policy was transforming the excessive and poor investment inheritance from the command economy, which was achieved by injecting new technologies into old plants. In addition, most industry subsidies were removed, and the market was opened up to international cooperation.

Between the early 1990s and the mid-2000s, the country received over \$50 billion in direct foreign investment. With the collapse of COMECON in 1990, Poland had to reorient its trade, and in few years Germany had become its most important trade partner, followed by other EU countries. Despite all of Poland's economic successes, there has been an unusually complicated situation in Polish agriculture and rural areas. Poland was the only country in the Soviet bloc whose farmland remained for the most part in private hands.

The farmers' dramatically low income levels affected their farms in terms of production and development. Over half of the farms produce only for their own needs, with minimal commercial sales. Despite its small farms, Poland is the leading producer of potatoes and rye in Europe and a large producer of sugar beets.

Unlike the dramatic developments in Polish politics and economics, its society changed at a different pace. The political transformation of 1989–90 was the culmination of radical social change, which profoundly affected Polish society. New social movements and the fundamentals of a civic society were in place by the late 1980s. Disappointment in the society in the early 1990s was in large part due to high expectations of the rapid political and economic changes, which exceeded the possibilities of the weak economy. A significant share of Polish society is Euro-skeptic, opposing globalization and stressing traditional national and Catholic values.

Polish cultural life flourished even under communist rule, but the political and economic changes opened up new possibilities for generations of artists. Polish jazz, with its special national flavor, is known worldwide, and the film industry of the country has been one of the most important in Europe. Polish avant-garde theater, along with various high-culture music festivals and art exhibitions, are world famous, and Polish popular culture has been receiving growing attention and sponsorship within the country as well.

See also EASTERN BLOC, COLLAPSE OF THE; REAGAN, RONALD.

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VIKTOR PAL

Pol Pot

(1925–1998) *Cambodian communist leader*

Pol Pot (born Sar Saloth) came from a rather wealthy peasant family in the central Cambodian Kampong Thum

Province. Through family connections to the Cambodian Royal Court, he was able to gain access to a formal education in both Cambodia and France. He was not the best student and ended up in a technical school. While studying in France, Pol Pot joined several communist organizations and student groups, including the Cercle Marxist, whose members would later provide the leadership of the Cambodian Communist Party.

Antidemocratic policies imposed by Cambodian King Sihanouk and rampant corruption in the electoral process after the 1954 Geneva Conference convinced the left that they would never gain control over Cambodia through peaceful means. A 1962 government roundup of Cambodian leftist and communist leaders left Pol Pot in charge of the party. In 1963 Pol Pot went into hiding in the jungle near the Vietnamese border and contacted the North Vietnamese government hoping that it would aid his communist movement and revolutionary aims. Help was not forthcoming due to North Vietnam's agreements with Sihanouk over their use of the border for the Ho Chi Minh Trail. It was in the border camps that Pol Pot fashioned the Khmer Rouge ideology. The Khmer Rouge held that Cambodia's rural peasant farmers were the working-class proletarians. This was necessary because Cambodia had almost no industrial working class and because most of the Khmer Rouge leaders came from peasant backgrounds.

In 1968 Pol Pot transformed himself into an absolutist leader and minimized collective decision making in the Khmer Rouge leadership. This coincided with a continuing growth of the party due to successive waves of government repression, which also shifted the loyalty of the peasants toward the Khmer Rouge. In 1970 the national assembly voted to remove Sihanouk from power and expel the Vietnamese from the border region. This caused an antigovernment alliance between the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk. Their main military force consisted of 40,000 Vietnamese sent to secure access to the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

During this time, the Khmer Rouge began to "liberate" significant portions of Cambodia and remolded society into their view of agrarian paradise. Communes were organized, private property was banned, and the trappings of wealth were removed from the people. They evacuated all cities and towns they controlled and sent their people to work in rice fields. Former military and government officials, along with the rich and those who had an education, were "purged" (murdered). These policies were applied to the entire country and even Khmer Rouge members after Phnom Penh fell in 1975. Eventually, more than one-quarter of Cambodia's

population of 8 million was killed through starvation, sickness, or murder. Education all but ceased after most intellectuals were murdered.

In late 1978 Vietnam invaded Cambodia after a series of border clashes instigated by the Cambodians. A new Vietnamese-backed regime was installed in January 1979 after Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge fled the capital for the Thai border region. For the next 19 years, Pol Pot led an insurgency against the new government until his death. The legacy of the Khmer Rouge has been continuing misery brought on by their sowing of millions of Chinese-supplied land mines over significant areas of Cambodia.

See also CARTER, JIMMY; NIXON, RICHARD; VIETNAM WAR.

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COLLIN BOYD

Portugal (1930–present)

Portugal has been a land of paradoxes. For much of the 20th century, it was simultaneously a weak, agrarian, poverty-stricken, isolated state on the periphery of Europe and the seat of a vast colonial empire. It had used an alliance with Britain to sustain this paradox for a long time. Portugal relied on Britain to keep Spain at bay and to secure its claim to its colonial holdings. In return, the Royal Navy enjoyed access to a far-flung network of colonial ports to be used as coaling stations. Modern nationalism in Portugal dates from the popular reaction to the British ultimatum of 1890, which foiled a Portuguese scheme to connect Angola and Mozambique by seizing the intervening territory. For half of the 20th century, the country was governed by Western Europe's most enduring authoritarian regime. Then, in 1974–76, it became the only NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) country to experience a full-fledged social revolution. After approaching the precipice of civil war, Portuguese society backed down and built a working democracy.

Portugal overthrew its monarchy in 1910. The country established a new constitution the following year and became Europe's third republic, after Switzerland

and France. There were several coups over a 16-year period. In reaction to labor unrest in the early 1920s, extra-parliamentary right-wing organizations arose. These groups lent their support to a bloodless military coup in 1926.

Two years later, in the wake of financial crisis, the military regime brought an economics professor out of the obscurity of the University of Coimbra and named him minister of finance. António de Oliveira Salazar had a limited set of priorities in that office: to generate a budget surplus and to stockpile gold. He proved to be quite effective at what he set out to do. He quickly overshadowed a succession of military prime ministers and won supporters among officers, clergy, businessmen, bankers, and landowners.

THE NEW STATE

The military regime was a little more stable than its predecessor. Salazar, whose star was already rising within the regime, founded a new party in 1930, the National Union (União Nacional), to unify the regime's supporters. In 1932, as the Great Depression advanced, he was appointed prime minister, a position he would hold for the next 36 years.

Salazar promulgated a new constitution in 1933, establishing the New State (Estado Novo). The National Assembly, consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Corporatist Chamber, had severely limited powers. Salazar selected nearly all candidates personally. Rights and liberties proclaimed by the constitution were nullified by government regulation. Various sectors of society were organized from above in corporatist fashion. The political police maintained surveillance over potential opponents, many of whom fled into exile. Censors erased any hint of dissent.

From 1936 to 1944 Salazar was also minister of war. In that position he found he could shrink the size of the army and control officers' salaries, transfers, retirements, and even marriages. Officers were encouraged to marry wealthy women so that their salaries could be kept low. A politicized government-run militia, the Portuguese Legion (Legião Portuguesa), partially offset the army's influence.

Thus it was Salazar, not the military, who consolidated the authoritarian regime. His was a conservative, corporatist police state, but it was not a true fascist state. It did not seek to overthrow traditional elites or mobilize society around its goals. Rather, Salazar sought to demobilize—or even freeze—society and to reject modernity. Rather than exalting war, Salazar strove for a kind of neutrality. In any event,

his austere policies left the armed forces with a very low level of effectiveness.

SPAIN AND WORLD WAR II

Salazar viewed Spain's leftist Popular Front government as a threat. When General Francisco Franco rebelled against it in 1936, launching the Spanish civil war, Portugal officially followed the lead of Britain and France by promising nonintervention, but surreptitiously funneled aid to Franco. Franco's agents were allowed to operate on Portuguese territory. Thousands of volunteers went to Spain to fight against the Republican cause. At the end of the war, in March 1939, Salazar and Franco signed a treaty of friendship and nonaggression, known informally as the Iberian Pact.

Salazar declared Portugal's neutrality in World War II on September 1, 1939, the very day Poland was invaded. He also sought to keep the war as far away as possible by bolstering Spain's neutrality. In the wake of its civil war, Spain was in no condition to take an active role in World War II, but Portugal's position highlighted the potential costs of even a passive role, as in allowing the Germans to pass through to take the British stronghold of Gibraltar.

The strategic situation changed for the Iberian Peninsula as the Germans became tied down in the Soviet Union and the Allies moved into North Africa and Italy. It was now highly unlikely that Spain would intervene on Germany's side. Salazar allowed himself to be persuaded to join the Allied cause, albeit passively. From the Allied perspective, the Azores were the key objective. Situated in the mid-Atlantic, these Portuguese islands would be useful bases both for antisubmarine warfare and for refueling transatlantic flights in the buildup prior to the great invasion of France. First Britain, and then the United States, acquired access to facilities there, and Portugal ceased selling tungsten to Germany while still claiming to be neutral.

POSTWAR PORTUGAL

Portugal's shift put it on the winning side, improving its bargaining position in postwar Europe and increasing its chances of getting back East Timor and Macao, which had been occupied by the Japanese. Still, the semifascist state was in an ambiguous position after the war. It began to describe itself as an "organic democracy" rather than a "civilian police dictatorship," an expression that had been used in the 1930s.

Portugal was not invited to the San Francisco conference, which established the UNITED NATIONS, and was denied UN membership until 1955. Portugal was,

however, a founding member of NATO chiefly because the United States still wanted access to bases in the Azores. Portugal's relations with the United States and NATO replaced its traditional alliance with Britain. Unlike Britain's earlier guarantee of Portugal's overseas territories, however, NATO's area of responsibility was expressly restricted to Europe to avoid its being drawn into colonial wars.

A certain "softening" marked the Salazar regime in the postwar era. There was no real institutional change, but some of the more fascistlike institutions were allowed to erode. On the other hand, after a dissident general managed to win 25 percent of the vote in presidential elections in 1958, the direct election of the president was discontinued. A degree of economic liberalization led to the growth of the service sector and a larger middle class in the 1960s. Industry, previously limited to textile production, added electrical, metallurgical, chemical, and petroleum sectors.

A stroke immobilized the dictator in 1968, although he lingered for two more years. His successor was Marcello José das Neves Caetano, who, not coincidentally, had also succeeded him in his chair at the University of Coimbra. Caetano brought technocrats into the regime, retired some of Salazar's old-school hangers-on, and favored economic development over cultivated stagnation, but again the basic system remained.

AFRICA

War was spreading in the African colonies of Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau), Angola, and Mozambique. The policy of the New State had been to instill pride among the Portuguese in their empire, a legacy of Portugal's glory in the age of discovery. The state also reasserted national control over the colonies, where foreign corporations had conducted much of the economic activity.

African farmers were compelled to shift from subsistence crops to cotton for the Portuguese market in the 1930s, and more so as World War II disrupted other trade sources. Portuguese investment in Africa began to take off in the years after the war. Portuguese emigration tripled the white population of Mozambique and quadrupled that of Angola between 1940 and 1960. Initially, even the outbreak of the wars of national liberation spurred economic growth, as the state responded by boosting civil and military investments. All of these changes disrupted the lives of the Africans, and many of them also undermined the few existing bases of support for Portuguese rule.

In 1961 a revolt against forced cotton cultivation broke out in Angola. Fighting escalated with retributions and counterretributions; it spread to Guinea in 1963 and Mozambique in 1964. The government quickly repealed

forced cultivation and forced labor. It also mobilized troops and dispatched them to Africa. Large numbers of Africans were concentrated in strategic villages (*aldeamentos*) where their actions could be controlled. In 1961 the United States called on Portugal to decolonize. The insurgents sought and received military aid from the Soviet bloc and China.

In order to fight the leftist insurgency most effectively, the military high command assigned junior officers to read the political tracts of African revolutionary leaders, such as Amílcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau. To their ultimate surprise, a sizable number of junior officers were convinced that the insurgents were right. Some of them also concluded that Portugal itself was an underdeveloped Third World country in need of "national liberation."

REVOLUTION OF THE CARNATIONS

A diverse group of disgruntled junior officers in 1973 formed a clandestine political organization, the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas, MFA). On April 25, 1974, the MFA deposed Caetano. The New State collapsed without resistance. Holding red carnations, demonstrators had persuaded other military units not to resist. The MFA then stepped back, but this proved only temporary. The young officers would soon be in the midst of a political free-for-all to determine the direction of the revolution. They too coalesced into a number of factions built around competing political orientations and personalities. Captain Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho became the focal point of one radical faction, once styling himself as the FIDEL CASTRO of Europe. Colonel Vasco Gonçalves began as a moderate, but moved to a position close to the Portuguese Communist Party. A moderate faction, later dubbed the Group of Nine, formed around Lieutenant Colonel Melo Antunes. Finally, further behind the scenes until the last stages of the revolution were the "operationals," a group of officers largely concerned with professional military matters and associated with Lieutenant Colonel António Ramalho Eanes.

The Junta of National Salvation (Junta de Salvação Nacional) was formed from moderate senior officers. General António de Spínola, a former military governor of Guinea-Bissau, was invited to lead the junta as provisional president of the republic. Palma Carlos, a liberal law professor, was named provisional prime minister. Political parties of all stripes were legalized, and political prisoners were released. Political exiles streamed back into the country. Cease-fires were arranged in Africa. In one of the most fateful decisions of the new regime, the leaders promised elections for a constituent

assembly within a year, the first real elections in over half a century, and with universal suffrage and proportional representation.

The revolution had released popular tensions that had been building up for decades. Turmoil spread quickly in the newfound freedom, and rival power centers competed to control the situation. Spurred on by the newly legalized Portuguese Communist Party, Maoists and other leftist groups and workers staged strikes and seized factories, shops, and offices. Students took over schools and denounced teachers for “fascist sympathies.” Services broke down, and shortages became common. Right-wing groups, especially in the conservative rural north, began to mobilize and arm themselves.

In July the Palma Carlos government collapsed amid the turmoil, and prominent members of the MFA moved into key positions. Carvalho was promoted to brigadier general and put in charge of the army’s new Continental Operational Command (Comando Operacional do Continente, COPCON), which became the principal arbiter of order as the police disintegrated. Colonel Vasco Gonçalves was appointed to the position of prime minister. The MFA radicals regularly overruled Spínola’s decisions and also forced him to accept the independence of the colonies. In September a major demonstration planned by Spínola to bolster his position forced a confrontation with COPCON, which resulted in Spínola’s resignation. General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who was more sympathetic to the left, assumed the presidency.

The most radical phase of the revolution began in March 1975. Spínola launched an unsuccessful coup attempt on March 11. In response, the radical wing of the MFA abolished the Junta of National Salvation and formed the Revolutionary Council (Conselho da Revolução), some 20 officers responsible only to the MFA Delegates’ Assembly. The council nationalized the banking system, press, utilities, and insurance companies. With elections for the Constituent Assembly scheduled for April 25, the anniversary of the revolution, the MFA pressed a “constitutional pact” on the six largest parties, which recognized the permanent supervisory role of the MFA in a “guided” democracy.

Turnout was high for the elections, in which 12 parties competed, but the outcome shocked the radicals. The moderate Socialist Party came in first with 37.9 percent, followed by the right-of-center Social Democrats (originally called the Popular Democrats) with 26.4 percent. The Communists, the electoral ally of the MFA radicals, garnered only 12.5 percent.

TALK OF CIVIL WAR

The MFA responded during the “hot summer” (*verão quente*) of 1975 by styling itself as a national-liberation movement. In the south, landless agricultural laborers seized large estates and declared them collective farms. Moderate Socialists and Social Democrats resigned from the government. Small freehold farmers formed armed groups, held counterrevolutionary demonstrations, and bombed the offices of leftist parties. Plans were drawn up for a possible alternative government in the north. COPCON was beginning to disintegrate, and individual army units were under pressure to declare their political orientation. Both society and the MFA itself were becoming increasingly polarized, and there was talk of civil war.

As a consequence of the growing tension, Gonçalves and his government were pressed to resign at the end of August, and they did so. A new, more moderate provisional government was installed.

Dissatisfied with this outcome and determined not to “lose” the revolution, radical paratroopers attempted to organize a coup in November 1975. Like Spínola’s coup attempt, however, this backfired. Lieutenant Colonel António Ramalho Eanes, of the MFA’s professional military faction, led a purge of the MFA radicals. COPCON was disbanded and Otelo, its commander, placed under house arrest. Eanes was named army chief of staff and made a member of the Revolutionary Council. The “constitutional pact” was renegotiated in February 1976. Elections were held for the new Assembly of the Republic in April, and Eanes was elected president in June with 61.5 percent of the vote in the first round.

The Constituent Assembly sought to avoid both the weak, unstable governments of the 1911 constitution and also the authoritarianism of the 1933 constitution. Based on the French model, the new system called for both an elected president with real powers and an executive prime minister chosen by a majority party or coalition in a freely elected parliament. The renegotiated constitutional pact still called for socialism as the goal of government and society and institutionalized the legacy of the revolution. Moreover, it retained the Revolutionary Council, still a self-appointed and purely military institution, and gave it the power to safeguard the legacy of the revolution and judge the constitutionality of legislation passed by the civilian government.

The first elected government was led by Mário Soares of the moderately leftist Socialist Party. In 1979 however, a center-right government of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats was elected. The inherent tension between the elected government and the essentially

undemocratic council became evident as the cabinet sought to privatize portions of the economy.

After a standoff that lasted roughly from 1979 to 1982, a process of normalization set in and the undemocratic vestiges of the revolution were gradually excised. In particular, a constitutional reform in 1982 abolished the Revolutionary Council and sent the army back to the barracks. In the elections of 1986 Soares became Portugal's first civilian president in 60 years, replacing Eanes. Another constitutional reform, in 1989, eliminated the requirement to keep the nationalized sector of the economy. The moderate Socialist and Social Democratic parties had increasingly come to dominate the political system, reducing the need for multiparty coalitions and increasing the stability of government. Portugal had become a far less hierarchical and far more pluralistic, democratic, and dynamic society than it had been before 1974.

In 1986 the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (now the EUROPEAN UNION) accepted Portugal and Spain simultaneously as members. The opening to trade, the inflow of European investments for infrastructure and other purposes, and the constitutional changes of 1989 spurred growth and helped transform the economy. Economic growth surpassed the European average in the 1990s and until 2002. While, like any country, Portugal was not without its scandals, controversies, and disagreements, by the end of the century it had become integrated as a solidly democratic, stable, and respected member of the European community.

See also NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO).

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SCOTT C. MONJE

Prague Spring

Czechoslovakia became fully communist in February 1948 and was a member of both the WARSAW PACT and

the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COM-ECON, the Soviet counterpart to the MARSHALL PLAN). As such, it had very close ties to the Soviet Union, politically as well as economically. During the 1960s, following the ascension of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the position of premier, the Soviet Union's relations with its satellite nations in eastern Europe softened, leading to greater flexibility in their political and economic policies. One of the greatest tests of how far this new flexibility would stretch was initiated by Alexander Dubček, the political head of Czechoslovakia. Another factor influencing these events was the spread of student movements across the continent of Europe, particularly in West Germany, Italy, and France. In 1967 these student movements spilled over into Czechoslovakia and dovetailed with increasing intellectual dissent among some of the Communist Party membership.

Internally there were deep-rooted fissures in the unity of the state. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was fragmented, stemming from the political trials of the 1950s, which revolved around questioning party comrades' commitment to Stalinism. As the party discussed economic changes, two unforeseen developments occurred. Some among the party began to call for relaxed censorship, and Slovak nationalists began to demand a greater share of political power. These events led to the resignation of president and first secretary of the Party Antonín Novotný. Later in March Ludwig Svoboda assumed the post of president, due to legislation that mandated that these two positions be separated, as Novotný's criticism of early reforms foundered.

Dubček then implemented a series of radical reforms collectively known as the Action Program. These reforms allowed freedom of expression rather than strict censorship; promoted open, public discussion of important national issues; democratized the KSC; provided amnesty for all political prisoners for the first time in 20 years; encouraged greater economic freedom; allowed noncommunists to assume high-ranking government positions; and opened investigations into the political trials of the 1950s. These reforms became known as the Prague Spring, harkening back to the 1956 attempts of Hungarian Imre Nagy to redefine the role of the Communist Party within the state. The reforms were officially approved by the government on April 5, 1968; however, a rift between liberal communists, who supported Dubček, and hard-line communists, who supported Moscow's policy, became more clearly defined. Czechoslovak intellectuals responded by calling for long-term commitment, through the publication of a manifesto, which became known as the "Two Thousand

Words.” The Soviet reaction to this manifesto was swift and critical, which pushed Dubček’s government to officially condemn its ideas in order to preserve its delicate relations with the Soviet Union.

Czechoslovakia’s Warsaw Pact neighbors saw this blossoming of freedoms, particularly the “Two Thousand Words,” as a potential danger that threatened to spill over the border and raise public protest within their own nations. However, initially through a series of meetings, it seemed as if the Warsaw Pact nations would allow these experiments to continue. In late July and early August of 1968, at the border village of Cierna nad Tisou, the political leadership of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union met to discuss these developments. This meeting was followed by an additional conference, adding delegates from Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and POLAND, which convened at Bratislava on August 3. These meetings ended with promises of renewed friendship and commitment to socialism; yet Warsaw Pact troops began to mass along the border with Czechoslovakia.

Suddenly, during the night of August 20–21, 1968, the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations sent 500,000 troops across the border, while Soviet aircraft landed special forces directly in the capital city of Prague, seizing control of key transportation junctures and communication networks. The native population responded with defiance, seen in public protests and demonstrations, and more than 80,000 political refugees streamed into the West, seeking asylum. The Soviets suffered minor military losses of 96 killed and 87 wounded; only 11 of those killed died due to direct confrontation with Czechoslovak citizens. By mid-September, Warsaw Pact troops had killed more than 80 Czechoslovakian citizens, seriously wounded another 266, and lightly wounded an additional 436. The Soviet Union was unable to establish an alternative government, and initially kept Alexander Dubček in his post. Dubček gave in to Soviet demands and repealed his progressive policies. In April 1969 the Soviets installed Gustav Husák as Dubček’s replacement, and Husák then carried out “normalization” efforts and presided over a purge of the KSC.

Prague Spring marked the end to the flexibility of Khrushchev, but it also stood as a harbinger of MIKHAIL GORBACHEV’s policies of glasnost and perestroika of the 1980s. Under the leadership of LEONID BREZHNEV this autonomy would cease to exist, a trend that lasted until the time of Gorbachev and the early rumblings of the revolutions of 1989. Brezhnev made this policy shift clear; essentially the “Brezhnev Doctrine” meant that although the Soviet Union would not normally interfere in the affairs of its satellite states, if the system of social-

ism itself was under direct threat the Soviet Union would help any communist regime maintain power against the threat of overthrow.

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LAURA J. HILTON

presidential impeachment, U.S.

The framers of the U.S. Constitution sought to check presidential power by creating a process for Congress to remove the president for reasons of “treason, bribery, or high crimes and misdemeanors.” No president has ever been removed from office in this fashion, but two presidents in the second half of the 20th century were subject to impeachment inquiries based on congressional definitions of “high crimes and misdemeanors”: RICHARD NIXON, a Republican, and BILL CLINTON, a Democrat.

The process for impeaching the president is spelled out in the Constitution, but has seen an added step produced by the committee system in Congress. The House Judiciary Committee originates the indictment against the president, producing one or more articles of impeachment to define the president’s “high crimes and misdemeanors.” The articles are then subject to a vote by the full House of Representatives and require a majority approval to impeach the president. The Senate then tries the president, with the chief justice of the Supreme Court presiding. At the end of the trial the Senate votes; a two-thirds majority is needed to remove the president.

The attempt to impeach Richard Nixon centered on the illegal activities committed by members of his administration and the attempted cover-up in which he participated. During the first term of his presidency, Nixon engaged in questionably legal activities such as the authorization of the FBI to tap the phones of administration officials and reporters to prevent leaks, and the authorization of the creation of an in-house investigative group, the Plumbers, to prevent leaks and embarrass “enemies” such as Daniel Ellsberg and Senator Edward Kennedy. This willingness to circumvent the law led directly to attempts by the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) to undermine potential

Democratic candidates and to seek information from the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the WATERGATE office complex. When men who were employed by CREEP staffers G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt were apprehended in the Watergate on June 17, 1972, Nixon and his top aides responded by attempting to cover up the president's involvement in the affair. A bipartisan majority of the House Judiciary Committee approved three articles of impeachment against President Nixon, centering on the abuse of power, obstruction of justice, and defiance of a congressional subpoena to turn over the tapes of recorded conversations. To avoid certain removal Nixon resigned from office on August 9, 1974.

At least in part, the attempt to impeach Bill Clinton appeared to grow out of a desire for revenge over the Nixon impeachment attempt. The Clinton administration was subject to several investigations by independent counsels and, after 1994, by the Republican-controlled Congress, both about the behavior of administration officials during his presidency and questions about the financial dealings of the president and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Although Congress and independent counsel Kenneth Starr failed to uncover criminal activity by the president or his wife, they did determine that President Clinton had lied about conducting an extramarital affair with a White House intern.

The House Judiciary brought two articles of impeachment against the president on December 19, 1998, centering on lying to Congress and obstruction of justice. The full House voted to impeach the president on both articles on a near-party line vote. After trial by the Senate President Clinton was acquitted of both articles of impeachment on February 12, 1999. President Clinton served out his term in office.

Since in both cases of impeachment the president's party did not control Congress, the process of impeachment has been tarred by the charge that partisanship, rather than presidential malfeasance, has been the primary motive for action. This charge had more resonance in the impeachment of President Clinton than in that of President Nixon because of the criminal acts committed by Nixon and his associates. Nevertheless, the process of impeachment remains a potential check on presidential power.

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RICHARD M. FILIPINK, JR.

Putin, Vladimir

(1952–) *Russian president*

Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin was born in Leningrad on October 7, 1952, and was very much a product of the Soviet system. His family background was ordinary and reflected the hardships of postwar Soviet life. Putin applied himself to improving his position in the Soviet order and looked, once he graduated in law from Leningrad State University, to a career in the security services (KGB) as the best method of doing so.

Following initial duties dealing with Leningrad dissidents, Putin took up from 1985 to 1989 a KGB posting in East Germany. After the collapse of the East German regime, Putin moved to the international affairs section of his old university and within a short time joined the Leningrad politician Anatoly Sobchak as an aide; following Sobchak's election in 1991 as mayor, Putin became deputy mayor. His abilities were noticed in Moscow, and he joined the Kremlin staff in 1996 as an assistant to Pavel Borodin overseeing Russian economic assets. This post soon brought him to the attention of President BORIS YELTSIN, who, in 1998, appointed Putin head of the Federal Security Service (the replacement for the KGB), from which post Putin quickly rose to be head of the Security Council in 1999.

These times were unstable ones for Yeltsin and the Russian Federation. Within a period of 18 months several prime ministers came and went. When Yeltsin fired Sergei Stepashin in August 1999, he appointed Putin prime minister. He was now in position for succession to the presidency, which unexpectedly came his way when Yeltsin resigned on December 31, 1999, and Putin became acting president. A presidential election followed in March 2000, and Putin won convincingly. The backing of the security services and many economic reformers gave him a political base to overcome any threats from the nationalist Fatherland Front.

In his first years in office, Putin faced a number of crises stemming from the unrest and malaise of the Yeltsin years. Chechnya, controlled by Islamic militants, was clearly the most significant. He attempted to resolve the war, but terrorist bombings in Moscow brought a swift and punishing military retaliation.



Vladimir Putin was elected president of Russia in March 2000, after the turbulent years of the Boris Yeltsin administration.

In addition, he wanted to reverse some of the decentralizing traits of the Yeltsin years, and this meant imposing more Moscow control over the outlying regions through a system of appointed governors. He moved against the oligarchs who had profited during the Yeltsin years. The crisis following the sinking of the submarine *Kursk* in August 2000 hurt Putin's reputation when the government appeared incapable of reacting to the disaster.

In terms of policy, Putin wanted to restore something of the order and pride that had existed during the Soviet era. This meant that some old symbols of state were preserved along with the belief in centralizing control over both the economy and the media. Following Putin's Unity Party landslide victory in the 2003 parliamentary election, it was suggested that control of the state media produced the favorable results.

On March 14, 2004, Putin won decisively his second term in office. He continued his campaign to strengthen state powers. There were also improvements in the justice system and reform of the difficult tax laws that inhibited investment and development. Some see recent actions as a reflection of the antidemocratic instincts that lurk behind the scenes in Putin's adminis-

tration. Putin's 2004 support of Viktor Yanukovych in the Ukrainian election was viewed by critics as an exercise in undue influence on the affairs of a neighboring independent state.

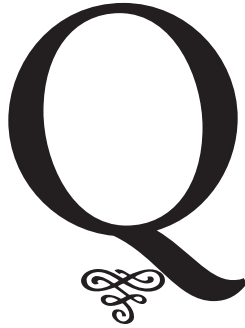
In foreign affairs, Putin built positive relationships with much of the West, including the president of the United States, although he opposed the SECOND GULF WAR. However, after the events of September 11, 2001, he was generally supportive of U.S. action in the War on Terror, including the use of bases in former Soviet Central Asian territories. His country's own campaign against Islamic terror made him a willing ally. His provision of nuclear technology and advanced weapons to Iran raised doubts as to his sincerity. He also reluctantly accepted the U.S. abrogation of the ABM treaty as part of America's missile defense program.

Putin cooperated with the enlargement of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, which now includes former Baltic Soviet Republics bordering Russia. Relations with Europe were strengthened by an agreement in 2005 with Germany to construct a major oil pipeline that should bring economic benefits to both Russia and Germany. Putin also attempted to build favorable relationships—economic and political—with his Asian neighbors, China and Japan.

It is too early to determine Putin's legacy but he maintained his popularity with campaigns against corruption and the oligarchs. Economic improvements and stability were welcomed by a public often left in turmoil following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although not an open democracy on Western terms, and with features that suggest the possibility of returning to old ways, Russia remains a world force and one that has the unrealized potential for full democratic development.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE



Qaddafi, Muammar

(1942–) *Libyan leader*

Muammar Qaddafi was born in the desert region of Sidra (Sirte), LIBYA, in 1942. He was the youngest child from a nomadic Bedouin family. Qaddafi attended the Sebha preparatory school in Fezzan, where he formed a secret society, the Free Officers, patterned on GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's group in Egypt that championed the causes of pan-Arabism and Arab socialism. In 1961 Qaddafi was expelled from Sebha because of his political activism. In April 1963 Qaddafi became a trainee officer at the military academy in Benghazi and began to work his way up through the army officer corps. In 1966 he volunteered to go and study with the Royal Corps of Signals in Britain, where he learned radio electronics and telecommunications. He was able to develop a code that the secret Free Officers group used to maintain contact with one another throughout Libya.

Qaddafi and his close friends from Sebha became the core of the revolutionary group that overthrew King Idris and removed Italian influence from Libya. Qaddafi called off the projected coup against the king twice before going ahead with it on September 1, 1969. While Idris was out of the country, the Free Officers arrested the king's leading supporters in a bloodless coup. The first objective was to take control of the main barracks and the radio station. After securing the radio station, Qaddafi gave an impromptu speech announcing that the monarchy had ended and that Libya had been given back to the people. Qaddafi was appointed

president of the Revolutionary Command Council, the main governing body of the country. The Free Officers promptly refused to renew agreements with Britain and the United States for their military bases in Libya; they also emphasized Arab unity. They nationalized most banks and other business and declared Islam the religion of the state while stating that religious freedom would be accorded to all other faiths. In the midst of the COLD WAR, the Western nations,—particularly the United States—were hostile to these changes and Qaddafi's fiery brand of Arab nationalism.

In hopes of creating a pan-Arab state, Qaddafi proclaimed the Federation of Arab Republics (Libya, Egypt, and Syria) in 1972, but the three countries could not agree on specific terms. In 1973 Qaddafi talked for the first time about his third universal theory, an economic and political philosophy that was neither capitalist nor communist. At this time he also nationalized all foreign petroleum assets. Increased revenues from petroleum during the 1970s enabled Qaddafi to initiate massive programs of domestic development and to build a modern infrastructure. At the same time, Libyan forces occupied the 60-mile-wide Aouzou Strip on the border of Chad. The skirmishes between Libya and Chad continued sporadically for years to come. Qaddafi gave massive amounts of financial aid to African nations and was a prominent figure in the Organization of African Unity.

In 1974 Qaddafi gave up all his political and administrative functions, but still remained head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. On March 2,

1974, Qaddafi proclaimed that Libya was to be known as the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya. He subsequently stepped down from all public offices but remained the real ruler of Libya from behind the scenes.

In 1975, Qaddafi published the first of three documents called *The Green Book*, which expounded his personal philosophy and political belief translated into a program of action. *The Green Book* became part of every Libyan's life and was studied in schools; extracts were broadcast daily, and its slogans were publicized throughout the nation. Part one of the book, *The Solution of the Problem of Democracy—The Authority of the People*, concentrated on the political structure of Libya and rejected the concept of parliamentary democracy. Part two, published in 1977 and entitled *The Solution of the Economic Problem—Socialism*, discussed the weaknesses of both communism and capitalism. Part three, published in 1981 and entitled *The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory*, dealt with a wide range of issues including nationalism and the status of minorities and women.

Qaddafi's hostility toward Israel and the West brought him closer to the Soviet Union. Western governments also blamed him for a series of terrorist attacks against civilian targets. In 1981 U.S. and Libyan air forces clashed over the Gulf of Sidra. Hoping to stop terrorist attacks, President RONALD REAGAN authorized a bombing raid to assassinate Qaddafi in 1986. Although his adopted daughter died in the attack, Qaddafi survived this and other attempts on his life.

During the 1990s, Qaddafi began to adopt a more moderate approach to the West and provided financial compensation for some terrorist victims in order to repair diplomatic relations. Although domestic opposition to his regime continued to mount, he remained in power and seemingly began to groom his son as his successor.

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BRIAN M. EICHSTADT

al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda (Arabic for "the base") is a worldwide Sunni Islamist militant insurgent group. Founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988 in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda is now dedicated to driving the United States out of the Middle



This propaganda poster featuring al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was found by U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

East specifically and out of Muslim countries generally, to destroying Israel, and to toppling pro-Western governments in Islamic countries and replacing them with Islamic fundamentalist governments. These three goals lead to the organization's ultimate goal, which is the reestablishment of the caliphate, a nation uniting Muslims and spanning the Islamic world.

The organization is believed to be highly redundant, both financially and operationally. While the various cells that make up the organization are accountable to higher-level leadership, operations appear to be left to the individual cells, while higher levels provide material and logistical support. Ideas and targets coming from the upper echelons filter down to the individual cells responsible for coordinating and executing the attacks. This redundancy increases the organization's resiliency; when cells are destroyed or captured, the losses can be contained more effectively than if al-Qaeda were a more linear organization.

Al-Qaeda's training camps are likewise well organized. The extent of the training and organization is best seen in the group's multivolume *Encyclopedia of Jihad*. Several thousand pages in length, the encyclopedia details the bureaucratic workings of the group. Covered topics include guerrilla warfare, assembling booby traps, tactics for fighting against armored or aerial combat units, urban warfare, intelligence security, data gathering, and chemical weapons tactics.

The group has been linked to or accused of taking part in terrorist acts across the globe beginning in the early 1990s. A list of the attacks against U.S. interests attributed to al-Qaeda includes the 1992 hotel bombings in Aden, Yemen; the February 6, 1993, bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City; attacks carried out on U.S. military forces in Somalia in 1993 and 1994; the June 25, 1996, truck bombing of the Khobar Towers residential compound in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia; the near-simultaneous bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on August 7, 1998; the suicide bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen on October 12, 2000; and the September 11, 2001, airline hijackings and attacks on the Pentagon and the WORLD TRADE CENTER.

The United States is not the group's only target, however. Al-Qaeda also is linked to the April 2002 bombing of the El Ghriba synagogue in Tunisia; the October 2002 nightclub bombing in Bali, Indonesia; the November 2003 bombings of synagogues and a British bank in Istanbul, Turkey; the March 11, 2004, train bombings in Madrid, Spain; and the July 7, 2005, London transit bombings.

Al-Qaeda is most often represented and understood in regard to its founder, Osama bin Laden (aka Abu Abdallah). Bin Laden was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on March 10, 1957. When he was six months old, his father, Muhammad bin Laden, the Yemeni immigrant who established the Saudi Binladin Group, relocated to Jeddah, where Osama grew up.

The Soviet Union's December 1979 invasion of AFGHANISTAN galvanized the Muslim world in defense of Afghanistan and provided the West with a proxy war through which to combat the Soviet Union. Bin Laden, who had studied economics at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, was one of many spurred to action in defense of Afghanistan. He made his first trip to neighboring Pakistan in 1980, where he sought ways to contribute to the jihad. Bin Laden made several monetary contributions to the mujahideen, but quickly began looking for other ways to contribute.

Bin Laden joined with Palestinian cleric Abdullah Azzam to found the Services Bureau (Makhtab al-

Khidimat, or MAK) in Pakistan in 1984. Azzam, who had taught at King Abdul Aziz University while bin Laden studied there, was indispensable in recruiting. In addition to providing relief to war victims in Afghanistan, the MAK organized and coordinated the volunteers, donations, and weapons coming into Pakistan and Afghanistan in support of the jihad.

Azzam believed that the young Arab men streaming to Pakistan to participate in the jihad should be scattered among the Afghan functions. Azzam felt that such a mixing of Arabs among the local forces would reap benefits both in Afghanistan and abroad. Bin Laden saw the situation differently and sought to create his own separate Arab fighting force. He believed that such a force would be a superior fighting unit compared to local Afghan forces. Bin Laden broke with Azzam and established training camps for his Arab force near Jaji, in eastern Afghanistan. From this base, which they dubbed al-Masadah (the Lion's Den), bin Laden's "Arab Afghans" engaged the Soviets in the battle of Jaji in the spring of 1987. It was at this time that bin Laden grew closer to the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) and one of its most prominent members, Ayman al Zawahiri, who would become bin Laden's deputy in al-Qaeda.

When the Soviets announced their planned withdrawal in April 1988, bin Laden began preparations to perpetuate and expand his forces. He began by moving his unit to the area around Jalalabad, Afghanistan, which became known as al-Qaeda; bin Laden would later say that the name remained with the group by accident. Following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, bin Laden, who had consistently expressed his contempt for the "atheist" Hussein and his Ba'athist government, approached the Saudi king with a plan to use his Arab Afghans to drive Hussein's forces from Kuwait. The Saudi government sought to restrict his movements within the kingdom. Bin Laden obtained permission in early 1991 to travel to Pakistan on the pretext of checking in on some business interests and never returned to Saudi Arabia.

In early 1992 bin Laden and al-Qaeda moved to Sudan, where they remained until 1996. Al-Qaeda and the National Islamic Front (NIF), the ruling party in Sudan, enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. The NIF granted al-Qaeda a safe haven and freedom of movement, while bin Laden made substantial investments in Sudanese industry and agriculture and undertook several large-scale construction projects to develop the infrastructure and agricultural and industrial production capacity of Sudan.

While in the Sudan, bin Laden directed his forces in actions against the communist government of South Yemen. The Arab Afghans also were sent to Bosnia, where they had a substantial impact on that conflict. Bin Laden dispatched al-Qaeda forces into Somalia in response to the buildup of U.S. forces. In December 1992 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH sent 28,000 U.S. troops into Somalia on a humanitarian mission in support of UNITED NATIONS (UN) relief efforts. Bin Laden and al-Qaeda dismissed all humanitarian claims and interpreted the U.S. presence as a way of putting pressure on Islamic regimes and as an effort to establish another base from which to attack Muslim nations.

Al-Qaeda regarded Yemen as a major victory. First, even though the hotels bombed in Yemen did not house U.S. personnel, the transfer of U.S. troops out of Yemen shortly after the hotel bombings indicated to al-Qaeda that they had been successful in driving the Americans from Yemen. Bin Laden also claimed that the militarily superior U.S. forces were driven from Somalia by a poor, ill-armed people whose only strength was their faith. In his 1996 fatwa declaring war against the United States, bin Laden claimed that the most important lesson to be learned from Somalia was that the United States would flee at the first sign of resistance.

The year 1994 was a watershed for bin Laden. He survived two assassination attempts and in April was stripped of his Saudi citizenship in response to the growing threat he represented to the regime. A final step in his radicalization came in August, when the Saudi government imprisoned clerics Salman al Awdah and Safar al Hawali, who were among the first and most prominent of the clerics circulating cassettes of their sermons against the continued U.S. presence in the Arabian Peninsula, and whose imprisonment bin Laden would later mention in his 1996 fatwa.

Bin Laden and al-Qaeda left Sudan in 1996 and returned to Afghanistan, a move prompted by several factors. In addition to the assassination attempts, bin Laden faced international pressure on the NIF and its de facto leader, HASSAN AL-TURABI. The United States and Saudi Arabia sought to have bin Laden silenced and his activities curtailed, and al-Turabi found it increasingly difficult to maneuver and protect bin Laden. When Sudan started pressuring bin Laden, he returned to Jalalabad. There bin Laden and al-Qaeda entered into a symbiotic relationship with the Taliban ("the students"), who were in the process of consolidating their control over much of the country. This relationship was similar to that

with the NIF in Sudan; bin Laden and his organization gained considerable freedom of movement and protection, while his benefactors benefited from agricultural, infrastructural, and industrial investment and development.

It was during the period between bin Laden's return to Afghanistan and the 1998 fatwa that civilians became targets. Both the 1996 fatwa and bin Laden's 1997 CNN interview spoke of civilians as collateral damage, not as legitimate targets in and of themselves. By 1998 this had changed, and the fatwa issued February 22, 1998, explicitly stated that Americans and their allies, civilians and military alike, were now al-Qaeda targets anywhere they could be found.

Communications from al-Qaeda repeatedly stress their belief that Western governments oppress Muslims and Muslim nations and are engaged in a war against Islam. Bin Laden describes the presence of U.S. forces in "the Land of the Two Holy Places" (Saudi Arabia) as the greatest insult and threat faced by the Islamic world since Muhammad's lifetime. In addition to decrying U.S. support for Israel, the group condemns U.S. support for what it considers "apostate regimes," particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden also points to the sanctions imposed on Iraq following the Gulf War as one reason to reject any human rights arguments coming from the West.

Al-Qaeda's idea of the *ummah* (community of believers; the Islamic world) in opposition to the world derives from the teachings of two prominent Islamic scholars. Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328) was a 14th-century Islamic scholar who taught that jihad is the duty of each individual Muslim when Islam is attacked, that the Qu'ran should be interpreted literally, and that all Muslims should read the Qu'ran and Hadith (the sayings of the Prophet) for themselves and not rely on a learned clergy. A second influence on al-Qaeda was SAYYID QUTB (1906–66), an Islamist associated with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Describing the world as existing between states of belief (Islam) and unbelief (*jahiliyya*), Qutb condemned Western and Christian civilization. Urging jihad against all enemies of Islam, Qutb believed that there is no middle ground and that all Muslims must take to jihad when Islam is threatened.

These influences are apparent in al-Qaeda's activities and rhetoric. Bin Laden believes that since the Christians, Jews, and Hindus have nuclear weapons, it is only fitting that Muslims obtain them as well. Bin Laden also echoes Ibn Taymiyyah in his assertions that the Saudi government is aiding the "crusaders" in plundering the wealth of the *ummah*, the vast Middle

Eastern oil reserves, and by acting to keep oil prices below fair-market value.

Al-Qaeda's leadership cadre is well educated. Bin Laden has a university degree in economics, and his inner circle contains doctors; agricultural, civil, and electrical engineers; and computer scientists, but no religious scholars. Rahman's fatwa echoed the call to attack the United States and its allies—civilian and military, anywhere in the world—and contained exhortations to sink ships, shoot down airplanes, and burn corporations and businesses. Two separate attacks on U.S. warships were made in subsequent years, with the USS *Cole* attack following an unsuccessful attack on the USS *The Sullivans* one year earlier. On September 11, 2001, the plot masterminded by Ramzi Binalshibh and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who were arrested in Pakistan in 2002 and 2003, respectively, proceeded along the lines of Rahman's fatwa.

See also ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS; TERRORISM.

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ANTHONY SANTORO

Quebec sovereignty movement

Canadian history has been plagued by issues of national identity since 1763, when Britain conquered New France in the French and Indian War. Britain's Québec Act of 1774 recognized the rights of French-speaking Roman Catholics. The British North America Act of 1867, the basis for Canada's constitution, is premised on a doctrine of "two founding nations" in which the English-speaking and French-speaking cultures are recognized as equal partners. Because the two national identities exist in a country that has traditionally



A patriotic motorist displays the flag of Quebec, known as the Fleurdelisé, which resembles an ancient French military banner.

avored Anglophones, Quebec (Québec), the heart of Francophone Canada, and its leaders have tried to assert their nationalism as a distinct cultural community within Canada.

The modern sovereignty movement is a product of the 1960s. It is a demand for political independence for Quebec combined with economic association with the rest of Canada. It was introduced by René Lévesque, a former Liberal cabinet minister and popular broadcast journalist who organized the Parti Québécois (PQ) in 1968. PQ gained support when the 1969 Official Languages Act seemed to trivialize Quebec's demand for special status.

In the October Crisis of 1970, a radical fringe group called the Front de Libération du Québec kidnapped James Cross, the British trade commissioner in Montreal, and Pierre Laporte, Quebec's minister of labor and immigration. Quebec soon asked the Canadian armed forces to intervene, and the next day the federal government banned the FLQ under the War Measures Act. Laporte's body was found October 17, and a group holding Cross released him in return for safe passage to Cuba in early December. A federal inquiry later ruled that the suspension of normal civil liberties had been illegal.

In 1976, the PQ gained control of Quebec's government and promised to consult the people of Quebec before taking any steps toward independence and secession. Four years later, majority-French provincial voters soundly rejected a referendum to authorize sovereignty negotiations with Ottawa. Even so, the PQ was reelected in 1981, and in 1982 it refused to accept

the new Canadian constitution. When the PQ removed sovereignty-association from its party platform in 1985, the Liberal Party regained control of the Quebec assembly.

Reorganized under the leadership of former finance minister Jacques Parizeau, the PQ again promised to declare Quebec independent after the voters of Quebec voted *oui* in a referendum. The Meech Lake Accord, which agreed to conditions that Quebec had placed on its acceptance of the national constitution, collapsed in 1990 due to opposition. A subsequent package of constitutional reforms, presented to voters in a 1992 national referendum, was also defeated.

By 1994 the Bloc Québécois, a national party devoted to Quebec sovereignty, had won enough votes to become the official opposition party in Ottawa. Another sovereignty referendum in 1995 lost narrowly. Canada was startled in November 2006 when Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper proposed a resolution, passed overwhelmingly by Parliament, stating that the 7 million "Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." Although this recognition was called "symbolic," it was unclear whether it might spark a renewed push for Quebec's independence.

See also TRUDEAU, PIERRE.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Qutb, Sayyid

(1906–1966) *Egyptian Islamist theoretician*

Sayyid Qutb was born in an Egyptian village in 1906. Although the family was poor, Qutb's father was educated and was an early supporter of the Egyptian nationalist movement. As a boy Qutb attended the local religious school (*kuttab*), where he reputedly had memorized the Qu'ran before his teenage years. He attended a teacher's college in Cairo and in 1933 earned a degree from Dar al-Ulam, the prestigious secular Egyptian university established in the late 19th century. After graduation Qutb worked for the Ministry of Education. A

prolific writer, Qutb wrote fiction, poetry, and news articles during the 1930s.

Qutb studied for a master's degree in education in the United States on a scholarship from 1948 to 1950. Qutb's enmity toward the West seems to date from his stay in the United States, where he was infuriated by the racism, materialism, and casual social exchanges between the sexes that he observed there. After traveling through Europe, he returned to Egypt and resigned from the Ministry of Education. In 1953 he joined the Muslim Brotherhood and was appointed director of the brotherhood's propaganda section.

In the early 1950s Qutb may have been the brotherhood's go-between with GAMAL ABDEL NASSER's Free Officers Group; he initially supported the 1952 revolution and the overthrow of the corrupt monarchy of King Farouk. But after Nasser refused to institute an Islamic state, the brotherhood opposed him. After a failed assassination attempt on Nasser in 1954, members of the brotherhood were persecuted, and Qutb was imprisoned and tortured. He observed other brotherhood members being tortured and killed and concluded that violence was justifiable to overthrow Muslim leaders and regimes that were unjust and did not adhere to the sharia and Islamic precepts.

While in prison Qutb wrote a commentary on the Qu'ran and an Islamic manifesto, *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones). He became more radical as the repression of the brotherhood intensified. Qutb condemned Western civilization as primitive and materialistic and argued that Muslim leaders who adopted or cooperated with the West were in conflict with Islamic culture and tradition. He warned of *jahiliyyah* (ignorance), which he believed was imposed by the adoption of Western culture. He rejected the ideologies of Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, and Karl Marx, asserting that Marxism resulted in the enslavement of mankind. Qutb held an ultraconservative view of the role of women in society. He argued that although the Qu'ran mandated the equality of all humans the role of women was to maintain family values, with men as the head of households.

For Qutb the Qu'ranic text, and to a lesser degree the Hadith, were the sources of all law; he believed that the Qu'ran provided a comprehensive guideline for the conduct of all aspects of human life. Authority emanated from God and the Qu'ran; therefore jihad, or holy war against the modernization of the West and against unjust, corrupt Muslim rulers was the duty of true believers. He advocated the creation of committed cadres of devout

believers to teach Muslim youth and to struggle against “ignorant” or unjust regimes in the Islamic world as well as against the West.

Qutb was released from prison in 1964, but shortly thereafter was imprisoned again on charges of sedition and terrorism. Although in *Milestones* he had fallen just short of advocating the overthrow of Nasser’s regime, he was found guilty after a public trial. Qutb was executed in 1966 and promptly became a martyr for members of the brotherhood and a myriad of breakaway Islamist organizations.

For Qutb a theocracy was an ideal, and he envisioned the creation of a new society and government. He was a major force in 20th century ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS. His books were translated into many languages and influenced a wide variety of contemporary Islamist

movements in Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, and Iran. Qutb’s brother taught in SAUDI ARABIA, where he also influenced future Islamist radicals. The Egyptian Ayman Zawahiri followed Qutb’s precepts and in turn became a theoretical mentor to Osama bin Laden. Qutb’s works have also remained a major force for the Muslim Brotherhood, an important factor in Egyptian politics until the present day.

See also AL-QAEDA.

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JANICE J. TERRY



Rabin, Yitzhak

(1922–1995) *Israeli general and prime minister*

Yitzhak Rabin was a key Israeli military and political leader. Born in Jerusalem in 1922, Rabin earned a degree from an agricultural college and joined the elite Palmach forces that fought in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. He became chief of staff and led the army during the stunning Israeli victory in the 1967 war. Rabin was the Israeli ambassador to the United States from 1968 to 1973. After returning to Israel, he ran for the Knesset on the Labor Party ticket. He vied with his rival Shimon Peres for the position of prime minister after GOLDA MEIR's government fell and defeated Peres for the leadership position. Rabin served as prime minister from 1974 to 1977 and was instrumental in rebuilding the army after the 1973 war (Yom Kippur War). He also signed the initial disengagement agreement with Egypt over the Sinai Peninsula. Following reports of his wife having had, under Israeli law, an illegal bank account in the United States, Rabin stepped down as prime minister.

For much of his military career, Rabin was a hard-liner with regard to the Palestinians and Arab nations. He advocated the use of strong force to crush the Palestinian INTIFADA when it erupted in the Occupied Territories (the Gaza Strip and the West Bank) in 1987. Rabin was again elected prime minister in 1992. Following protracted secret negotiations, he agreed to the 1993 Oslo accords and signed a much-publicized agreement with the PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO), represented by YASIR ARAFAT, in a ceremony hosted by then president BILL

CLINTON on the White House lawn. Under the agreement the Israelis agreed to a gradual pullout from selected portions of the West Bank and Gaza in exchange for full recognition by the PLO. The agreement was opposed by both Israeli and Palestinian extremists and hard-liners. In 1994 Rabin signed a peace treaty with King Hussein of Jordan, with whom—in contrast to Arafat—he had cordial relations. Rabin was awarded the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize along with Peres and Arafat.

Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir, an Israeli fanatic who opposed the settlement with the Palestinians, in 1995. The assassination shocked Israeli society but it also reflected the deep divisions within Israel over the exchange of peace for land.

See also ARAB-ISRAELI WAR (1967); ARAB-ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Rahman, Sheikh Mujibur

(1920–1975) *Bangladeshi leader*

The founding father of Bangladesh, Banga Bandhu (Friend of Banga) Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman, was born

on March 17, 1920, in Tungipara village in the Faridpur district in erstwhile East Pakistan. He was the third child of Sheikh Luthfur Rahman and Sheikh Sahara Khatun. After the partition of India in 1947, Mujibur built his career in East Pakistan as an active politician championing the cause of Bengalis. Although religion was the common factor in East and West Pakistan, there were economic, social, and linguistic differences. East Pakistan (East Bengal until 1956) was less developed than the west, and the discriminatory policies of West Pakistan increased the marginalization of the eastern part of the country.

Mujibur was emerging as a prominent leader in the wake of the imposition of Urdu as the official language. His Muslim Students League formed an All-Party State League Action Council in March 1948. Mujibur, also called Mujib, became the joint secretary of the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League (called the AWAMI LEAGUE from 1954) when it was formed in June 1949. In 1952 the police brutally crushed the movement to make Bengali one of the official languages of Pakistan. Cracks had already opened in united Pakistan, and it was Mujib who spearheaded the cause of separation from the west.

Mujib contested as a candidate of the United Front, which had been formed by the Awami League for the 1954 general elections. The following year the Awami League demanded autonomy for the eastern wing of Pakistan. Under the presidency of General Mohammad Ayub Khan the Bengalis were further alienated. Mujib and the people of East Pakistan witnessed a harsh military regime exploiting and dominating the eastern wing. The Ayub government was dismayed at Mujib's popularity and imprisoned him many times.

Mujib spelled out a six-point program in February 1966 demanding autonomy for all provinces of Pakistan. He was accused of engineering the secession of East Pakistan, and proceedings were initiated against him in the Agartala Conspiracy Case of 1968. In the 1970 elections to the National Assembly of Pakistan, Mujib's Awami League secured an absolute majority, winning 162 seats out of 313. The new president of Pakistan, Muhammad Yahya Khan, was in no mood to give power to Mujib. The convening of the National Assembly was postponed. On March 25 Mujib declared the independence of East Pakistan, which was renamed Bangladesh. He was taken to West Pakistan in March 1971 to be tried for treason.

With Indian military assistance Bangladesh was liberated on December 16, 1971. Meanwhile, the government of Pakistan had sentenced Mujib to death. But

because of international pressure, he was finally released and became the first prime minister of Bangladesh on January 12, 1972.

Mujib faced the difficult task of governing the nation, which faced the challenges of rehabilitation and reconstruction. Disagreements with Pakistan remained. Mujib signed a 25-year friendship treaty with India. Most countries recognized Bangladesh, which also became a member of the UNITED NATIONS. Mujib followed a nonaligned foreign policy. He promulgated a constitution in 1971 containing the principles of secularism, socialism, and democracy. Mujib also launched welfare programs.

The Awami Party won the elections of 1973 with a massive majority. But poor governance, corruption, opposition from disgruntled elements, and natural disasters created problems. Mujib declared a state of emergency in 1975. A presidential form of government was initiated with Mujib as president for life. In June the Awami League became the only legal party. On August 15, 1975, Mujib and 15 of his family members were assassinated by young army officers. The military government that followed passed the infamous Indemnity Ordinance giving indemnity to the assassins. It was not until 1998 that the culprits were sentenced to death, when the Awami League government of Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Mujib, came to power.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Reagan, Ronald

(1911–2004) U.S. president

Ronald Wilson Reagan was an actor who served two terms as the 33rd governor of California and later served two terms as the 40th president of the United States. Reagan's presidency contributed to the end of the COLD WAR between the United States and the Soviet Union and witnessed the collapse of communism in eastern Europe. At the end of Reagan's admin-

istration, the United States was enjoying its longest period of peacetime prosperity without recession or depression. His administration cut taxes, reformed the tax code, offered a temporary solution to the Social Security issue, reduced inflation, continued deregulation of business, and increased military spending. Critics have commented that Reagan was unconcerned with income inequality, and his dedication to military spending increased the federal deficit as well as trade deficits internationally and may have been instrumental in causing the stock market crash of 1987. Overall, Reagan was one of the most popular U.S. presidents of the 20th century, exiting office more popular than when he began. Nicknamed the Great Communicator by the media, Reagan dominated the decade of the 1980s in the United States to such an extent that the two are linked inextricably together.

Reagan was born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, and was raised with strong Christian values. He attended high school in the nearby town of Dixon. In 1928 Reagan entered Eureka College, where he studied economics and sociology. Reagan graduated in 1932. After graduation, he worked as a radio sports announcer.

Following a 1937 screen test, Reagan won a Hollywood contract and began a lengthy acting career, appearing in 53 films over the next two decades. In 1940 he played the role of George Gipp in the film *Knute Rockne, All American*. In the film, Reagan delivers the memorable line “Win one for the Gipper!” From this role, Reagan acquired the nickname “the Gipper,” which he retained throughout his life. In 1935 Reagan was commissioned as a reserve cavalry officer in the U.S. Army. After the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States became involved in World War II, and Reagan was activated and assigned to the First Motion Picture Unit in the U.S. Army Air Forces, which made training and propaganda films. Reagan’s efforts to go overseas for combat were rejected due to his astigmatism. While in Hollywood, Reagan married actress Jane Wyman in 1940 and had a daughter, Maureen, and later adopted a son, Michael. Following his divorce, Reagan married Nancy Davis, also an actress, in 1952, and had two children, Patricia Ann and Ronald Prescott.

Reagan became president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1952 and again from 1959 to 1960. Although raised in a strong Democratic household, Reagan shifted his political views, primarily because of the Republican Party’s strong condemnation of communism. He became involved in disputes over the issue of communism in the film industry. During the 1950s



One of the most popular American presidents in recent history, Ronald Reagan and his policies dominated the 1980s.

Senator Joseph McCarthy initiated a series of hearings to root out communism in the United States. Particular scrutiny was placed on Hollywood, and actors marked as communists faced exile from the film industry. Reagan claimed that Hollywood was being infiltrated by communists and kept watch on suspected actors for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

As Reagan’s film career waned, he moved to television, hosting and performing for, *General Electric Theater* and starring in television movies. His employment for General Electric required extensive travel as a GE spokesman. Reagan delivered numerous anticommunist speeches, which brought him to the attention of the Republicans.

In 1966 Reagan was elected governor of California by a margin of 1 million votes, and he was reelected in 1970. During his first term Reagan froze government hiring but approved tax increases to balance the budget. In 1969 Reagan sent 2,200 National Guard troops to disband a student protest on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. He worked to reform

welfare and opposed construction projects that hindered conservation or transgressed onto American Indian ranches. Although Reagan supported capital punishment, his efforts to enforce this position were hindered by the Supreme Court of California's decision to invalidate all death sentences passed prior to 1972. A constitutional amendment quickly overturned this decision.

Reagan's first attempt to secure the Republican nomination for president in 1968 was unsuccessful. He tried again in 1976 against incumbent GERALD FORD, but was narrowly defeated at the Republican National Convention. In 1980 Reagan won the Republican nomination and selected as his running mate former Texas congressman GEORGE H. W. BUSH. The United States was suffering from a period of high inflation and unemployment, fuel shortages resulting from instability in the petroleum market, and the international humiliation of the yearlong confinement of U.S. hostages in Iran. Reagan became popular, consequently winning in a landslide over incumbent JIMMY CARTER. The Republican presidential victory accompanied a 12-seat change in the Senate, the first Republican Senate majority in over 25 years.

FIRST DAYS

Reagan assumed the office of president on January 20, 1981. The IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS ended with the release of the U.S. captives the same day, which led to allegations that a covert agreement delaying their release had been negotiated between the Iranian government and Reagan's future cabinet. On March 30 Reagan was nearly killed in an assassination attempt but quickly recovered and returned to office. Reagan's first official act was to end oil price controls. In 1981 Reagan fired the majority of federal air traffic controllers when they embarked on an illegal strike, setting limits for public employees unions and signaling the acceptability of businesses' taking stronger bargaining positions with unions.

Reagan steered his desired domestic legislation through Congress in an effort to stimulate economic growth and reduce inflation and unemployment. He followed a plan calling for cutbacks on taxes and government expenditures, refusing to deviate from this course when the strengthening of national defenses increased the national deficit. To curb inflation, Reagan supported Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker's plan to tighten the monetary supply by dramatically increasing interest rates. Reagan also sponsored wide-ranging tax cuts to boost business investment. Reagan simultaneously limited the growth of

welfare and other social programs. Beginning in 1983 the economy began to recover. However, increased military spending as part of Reagan's cold war policy caused the national deficit to soar.

A renewal of U.S. self-confidence due to a recovering economy and heightened international prestige propelled Reagan and Bush to win their second term in an unprecedented landslide against Democratic challengers Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, winning the electoral votes in 49 out of 50 states.

During his second term, Reagan overhauled the income tax code, eliminating many deductions and exempting millions of people with low incomes. Although Reagan's opponents claimed his economic policies increased the gap between the rich and the poor, the income of all economic groups rose in real terms. He also passed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, granting compensation to Japanese Americans who had been interned during World War II. Reagan signed legislation authorizing capital punishment for offenses involving murder in the context of illegal drug trafficking and launched a "war on drugs," which was led by Nancy Reagan.

Reagan was staunchly against abortion. Although his appointees to the Supreme Court—including Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman Supreme Court justice—shifted the balance in favor of conservatism, the Supreme Court voted to uphold *ROE V. WADE*, which legalized abortion. The gay rights movement criticized Reagan for not responding adequately to the arrival of HIV-AIDS in the mid-1980s. However, the Reagan administration spent almost \$6 billion on HIV and AIDS research. By 1986, Reagan had endorsed large-scale prevention and research efforts. In 1984, Reagan was the first U.S. president to invite an openly homosexual couple to spend an evening at the White House.

FOREIGN POLICY

Reagan's foreign policy during his presidency called for "peace through strength" and a close alliance with Britain. Reagan confronted the Soviet Union head-on, arguing that only from a position of military superiority could the United States negotiate an end to the cold war and secure U.S. interests abroad. Reagan reasoned that the Soviet Union could not keep up with the United States in a full-scale arms race. He increased defense spending 35 percent while seeking improved diplomatic relations with Soviet leader MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

In keeping with this Reagan Doctrine, he actively supported anticommunist efforts in Latin America,

Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Reagan administration supported Afghani insurgents, including Osama bin Laden; POLAND's SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT; the contras in Nicaragua; and rebel forces in Angola. The United States increased military funding for anticommunist dictatorships in Latin America and was accused of assassinating several Latin American heads of state. A communist attempt to seize power in GRENADA in 1983 prompted a U.S. invasion.

Reagan and Gorbachev negotiated a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles and to continue disarmament. However, Reagan supported the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which proposed the launching of a space-based defense system to render the United States invulnerable to a nuclear attack. Opponents of the plan labeled it Star Wars and argued that the plan was unrealistic and violated international treaties.

In 1985 Reagan conducted a goodwill visit to Germany. He visited Kolmeshohe Cemetery to pay respects to the soldiers there, unaware that many had been members of Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler's Waffen-SS. Reagan also visited the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where he condemned the Holocaust.

Reagan declared war against international terrorism, taking a strong stand against the Lebanese HIZBOLLAH terrorist organization, which was holding Americans as hostages and attacking civilian targets following Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Reagan's administration also took a strong stance against Palestinian terrorists in the West Bank and Gaza. U.S. involvement in Lebanon led to a limited UNITED NATIONS mandate for an international force. The September 16, 1982, massacre of Palestinians in Beirut prompted Reagan to form a new international force. Diplomatic pressure forced a peace agreement between Israel and Lebanon and U.S. forces withdrew following an October 1983 bombing that killed over 200 marines. Reagan sent U.S. bombers to LIBYA after evidence revealed government involvement in an attack on U.S. soldiers in a West Berlin nightclub. Reagan's administration maintained the controversial position that the Salvadoran FMLN and Honduran guerrilla fighters, as well as a wing of the anti-apartheid African National Congress (ANC), constituted terrorist organizations.

During the IRAN-IRAQ WAR, Reagan sent naval escorts to the Persian Gulf to maintain the free flow of oil for U.S. use. The Reagan administration came to increasingly side with Iraq under the assumption that Iraqi president SADDAM HUSSEIN was less a threat than Iranian leader AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI. While support-

ing Iraq, the United States covertly supplied Iran with military weapons in order to fund contra rebels in Nicaragua. This arrangement, known as the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, became a huge scandal. Reagan declared his ignorance of the arrangement. As a result, 10 members of Reagan's administration were convicted and many others were forced to resign.

Reagan addressed the nation from the White House one last time in January 1989, prior to the inauguration of George H. W. Bush as the 41st president. Reagan returned to his estate, Rancho del Cielo, in California, eventually moving to Bel Air, Los Angeles. In 1989 Reagan received an honorary British knighthood and was made Grand Cordon of the Japanese Order of the Chrysanthemum. In the early 1990s he made occasional appearances for the Republican Party and in 1993 was granted the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

In 1994 Reagan was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. His health worsened following a fall in January 2001 that shattered his hip and rendered him immobile. By late 2003 Reagan had entered the final stages of Alzheimer's disease, and he died of pneumonia on June 5, 2004. He was buried at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California.

See also DRUG WARS, INTERNATIONAL; MCCARTHYISM; NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION (1979-1990).

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ERIC MARTONE

Rhee, Syngman

(1875-1965) *South Korean president*

Syngman Rhee was the controversial, strongly anticommunist, and increasingly authoritarian first president of South Korea, serving from April 1948 until April 1960. He gained office through a popular election in 1948, led South Korea through the KOREAN WAR, and was reelected twice, although not without controversy, before being forced from office in the wake of the fraudulent 1960 election.

Born in Hwanghae Province on March 26, 1875, Rhee—also known as Yi Sung-man—labored passionately to create a modern, independent Korea. Having studied the Chinese classics and repeatedly failed the civil service examinations, Rhee enrolled in and eventually taught at a Western-style school run by U.S. Methodists. In 1896 he helped found the Independence Club, a Western-leaning nationalist organization hoping to fend off the growing interventions by Japan, Russia, and China in Korean affairs. Weary of his proposed reforms, the conservative Korean government imprisoned Rhee for seven years, during which time he was tortured and also converted to Christianity, which he considered “the religion of liberty.”

Freed in 1904, Rhee traveled to the United States to petition U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt to help Koreans oppose expanded Japanese influence. This effort failed, and Japan increased its control and formally annexed Korea in 1910. Rhee stayed on in the United States, where he earned a B.A. from George Washington University in 1907, an M.A. from Harvard in 1908, and a Ph.D. in theology from Princeton in 1910.

He returned to Korea in 1910 as chief Korean secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Seoul. A year later he was forced into exile because of his organizing against Japanese rule. He would spend the next 33 years in Hawaii and Washington, D.C., where he would continue working on behalf of a modern, independent Korea. In 1920 he became the first president of the exiled Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. His main strategy was to build support for Korea in the international community, particularly the United States.

After defeating the Japanese in World War II, the United States occupied the southern half of Korea. Rhee, by now back in the country, helped found the National Society for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence. In 1948 he handily won United Nations (UN)-sponsored elections for president of the REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South Korea). He was known for his desire to reunite the Korean Peninsula, his commitment to democracy, and his strong opposition to communism. In the two years after his election, Rhee intensified COLD WAR tensions in East Asia by calling for a “march north” to destroy KIM IL SUNG's communist regime. But it was Kim's Communist forces that invaded South Korea in June 1950.

After the Korean War broke out in June 1950, Rhee proved a steady, but difficult, ally of the United States. In 1951 he reorganized the military in order to

root out corruption and inefficiency. But he also routinely undermined U.S. efforts by rejecting any peace deal that stopped short of reunifying Korea. He also called on the United States to counter Chinese intervention more aggressively, including bombing China. By August 1953, however, the prospect of intensified hostilities with the north and worsening relations with the United States forced Rhee to accept a divided Korea. The United States deployed troops along the demilitarization zone both to protect the south from invasion from the north and to thwart Rhee's aggressive tendencies.

For most of the 1950s, Rhee repeatedly worked to consolidate his hold on power. In 1951 he founded the Liberal Party. In 1952 he engineered changes in the constitution to guarantee his victory in the election. When these changes were rejected in favor of a parliamentary system, he declared martial law. In the ensuing general election, Rhee won 72 percent of the vote. As the 1956 election approached, Rhee once again forced changes into the constitution to eliminate the provisions limiting presidents to two terms. He then won the election with 55 percent of the vote, a low number considering that his rival, Sin Ik-hui, had suffered a heart attack and died 10 days earlier.

South Korea made significant economic and social progress under Rhee. The expansion of the school system after independence and the modernization of the military contributed greatly to the changes that transformed Korea. Massive U.S. aid combined with the government's import-substitution policies yielded strong growth.

In 1960 Rhee and the Liberal Party once again rigged the presidential election. This time, however, a protest movement led by students became widespread, and governmental security forces killed 142 protesters. These events forced Rhee's resignation. He fled to the United States and died five years later in 1965 in Hawaii.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

Rhodesia/Zimbabwe independence movements

Zimbabwe, or Rhodesia, as it was known until 1980, is a landlocked nation of 13 million people occupying the plateau between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, bordered by Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west, Mozambique to the east, and South Africa to the south. While the rest of Britain's African colonies, including two of Rhodesia's neighbors—Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi)—gained independence as part of a wave of decolonization, Rhodesia remained a bastion of minority white rule because of its influential European population. Even after the country gained majority rule in 1980, white control of land continued to be a crucial issue in Zimbabwe.

At midcentury, mostly because of the country's substantial mineral wealth and fertile soil for tobacco cultivation, Rhodesia's white population enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world. The country's black residents, however, who made up over 95 percent of the population, possessed little political power and received just 5 percent of the nation's income. Having gained control by force roughly a half-century earlier, whites made up one-twentieth of the population but held one-third of the land.

At the end of World War II the political winds began to change. Britain moved to grant independence to many of its colonies in Asia and Africa. Rhodesia, which had been a British-chartered corporate colony at the turn of the century and a self-governing British colony since 1923, took on a new political form in 1953 with the establishment of the Central African Federation. Southern Rhodesia dominated this confederation; it exploited the copper of Northern Rhodesia and the labor of Nyasaland.

The arrival of independent rule in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1964 brought considerable anxiety to the white population of Southern Rhodesia, who believed that Britain favored majority rule. In response, in November of 1965, Ian Douglas Smith, an unabashed champion of white rule, announced the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, which cut the country's ties with Britain and established the independent nation of Rhodesia. In a referendum,

overwhelming numbers of the white population supported Smith. Britain responded by imposing diplomatic and economic sanctions.

The COLD WAR struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for influence around the world, including in the nations of Africa, complicated these developments. U.S. relations with Ian Smith's white-ruled Rhodesia at the time shows the ambivalent position of the United States. On the one hand the United States valued the support of Rhodesia, which contained vast reserves of strategic minerals, especially chromium, and adopted a strongly anticommunist stance. Yet, at the same time, the United States worried that support for Smith's white supremacist government would cost it needed friends in rapidly decolonizing Africa.

In 1965 U.S. president LYNDON B. JOHNSON condemned Smith's unilateral declaration of independence and, following Britain's lead, imposed economic sanctions. Although these sanctions could have been even stronger, U.S. trade there declined from \$29 million in 1965 to \$3.7 million in 1968, a real blow to the Rhodesian economy. At the same time, though, Rhodesia received substantial support from some within the United States. The Byrd Amendment of 1971, which was enacted with the support of the RICHARD NIXON administration, punched a significant hole in the sanctions against Rhodesia. According to this law, the United States could not ban the importation from a non-communist nation any material needed for national defense if that same material would otherwise be purchased from a communist nation. Since chromium, a key resource for many modern weapon systems, was also imported from the Soviet Union, the United States was forced to allow trade with Rhodesia. Imports of chromium grew from \$500,000 in 1965, to \$13 million in 1972, to \$45 million in 1975.

Organized black resistance to white rule in Rhodesia took shape in the late 1950s, and the two main oppositional parties, parties that would dominate Zimbabwean politics well beyond independence, were established in the early 1960s. In 1957 the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, based in Bulawayo, and the African National Youth League, based in Salisbury (present-day Harare), combined to form the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress under Joshua Nkomo. Banned in 1959, this group was succeeded by the National Democratic Party, which was itself banned in December 1961. Shortly thereafter, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was established. A major split occurred in 1963, resulting in the formation of the Zimbabwe

African National Union (ZANU). ZAPU was mostly Ndebele and Chinese-leaning; ZANU was mostly Shona and Soviet-leaning.

ZAPU and ZANU adopted different strategies at different times. During the 1960s, as white Rhodesians like Ian Smith grew more extreme, African nationalist methods became more militant and confrontational. Both ZANU and ZAPU began attacking white farms in 1964, but they quickly realized they were outmatched by the Rhodesian military. A more moderate group, the African National Council—organized by Bishop Abel Muzorewa—sprang up during the early 1970s. None of these groups had much success.

The situation began to shift during the late 1970s. In 1975, after long wars, two Portuguese colonies in southern Africa, Mozambique and Angola, gained their independence. Black-ruled Mozambique became a safe haven for many of the guerrilla groups opposing the white regime in Rhodesia. In 1975 the two most important of these groups—ZANU, under ROBERT MUGABE, and ZAPU, under Joshua Nkomo—joined forces to become the Patriotic Front. JIMMY CARTER's victory in the U.S. presidential election of 1976 also played a role in shifting the context of Rhodesian politics. Concerned about the U.S. reputation in other parts of black Africa, the Carter administration began to push for a settlement to the conflict. In general, the United States supported majority rule with protection of white interests.

The British called the Lancaster House Conference in an attempt to broker a lasting solution. The resulting settlement guaranteed majority rule for Zimbabwe, a transitional period for whites, and a multiparty system. At the center of the settlement was a new constitution, which gave the vote to all Africans 18 years and older, reserved 28 seats in the parliament for whites for 10 years, and guaranteed private property rights. In the election of February 1980, voting mostly followed ethnic lines. ZANU–Popular Front won a clear majority, making its leader, Robert Mugabe, the prime minister. ZAPU–Popular Front, which had recently split from ZANU–PF, joined the white members of parliament in opposition. Taking its name from the 14th- and 15th-century stone city of Great Zimbabwe, Rhodesia became Zimbabwe on April 18, 1980. The war for majority rule, which had cost over 25,000 lives, most of them black, was over.

Under Robert Mugabe's rule, Zimbabwe in the 1980s pursued socialist-leaning policies not unlike those of many other countries in Africa. It expanded social programs that had been denied under white rule. And, although it claimed to want to redistribute land,

in reality it moved slowly to break up successful white farms. This cost the regime politically but it enabled Zimbabwe to continue to feed itself. Overall, during the early 1980s many Zimbabweans saw real improvements in the quality of their lives.

As the 1980s unfolded, Mugabe began to show authoritarian tendencies. Even early on he rounded up opponents, censored the press, and gave broad authority to security forces. At first he was able to get away with this because of his wide support, especially in rural areas. Mugabe won the March 1996 election with 92.7 percent of the vote, but only a very small number of Zimbabweans bothered to vote. The decrease in voter participation revealed the growing discontent of Zimbabweans with Mugabe. On top of this, in the early 1980s a civil war that would last until 1987 broke out in Matabeleland, a stronghold of the ZAPU–PF.

In the late 1990s Mugabe initiated two very controversial programs. In 1997, he began seizing white-owned land without compensation and quietly encouraging landless blacks to move onto white farms. These farms had previously fed the nation and provided work for large numbers of people, mostly black. In 2002 Mugabe appropriated the remaining white land and ordered white farmers to offer payments to former workers. Because many of the blacks who moved onto the white land had few farming skills, the nation soon faced a food crisis. Critics, moreover, claimed that Mugabe handed out the best land to his family, friends, and close supporters. In another controversial move, in 1998 Mugabe deployed the military in the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO to help its government fend off an armed rebellion.

The situation in Zimbabwe seems precarious. During the 2002 elections Mugabe rigged the voting and jailed opponents, especially the supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change, led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Neighboring nations supported Mugabe but other African nations, such as KENYA and GHANA, condemned his move. Famine conditions persist in Zimbabwe, and the people struggle with skyrocketing prices and extremely high unemployment. That no system is in place to determine a successor to the aging Mugabe portends a divisive struggle to come.

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TOM ROBERTSON

Roe v. Wade

The landmark 1973 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade* struck down state abortion laws as illegal because of their infringement on the privacy rights inherent in the U.S. Constitution. This case was the climax of a series of actions by doctors’ organizations, state legislatures, and women’s groups to legalize abortion in order to regulate surgical procedures. However, the case was widely seen by Christian groups and political conservatives as opening the floodgates for unfettered aborting of viable human beings. The aftermath of *Roe* included the formation of coherent pro-choice and pro-life organizations, a struggle with definitions of when life is created, and the magnification of the state management of abortions to a topic handled by Congress, the Supreme Court, and the president.

Debates over the legality of abortion were ignited by a physicians’ movement to allow abortions during the 1940s and 1950s. Led by Drs. Alan and Manfred Guttmacher, a group of doctors lobbied state legislatures to allow abortions. Their activism in favor of abortion was a reaction to the unsanitary and dangerous illegal abortions that were being performed throughout the United States. Indeed, their lobbying was effective in getting states like New York and Hawaii to liberalize their abortion policies.

Another factor in the abortion debate was the growth of a well-organized feminist movement in the 1960s. The commercial viability of a contraceptive pill, funded by Sarah McCormick in 1960, and the subsequent focus of the KENNEDY and JOHNSON administrations on family planning encouraged more assertive control by women over their own bodies. The creation of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) in 1969 gave avenues of political strength to women throughout the United States.

A significant pre-*Roe* ruling by the Supreme Court was *Griswold v. Connecticut*, in which the Supreme Court ruled against Connecticut state law regulating birth control. Justice William Douglas used the right to

privacy interpretation of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Amendments to justify ruling against state law. Justice Byron White opined that the state laws did not ensure the welfare of the public as part of a strict interpretation of the law. *Griswold* proved to be a strong legal predecessor to *Roe v. Wade*, as many of the same justifications were applied to the majority opinion.

The plaintiff in *Roe v. Wade* was Norma McCorvey, a pregnant woman who wanted to have an abortion in Dallas County, Texas, but was unable to due to Texas legislation banning the act. McCorvey was not pregnant by the time the Supreme Court heard and deliberated the case, which became a factor in the dissents of Byron White and William Rehnquist. The defending party in the case was Henry Wade, the Dallas County district attorney, joined by defense attorney John Tolle. Tolle’s defense for the Texas legislation was that the fetus was alive at conception and the state’s duty is to protect all people, especially those in utero. Writing an amicus brief on the plaintiff’s behalf were Planned Parenthood of America and NOW, representing the more liberal interpretation of the issue. In contrast, groups like Americans United for Life wrote amicus briefs on behalf of the state of Texas.

PLAINTIFF’S FAVOR

The decision in *Roe v. Wade* came on January 22, 1973. The Supreme Court decided 7-2 in favor of the plaintiff and, in an opinion written by Justice Harry Blackmun, provided a vague caveat to abortion laws, a prescription for how state legislatures could deal with the issue of abortion, and no ruling on the viability of life. Blackmun stated that abortion was not clearly a right beyond reproach but felt that the greater harm to due process rights inherent in the Fourteenth Amendment did not justify keeping abortion illegal.

The opinion also provided states with limits as to how they could legislate abortion. In the first trimester, states could not prevent abortions. States would be allowed to regulate or limit abortions in the second trimester and could prohibit abortions in the third trimester.

Several justices, while agreeing with Blackmun’s general assessment, wrote concurring opinions. Justice William Douglas, a proponent of privacy in *Griswold*, used the same reasoning for his decision in *Roe*. Justice Potter Stewart felt that the time was right for the freedom of choice. Justice Warren Burger concurred with Blackmun’s interpretation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and leaned toward Douglas’s interpretation in *Griswold* of a multifaceted constitutional basis for privacy rights.

In dissent were Justices Byron White and William Rehnquist. Justice White dissented for purely constitutional reasons, stating that overturning Texas laws against abortion was out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Rehnquist held a firm, conservative line on abortion. In the first place, he wrote, the plaintiff was not pregnant during the case and therefore her case was inappropriate. Rehnquist felt that even if McCorvey were pregnant during the case, her right to privacy was not violated by rejection of an abortion. Finally, Rehnquist felt that the Court ruling in favor of legal abortion was too sweeping of an act for a judicial body.

While *Roe* legalized abortion throughout the United States, the pro-life movement that protested this decision became a prevalent cultural force in America in the decades that followed. As women's groups and pro-choice groups grew around the beginning of the 1970s, pro-life groups organized to lobby for maximum legal restrictions and to restrict access to clinics performing abortions. In the immediate aftermath of *Roe*, the American Right to Life Committee was established as an organizing body against abortion. The Friends of Life, established by Joseph Scheidler, established branches around the country to protest abortion clinics. The more extreme pro-life groups turned to violence to prove their point, with the first abortion clinic bombing taking place in 1982.

See also FEMINISM, WORLDWIDE.

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NICHOLAS KATERS

Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel

(1918–1953 and 1915–1953) *accused American spies*

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were accused of illegally giving information about U.S. atomic research to the Soviet Union. They were convicted of espionage on March 29, 1951, and executed on June 19, 1953. Their codefendant in the trial, Morton Sobell, received a 30-year sentence. The trial was highly publicized and took place during the so-called Red Scare, when many in the United States felt their way of life was threatened by

the Soviet Union and by the expansion of communism in general. For this and other reasons, including anti-Semitism, many believe that the Rosenbergs did not get a fair trial and that Ethel Rosenberg in particular was not guilty of the charges.

Julius Rosenberg was born in New York City and attended religious and public schools and City College, from which he graduated with a degree in electrical engineering. He was active in the Steinmetz Club, a branch of the Young Communists League, and later joined the American Communist Party. Rosenberg was a civilian employee of the U.S. Army Signal Corps from 1940 to 1945. Ethel Greenglass Rosenberg also attended public and religious schools in New York City and went to work for a shipping firm after graduation from high school. She was active as a union organizer and joined the Young Communist League and later the American Communist Party. The Rosenbergs were married in 1939 and had two sons, Michael and Robert.

The Rosenberg trial can only be understood in the context of the development of atomic weaponry and the COLD WAR. The United States is the only nation ever to have used atomic weapons: Atomic bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the closing days of World War II. Information regarding the production of such weapons was closely guarded, and the United States believed it was the only country with the scientific knowledge to produce an atomic bomb. When the USSR tested its first atomic weapon in 1949, people were shocked at how rapidly they had developed atomic weapons capability. The explanation was simple: The Soviets had access to some of the information the United States believed had been kept secret. In 1950 the German/British scientist Klaus Fuchs, who had worked in the United States on the Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb, confessed to having passed essential information to the Soviet Union. The investigation resulting from this confession led FBI agents to David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother, who confessed his own involvement in a spy ring that he said also included his wife, Ruth, and his brother-in-law, Julius Rosenberg.

The "Venona Cables" were a key source of evidence in the investigation of Soviet spy operations in the United States in the 1940s. These cables carried encrypted messages to and from the Soviet Union and revealed the extent of Soviet espionage activity in the United States during that time. The Venona Cables presented clear evidence that Julius Rosenberg was guilty of espionage and implicated David and Ruth Greenglass as well. They did not provide similar evidence against Ethel

Rosenberg, who was convicted largely on the testimony of her brother, David Greenglass. He later admitted that at least some of his testimony against the Rosenbergs was false and that he lied in order to protect his wife, who was granted immunity from prosecution.

Many people around the world were shocked by the Rosenbergs' execution, particularly when more important spies received lighter sentences. For instance, Klaus Fuchs, who provided the Soviet Union with information essential to building an atomic weapon, was sentenced to 14 years in prison and served nine. The execution of Ethel Rosenberg in particular shocked many people, since there was little evidence against her and it was presumed that the threat of execution was meant to coerce her to testify against her husband or him to testify against others. Both Rosenbergs refused to confess or to name others, a decision that may have led to their deaths. There were many protests worldwide against their convictions and appeals stop the execution, including one from Pope Pius XII.

Public interest in the Rosenberg trial remained strong, and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg assumed a place as characters and symbols in popular culture.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Russian Federation

In the years after 1991 Russia experienced a revolution in the name of reform. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been a one-party dictatorship that strove to control all aspects of life. Its collapse unleashed a host of social forces and triggered an array of experiments as people sought simultaneously to create a democratic government, a market economy, and a civil society. Other countries, including other remnants of the Soviet Union, were attempting similar experiments on different scales at the same time. No one, however, had ever

attempted this before, and there was no blueprint to follow. During this period, the administration of BORIS YELTSIN would be identified with the destruction of the old structures, a struggle among alternative visions, and chaotic and sometimes contradictory efforts to build something new. The administration of VLADIMIR PUTIN would represent a longing to reestablish order, stability, and security.

The Soviet collapse in 1991 came with remarkable rapidity. Unlike the collapse of czarist Russia in 1917, which was also sudden, this one was neither preceded by a world war nor followed by a civil war. There were relatively few violent conflicts, and those tended to be clashes between rival nationalisms.

The last Soviet leader, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, had underestimated the attraction of nationalism to his country's various constituent peoples and had overestimated people's loyalty to the communist system. In forcing people, officials and citizens alike, to conceal their personal beliefs as well as inconvenient political and economic facts, the Soviet system had denied its own leaders the ability to gauge the true situation and had denied people in general the possibility of fully developing their own ideas. Gorbachev's efforts to reform the system, in part by releasing the energies of the citizenry in the hope of using them against a sclerotic bureaucracy, resulted in the system's demise.

Free multicandidate elections to a new national legislature in 1989 and elections to republic-level legislatures in 1990 unleashed a mass of rebellious and conflicting demands. In the course of the year, most of the republics declared "sovereignty" within the Soviet Union, that is, they asserted that republic law would henceforth be above federal law. The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, as the Russian portion of the Soviet Union was officially known, did so on June 12, 1990. At about the same time, the media began to free itself of government control. On the anniversary of the sovereignty declaration, June 12, 1991, while the republic was still part of the Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin, a former Communist Party official who had fallen out with the leadership, became Russia's first elected president.

A failed reactionary coup launched by party, military, and police officials in August 1991 was the final blow in the centrifugal process that was tearing the Soviet Union apart. In the aftermath, the Communist Party was dissolved and no comparable integrative institution was created to replace it. Yeltsin began appearing alongside Gorbachev, the Soviet president, as a coequal. Key republics, especially UKRAINE, began to

believe they would be better off without the “burden” of the other republics and moved toward independence. At the very least, they ceased forwarding tax receipts to the capital, compelling Russia to take over responsibility for financing central state functions.

On December 8, 1991, confronted with Ukraine’s precipitous unilateral independence, Yeltsin and the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus declared their republics a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), even though Russia had never formally withdrawn from the Soviet Union. Leaders of other republics, petrified at the prospect of their sudden isolation, immediately demanded membership in the CIS as well. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev resigned from the presidency in frustration. No one attempted to replace him, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics legally ceased to exist. In many ways it had already evaporated, although just when this occurred is difficult to determine.

After a brief attempt to maintain unified CIS armed forces, the republics took control of the military assets of their respective territories and created their own armies. Republics with nuclear arms stationed on their territories agreed to send them to Russia. Each republic also acquired its portion of the assets of the Committee for State Security, which continued to exist in some form. In Russia the KGB underwent a series of renamings and reorganizations that ultimately left it as five separate entities: one each for internal security, foreign intelligence, border defense, communications security, and the personal protection of state leaders.

REDEFINITION

With the Soviet Union gone, the next question was what would replace it. The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic eventually renamed itself the Russian Federation. The re-creation of a Russian national identity was somewhat complicated, not only by the presence of more than 120 ethnic minorities within the federation’s borders and by the fact that some 25 million ethnic Russians were now living as minorities in the 14 other successor states of the Soviet Union, but also by the fact that the pre-Soviet Russian state had included the entire Soviet territory. In the other former Soviet republics, as in Eastern Europe, the communist system could be viewed as something imposed by the Russians. There, nationalists, anticommunists, democrats, and economic reformers could form coalitions, at least in the beginning. In the Russian Federation, although some Russian nationalists had seen the other republics as a burden, others had identified with the Soviet Union as a great power and saw its collapse as a tragedy.

Some adherents of the Soviet system and some Russian nationalists nostalgic for the old empire saw in the CIS a potential replacement that would ultimately amount to a rebirth of the Soviet Union. This never came about. The leaders of the various republics focused on their own entities, and the CIS itself failed to develop into an alternative power center. Rather, the CIS functioned as a loose association that oversaw the peaceful severing of the numerous ties that linked the republics to one another. Russia, not the CIS, inherited the Soviet Union’s nuclear weapons, UNITED NATIONS seat, overseas embassies, and foreign debt. This, however, did not prevent Russia from pressuring the more reluctant successor states into joining the CIS during the 1990s. Only the three BALTIC STATES remained outside.

In the early days, Russians were concerned that the unraveling might not stop with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Within the Russian Federation were former “autonomous soviet socialist republics,” now simply termed “republics,” regions with a substantial non-Russian ethnic population. Several of these declared sovereignty over their natural resources and asserted the primacy of their laws over federation law. Some appeared to be contemplating independence. In March 1992 all but Tatarstan and Chechnya signed the new Federation Treaty; Yeltsin was compelled to renegotiate center-periphery relations on an ad hoc basis with several individual republics and even ethnic Russian regions. Tatarstan signed such an agreement in February 1994. In the end only Chechnya carried out the secessionist threat, triggering two wars with the Russian army.

Politically, two tendencies were prominent in the early years of Russian independence. For members of the first group, the highest-priority goals were the establishment of democratic norms and the rule of law, the creation of a viable market economy, and integration into the Western world. For the second group, the highest priorities were building a state strong enough to defend itself, both internally and externally; assuring that national industries survived; and preserving Russian uniqueness.

Constitutionally, the form that the Russian government was to take was also under dispute. The much-amended constitution of 1978 remained in force while negotiations continued over a new Russian constitution. In this, as in economic policy, Yeltsin and the legislature took strongly opposed positions. The legislature at the time continued the cumbersome form innovated in the Gorbachev era: a Congress of People’s Deputies, with 1,068 members, that was supposed to meet twice a year, vote on the most important issues, and elect



Saint Basil's Cathedral in the Kremlin in Moscow during the Soviet era. The Soviet Union was a significant example of communism in the world. With the splintering of the Soviet Union, the different republics that had formed the union sought to redefine themselves.

from among its own members a smaller legislature—the Supreme Soviet—to meet between its own sessions. The constitution's provision that the legislature was the supreme state body was not modified after the creation of the elected Russian presidency in 1991.

CRISIS AND CONFRONTATION

The period from the end of 1991 to late 1993 was marked by economic crisis and political confrontation that ended in bloodshed. The two poles of confrontation centered on the reformist presidency and the holdover parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies, which fought a protracted battle over who held ultimate authority.

For the post of prime minister, Yeltsin named Yegor Gaidar, a young academic who had taught himself market economics during the late Soviet period, but the legislature refused to confirm him. Gaidar, nonetheless, continued in office as acting prime minister for one year.

The economy was in dire shape, quite apart from the normal inefficiencies of the centrally planned Soviet system. In the name of economic reform the Gorbachev government had ceased issuing orders to state-owned economic enterprises, but he had failed to establish the institutions of a market economy, resulting in a state-run system that did not work properly. The breakup of the Soviet state exacerbated the situation by disrupting economic ties between regions.

Gaidar's response was a rapid shift, often termed "shock therapy," to free prices, balanced budgets, and monetary restraint. This went into effect on January 1, 1992, and resulted in an enormous leap in prices in addition to the already existing shortages of supply. Normally, the shortages and rising prices should have worked as an incentive for enterprises to increase production. State enterprises, however, had not been privatized, and adequate market-based incentives had not been established. Wholesale trade, at the time, was still widely regarded as a form of illegal "speculation."

The implicit assumption that an economy dominated by gigantic plants producing military equipment could instantaneously convert to the production of consumer goods was probably naive in any event. Managers commonly viewed the inflation as an opportunity to increase revenues while working less. When monetary restraint restricted cash flows, enterprise managers informally extended credit to each other and expended their political influence trying to get subsidies reinstated.

The Congress of People's Deputies was the main focus of their attention. Elected in March 1990, the Congress was permeated with state-enterprise managers and former communists, most of whom now called themselves "independents." It repeatedly doled out payments to bankrupt enterprises, undermining the intended impact of Gaidar's policies; issued resolutions that contradicted government policies; and threatened the president with impeachment. For his part, Yeltsin responded with the threat to establish a "presidential republic." Each side ignored the acts of the other, contributing to a growing general disregard for the law.

The personification of resistance to the president was the speaker of the Congress, Ruslan Khasbulatov; he and vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi moved steadily closer to the opposition. Both had been Yeltsin allies at the beginning of the transition.

In late 1992 Gaidar left the office of prime minister. His replacement, Viktor Chernomyrdin, was initially more acceptable to the Congress. Chernomyrdin was a hybrid bureaucrat-entrepreneur. As minister of the gas industry, he had participated in a "spontaneous privatization" that converted the ministry into one of Russia's largest and most profitable companies, Gazprom. Nonetheless Chernomyrdin and his finance minister, Boris Fedorov, maintained the austerity policies and even closed some inefficient state enterprises. A referendum on economic reform and the division of power between the executive and legislative branches in April 1993 gave Yeltsin enough support to press ahead with his programs. Yeltsin and the legislature each began drawing up a new draft constitution.

The crisis came to a head in September 1993. To break the impasse, Yeltsin dissolved the Congress of People's Deputies and called for a referendum on a new constitution and elections for a new legislature in December. Meeting in emergency session, the Congress impeached Yeltsin and declared Rutskoi president. On Yeltsin's order, army units surrounded the legislative headquarters on September 27, but 180 members refused to leave. After a standoff of several days, Rutskoi called for a popular uprising, which

led to some street disorders but not the outpouring of support that he had anticipated. Armed men seized the mayor's office on October 3 and attempted to take the Ostankino television facility, where a firefight with Interior Ministry troops lasted for several hours. At this point, the army dropped the neutral position it had sought to maintain. On October 4 tanks opened fire, and by that afternoon the rebel leaders—including Khasbulatov and Rutskoi—had emerged and surrendered. After the "October events," no parliament would defy the president so openly again. Disputes, however, were far from over.

CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS

Yeltsin's draft constitution was approved by referendum in December 1993, in the shadow of the October events. It created a bicameral legislature, called the Federal Assembly (Federal'noe Sobranie). The upper house, the Federation Council (Soviet Federatsii), had two members representing each of the country's constituent regions, territories, and republics. The lower house, the State Duma (Gosudarstvennaia Duma), had 450 members, half of them elected from single-member districts and half from party lists.

The legislature was real, not a rubber stamp, but the constitution clearly gave the preponderance of power to the president. The president named the prime minister and cabinet, who were responsible to him. The cabinet, therefore, did not have to reflect the distribution of parties in the State Duma, so there was no incentive to form coalitions to build a parliamentary majority. Initially, committee chairmanships were doled out among parties and factions in proportion to the number of seats they held.

Technically, the State Duma had the right to approve or disapprove the president's choice for prime minister, but if it rejected three candidates it was the legislature, not the government, that was subject to dissolution. Moreover, the president had the power to issue decrees on his own.

The first post-Soviet parliamentary elections were held simultaneously with the referendum approving the constitution, two years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. A number of political organizations had essentially evaporated in the interim. The parties that did exist were often small, fractious, personalistic, and only loosely connected to the electorate. Parties arose, combined, split, recombined, and vanished with great ease. The most substantial and organized party was the newly constituted Communist Party of the Russian Federation, although it lacked anything resembling the

status and power of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The results of the elections were far from what Yeltsin and the reformers would have hoped for. The largest percentage of votes in the party-list portion of the ballot went to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, a misnamed authoritarian, ultranationalistic grouping with a leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who was once described as a “dangerous buffoon.” The communists came in second. The reformists had split the vote by dividing into four separate parties that constantly squabbled among themselves, the two most important being Gaidar’s neoliberal Russia’s Choice and the more social-democratic Yabloko.

Despite the evident potential for renewed polarization, Russian politics did not return to the chaos of the pre-October days but settled down into a relatively normal pattern. Politicians of various stripes gradually became accustomed to open politics and even adept at it. Despite their extremist rhetoric, the ultranationalists proved relatively supportive of the government, and the communists could be counted on for a backroom deal when the need arose. The fractious reform parties, never satisfied with compromise, often created the greatest difficulty for the reform process.

Gaidar’s original reform plan came to be implemented more consistently, without Gaidar. Prime Minister Chernomyrdin became increasingly prominent, while Yeltsin occasionally receded into the background amid rumors of drinking and the state of his health. Economic policy was no longer undermined by subsidies granted to bankrupt factories by the legislature. Also, the privatization program made progress, although this required a presidential decree. The economic situation began to stabilize, but it did not fully recover and grow.

With new legislative elections planned in December 1995, Yeltsin eliminated elections for the upper house and determined that each jurisdiction would be represented by its governor and its legislative speaker. He also attempted to create two new parties as the basis for a two-party system: One, a center-right organization intended to become the government party, was led by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin; the other, envisioned as a center-left loyal opposition, was led by Ivan Rybkin. Chernomyrdin’s party, called Our Home Is Russia, managed to draw about 10 percent of the vote as long as he was prime minister. The second party, which was actually listed on the ballot as “Ivan Rybkin’s bloc,” never got off the ground. The relatively poor showing, if nothing else, indicated the limits on Yeltsin’s ability to manipulate the electorate.

Forty-three parties participated in the 1995 elections, but only four of them surpassed the 5 percent threshold necessary to obtain seats under the proportional-representation system. The four that did succeed were the Communists, the ultranationalist Liberal Democrats, Our Home Is Russia, and the social-democratic Yabloko. The Communists received the largest share this time, setting the stage for Russia’s first post-Soviet presidential election, to be held in two rounds in June and July 1996.

The Communists’ hard core of support constituted about 20–30 percent of the electorate at this time. Support was especially strong among pensioners and others who had suffered extreme hardships during the inflation and chaos of the early reform period. They had trouble, however, breaking beyond that core. Yeltsin, who had been doing very poorly in opinion polls, ran an anti-Communist campaign and eked out a plurality of 35 percent in the first round. Communist candidate Gennadii Zyuganov finished just behind him with 32 percent. Eight other candidates were eliminated from the second round. After hiring the third-place candidate as his national security adviser, Yeltsin then managed to consolidate the anti-Communist vote and was reelected in the second round, 54 percent to 40 percent. Significantly, all sides accepted the results of the election without protests or claims of fraud.

PRIVATIZATION AND OLIGARCHS

The establishment of new start-up businesses and the privatization of state enterprises proved difficult in Russia. Gigantic state enterprises had been designed as monopolies from the beginning, and adapting them to a competitive economy would be a true challenge. Moreover, private business was widely considered unseemly if not criminal; even small-scale street vendors were deemed an unsightly embarrassment. Russians found private ownership of land and natural resources objectionable. Few people, of course, had the money to start a business. Nor were inflation and rising crime good incentives to invest. Five years into the reform period, Russia had only half as many start-up businesses as Poland, a country with a fourth as many people.

A small number of people, however, discovered a way of manipulating the half-reformed economy of the late 1980s and early 1990s to accumulate vast amounts of capital. Officials in economic ministries would declare portions of the ministry to be private companies. Factory managers would establish private businesses on the side and then lease the factory’s facilities to themselves.

Oil proved an especially useful asset for wealth generation. Fearing the political consequences of allowing domestic oil prices to rise to world levels, Russian leaders had made it possible to export oil at world prices, but maintained controlled domestic prices at less than 1 percent of the world price. Using connections and borrowed money, some people were able to buy large quantities of oil at domestic prices and sell it abroad for 100 times what they had paid. When large-scale privatization of state enterprises became a government priority, these were the people who had the resources and the connections to take advantage of it.

In the first phase of official privatization, starting in December 1991, small enterprises were sold off and larger ones were reorganized as joint-stock corporations. Arrangements were made for the workers and managers of smaller enterprises to acquire controlling interests for little or no money. This meant that the same managers continued to control an enterprise, but reformers hoped the fact of ownership would give them a stake in the factory's success and sever their dependence on the state budget. If nothing else, this would undermine the political strength of the state economic bureaucracy, a center of resistance to reform.

In June 1992 a new element was added: a voucher program for the privatization of the now-corporatized medium and larger enterprises. Each citizen was issued a voucher worth 10,000 rubles, a total of some 144 million vouchers, to be invested in corporations or investment funds or simply traded or sold. This program was intended to accelerate privatization and to give common citizens a stake in the economy and the reform process, but since the vouchers were distributed for free it did not generate revenues for the state. The voucher phase was largely completed by mid-1994. Some 100,000 enterprises had been privatized, and they employed 80 percent of the workforce.

Many people had simply sold their vouchers for cash or later sold their shares, allowing well-placed people—such as factory managers and former government functionaries—to gain control of plants. This eroded the objective of encouraging widespread ownership, although it did not completely nullify it. The advantages that accrued to insiders generated resentment in the population.

The next phase of privatization called for the direct sale of shares in large enterprises, especially those in the energy and raw materials sectors, for cash. Because of resistance to this in the State Duma, the procedure was implemented by presidential decree in July 1994. It generated even more public skepticism and resent-

ment. In 1995 the cash-strapped state offered shares in enterprises as collateral for bank loans, under rules established by the banks themselves. As expected, the state did not have the funds to repay a loan. The bank then auctioned off the shares, and generally the bank proved to be the only bidder. In this way the banks, and the oligarchs behind them, came to acquire control over large industrial empires at a fraction of their assessed value.

The Communists sought to make a campaign issue of the privatization scandal in the presidential election. Several oligarchs eagerly financed Yeltsin's 1996 reelection campaign and put their media resources at his service. To neutralize the privatization issue at the national level, Yeltsin transferred ownership of 6,000 state enterprises to the regional governments to be auctioned, with the regions keeping the proceeds. The "loans for shares" program was reinstituted after the election. The oligarchs became increasingly prominent, through their own media outlets and through their growing role as government advisers and officials, during Yeltsin's second term.

CRISIS AND TURNAROUND

Six years after the beginning of economic reform, the Russian economy was still shrinking, although it was no longer in the free fall of 1992. The government was still unable to collect taxes, and many enterprises failed to pay their debts to each other. Barter had become the basis of much of economic life, with workers being paid in kind or in IOUs.

Yeltsin dismissed Chernomyrdin as prime minister in the spring of 1998 and appointed a young banker, Sergei Kirienko. A new team of reformers set out to establish a long-overdue legal framework for economic activity, to impose more predictability into the system in the place of what they called the existing "unlimited semi-bandit capitalism." They were too late.

A severe financial crisis struck the Russian economy in the summer of 1998. In part, this was a reflection of the 1997 crisis in East Asia. Even more, it reflected the sudden decline in international oil prices. Oil exports had been the economy's, and the government's, principal revenue generator, paying for imports to cover the failure of domestic production to recover and compensating for the government's lack of domestic tax revenues. With export revenues falling, the highly indebted government found it difficult to issue new bonds. Investors began moving their money out of Russia.

The INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND provided a loan of \$17.1 billion in return for a package of reforms

to rationalize the tax code and reduce government expenditures, but this failed to stem the outflow of capital. After desperately trying to avoid either default on Russia's foreign and domestic debt or devaluation of its currency, Kirienko, on August 17, 1998, did both. Prices skyrocketed and most oligarch banks failed, although the oligarchs themselves generally survived by shuffling their assets. Kirienko's term in office proved brief, and he was just the first of four prime ministers during Yeltsin's last three years as president.

Unexpectedly, the crisis also proved the turning point in the country's economic recovery. Unable to afford imports, Russia began to produce things for itself again, and production continued as international oil prices recovered. In the following year, 1999, the economy grew for the first time in the post-Soviet era; in 2000 it grew 10 percent.

CHECHNYA I

In the early years, the leaders of the new Russian Federation were worried that Russia could unravel along ethnic lines as the Soviet Union had done. They responded strongly to the one ethnic republic that did attempt to secede, Chechnya, even though that response was delayed by the general chaos prevailing in Russia in the early 1990s.

The Chechens were a Muslim people of the Caucasus Mountains who, in the 19th century, had fought a prolonged war against the Russian occupation of their region. Like several other Soviet minorities they had been accused by Stalin of collaborating with the Nazis, and they were all deported to Soviet Central Asia afterward. NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV allowed their return, but when the Soviet Union collapsed, the Chechens sought secession. Under Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, Chechnya declared independence in 1991.

Yeltsin declared a state of emergency in Chechnya, issued a warrant for the arrest of Dudayev, and sent a detachment of Interior Ministry troops. The Chechens easily repulsed the half-hearted intervention, by ruse more than by force, and seized strategic facilities within their republic. Yeltsin ordered an economic blockade and then, given the chaotic state of Russia at the time, basically ignored the situation for the next three years. The lack of any police force facilitated smuggling and other criminal operations. In a search for outside resources and allies, the Chechens made contacts with mafias from Russia and Islamist extremists from the Middle East. Corruption spread, the economic situation grew dire, and Dudayev became more dictatorial.

After supporting a failed attempt by a rival Chechen faction to seize power, Russia sent three armored columns into Chechnya on December 11, 1994. The Russian legislature, which had not been informed, protested vociferously. The invasion did not go smoothly. The Russians made a hasty and ill-prepared assault on Grozny, the republic's capital, which they seized only after a month-long bombardment that killed an estimated 25,000 people and left the city a ruin. Dudayev and his fighters receded into the mountains, from where they conducted an extended guerrilla campaign. Civilian casualties continued to run high. The struggle attracted Islamist volunteers from North Africa, the Middle East, and AFGHANISTAN.

In March 1996, with presidential elections looming in Russia, Yeltsin offered to negotiate with Dudayev through an intermediary. A Russian missile killed Dudayev in April. Fighting flared again in June, and the Chechens reoccupied parts of three cities, including Grozny. A cease-fire was finally signed in August. Russian troops began to withdraw. Although the agreement left Chechnya's permanent status to be decided, the republic proceeded to act as if it were independent.

Aslan Maskhadov, the chief of staff of the Chechen armed forces and a former Soviet army colonel, was elected president of the republic in January 1997. Little rebuilding was accomplished, however, and Maskhadov was unable to establish order. In the prevailing lawlessness, kidnapping for profit became a widespread practice. In an effort to outflank the Islamists in factional infighting, he imposed Islamic law and courts.

CHECHNYA II, PUTIN, AND CONSOLIDATION

Chechnya became the focus of attention again in 1999. Shamil Basayev, formerly a field commander and briefly a prime minister under Maskhadov, had broken with the Chechen regime. In April 1998 he and a Jordanian-born Islamist founded the Congress of the Peoples of Chechnya and Dagestan, which proposed to unite these two adjacent ethnic republics. In August 1999 they launched a raid into Dagestan and then declared that the republic had seceded from Russia. The following month, a series of bombs exploded in apartment buildings in Moscow and other Russian cities. The act was widely attributed to the Chechens.

On August 9, 1999, Yeltsin dismissed Sergei Stepashin, who had been prime minister for three months, and appointed Vladimir Putin to replace him. Putin had catapulted through a number of Kremlin staff positions to become head of internal security in July 1998. He was still generally unknown to the public when he was

named prime minister, but he quickly became associated with the new Chechen war, which was known as Putin's "antiterrorist operation." Opinion polls gave Putin an approval rating of 33 percent in August, 52 percent in September, and 65 percent in October, in a land where few politicians rose above single digits.

In October Russian armor was once again moving into Chechnya, without any distinction being made between the Chechen government and renegade commanders. The army performed more effectively this time. The cities were taken quickly, and a pro-Russian Chechen administration was put in place. Resistance, however, would drag on year after year in the countryside, and there would be terrorist attacks in other parts of Russia. Russian forces would respond at times with extreme brutality. With the bomb blasts fresh in people's minds, however, this Chechen war was far more popular with the Russian public than the previous one.

Four months before the legislative elections of December 1999, Yeltsin once again created a new party from scratch, Unity, a party completely dependent on the Kremlin for funding, expertise, and personnel. Putin gave it his public endorsement, and the party, too, became identified with the Chechen war effort. Unity won 23 percent of the party-list vote and 64 single-member districts, leaving it second only to the Communist Party. In third place was Fatherland–All Russia, a coalition of personalistic parties built around prominent governors. For the first time, the State Duma had a dominant bloc of parties that were not ideological adversaries of the Kremlin.

Yeltsin, within seven months of the end of his second term in office, surveyed a political landscape that suddenly appeared quite favorable. He then shocked the world by promptly resigning on December 31, 1999, and naming Putin as acting president. An early presidential election was called for March 26, 2000, which Yeltsin's chosen successor would now approach with all the advantages of incumbency while other candidates were caught off guard. Indeed, Putin won in the first round with 52.9 percent of the vote against 10 other candidates, despite having been a virtual unknown the previous August. He promptly obliged his predecessor by issuing a blanket pardon for anything Yeltsin might have done during his years in office.

As president, Putin no longer devoted himself solely to the prosecution of the war. Economic reform continued but Putin's primary focus appeared to be order, stability, security, and consolidation of the Russian state. Russia was very much in need of order by that time, but Putin's notion of consolidating the state reflected his

upbringing within the Soviet Union. Rather than make state institutions more effective, he set out to make all institutions dependent on the president.

Putin remained a largely unknown quantity, allowing others to see in him what they wanted. Moreover he surrounded himself with two distinct sets of officials: a group of economic reformers known as the "technocrats" and a group of people tied, as he himself was, to the military, police, and internal security services. For all his talk of order and predictability, Putin allowed these officials free rein to discredit and undermine each other's initiatives.

Some measures did improve the effectiveness of the Russian state. Reforms were introduced and carried out in a more orderly fashion. The Duma no longer spent its time debating impeachment and censure bills. New requirements for the registration of a political party, including a minimum membership of 10,000, introduced some order into the chaotic party system. The tax code was reformed, instituting a 13 percent flat tax on both individuals and corporations, and it was actually enforced. This reduced nominal tax rates, but, because of previous evasion, it increased revenues. Annual budget surpluses suddenly became routine.

Power was being centralized in stages. The outcome of the December 1999 election had already strengthened Putin's position. Relations between president and legislature became more productive. In 2001 Unity and the Fatherland–All Russia bloc were merged into a new pro-Putin party, eventually named United Russia, which was clearly the largest in the State Duma.

In the Federation Council, Putin replaced the elected governors and regional legislative heads with appointed representatives. Next, Putin interposed a new layer of government, grouping Russia's 89 constituent jurisdictions into seven supraregional federal districts and placing an appointed presidential representative in charge of each. All federal employees in the regions, who had become increasingly dependent on the governors under Yeltsin, were now to answer to these representatives. Another new law then gave the president the right to remove elected governors accused of wrongdoing.

Another round of centralization began in 2004. Putin declared that the threat of separatist violence required a strengthening of the state. Thus in December 2004 he signed a law abolishing the election of governors, who would now be presidential appointees. At the same time, the minimum membership of a political party was raised from 10,000 to 50,000. Another law followed in May 2005 that eliminated single-member

districts from the Duma, leaving all seats to be elected by proportional representation from party lists and raising the minimum threshold for representation from five percent of the vote to seven percent. How these measures would have helped Beslan remained unclear, but the latter was likely to end the independent existence of Yabloko and the Union of Right Forces (the successor party to Russia's Choice), which by 2003 no longer mustered even five percent of the vote and entered the Duma only through single-member districts.

Far from alienating the electorate, Putin was rewarded at the polls for his perceived efforts to impose order and the improving economic situation. In the legislative elections of December 2003, his new party, United Russia, became the first ever to win an absolute majority in the State Duma. In the presidential elections of March 2004, Putin was reelected in the first round, over five other candidates, with 71.3 percent of the vote. International election observers, however, criticized the skewed electoral coverage in the media.

PUTIN AND THE OLIGARCHS

Putin sought to distance himself from the oligarchs, who had become closely identified with the Yeltsin administration in the public mind. In some cases he went so far as to intimidate and harass them. Rumors told of a tacit deal: If the oligarchs stayed out of politics, Putin would not order the police to investigate how they had become oligarchs. Not all oligarchs abided by the deal.

Putin's first targets were Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky, both of whom had accumulated many enemies and both of whom controlled large media empires that had criticized the handling of the Chechen war. Berezovsky was well known and particularly disliked. Although he had actively supported Putin's election, he spoke soon afterward of the need to form a new opposition party. Gusinsky had gone so far as to endorse the wrong presidential candidate in 2000. Whatever the specific reason, both ended up living in self-imposed exile and being stripped of many of their assets. In 2001 Gusinsky's NTV, the country's largest independent television network, was taken over by Gazprom, the gas giant. Thus, not only oligarchs but also journalists were put on warning. This was particularly true of journalists in the electronic media, and they soon learned especially not to criticize the Russian war effort in Chechnya. The unsolved murders of several investigative reporters further reinforced caution.

The next assault on the oligarchs was directed against Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Yukos, Russia's largest private oil conglomerate. Khodorkovsky was also known

for making large contributions to opposition political parties. In 2003 he found himself under arrest on charges of tax evasion, and he was later sentenced to nine years in prison. Yukos was assessed back taxes and fees that amounted to some \$27 billion. When it was unable to pay, its main production unit, Yuganskneftegaz, was taken over by Rosneft, a state-owned entity. Sibneft, an oil company that had been on the verge of merging with Yukos, instead became a part of Gazprom.

Although presented as a rectification of the unethical privatization schemes of the 1990s, the Yukos affair symbolized for many observers just how random and arbitrary the use of state power had become. Putin's technocratic advisers, with open disdain, referred to the government's approach as "tax terrorism." Unlike many other oligarchs, Khodorkovsky had become the model of good corporate governance in the Russian business world, recruiting experienced foreign executives to introduce Western standards of accounting and management. Even if Putin's intention was not to renationalize large sectors of the economy, as many outsiders assumed it was, his actions ran the risk of discouraging foreign and domestic investment and of spurring new rounds of capital flight.

The hypothesis that the oligarch cases really represented the criminalization of political opposition activity received reinforcement in 2005 with the Mikhail Kasyanov affair. Kasyanov was not an oligarch but rather a technocrat and former finance minister with a shady reputation. He served as prime minister throughout Putin's first term but was dismissed in 2004 without any public explanation. The following year, Kasyanov began to issue public criticisms of the administration's political direction. He openly hinted that he might run for president in 2008. Within weeks, the police opened an investigation into how he had acquired his country house outside Moscow, which according to television reports was worth \$30 million.

QUESTION OF SUBVERSION

Russia maintained generally cooperative relations with the outside world after 1991, even with such former adversaries as the United States and the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). This was true despite the fact that by the early 2000s several former East European allies and the three Baltic republics had joined NATO and the United States had established air bases in former Soviet republics in Central Asia. Below the surface, however, resentments simmered over what some Russians considered unequal treatment and Western gloating over the outcome of

the COLD WAR. On occasion, resentment and suspicion rose to the surface, as was the case with what Russians called the “colored revolutions.”

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Western governments and foundations had given financial support, advice, and encouragement to a variety of independent civic groups in former Soviet republics that advocated the protection of human rights, democratic reform, and similar causes. Western leaders saw the development of “civil society” as a prerequisite for the further development of democracy. Indeed, civil society in Russia had progressed tremendously since Soviet times, when all independent entities were proscribed by law. Outside Russia, such civic groups were central to the organization of massive demonstrations that protested fraudulent elections and eventually toppled authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes in Georgia in 2003, Ukraine in 2004, and Kyrgyzstan in 2005. In each case, the successor regime was less favorably inclined toward Russia than its predecessor. In the Ukrainian case, in particular, Putin had taken an open stance in support of the side that was toppled.

Russian officials began to speak of the civic groups as instruments of subversion directed by Western intelligence agencies. Internal security officers described a conspiracy of loosely associated entities engaging in “network warfare.” In response, a law was passed in December 2005 requiring all nongovernmental organizations to register with the state and to submit regular reports on their activities and spending. The state was empowered to review compliance and to shut down any entity that violated the rules, but exactly which activities were prohibited was left vague.

Perhaps more ominous was the sudden rise of a new organization, a pro-Putin youth movement called Nashi (“Ours”). Founded in March 2005, Nashi was capable of mobilizing 60,000 people for a rally in May of that year. Its leaders described the group’s purpose as preventing a coup against the Russian government. The Kremlin denied any links to the organization, but Nashi was permitted to hold its founding congress in a facility of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and its leaders were granted a personal interview with Putin. The rhetoric suggested to some observers that Nashi was being readied to replace an insufficiently reliable United Russia party as the country’s main political organization.

TRENDS OF THE FUTURE?

Boris Yeltsin, in his revolution, unleashed a host of competing regional, bureaucratic, political, and economic forces. Then he attempted to rule by playing them off

against one another. The informal interplay, backroom power struggles, deals, and personal connections often proved more important than the formal institutions of government, which he had also created in an arbitrary and self-serving manner. Increasingly, however, ill health, depression, and bouts of drinking kept him from engaging the game. The system became increasingly chaotic. Putin then set out to impose order and hierarchy by subordinating institutions and private-sector groups to the presidency.

On the positive side, few people believe anymore that Russia faces the threat of economic, social, or political collapse. The country under Putin is still much freer than it was as part of the Soviet Union. It is more open, and it has more human contact and a freer flow of ideas with the outside world. It is more responsive to the wishes of its citizens. There still are regular elections, and civil society survives, although it faces new threats. Real debate continues in the print media. Although it depends too heavily on favorable international oil prices, the economy continues to show signs of recovery. Putin’s efforts to impose hierarchy could simply fail. There is, in a word, hope.

Nonetheless, there have been undeniable negative trends. The turmoil of the 1990s discredited the words “reform” and “democrat” in the eyes of many honest citizens. Corruption reached intolerable levels. The Soviet Union’s collapse, the loss of superpower status, the subsequent rise of poverty, and the perceived mistreatment at the hands of other powers left a reservoir of resentment and latent hostility that may be looking for an outlet. The brutal war in Chechnya gives little cause for satisfaction with either side, even when the Russians say it is part of the common fight against terrorism. Even the nature of Russia’s more competitive manufactured exports may give some cause for concern.

The stifling of the electronic media, the virtual renationalization of certain large enterprises, the abolishing of gubernatorial elections, and the concentration of power in the hands of the president all give an insight into the fragility of some of the country’s most important achievements. The government, moreover, has shown a disturbing willingness to criminalize political opposition. Even if these actions are supposed to be temporary, or are simply intended to rein in the excesses of a chaotic time and reestablish order, there is still a risk that they could go too far. Putin’s administration was initially associated with economic recovery, but the perceived assault on private property, the partial reinsertion of the state into the economy, and the simultaneous rigidification of the state could easily stifle investment,

encourage capital flight, generate bottlenecks, and otherwise induce economic erosion in the longer run.

It is, of course, too soon to draw any serious conclusions about the history of the Russian Federation since 1991. Which trends finally emerge as dominant will have long-lasting consequences for the future of Russia and perhaps the rest of the world as well.

See also SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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SCOTT C. MONJE

Rwanda/Burundi conflict

Rwanda and Burundi were, until World War I, occupied by the Germans, being a part of German East Africa. Captured by the Allied armed forces, they were administered as Ruanda-Urundi by Belgium under League of Nations trusteeship and, from 1945, under UNITED NATIONS (UN) trusteeship. The entity was split in 1959 into Burundi and Rwanda, and on July 1, 1962, the two countries became independent with the formation of the Kingdom of Burundi and the Republic of Rwanda. Both faced regular ethnic problems centering on the Tutsi-Hutu rivalry, with the Hutu forming 85 percent of the population of each country and the Tutsi being a much better educated minority.

In the year before Burundi became independent, there was political trouble that followed the UN-supervised elections of September 1961 that saw the Parti de l'Unité et Progrès National winning but their leader, Prince Louis Rwagsore, being assassinated several weeks later. There was more instability when two prime ministers, Pierre Ngendandumwe and Joseph Bamina, were assassinated before an attempted coup d'état took place in October 1965. Thousands were killed as the government sought to maintain its power. However, it gave too much power to the army, which, in November 1966, overthrew the monarchy and established a republic under President Michel Micombero.

The last former king, Ntare V. Ndizeye, staged a coup attempt in 1972 but was killed in the attempt, which was immediately blamed on the Hutu—the government being drawn from the Tutsi minority. As the Tutsi government sought revenge on its opponents, some 100,000 Hutu were massacred. In 1976 Micombero was overthrown in a military coup, and the new president, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, tried to moderate the government and introduce reforms that stopped the oppression of the Hutu. However, Bagaza was overthrown in 1987 in a coup d'état organized by Major Pierre Buyoya, who suspended the 1981 constitution and dissolved opposition parties. In August 1988 some 20,000 Hutu were massacred by the government, and many Hutu refugees fled to Rwanda.

In Rwanda, the monarchy was removed in 1959, before independence, and at independence, in 1962, the Hutu-led Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu—led by Grégoire Kayibanda—came to power. There were massacres of some 20,000 Tutsi, and in 1973 Kayibanda was overthrown by General Juvénal Habyarimana, a former defense minister, who became president. He formed the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement. It was not until 1978 that the constitution was restored; Habyarimana was reelected in 1983 and again in January 1989. It was the 1988 ethnic tensions in Burundi that sent large numbers of Hutu refugees from Burundi across the Rwanda-Burundi border. Many Tutsis also settled in Uganda, where they became Anglophiles, in contrast with the Rwandan and Burundi governments, which maintained connections with France.

Fighting in both countries came to a brief halt, and in April 1994, when negotiations to end the fighting were starting to make progress, the plane carrying Habyarimana back to Kigali, the Rwandan capital, was shot down with a French missile. All on board, including President Ntaryamira of Burundi, were killed. This was the opportunity that the extreme Rwandan Hutus were eagerly awaiting to try to take over control of Rwanda. It is not known for certain who shot down the plane, but the Hutu government of Rwanda blamed the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)—Tutsi rebels who were based in Uganda—while the RPF blamed the hard-liners in the government who did not want to share power. The killing of the president gave the extreme Hutus an excuse to unleash their Interahamwe militia on the Tutsis and moderate Hutus, killing up to 900,000 of them in horrific massacres. Several UN soldiers were killed while protecting moderate politicians in Kigali, and the remainder of the UN forces was evacuated from

the country. The UN Security Council—Rwanda was a member at the time—did nothing to try to stop the genocide, which only ended as the RPF forces won the civil war, capturing Kigali soon afterward. The RPF inherited a devastated country and did their best to arrest the perpetrators of the genocide but hundreds of thousands of Hutus—extremists and their supporters—fled into the neighboring DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.

Since the coming to power of the government of President Paul Kagame in Rwanda, there has been a concerted effort to rebuild the country shattered by ethnic tensions, war, and genocide. With a large number of the intelligentsia of the country murdered or in exile overseas, Kagame has managed gradually to rebuild the infrastructure of the country and at the same time prosecute those guilty of horrendous atrocities.

The United Nations Security Council did adopt Resolution 977 in February 1995, setting up the International Criminal Tribunal based in Tanzania. The Kagame government has objected to it because it has refused to sanction the death penalty even for the most heinous of crimes. Some of those caught in Rwanda, in some cases having been found guilty of murdering

hundreds of people with machetes, have been tried and executed, with others jailed. In spite of the tensions and hatreds engendered by the war, the civil society is gradually being improved in Rwanda, with conditions also improving in Burundi.

Prior to the recent civil war, many tourists had visited Rwanda to see the mountain gorillas. These numbers had increased following the film *Gorillas in the Mist* (1988) about Dian Fossey who lived with the gorillas and nurtured many of them, especially one known as “Digit.” After the war it was revealed that most of the gorillas survived, and some tourist groups are, once again, visiting Rwanda.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



Sahel, ecological crisis in

The Sahel region is the semi-arid part of western and north-central Africa that is located between the Sahara in the north, and the humid savannah of the south—much of it being in what was formerly French West Africa.

It covers the region from the Atlantic Ocean, covering northern Senegal, southern Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), southern Niger, northeastern Nigeria, south-central Chad, and through to the Sudan. Some descriptions have it including a small part of southwestern Morocco (formerly Western Sahara), and going through to ERITREA.

In the second part of the 20th century, with a large increase in the population of the Sahel, there has been massive soil erosion and desertification. Much tree and scrub cover has been removed to allow for the collection of firewood and for the creation of more farmland. Subsequent rainstorms have taken away much of the topsoil, destroying the fertility of the land and turning much of it into wasteland. Overgrazing has continued to make the situation worse, accentuated by bad land management. This in turn has led to the expansion of the Sahara in spite of a number of attempts to prevent this.

A bad drought in 1968 led to the destruction of many of the crops grown in the Sahel, and, with more years of drought in the early 1970s, the problems became worse. In 1972 the entire Sahel received almost no rain, and in the following year the Sahara

started increasing up to 60 miles (100 km) a day in the south. Some 100,000 people died from starvation and related diseases in 1973, and, although international relief aid managed to help, severe drought and famine hit the Sahel again in the period 1983–85. In recent years, as the situation has become far worse, it has been associated with global warming and greenhouse gases, although direct human activity is certainly to blame.

The situation was so bad that in 1973 the UNITED NATIONS Sahelian Office (UNSO) was created to try to address the problems facing the Sahel. The International Fund for Agricultural Development was founded in 1977 to deal with this and similar environmental problems; in the 1990s the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) was adopted. Although the UNCCD has managed to make progress, the ecological crisis has exacerbated many tribal and other tensions in the region, such as in DARFUR.

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San Francisco, treaty of

The Treaty of San Francisco, signed on November 8, 1951, and implemented on April 28, 1952, restored full sovereignty to Japan after its unconditional surrender at the end of World War II and ended the U.S. occupation. The negotiations over the treaty revealed differing notions of what had caused World War II and of what Japan's role in the world should be. Engineered primarily by the United States, the treaty quickly became caught up in the COLD WAR rivalries.

In March 1947 U.S. general Douglas MacArthur, who headed the Allied Occupation Authority in Japan, ignited a heated debate about the proper terms of Japan's rehabilitation when he publicly stated his preference for a relatively short U.S. occupation, believing that Japan had been democratized and demilitarized and that a long occupation would only create resentment.

This view was countered by those who pushed for massive reparations from Japan as well as its complete demilitarization. This group believed that the lax enforcement of the Versailles Treaty, which had ended World War I and established terms for the German reparations and demilitarization, had created the conditions for World War II.

A different assessment of the Versailles Treaty emerged among those who advocated a "soft" approach to the peace treaty. This group, which eventually included U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson as well as MacArthur, argued that it was the harsh conditions of Versailles that had, by humiliating and isolating Germany, contributed to the rise of Nazism. This group also worried that the United States should be careful not to overextend its military presence in Japan.

The negotiations were complicated by cold war diplomacy. The United States worried about granting Soviet Russia and the newly established communist PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA a significant role. It also wanted to guarantee that Japan would become a U.S.-friendly bulwark against communism in East Asia. In particular, the U.S. military wanted to retain control over Japan for an extended period to guarantee access to its military bases in the area.

The United States eventually adopted a "piecemeal strategy" of granting Japan full sovereignty and disregarding the calls for a longer occupation. It met the concerns of the British COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS with a U.S.-backed security network that would include Australia and New Zealand. It satisfied the

concerns of the Philippines with promises of aid and security. The United States also decided that neither the Chinese Communist nor the Chinese Nationalist governments would be invited to the treaty conference. This formula won significant bipartisan support in the United States.

The official treaty conference took place in San Francisco in 1951. Fifty-one nations were represented (India chose not to attend). The United States engineered the final result, causing delegates from the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to walk out. Eventually 48 nations signed the treaty.

The final terms of the treaty reflected a victory for the pragmatists who had worried that overly harsh conditions would push Japan away from the West. Although it stripped Japan of all territory gained since 1895 and rejected the pardoning of war criminals, the treaty established immediate sovereignty for Japan and limited reparations it owed to its World War II victim nations. The United States–Japan Security Treaty, signed two hours after the peace treaty, guaranteed a U.S. military presence.

Not all Japanese were happy with the treaty. Many Japanese wanted to see the process of democratization and demilitarization continued. They were surprised by the number of bases the United States maintained in Japan as well as the ban on diplomatic relations and trade with communist China.

In retrospect, the relatively generous terms of the treaty reformed Japan as an important member of the Western camp during the cold war. Japan never again threatened the security interests of the West or of other East Asian nations.

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THOMAS ROBERTSON

Sandinista National Liberation Front

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, or FSLN, or Sandinistas) was a neo-Marxist politico-military organization founded in 1961–62 by a small group of Nicaraguan revolutionaries inspired by the example of the CUBAN REVOLUTION. Its goals were to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship and establish a nationalist, socialist, dem-

ocratic, internationally nonaligned revolutionary state. As such, it was but one of several dozen revolutionary groups to emerge in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s, and remained relatively obscure until the late 1970s. On July 19, 1979, it became one of only two revolutionary organizations in modern Latin American history to seize state power after a prolonged armed conflict (the other was FIDEL CASTRO's 26th of July Movement). It ruled Nicaragua from 1979 to 1990, when it was voted out of office, after which it became a minority party in a series of coalition governments. In 2006 a reconstituted FSLN captured the presidency with the election of longtime Sandinista leader and former president Daniel Ortega.

The group was named after Nicaraguan rebel leader Augusto C. Sandino (1895–1934) at the insistence of FSLN leader CARLOS FONSECA AMADOR, who envisioned blending the group's neo-Marxism with the country's homegrown traditions of popular struggle, and interpreted Sandino as “a kind of path” and a potent symbol by which to more effectively generate popular support. In addition to Fonseca, FSLN founders included Tomás Borge Martínez, Noel Guerrero Santiago, Pedro Pablo Ríos, Bayardo Altamirano, Silvio Mayorga, Iván Sánchez, and Faustino Ruiz. Of this group only Borge survived to witness the revolution's triumph; after 1979 he became Interior Minister. Other early members included Germán Pomares and Santos López, the latter the only early FSLN member who had fought in Sandino's army (1927–34).

In the 1960s and 1970s the movement went through several phases and was shaped by a complex sequence of events. In general, the organization shifted its emphasis from the military to the political realm (gaining the political sympathies of the populace), and from organizing rural folk (*campesinos*) to organizing students, workers, and the urban poor. Among the most significant events marking the early history of the movement were the 1963 Coco River and Bocay campaign and the 1967 Pancasán offensive in the mountains near Matagalpa, the latter nearly destroying the group and, coming the same year as CHE GUEVARA's capture and execution in Bolivia, compelled a strategic rethinking. Thereafter, most organizing efforts shifted to urban areas. The aftermath of the December 23, 1972, Managua earthquake, which killed some 10,000 people, left 250,000 homeless, and exposed the corruption of the Somoza regime, enhanced the stature of the FSLN and other dissident groups. In December 1974, in an audacious raid on the home of wealthy businessman Chema Castillo, the group captured and ransomed for

\$1 million several high-ranking officials and forced the release from prison of 14 Sandinista leaders.

In retaliation, from 1975 the Somoza regime arrested and killed many Sandinistas, including Carlos Fonseca in 1976. In the late 1970s the group fractured into three main “tendencies”: the “Prolonged People's War” faction (led by Tomás Borge, Henry Ruiz, and Bayardo Arce); the “Proletarian Tendency” (led by Jaime Wheelock, Luis Carrion, and Carlos Nuñez); and the “Insurreccional Tendency,” or “Third Way” (led by Daniel Ortega, his brother Humberto Ortega, and Victor Tirado López). In 1978–79 a series of insurrections in Managua, León, Estelí, and other cities, led by the Insurreccional Tendency, spelled the demise of the Somoza regime. After July 1979 these three factions were reunited in the nine-member National Directorate, which exercised de facto political power during the years of Sandinista rule.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the largest Arab country on the Arabian Peninsula. Bordering Jordan, Iraq, Bahrain, KUWAIT, Qatar, the UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, Oman, and YEMEN, Saudi Arabia has played an important strategic role in the Middle East. Islam's two holiest cities, Mecca and Medina, are located in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia is divided into 13 provinces, and, until the 1960s, most of the population was nomadic. Most Saudis are ethnically Arab, although some are of mixed ethnic origins. Many Arabs from neighboring countries work and live in Saudi Arabia but are not citizens. Of a population numbering approximately 26 million, 7 million are foreign citizens, mostly from South Asia. There are also a significant number of Westerners living in Saudi Arabia. All citizens are required to be Muslims.

Saudi Arabia is a monarchy ruled by King Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz al-Saud, who assumed the throne upon the death of his half brother Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz al-Saud in 2005. The 1992 Basic Law established the system of government and the rights of citizens and



Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) attends a meeting with King Abdullah bin Abdul al-Saud in 2006.

provided for rule according to sharia, which is Islamic law. The Qu'ran is the constitution of the land, and there is no separation of church and state.

The country held its first municipal elections in 2005. The king is an absolute monarch whose powers are tempered only by the sharia and other Saudi traditions. The king consults with the Majlis al-Shura, or Consultative Council; the Council of Ministers; the *ulema* (religious leaders); and other senior members of the Saudi royal family. The Council of Ministers approves legislation, which must be compatible with sharia. While the Basic Law provides for an independent judiciary, the king serves as the highest court. The Saudi judicial system imposes amputations of hands and feet for serious robbery, floggings for lesser crimes such as sexual deviance and drunkenness, and beheadings for more serious crimes. Religious police enforce strict social rules.

The Saudi economy is based on petroleum and gas resources, and the government controls most of the revenues. Approximately 40 percent of the economy is privatized. Saudi Arabia contains nearly 25 percent of the world's oil reserves and is the largest exporter of petroleum in the world. Saudi Arabia has also played a central role in the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC).

Oil production increased during the reign of King Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz; Faisal became king following the abdication of his inept half brother King Saud ibn Abd al-Aziz. He introduced various reforms and attempted to modernize the kingdom. With the support of his wife, Queen Iffat, Faisal introduced educa-

tion for females. A devout Muslim, Faisal also worked to increase the Islamic political identity in the Arab world. After the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Saudi Arabia's strategic importance increased, and Faisal built up the nation's military capabilities. During the 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, Faisal moved to mix oil and politics by withdrawing Saudi oil from nations that supported Israel. He also advocated the return of Jerusalem to Muslim rule. In 1975 Faisal was assassinated by a nephew, and his half brother, King Khaled ibn Abd al-Aziz, known for his pro-United States stance, assumed the throne. Following his death in 1982, Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz became king.

The Saudi government supported the growth of the private sector to decrease economic dependence on oil and to increase employment opportunities. In the 1990s, water shortages hampered efforts toward agricultural self-sufficiency and the per capita income decreased from almost \$25,000 in the 1980s to about \$8,000 by 2000. In order to increase employment for its citizens, the government attempted to Saudize the economy by replacing foreign labor with Saudi workers.

Counterterrorism efforts dominated Saudi politics in the early 21st century. After 15 Saudi hijackers perpetrated the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, the Saudi government intensified its anti-terrorism campaign. However, the future of the authoritarian monarchy remained uncertain as the Saudi government attempted to combine sweeping programs of modernization with the continuation of traditional and puritanical ways of life.

See also TERRORISM.

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JULIE EADEH

School of the Americas

The School of the Americas—called by its critics the “School of the Assassins”—was founded by the United States in 1946 in Fort Gulick, Panama, as the Latin American Ground School (LAGS). In 1949 it was renamed the U.S. Army Caribbean School-Spanish Instruction and in 1963 the U.S. Army School of the

Americas (SOA). In 2001, largely in response to years of protests by human rights organizations, the U.S. Congress renamed it the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHISC) and relocated it to Fort Benning, Georgia. Despite these formal changes in its name, the School of the Americas has remained consistent in its core mission: to provide U.S. Army-directed, Spanish-language military training to Latin American militaries. Since its founding, the SOA has trained an estimated 60,000 soldiers in counterinsurgency warfare; interrogation techniques; commando and psychological warfare; sniping; military intelligence; civil-military relations; and related courses of study.

According to a June 1996 report issued by a four-person independent Intelligence Oversight Board (IOB) appointed by U.S. President Bill Clinton, the SOA “used improper instruction materials in training Latin American officers from 1982 to 1991 [that] condone practices such as execution of guerrillas, extortion, physical abuse, coercion, and false imprisonment.” The findings echoed the criticisms of human rights organizations that include America’s Watch and Amnesty International, and of the UNITED NATIONS Truth Commission Report on El Salvador (1993), which found that many of the most egregious violators of human rights in El Salvador’s 12-year civil war were graduates of the SOA.

Their crimes included the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero (1980); the El Mozote Massacre (1980, in which more than 900 civilians were killed); and scores of other massacres in El Salvador. In 2002 the Center for Justice and Accountability won a \$54.6 million lawsuit in the U.S. District Court in Florida against two former Salvadoran generals and SOA graduates (General Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, Director-General of the Salvadoran National Guard, 1979–83, and General José Guillermo García, Minister of Defense, 1979–83) for their role in a series of human rights abuses in El Salvador in the 1980s.

The organization “School of the Americas Watch” (SOA Watch), awarded the 2004 International Alfonso Comín Award for its promotion of peace and justice in the Americas, has compiled data linking SOA graduates to tortures, murders, massacres, and other human rights abuses in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. SOA Watch’s list of “notorious graduates” includes MANUEL NORIEGA (Panama), Efraín Ríos Montt (Guatemala), Roberto D’Aubuisson (El Salvador), and scores of others. WHISC acknowledges that some SOA graduates have

committed human rights abuses, while maintaining that “[the] purpose of the Institute is to provide professional education and training to eligible personnel of nations of the Western Hemisphere within the context of the democratic principles set forth in the Charter of the ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES...while fostering mutual knowledge, transparency, confidence, and cooperation among the participating nations and promoting democratic values, respect for human rights, and knowledge and understanding of United States customs and traditions.” In 2007 WHISC’s operating budget was \$7.5 million.

See also EL SALVADOR, REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR IN (1970S–1990S)

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Shanghai Communiqué

A Joint Communiqué was issued in Shanghai on February 27, 1972, by the United States and China on the occasion of President RICHARD. NIXON’s visit to the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. The Shanghai Communiqué would officially break the cycle of antagonism between the two countries and would be the instrument on which their new relationship would be built. The communiqué is also important because it allowed the two sides to embrace friendly relations while deferring the contentious issue of the status of Taiwan.

The first steps toward reconciliation were taken in 1969 when the United States relaxed certain trade and travel restrictions to China. By 1970 the two sides had reopened informal talks in Warsaw. In April of 1971 Chinese officials invited the U.S. table tennis team to Beijing, resulting in a well-publicized visit and a warm welcome by the Chinese government. By June of 1971 President Nixon had revoked the 21-year trade embargo with China.

On July 9 of the same year, U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger secretly visited Beijing in order to lay the foundation for President Nixon’s trip and to take steps toward the normalization of relations between the two countries. On July 15, 1971, Nixon shocked the world by announcing that he would visit

China to seek the normalization of relations between the two nations.

From February 21 to February 28, 1972, Nixon visited China, meeting with Chinese leaders including the chairman of the Communist Party Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). Toward the end of the trip, the two sides announced the Shanghai Communiqué, which was the product of months of intensive negotiations.

The communiqué announced that progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States was in the interests of all countries. It stated that both sides wished to reduce the danger of international military conflict and that neither should seek “hegemony” in the Asia-Pacific region. It also asserted that each was opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

On the issue of Taiwan, both sides outlined their respective positions. The Chinese stated that the government of the People’s Republic of China was the “sole legal government of China” and that Taiwan was a province of China. The Chinese further argued that all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The United States declared that the U.S. government would not challenge that position. The United States also expressed its hope for peaceful settlement of the “Taiwan question.” The United States further affirmed its ultimate objective as the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, the United States pledged to reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan.

The two sides agreed to the expansion of cultural, technological, and commercial contacts to complement the normalization of diplomatic relations. Both expressed their hope that the gains achieved during Nixon’s visit would open up new prospects between the two countries and would contribute to the relaxation of tensions in Asia and the world.

President Nixon would refer to his visit to China as the week that “changed the world.” His visit reflected China’s alignment with the West against the Soviet Union and resulted in a fundamental change in the global balance of power. The United States no longer had to prepare for war against China and could focus its resources against the Soviet Union. Better relations would have benefits for the People’s Republic of China as well. They allowed China an ally in a potential confrontation with the Soviet Union. The format of the communiqué allowed China to claim an equal footing with the United States in the world, something it had long sought. Mao would hail the visit as a “great diplomatic victory” for China.

Despite this progress, U.S. support for Taiwan would prevent the establishment of formal U.S.-Chinese diplomatic relations for several years. On January 1, 1979, the United States would finally establish normal diplomatic relations with China, removing its troops from Taiwan and abrogating the U.S.-Taiwan Defense Treaty. Despite opposition from Chinese officials, the United States continued to maintain the right to sell defensive weapons to Taiwan.

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MICHAEL A. RIDGE JR.

Shastri, Lal Bahadur

(1904–1966) *Indian prime minister*

Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indian prime minister at the time of the INDO-PAKISTANI WAR of 1965, was born on October 2, 1901, at Mughalsarai, Uttar Pradesh. Shastri graduated from Kashi Vidya Peeth in Varanasi in 1926, attaining the degree of *shastri* (equivalent to a bachelor’s degree). His surname, Shastri, was taken by him from this degree. He was attracted to the freedom movement while at school and participated in the noncooperation and civil disobedience movements launched by Mohandas K. Gandhi.

After India’s independence Shastri became the home minister of Uttar Pradesh state. He then joined politics on the national level, became the general secretary of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) in 1951, under JAWAHARLAL NEHRU as president, and became a close confidant of Nehru. Shastri was a humble man and tolerant of opposing viewpoints, but never wavered from his convictions. He resigned as railway minister after an accident near Ariyalur, Tamil Nadu, taking responsibility for the event. Shastri was a very capable organizer of the Congress Party and contributed to the success of his party in general elections.

After Nehru’s death on May 27, 1964, party stalwarts favored the noncontroversial Shastri as his successor as

prime minister. As prime minister, he tried to solve the rising problem of food shortage in the country and worked to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry.

Shastri showed strong determination and iron will in his dealings with Pakistan. These had been bad since independence. But the second Indo-Pakistani Wars began during Shastri's premiership. India had been humiliated in the Sino-Indian War of 1962, and Pakistan exploited the situation by fomenting trouble on the western border of India. Shastri made diplomatic efforts to solve the problem but failed. The conflict began in the Rann of Kutch region in Gujarat in March 1965 when Pakistani infiltrators entered Kashmir. The war was a stalemate. The UNITED NATIONS Security Council called for a cease-fire on September 22. Then a meeting of the premiers of India and Pakistan, arranged by Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin, took place in the city of Tashkent.

The TASHKENT AGREEMENT was signed by Shastri and Pakistani president AYUB KHAN on January 10, 1966. It restored normal relations between India and Pakistan. Both armies went back to the positions they had held before the war, and the cease-fire line became the de facto border between the two countries. Shastri suffered a heart attack and died the next day. A grateful nation awarded him with the highest honor, Bharat Ratna, posthumously. Shastri had left an indelible mark in Indian politics because of his leadership quality, honesty, and steadfast determination.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Shining Path

Founded in the 1960s but not active in guerrilla activities until May 1980, the Maoist-oriented Communist Party of Peru (Partido Comunista del Perú), popularly known as the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), was the brainchild of former university professor Abimael Guzmán.

For 12 years, from 1980 until Guzmán's capture by the Peruvian military on September 12, 1992, in Lima, Shining Path waged a rural and urban guerrilla campaign against the Peruvian state.

Based mainly in rural areas, Shining Path controlled sections in the south and central part of the highlands, and had taken their struggle to the shantytowns of Lima and other cities. The insurgency prompted a security crackdown by three successive presidents in which the Peruvian military committed tens of thousands of documented human rights abuses. The Shining Path movement provided President Fujimori with a pretext for his "self-coup" of April 1992, when he dissolved the Peruvian Congress and suspended constitutional guarantees, soon followed by a purge of the judiciary and his assumption of dictatorial powers. The Shining Path movement, in conjunction with the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru, MRTA)—and the state repression that these guerrilla movements engendered—had the effect of heightening the militarization of the country and creating a legacy of violence and impunity that endured into the 21st century.

The ideology inspiring Shining Path's guerrilla movement was an amalgam of various strains of leftist and Marxist theories of imperialism, capitalism, and armed struggle that gave primacy to the political thought of Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. *Senderistas* (as members of the group were known) rejected the concept of "human rights." In keeping with this ideology, Shining Path's principal weapon was its use of terror and violence against civilians it identified as its enemies. Alienating large sectors of the peasantry, not only by its brutality but by its lack of respect for indigenous and rural customs, the group also tried to outlaw alcohol, ban community celebrations, and close markets in city and countryside, with the aim of starving Lima and ultimately seizing state power. Many peasant communities responded by forming *rondas*, or community patrols, to defend themselves against Sendero assaults. The group survived its leader's 1992 capture, though its activities dropped off markedly, and it no longer posed a threat to the state. According to the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation of Peru, in the final two decades of the 20th century a total of 69,280 civilians were killed or disappeared by Shining Path, the MRTA, paramilitary squads, and the Peruvian military, with the Shining Path responsible for more than half (54 percent) of the total.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Silva, Luiz Inácio Lula da (1945–) *Brazilian president*

A former shoeshine boy, street vendor, metalworker, and longtime labor leader, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (universally known as “Lula”) was elected president of Brazil in 2002 with some 61 percent of the popular vote; four years later, despite an unfolding corruption scandal, he was reelected for a second term. His rise to political power represented a key element in a broader shift in Latin American politics in the 1990s and 2000s toward a pragmatic and democratic left-populism that viewed the neoliberal economic policies espoused by the United States and international financial institutions (particularly the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and WORLD BANK) as antithetical to the interests of their nations’ citizens and of Latin America’s and the world’s poor. Along with HUGO CHÁVEZ in Venezuela, Néstor Kirchner in Argentina, Evo Morales in Bolivia, and other political leaders swept into office in the post-COLD WAR era, President Lula has worked to deepen democratic institutions and improve the living standards of the majority, while at the same time working within the structures of global capitalism dominated by the more advanced industrial countries of Europe and North America.

Born in October 1945 to a poor peasant family in the state of Pernambuco in Brazil’s impoverished northeast, as a small child Lula moved with his mother and seven siblings to the coastal city of Guarujá in São Paulo state. Like many poor working-class children, he received a spotty education, instead working in the city’s informal economy to help his family make ends meet. When he was 11, his family moved to São Paulo, where he worked in a number of factories, including a copper processing facility and an automobile plant. As a young man he became increasingly involved in union politics; this was during the period of military dictatorship (1964–85), when state authorities violently suppressed militant labor activism.

Lula’s involvement in the labor movement deepened through the 1970s and 1980s. In 1978, following an AFL-CIO-sponsored tour of the United States earlier in the decade, he was elected president of a local steel-

worker’s union. After being arrested and jailed for illegal union and strike activities, in 1980 he helped found the Worker’s Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, or PT); three years later he was a founding member of the Central Worker’s Union (Central Única dos Trabalhadores, or CUT). In 1982, in the midst of these union and political activities, and with the country still in the grip of military dictatorship, he ran for office in the São Paulo state assembly. He was defeated, but four years later, following the democratic opening after 1985, won a seat in the National Congress as a Worker’s Party member. Using his congressional seat as a platform, he ran for president in 1989, losing the election but gaining national attention for his plainspoken left-populism.

He ran again in 1994 and 1998 and, after softening his party’s platform to ease the jitters of the investment and financial sectors, captured the presidency in 2002. His administration’s policies can be described as moderately left-reformist, with an expansion of public sector spending in health care, education, social security, energy, and related arenas, coupled with careful debt and monetary management. The response of the international financial community, and of the Brazilian electorate, has been mostly positive, though many of his erstwhile supporters have expressed disappointment at what they see as excessive compromise and dilution of his socialist vision. Whether his administration will be able to maintain the delicate balance between meeting the needs and aspirations of transnational capital and of the country’s laboring classes remains to be seen.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Singapore

Singapore became an independent country on August 9, 1965. This island nation at the southern tip of western MALAYSIA has since become a regional powerhouse. Singapore’s 4 million citizens, by marked contrast with many other countries of Southeast Asia, enjoy a high standard of living second only to Japan’s in Asia.

Singapore has ancient beginnings. It was part of the Sultanate of Johore until 1819, when Sir Thomas

Stamford Raffles, representing Great Britain, made a treaty with the sultan and established the island as a British trading settlement. The name Singapore comes from the word *Singapura*, meaning “Lion City.”

As a Crown Colony of the British Empire, it became an impregnable fortress. In 1941 Japan entered World War II, simultaneously attacking Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, and Malaysia. By early 1942 the Japanese army was progressing rapidly down the peninsula. The city was shelled and bombed, and several thousand troops and civilians were killed in the fighting. The garrison on Singapore surrendered on February 15, 1942. Thousands of Allied troops were marched into captivity. The Japanese found themselves in possession of a valuable stronghold and significant quantities of Allied weapons and ammunition. Japan established an infamous prisoner of war camp at Changi, where Allied prisoners languished under inhumane conditions.

After World War II Singapore resumed its busy trading focus, and in 1959 it became a self-governing Crown Colony with Lee Kuan Yew, a British-educated barrister, as its first prime minister. On September 2, 1962, a referendum was held on whether to form a union with Malaya. Seventy-three percent of the electorate voted in favor. On September 16, 1963, Singapore became part of the new nation of Malaysia, a self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth.

Four areas were combined to make up Malaysia: the Federated Malay States, Singapore, British North Borneo, and Sarawak. Indonesia and the Philippines opposed the union, and Indonesia supported rebels in Malaysia after its formation.

In 1965 Singapore left the Malaysia Federation to become a sovereign country. The island section of Malaysia was expelled over the status of ethnic Malay and Chinese in the population.

Singapore, as a separate nation, was a success. On September 21, 1965, it became the 117th member of the UNITED NATIONS. President Lee Kuan Yew is regarded as the father of modern Singapore. As leader and founder of the People's Action Party (PAP), he campaigned energetically to form a multiracial government along nonracial lines. He maintained law and order and emphasized hard work. The government is famous for efficiency, and its people for being hard-working and forward looking.

In August 1967 Singapore joined Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand to form ASEAN—the ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS. The association pursued aims of accelerating economic growth, social progress, and cultural

development, and the promotion of peace and stability in the region. In 1971 Britain ended its military association with Singapore with the closure of the British Far East Command.

Lee retired in 1990 as Singapore's reputation for efficiency and hard work grew. Today, the nation-state is crowded—population density in 2003 was just over 6,000 people per square kilometer. Life expectancy is 77 years for males and 81 for females. Singapore has become the success story of Southeast Asia.

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THOMAS A LEWIS

Singh, Manmohan

(1932–) *Indian prime minister*

India's 14th prime minister since independence in 1947, Manmohan Singh was born on September 26, 1932, in the Punjab before the partition of the subcontinent. Singh graduated from Punjab University in 1948 and attended Cambridge University in Britain, earning a First Class Honours degree in economics in 1957. He continued with his graduate studies at Oxford University and achieved a doctorate in economics in 1962. He returned to India, lecturing at Punjab University and at the Delhi School of Economics. In 1971 he joined the Indian civil service as an economic adviser in the commerce ministry. His talents were quickly rewarded, and he was appointed chief economic adviser in the ministry of finance in 1972.

Singh made the transition from bureaucrat to politician in 1991 when he was appointed a member of India's upper house of parliament (the Rajya Sabha). While a member of the upper house between 1991 and 1996, he also became the finance minister in Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's government. With Rao's support, he initiated successful economic reforms aimed at slashing India's infamous red tape, enhancing productivity, and liberalizing the economy. His goals were to end protectionism and open the Indian economy to foreign investment so that India would evolve to a mixed economy saving it from

the verge of bankruptcy. As a result the economy became reinvigorated, inflation was controlled, and Indian industry began to show signs of strength.

Singh's political career was turbulent because he was neither charismatic nor a traditional politician. He lost the only time he contested a parliamentary election for the lower house (Lok Sabha). From 1998 to 2004 he was leader of the opposition but became prime minister in May 2004 when the Congress Party won a coalition majority in the national election. This is because Sonia Gandhi turned down the prime ministership. Singh became India's first Sikh prime minister. This is impressive due to the troubled relationship between India's Sikhs and the Hindu majority during the 1980s. (In 1984 government forces stormed the sacred Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar to root out Sikh militants. Prime Minister INDIRA GANDHI's Sikh bodyguards avenged this act by assassinating her months later.)

Although governing such a diverse nation as India with a coalition is difficult, during his first two years in office Singh achieved a measure of success. The Indian economy continued to grow at an impressive rate. The fractured relationship with Pakistan showed signs of slowly improving, although the deeper issue of who controls Kashmir remained unresolved. Equally as important, political and trade relations with the United States improved considerably.

The government also spearheaded a massive project aimed at eradicating rural poverty. In large part due to Singh's reforms and pragmatic managerial style, India's economy continued to expand and under his government, showed signs of emerging as a global economic power.

See also GANDHI, RAJIV, AND SONIA S.

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RYAN TOUHEY

Sino-Soviet Treaty (1950)

The PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of CHINA was proclaimed on October 1, 1949, and won immediate recognition from the Soviet Union and Eastern European communist nations. Not yet secure after winning the civil war

against the Nationalists, China needed support from the Soviet Union. Thus Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), declared his "lean to one side" policy to form an international united front with the Soviet Union.

Mao went to Moscow in December 1949, his first trip abroad, ostensibly to help celebrate Joseph Stalin's 70th birthday but more importantly to negotiate a treaty with the Soviet Union. A 30-year treaty of friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance was signed on February 14, 1950, clearly directed against the United States. A second agreement allowed the Soviet Union to continue its presence in Port Arthur and Dairen in China's southern Manchuria and to operate a railway in the region (rights Stalin had obtained at Yalta in 1945 without agreement from China) until 1952. The treaty provided for a \$300 million loan from the Soviet Union in five equal annual installments between 1950 and 1955.

During the next decade the Soviet Union sent tens of thousands of scientists and advisers to help the Chinese army, navy, air force, and 156 industrial enterprises during China's First Five-Year Plan. A total of 6,500 Chinese students went for advanced studies to the Soviet Union instead of Western countries; Russian replaced English as the compulsory second language in Chinese schools. In 1952 the Soviet Union returned to China the over U.S. \$1 billion of loot it had taken from Manchuria at the end of World War II. China agreed to recognize independence for Outer Mongolia, a part of China that had become a Soviet satellite in 1924. In October 1950 China intervened in the KOREAN WAR to prevent the collapse of North Korea, an ally of both China and the Soviet Union.

By the late 1950s the Moscow-Beijing Axis was collapsing for many reasons. Although both nations were ruled by communist parties, the CCP had from its inception resented Moscow's domination and interference. Although Mao respected Stalin's seniority in the communist world, he firmly rejected NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's similar claim after Stalin's death, and Mao offered himself as the world communist leader. Mao also denounced Khrushchev as revisionist for his de-Stalinization policy after 1956. In 1959 Khrushchev withdrew an earlier promise to help China build a nuclear bomb and recalled Soviet aid workers from China. Mao called Khrushchev a coward for backing down before the United States in the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS in 1962.

Mao's claim to be an original contributor to Marxism-Leninism, with special relevance to the non-

Western world, was rejected by Moscow. Finally, China felt aggrieved over large territorial losses to imperial Russia in the 19th century and wanted the Soviet Union to acknowledge that they were the result of unequal and therefore illegal treaties, claims that the Soviet Union firmly rejected. Relations deteriorated further when Soviet leader LEONID BREZHNEV sent troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968 and announced his doctrine that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in communist countries that deviated from its interpretation of the socialist cause. Serious border clashes between the Soviet Union and China occurred in 1969, and war loomed.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Solidarity movement

Despite the fact that from 1945 to 1989 the Soviet Union imposed significant control over the internal and external affairs of eastern European nations, that control was never complete. At one time or another that situation was true in all EASTERN BLOC nations, but nowhere so much as in Poland. The Poles demonstrated their independent streak at intervals in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s.

In many instances there were riots and bloodshed, and Soviet troops stationed in Poland ostensibly as defense against a Western attack were used to keep order. In 1953 the Polish premier informed the Soviets that while he would accept military assistance from Soviet troops already in the country, he would mobilize the entire Polish army to fight them if more were sent in. In 1980 a labor union that named itself Solidarity would come into being. It would eventually play a principle role in the ending of the communist regime in Poland.



Solidarity (logo shown above) was founded in September 1980 in response to increasing food prices.

Solidarity was founded in September 1980 in immediate response to increasing food prices, which had already precipitated several strikes. There was already a basic organization in place around which representatives of the striking workers could meet and discuss issues. This was the Workers Defense Committee, which had come into being as a result of strikes, riots, and the killing and injuring of workers in the 1970s.

The month before Solidarity was formed, almost 20,000 workers struck at the Lenin Shipyard in the city of Gdańsk. These strikers, led by Lech Wałęsa, a shipyard electrician, locked themselves in the shipyard and were soon communicating with other groups who were joining in strikes of their own. The workers presented a list of demands that were granted by the government, which included the ability to organize free unions that were not sponsored or sanctioned by the Polish Government. With this victory, Solidarity would come into being, replace the old Workers Defense Committee, and then begin to grow throughout the country.

In December another group, calling itself Rural Solidarity, which was the agricultural equivalent to the industrialized organization, also came into being. Growth was dramatic, and by mid-1981, nearly all laborers were members of or represented by Solidarity.

The Polish government, which had made the concessions that allowed Solidarity to legally come into being, began to view developments with alarm. The same concern applied to the Soviet leadership. LEONID BREZHNEV and members of the Soviet Politburo made their concerns increasingly clear to Poland's head of state, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who would feel pressure from the Soviet Union and at home.

Encouraged by its newfound legalized existence and successes thus far, Solidarity became active in 1981, calling for additional strikes and increasing its demands. By late 1981, faced with the demands of Solidarity, Jaruzelski was coming under increased pressure. He received frequent calls from Brezhnev demanding that he put a stop to Solidarity's activities.

At the same time the Soviet army moved closer to the Polish border and conducted substantial maneuvers with other Warsaw Pact troops, thus underlining the threat that if he did not act on his own, Jaruzelski could face an invasion. At least that is what Jaruzelski said years later when on trial for treason. That trial, from which he was later acquitted, tried to resolve whether Jaruzelski had saved Poland from invasion by what he did to Solidarity or had betrayed Poland's independence, however limited that might be.

In mid-December 1981 Jaruzelski finally took action. Solidarity was suppressed. Lech Wałęsa and the other leaders of the union were imprisoned, and martial law was imposed. The Polish army now ran everything in the country, and any union activities, strikes, or demonstrations would be met with force.

Eventually the leaders of Solidarity were quietly released, and, although the organization was illegal, it did remain active. Its leaders remained in contact with each other, and an underground organization, based on those that had existed during World War II, emerged. Western journalists were able to bring to the West a picture of Solidarity, no longer legal and not functioning as it had but still alive.

Having imposed order, Jaruzelski was now compelled to improve the Polish economy. Brezhnev had died in 1982, and his two immediate successors were also dead by 1985 when MIKHAIL GORBACHEV assumed responsibility for leading the Soviet Union. In the 1980s the Soviets were beginning to exercise looser control and endless assistance to the Eastern bloc nations. Jaruzelski's attempts at reform were now opposed by Solidarity, which was reemerging as a political force.

Widespread strikes in Poland forced Jaruzelski to begin conversations with Wałęsa and the Solidarity leadership. Solidarity was once again legalized in April 1989, and that same year it won a crushing majority in the national elections. A coalition of Solidarity and Communists formed a government in August 1989, and Wałęsa, who less than 10 years before had been jailed for his union activities, was now president of Poland.

Since that time, Solidarity has declined in both membership and influence. There were personality and

philosophical clashes among several of the leaders, not least of whom was Wałęsa. It can also be argued that once it had defeated a common enemy that posed a major threat, it could not maintain cohesion on all issues. It did not have any of its candidates elected in 2001, and the membership is about a tenth of what it was in the early 1980s.

See also COLD WAR; POLAND (1991–PRESENT).

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ROBERT STACY

Somalia (1950–2006)

Following the end of World War II, the British administered Somalia until 1950, when it was divided, with southern Somalia put under Italian trusteeship and the Ogaden returned to Ethiopia, with the remainder of Somalia, held by the British, prepared for independence. The decision to allow the Italians to supervise any part of Somalia was controversial given their colonial record in the region, and it sparked riots in 1950. Elections were held in southern Somalia in 1956, and these were won by the Somali Youth League. In February the Somali National League won a majority in elections in northern Somalia. The platforms of both groups were to reunify Somalia and achieve independence which was granted on July 1, 1960.

The first president of Somalia was Aden Abdullah Osman Daar, who had served in the Italian colonial administration until 1941. He had been president of the National Assembly until 1960 when he became president of the Constituent Assembly, a position he held until independence. The first prime minister, Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, was from British Somaliland; he joined the Somali National League Party in 1956 and became its secretary-general two years later. He held the position for just over two weeks before stepping down on July 12, 1960, to become minister of defense. Replacing him



A crying Somali toddler walks past a Botswana Defense Force soldier during an arms raid on the Bakara Market.

was Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, from the Somali Youth League, who had studied political science at the University of Rome. Unfortunately, not long after independence, Somalia became embroiled in a dispute with the British who granted the Somali-dominated Northern Frontier District of Kenya to the Republic of KENYA. Somalia broke off diplomatic relations with Britain in 1963.

The main problem facing Somalia was the integration of the two halves of the country, plagued by ethnic rivalries, and worries that infrastructure development in one part of the country was disadvantaging the other. Tensions with Kenya and Ethiopia proved intractable. War with the latter broke out over the Ogaden in 1964. Although it did not last long, it served to destabilize the country, which was becoming beset with factional troubles and the proliferation of political parties and corruption. In 1964 Shermarke was replaced as prime minister by Abdirizak Haji Husain, also from the Somali Youth League, and on July 10, 1967, Shermarke was elected as president of Somalia, a post he held until his assassination on October 15, 1969, by Somali police officers. The assassination led to a military coup six days later, which brought Major-General Mohammed Siad Barre to power. He then became president of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and head of state, also serving as prime minister until January 30, 1987.

Siad Barre was involved in introducing a program he called “scientific socialism,” by which he sought to

integrate Somalia. One of these policies was the creation and dissemination of a written Somali language. In 1975 a drought struck Somalia, and this led to a famine which saw thousands of people in Somalia, and also in neighboring Ethiopia, dying. Two years later Somalia attacked Ethiopia, with Siad Barre keen to create his Greater Somalia which was to include the Ogaden (from Ethiopia), Djibouti, and also northern Kenya. In 1977 Somalia was in news headlines all over the world when a German Lufthansa Flight 181 from Majorca, Spain, was hijacked to the Somali capital, Mogadishu. There the GSG-9, a crack German antiterrorist commando force formed after the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre, stormed the plane and released the hostages unharmed.

FORCED TO FLEE

Surviving an attempted military coup in April 1978, Siad Barre came to lead an increasingly autocratic regime that started to face trouble from internal Somali resistance groups. In particular, the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front used bases in Ethiopia to attack Somali soldiers, eventually overrunning parts of northern Somalia.

In August 1990 the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front allied with two other groups, the Somali Patriotic Front and the Somali National Movement (SNM), to form a loose coalition. Siad Barre himself had been seriously injured in a car accident in May 1986, but remained in control of Mogadishu. He was forced to flee the country on January 26, 1991, going first to Kenya and eventually settling in Nigeria in 1992.

With the victorious rebels seizing control of Mogadishu, Ali Mahdi Muhammad became the president of the country, with the task of bringing together the various factions. Northern Somali separatists appointed the leader of the SNM, Abdurahman Ahmed Ali, as president of the breakaway Somaliland Republic. Fighting continued, and Ali Mahdi hastily left the Somali capital in November 1991 after the supporters of General Mohammad Farrah Aydid attacked Mogadishu, capturing the city after bloody street fighting. Aydid then proclaimed himself head of the new government, managing to fight off an attack in April 1992 by supporters of Siad Barre.

Aid agencies estimated that as many as 2,000 people were dying each day from hunger in and around Mogadishu alone. With Aydid holding food supplies only for his supporters, the UNITED NATIONS felt the duty to act, and on August 12, 1992, they had permission from Aydid to deploy troops to protect the aid workers. The result was 500 armed United Nations soldiers being deployed and a massive relief operation taking place. This part of the aid operation went well, although there were some

problems in the towns of Baidoa and Bardera in the west of the country.

By mid-1993 the aid mission had been changed with the U.S. marines being deployed to achieve political objectives. This seemed to include the overthrow of the Aydid government, which led to a U.S. helicopter attack on an alleged Aydid munitions base on July 12, 1993, killing a large number of Somali clan leaders who had gathered for a conference. The political climate moved against the Americans as the clan alliances reformed. On October 3, 1993, some 140 U.S. marines abseiled from Black Hawk helicopters into Mogadishu, with their mission being to abduct two senior lieutenants of Aydid. The operation was planned to last no longer than an hour, but some U.S. Marines were pinned down by thousands of armed Somalis; by the time they were evacuated the following morning, there were 18 U.S. Marines killed and more than 70 badly injured.

FACTIONAL SHIFTS

With the United States clearly against General Aydid, he moved to form alliances with some of his erstwhile enemies, the Americans unable to keep up with the factional shifts. In November 1994 Aydid called a General Conference on Somali Reconciliation, but Ali Mahdi boycotted it, as did the Somali Salvation Alliance. In June 1995 Aydid himself was ousted by Osman Ali Ato. Following the death of Aydid in 1996, his son, Hussein Aydid, a former U.S. Marine who had been involved in the Somali operation, became the leader of the United Somali Congress and took his father's title as interim president of Somalia.

Hussein Aydid refused to take part in the National Salvation Council when it was formed by leaders of 26 of Somalia's factions in January 1997. They agreed on a peace formula that saw the introduction of a federal system for the country, allowing the warlords to retain their local power bases.

This meant that by 1998 the country was effectively divided into three parts: Somalia, consisting of the southern provinces around Mogadishu; the former British areas in the north becoming Somaliland; and Puntland in the northeast. Frequent peace conferences were to be held to try to work out common policies on certain issues.

Although the infighting had died down, the problems over the famine continued with 650,000 people facing food shortages in April 2000. This led to food riots and instability in Mogadishu, forcing the warring factions to declare Baidoa the "provisional capital." By this time, large numbers of educated Somalis had fled.

An interim Somali National Assembly was formed in October 2001 with Salad Hassan Abdikassim (Abdiqasim Salad Hassan) as the interim president. Problems with Ethiopia continued, and the interim prime minister, Ali Khalif Galaydh, accused Ethiopia of trying to destabilize the country, supporting some of the clans that wanted separatism. Abdikassim appointed himself interim president of the Transitional National Government, and in November 2001 Abshir Farah Hassan was elected as the interim prime minister.

The September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States and the subsequent War on Terror saw the U.S. military take a keen interest in Somalia and the level of Islamic fundamentalist influence in the country. Since then the Somali "government" has gradually come to support, however reluctantly, the United States in its War on Terror. The United States has consequently rewarded pro-U.S. groups in the country. On October 14, 2004, Abdullah Yusuf Ahmed became president, taking over from Salad Hassan Abdikassim, and in November 2004, Ali Mohammed Ghadi became prime minister of the transitional federal government. However, after a failed assassination attempt, Prime Minister Ghadi fled Mogadishu, returning in 2006 when Ethiopian troops, aided by the United States, backed him and on December 21, 2006, started a new war in Somalia.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), or the Manila Pact, was formed in Manila on September 8, 1954, by the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. A special protocol added Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam to the protection of SEATO.

The main reason behind the formation of a collective defense treaty in Southeast Asia was the containment of communism. The United States in the COLD WAR period wanted to prevent communism from spreading. After the defeat of the French in Indochina the Geneva Conference had been called in 1954. While the peacemaking process was going on in Geneva, the United States initiated SEATO. The main architect was the U.S. secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, who wanted collective defense against communist aggression. After the establishment of communism in China, there was apprehension in the United States that South and Southeast Asia faced a threat from communists. North Vietnam had become communist, and in Laos the PATHET LAO had become powerful.

Bangkok was the headquarters of SEATO. The post of secretary-general was instituted in 1957, and a Thai diplomat named Pote Sarasin was the first person to hold the post. The articles of the treaty spelled out the motives, principles, and functioning of SEATO. In the preamble, the sovereign equality of states was recognized. The members pledged under the provisions of article I to settle disputes by peaceful means. Article III envisaged economic cooperation and social well-being. SEATO had a provision that all members should agree on intervention in case of a dispute. This became an obstacle to intervening in the crises of Cambodia, Laos, and VIETNAM, as there was no unanimity among members for intervention. There were joint military exercises each year among the signatories. According to the provisions of the Geneva Conference Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam could not join a military alliance. A Pacific Charter was added to the treaty at the insistence of the Philippines, calling for the upholding of the principles of self-determination and equal rights. Any attempt to destroy the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states would be checked. There would also be cooperation in economic development and social welfare among signatories.

The treaty was viewed as another attempt to bring the cold war to South and Southeast Asia. Only three Asian states, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand, had joined it. India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar were in favor of a policy of nonalignment. In its ongoing conflict with India, Pakistan thought SEATO might be helpful. It also had a dispute with another neighbor state, AFGHANISTAN.

The Philippines and Thailand had close military cooperation with the United States. Manila was in favor of a multilateral pact due to the influence of the

United States. The joining of the Philippines invited criticism from the Afro-Asian bloc, alleging that it was serving the designs of neocolonialism in the region. Thailand joined SEATO because of security concerns. Great Britain wanted its presence felt in the region and was also concerned with the security of Hong Kong and Malaya. France lost interest after the debacle in Indochina but it considered SEATO a barrier to the expansion of communism. Australia and New Zealand were committed even though an alliance with the United States, the ANZUS pact, had been signed in 1951.

The Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam condemned the treaty. They pointed out that the inclusion of Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam in the sphere of action of SEATO was contrary to the spirit of the Geneva Conference of 1954. China attacked SEATO for threatening peace in Asia.

SEATO was not helpful to the United States and Thailand in preventing ongoing communist victories in Indochina, including during the VIETNAM WAR. Thailand and the Philippines helped the administration of the United States by providing air bases and sending troops, but in the civil war in Laos in 1961–62, it was more out of their close relations with the United States rather than an obligation under SEATO. One of the factors was the clause that demanded unanimity before action could be taken. In the meeting of the SEATO Council of Ministers on March 27, 1961, multilateral intervention was not possible due to the French opposition. Great Britain also did not support intervention, lest it jeopardize the peace effort in Geneva in 1961 pertaining to Laos.

It was only a question of time before SEATO would end. The United States relied on its military might in the Vietnam War while Great Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand did not want to get involved. Pakistan and France withdrew from SEATO in November 1973 and June 1974, respectively. After the communist victory in the Indochinese states in 1975, SEATO became an anachronism in the region, and it was decided to disband the treaty in a meeting in September 1975 held in New York. SEATO was formally dissolved two years afterward.

See also ANZUS TREATY; ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN); NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO).

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Southern Baptist Convention

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) is the largest Protestant body in the United States. Baptists emerged after the First Great Awakening in New England and quickly found the southern United States a fertile region for growth. Committed in equal degrees to a conservative doctrine, aggressive evangelism, and local congregational autonomy, Baptists felt the strains of slavery. In 1845 tensions led to the formation of the SBC, which allowed Baptists in the South to pursue missions and educational efforts on their own. Their regional seclusion protected the denomination from the schisms of the early 20th century. Indeed, Baptists eschewed the kind of denominational controls exercised by many other churches, particularly regarding doctrine.

Free of theological controversies and experiencing numerical, institutional, and regional expansion, Southern Baptists enjoyed great self-confidence. Baptists believed that they were called to convert the South, that the South would lead the nation, and that the United States would lead the world. Denominational unity was critical to fulfilling this mission, but by the second half of the century expansion brought diversity, and a series of small theological rifts in SBC educational efforts portended greater controversies in the future.

Although their divisions were mild in comparison with debates in other denominations, Baptists in the South suffered a more shattering blow during the CIVIL RIGHTS controversies of the 1940s–70s. Many southerners saw these changes as a threat to their traditional way of life. Conservatives grew anxious and less tolerant of change of any kind; progressives felt remorse over decades of SBC inaction. By the 1970s prosperity and urbanization seemed to be taking the South into the secular currents sweeping the rest of the nation. It was against that background that a bitter battle between conservatives and moderates exploded during the 1980s.

For years, conservatives contended, denominational boards and seminaries had been controlled by liberals who were allowing liberalism to undercut the theological foundation of the church's evangelistic mission. Now they were organizing to take back their church. From the moderates' perspective this same effort appeared a departure from Baptist traditions of respect for local

autonomy and the right of believers to interpret the Bible for themselves. Moderates charged that conservatives were advocating the kind of coercive denominational intrusions and the mingling of religion and politics that Baptists traditionally rejected. Conservatives successfully framed the debate as one of accepting or rejecting the Bible, and the majority of SBC members sided with them. Moderates charged them with securing power through questionable parliamentary maneuvers, but, by the end of the 1980s, the conservative takeover of the SBC was all but complete.

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JOHN HAAS

Soviet Union, dissolution of the

In 1989 eastern European countries of the WARSAW PACT, which had been beholden to the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, had their communist governments replaced with noncommunist governments. For the first time in over 30 years the borders between eastern and western Europe were opened. The following year the Congress of People's Deputies changed the Soviet constitution and removed the Communist Party's monopoly from the constitution by allowing multiple parties. In March the BALTIC STATES held elections and their national independence parties gained majorities in each of the republics. At this time Lithuania decided to declare its independence from the Soviet Union, the first republic to do so.

In June 1990 Russia declared its right to rule itself separate from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. During the remainder of the summer the other republics also declared their right to self-rule. MIKHAIL GORBACHEV tried to find a way to salvage the Soviet Union. His efforts were to be put to a vote in August 1991, but hard-line communists launched an unsuccessful coup in Moscow. The failed coup brought the Communist Party down, and none of the republics was interested in trying to save the Soviet Union. On Christmas Day 1991 Gorbachev resigned, ending the Soviet Union.

Throughout 1989 Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria, which had been

under Soviet control since the end of World War II, established democratic governments and cut their ties with the Soviet Union. Seeing these events, the Baltic countries started to voice their desire to be free of the Soviet Union also. The Baltic countries had been absorbed by the Soviet Union as part of a treaty (the Nazi-Soviet Pact) it had made with Nazi Germany in 1939. Gorbachev did not care how a republic had come to be part of the Soviet Union; in his view none of the republics should be allowed to leave the Soviet Union. Seeing the events in eastern Europe only encouraged the Baltic republics. Attempts to buy off the republics with token freedoms only encouraged them to continue to push for separation from the Soviet Union.

Following the Baltic republics' lead was the Moldavian Republic. Originally part of Romania, Moldavia was given to the Soviet Union as part of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Independence movements also appeared in the Trans-Caucasian region of the Soviet Union, made up of the republics of Georgia, ARMENIA, and AZERBAIJAN. In Armenia and Azerbaijan, the growth in nationalistic parties also led to a dispute between them over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. In Georgia, the massacre of female protesters in the capital of Tbilisi in April 1989 only fueled the desire to be free of the Soviet Union.

In early February 1990, the Communist Party's Central Committee met to consider a draft proposal to allow multiple parties. The congress also created the office of the president of the Soviet Union and elected Gorbachev to the office.

After the congress, in April, Gorbachev announced the Law of Secession, which laid out the process that the republics would have to follow in order to gain their independence. The process was long and drawn out. One of the first uses of the law was to pressure Lithuania to do as the Soviet government said or face the consequences. Lithuanian president Vytautas Landsbergis refused, saying that a foreign power had no right to make decisions about how his country should be run. On April 18, the Soviet government started an economic blockade of Lithuania. The Soviets lifted the blockade on June 29 when the Lithuanian parliament suspended the independence decree. Latvia (May 4) and Estonia (May 8) followed Lithuania's lead, and even though Gorbachev outlawed their decrees, they did not suffer the blockade as Lithuania did.

The Baltic republics were not the only ones moving toward independence. In Russia, the Russian Supreme Soviet elected BORIS YELTSIN as chairman on May 29. Running against 13 other candidates, Yeltsin intro-

duced a platform that pushed for Russian sovereignty in the Soviet Union, making Russian law take precedent over Soviet law; provided for multiparty democracy; and declared that Russia should conduct its own foreign policy with all other countries, including other republics of the Soviet Union. The actual declaration came on June 12, 1990, at which time Russia also declared its right to control the natural resources of its country. Other republics followed suit.

Through the end of 1990 Lithuania continued to try to work out a deal with the Soviet government, but the Soviets continued to stall. Therefore, on January 2, 1991, Landsbergis withdrew the suspension of the independence decree. In response to this action, paramilitary police in Vilnius (the capital of Lithuania) and Riga (the capital of Latvia) seized various buildings. Then on January 7 the Soviet Ministry of Defense ordered troops into all three of the Baltic States as well as Moldavia, Georgia, and the Ukraine. The Soviet military continued to occupy buildings belonging to the Lithuanian government, and on January 13 it attacked the capital's television center and in the process killed 14 people and wounded over 200. At about the same time, Gorbachev was telling the Soviet government that force would not be used against the people of Lithuania. These contradictory actions and talk hurt Gorbachev, who claimed not to have had any advanced knowledge of what the military was going to do.

A few days later, on January 20, violence broke out in Latvia when Soviet paramilitary police stormed a government building in Latvia and killed two local police officers. The Baltic republics gained support from Russia when Yeltsin signed a document recognizing the independence of the Baltic States on behalf of Russia, which was exerting its right to conduct its own foreign policy separate from that of the Soviet Union.

Although the Baltic republics had started out leading the move toward independence from the Soviet Union, Russia now began to take a more prominent role. In January 1991 Gorbachev issued a decree that the Soviet army was to patrol the streets of the larger cities in the Soviet Union to help stop crime and control protests; Russia objected. When Yeltsin attacked Gorbachev during a television interview, Yeltsin found himself under attack by various groups. Although Gorbachev's actions might be decidedly anti-independence for the republics, he still had the support of many of the people in the Soviet Union and Western countries.

On March 17, 1991, the idea of maintaining a union of the republics was put to a vote of the people of the Soviet Union. The vote passed, although six of the

republics (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia, and Moldavia) did not participate in the referendum since they claimed that they were not part of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin claimed that the referendum was nothing more than an attempt by Gorbachev to generate support for his leadership. Gorbachev then called a conference and invited Yeltsin and the presidents of eight other republics to talk about a proposal for a new Union Treaty and new Union Constitution. Gorbachev and the other presidents signed a declaration supporting the drafting of a new treaty and constitution.

May saw more changes as the republics continued to move away from the Soviet Union. On May 5 the Russian branch of the KGB separated itself from the Soviet Union's institution. Moldavia changed its official name to the Moldavian Republic, dropping the words Soviet and Socialist. Then on May 26 Georgia had its first-ever direct presidential election.

THE COUP

Gorbachev and Yeltsin continued to work out the details of the new Union Treaty. The treaty would keep the Soviet Union alive, but would limit the areas over which it could exercise control and make participation in the union voluntary. Before the treaty was enacted, a group of hard-line communists launched a coup to remove Gorbachev from power. The coup lasted for only three days. The committee in charge of the coup announced a state of emergency and placed Gorbachev under house arrest, cutting off his ability to communicate with the outside world. They then tried to get him to sign a decree declaring a state of emergency, but he refused. With Gorbachev's refusal to cooperate, the coup started to come unraveled. The plotters had planned to arrest Yeltsin also, but missed their chance. Instead, Yeltsin went to the Russian Parliament building and appealed to the citizens of Moscow to ignore the unlawful coup. The military was unwilling to move against the civilians, and the coup ended on August 21.

Gorbachev returned to Moscow. Because of the coup, Yeltsin became the hero of the hour, and his popularity grew rapidly. Unfortunately for Gorbachev, his popularity plummeted and accelerated the decline of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin forced Gorbachev to return control of the natural resources and enterprises on Russian territory back to Russia from the Soviet Union.

December saw the Soviet Union brought to an end. On December 1 the Ukraine held a referendum to allow the people to vote in support of or against the declara-

tion of independence from the Soviet Union. The referendum passed by a wide margin. Then the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus met to determine the future of the Soviet Union and their republics. On December 8 they announced the end of the Soviet Union and the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Membership in the CIS was open to all former members of the Soviet Union and any other state interested in joining.

On December 12 Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan joined the CIS. More meetings were held on December 21, and Moldavia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia joined. During this meeting the republics agreed to abolish the position of president of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev still held the position, but on December 25, he announced his resignation. With Gorbachev's resignation the remaining members of the Soviet Parliament had the Soviet flag removed from the Kremlin, and at midnight on December 31, 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

See also RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

space exploration

Humankind's exploration of space began in the 1950s, with the first satellite, the Russian *Sputnik*, launched by rocket on October 4, 1957. It was followed on November 3 by another, carrying a dog named Laika. The United States moved into space exploration on February 1, 1958, with *Explorer I*. A stream of similar robotic craft followed from both countries, carrying instruments that made various important discoveries.

Early space pioneering efforts built on the works of pre-World War II inventors such as the Russian schoolmaster Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, whose writings set out the basic principles for rocket propulsion, suggested multistage vehicles, and proposed liquid hydrogen as a fuel. In the United States, Professor Robert Goddard suggested a method for reaching the moon. Goddard built rockets too, and in 1935 successfully launched one

that reached a height of two kilometers. Rocketry in World War II saw the invention of the V2 missile, with a range of around 300 kilometers, a top speed of 6,000 KPH, and a payload of over a ton. Following the war many German rocket engineers, including Wernher von Braun, were brought to the United States, while Soviet forces captured personnel and equipment from the V2 launching site of Peenemunde.

On April 12, 1961, the Soviets again led the way with the launch of Yuri Gagarin, a Russian cosmonaut, into space to become the first human to leave Earth. His mission lasted 1 hour and 48 minutes; he made a single orbit of the planet. The United States countered with a Mercury space capsule carrying Alan B. Shepard on May 5.

The effects of space travel on humans were of course largely unknown. The early manned missions resulted in considerable study of the physical damage of g-force, radiation, and weightlessness. Rapid developments in hundreds of areas followed, as spacesuits, living quarters, and methodologies for delivering food were all pioneered, along with rapid improvements in the speed, range, and payload of rockets.

Meanwhile, robot explorers were recovering more data to inform manned missions. The first probe to journey to the Moon was launched on September 12, 1959, by the Soviet Union. *Luna 2* reached its destination in 34 hours. The U.S. probes in the main were spurred by President JOHN F. KENNEDY's address to the U.S. Congress on May 25, 1961. The Ranger probes explored the Moon's surface, photographing it before crashing into it; the probe therefore provided transmitted data that resolved images of around half a meter across, in contrast to the best telescopes of the time, which could only resolve to around 500 meters. There was much debate on what the surface of the Moon actually looked like and whether it could support the landing of a heavy manned craft. Was the surface so rough no spacecraft could touch down without damage? Was the Moon dust so thick that any spacecraft would sink into huge drifts?

The Lunar Orbiter series of probes were designed to map the surface of the Moon so the best sites for exploration could be chosen. By the end of the five missions, 99 percent of the moon had been photographed to a resolution of 66 meters or better, and smaller areas had been photographed to within one meter. The space race saw the Americans and the Russians competing as to who could reach the moon first; the dual projects were underscored by the COLD WAR and the military implications of mastering space flight. In the end, the

Russians never put a man onto the surface of the Moon but instead landed several robot explorers.

Both sides were, by the mid-1960s, progressing further down the road of manned spacecraft that could carry more than one astronaut. The rockets to launch the progressively heavier spacecraft began to increase in size, with the eventual development of the Saturn series, which still remain some of the most powerful lifting devices ever built. In the United States, the Mercury one-person spacecraft was followed by the two-person Gemini craft. The three-person Apollo vehicles were developed, a two-part craft that included a lunar lander as well as a command section that would stay in orbit while the lander descended to the Moon's surface.

The Russian program saw many achievements. The first female in space was Valentina Tereshkova, who completed 48 orbits in the Soviet Union's *Vostok 6* on June 16, 1963. The first space walk—a weightless venture outside a capsule—was achieved by Aleksei Leonov on March 18, 1965. The walk lasted for 10 minutes. However, the Soviet Union's space program was not without human cost: On April 23, 1967, the landing parachutes of the *Soyuz 1* space capsule failed and cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov was killed. On January 27, 1967, the new U.S. Apollo program experienced tragedy when a fire broke out in the command module during a launch of the first piloted flight, designated AS-204. Three astronauts died: Mercury and Gemini mission veteran Virgil Grissom; Edward White; and Roger Chaffee, an astronaut preparing for his first spaceflight. The subsequent investigation and report saw substantial improvements to mission safety. The AS-204 mission craft was renamed *Apollo 1* in honor of the crew.

Powered by the enormous Saturn V three-stage rockets, the Apollo missions grew in their ability to take the astronauts further from the surface of Earth. On October 11, 1968, the first manned Apollo mission flew successfully; around the same time Russian spacecraft carrying live animals were successfully orbiting the Moon before returning to Earth. *Apollo 8* made the first human-manned circumnavigation of the Moon in December 1968. *Apollo 10* was a “full dress rehearsal” of the proposed landing and carried out all of the proposed operations short of an actual descent to the lunar surface, although it descended to within nine miles of the Moon in the detached lunar module.

On July 20, 1969, after a four-day trip, *Apollo 11*'s lander separated from the main spacecraft with astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin on board, while Michael Collins remained in orbit. The

lunar module, named *Eagle*, successfully touched down, and, shortly afterward, filmed by the remotely controlled camera attached to the outside of the spacecraft, Armstrong emerged to back down the short ladder to the surface. His steps were watched by millions of people via a television signal beamed back to Earth, with many millions more listening via radio. As Armstrong's foot touched the surface of the Moon, he spoke the words, "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." Mankind had reached another world.

A total of seven lunar landings were made, with significant achievements made on each mission. Some 381.6 kilograms of lunar rocks were brought back to Earth, and each successive landing after *Apollo 11* left behind an automated surface laboratory. The last three missions carried extremely sophisticated mapping cameras, and other instruments measured magnetic fields, chemical composition, and radioactivity.

CRAFT FAILURE

Apollo 13's mission was aborted due to craft failure. An oxygen tank on the spacecraft had blown up and the normal supply of electricity, light, and water to the craft was lost around 200,000 miles from Earth. A unique and innovative program of rigged repairs and procedure invention followed, resulting in the eventual safe return of the three astronauts to Earth. Apollo missions continued until December 1972, with different sites visited and a wheeled lunar rover successfully deployed to carry astronauts further from the spacecraft. The missions increased the duration of time spent on the surface from hours to days. Twelve astronauts walked on the lunar surface. The last astronaut to leave the Moon was scientist Jack Schmitt.

Further space exploration programs commenced with *Skylab*, a section of a Saturn V rocket that was successfully placed in orbit and visited on several occasions by teams of astronaut/scientists who stayed in residence for ever-lengthening periods to conduct experiments. The program terminated in 1979. A Soviet-American rendezvous in space, the Apollo-Soyuz mission, took place in 1975. The development of the space shuttle, a reusable craft capable of returning in a glide to Earth's surface, began in 1970, centering around the idea of a cheaper alternative to previous craft. The program used these spacecraft from their first flight in 1981 until the present. The shuttle fleet can each carry a payload of 30,000 kilograms to orbit. Mission loads have consisted of satellites, experiments, and materials for the *International Space Station*.

The Soviets also pursued a permanent presence in space. A series of space stations called *Salyut* were launched, using Soyuz spacecraft on ferry missions. In 1986 *Salyut* was followed by the modular space station *Mir*. Following improved relations between Russia and other nations at the end of the COLD WAR, Russian cosmonauts joined with the other countries contributing to, and working within, the *International Space Station*.

STARK REMINDERS

Space flight is not without its hazards, as was discovered in the early days of space exploration with the loss of the *Soyuz 1* and *Apollo 1* crews. Improvements in safety through redesign and development of spacecraft and propulsion systems have greatly reduced risk of catastrophic failure. Nevertheless, the severe stresses placed on spacecraft and their systems, together with the risk associated with the application of cutting-edge technology, continue to make manned spaceflight inherently dangerous. Stark reminders of this were the loss of the spacecraft and crew of the space shuttles *Challenger* and *Columbia*.

The *Hubble Space Telescope* is the largest astronomical telescope ever sent into space. Launched in 1990 by a space shuttle, the telescope's placement outside Earth's atmosphere gives it a unique view of the universe. Built by the Lockheed Missiles and space company, the space telescope has a length of 13.3 meters, or 43 feet 6 inches; a diameter of 3.1–4.3 meters, or 10–14 feet; and a weight of 11,600 kilograms, or 25,500 pounds.

NASA named the world's first space-based optical telescope after the U.S. astronomer Edwin P. Hubble. Dr. Hubble confirmed an "expanding" universe, which provided the foundation for the big bang theory.

With a mission duration of up to 20 years, *Hubble* is visited regularly by space shuttle crews for regular servicing. At an altitude of 380 miles (612 kilometers) in a low-Earth orbit, the telescope completes an orbit of Earth every 97 minutes. Sensitive to ultraviolet through near infrared light, the telescope relays to Earth three to four gigabytes of information per day. Powered by two 25-foot solar panels, the telescope has revealed new information on the age of the universe, made findings on black holes, and provided visual proof that dust disks around young stars are common, reinforcing the assumption that planetary systems are plentiful in the universe.

HUBBLE'S REPLACEMENT

Scheduled for launch in 2011, the *James Webb Space Telescope* is intended to replace *Hubble*. This telescope

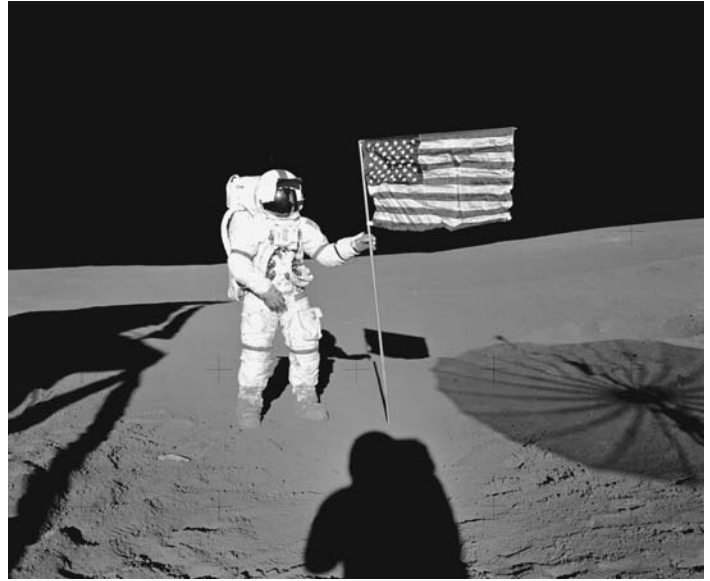
will see objects 400 times fainter than those visible with Earth-based telescopes. By contrast, the *Hubble* can see objects 60 times fainter than those visible with Earth-based telescopes.

The first components for the *International Space Station* were taken into orbit in 1998, and the station received its first crew on November 2, 2000, marking the first day a permanent human presence in space was achieved. The space station has grown and evolved into an unprecedented laboratory complex. Offering a microgravity environment that cannot be duplicated on Earth, the station furthers knowledge of science and of how the human body functions for extended periods of time in space. By the time the station had been operating for five years, 89 scientific investigations had been conducted. A complete characterization study of the radiation environment in the station was done, with evaluation of models of radiation shielding by the station's structure. With 15,000 cubic feet of habitable volume assembled by late 2005, the space station at that point had more room than a conventional three-bedroom house. Astronauts and scientists from a variety of nations have visited and worked in the space station.

Civilian and private missions into space have been achieved. The California millionaire and former NASA rocket scientist Dennis Tito was the first private space tourist to visit the *ISS* for a 10-day excursion in April 2001. Test pilot Mike Melvill took the privately built rocket plane *SpaceShip One* to an altitude of more than 100 kilometers, the acknowledged point at which space begins, on July, 12, 2004.

Robot explorers have also achieved an enormous amount in the conquest of space. The first interplanetary explorer, the United States' *Mariner II*, was launched on August, 26, 1962, to explore Venus and successfully reported a high surface temperature and the absence of a magnetic field.

In January 2004 two NASA robot explorers named *Spirit* and *Opportunity* landed on Mars. The six-wheeled craft crawled over the surface, measuring, photographing, and analyzing, and surprised their controllers by continuing to function for over a year, during which time they traveled for several miles. On December 25, 2004, the NASA *Cassini* spacecraft, nearing Saturn, released the European Space Agency's Huygens probe toward the surface of the ringed planet's largest moon, Titan. Parachuting to the Moon's surface, the probe's cameras and spectrometers analyzed the chemical composition of Titan and transmitted data back to scientists on Earth.



Behind for many of the first years of the space race, the United States won the ultimate prize: the first man on the Moon.

Other probes have been sent to all of the planets in the solar system, including distant Pluto with the launch of the *New Horizons* probe in January 2006. Some probes have had lengthy careers and considerable success. The *Pioneer* space probe, launched on March 2, 1972, was the first spacecraft to travel through the asteroid belt and the first spacecraft to make direct observations and obtain close-up images of Jupiter. It made its closest encounter with Jupiter on December 3, 1973, passing within 81,000 miles. *Pioneer's* last, very weak signal was received on January 23, 2003. *Pioneer 10* continues into interstellar space, heading for the red star Aldebaran, about 68 light years away. It will take *Pioneer* over 2 million years to reach its destination.

Another development of the post-Moon program has been the space community's understandings of asteroid dangers. A "dinosaur-killer" strike is now thought to be avoidable, due to a program of surveying and tracking all heavenly bodies. Such ambitious ideas have been supported by the success of missions such as the *Stardust* spacecraft, launched in 1999. This mission managed to capture particles from a comet beyond the Earth-Moon orbit and return them to Earth.

Other aspects of space exploration are numerous. The discovery of other planets orbiting distant stars has been made possible; the Earth is ringed by satellites enabling advanced communications and a Global Positioning System (GPS); and superior meteorology and detailed imaging have been developed. Various spin-offs

from the space program for the everyday world include such variables as the development of freeze-dried foods and materials such as Teflon.

Progress has been not as fast as science fiction written from the 1930s to the 1980s depicted—space flight has proved expensive and difficult, and the manned Moon bases and Martian cities have not happened. However, other nations besides the United States and the Soviet Union—a collective European approach and manned missions from China—have begun space exploration and plans are under way to see a human presence on both the Moon and Mars.

Two basic difficulties have to be overcome if human exploration of other stars and their solar systems is to succeed. The first is the speed of the spacecraft. The fastest vessel ever built (by 2006) was the *New Horizons* probe, which achieved a speed shortly after launch of 10.07 miles per second, or 36,256 MPH. The nuclear-powered craft crossed the Moon's orbit around nine hours after liftoff. Even at this speed, the estimated mission duration to Pluto is around nine years. If the mission were manned, this would mean an overall duration of 18 years traveling plus the exploration time. If this craft's speed were applied to reach the nearest star system to Earth, the mission time would be hundreds of years. Therein lies the second major problem—the duration humans can withstand space conditions.

The long-term effects of weightless space flight are still being studied, but it is doubtful that such missions could be withstood by a human crew. Scientists believe the craft would have to have some sort of gravitational compensation. A manned, one-way, long-term mission is also an unknown, although science fiction has done a great deal to explore both of these issues.

Indeed, space flight may have provided some answers by extrapolating various scenarios from the work of physicists that may get around interstellar exploration problems. If space is not an empty vacuum and contains distortions, as has been proved, then the “warps” in space may provide points where great distances can be surpassed, rather in the way a fly can travel from one end of a curved scarf to the other end by simply flying between the two points rather than walking the entire length of the scarf. There may also be ways to build spacecraft that fly at much faster speeds; light sails, antimatter rockets, and drives utilizing alternative theories of gravity and electromagnetism might allow much greater speeds. But then other problems arise: that of the relativity time-space equation, for example, and how to get humans to cope with the acceleration and deceleration speeds such a spacecraft would demand.

Although the difficulties of exploring beyond the solar system are great, they may not be insurmountable. One fact remains: If humans want to survive beyond the certain degradation of our own star and its planetary system, then space exploration must be continued.

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THOMAS A. LEWIS

Spain

Post–World War II Spain was still affected strongly by the results of the Spanish civil war of 1936–39. Francisco Franco's authoritarian regime continued to censor the press and did not abide by a constitution. After the defeat of fascist governments in World War II, Franco did mitigate some fascist tendencies within his government, stressing instead the Roman Catholic Church, the monarchy, and society as the corporatist pillars of Spain, but not enough to prevent economic isolation by other international actors. However, at the same time industrialization and economic development contributed to a contrary force of secularization. The corporatism of the state thus began to depend more and more on Franco.

Spain's colonial influence would not succeed Franco, either. The Spanish ended their rule over Spanish Morocco in 1956, and over the rest of their African colonies over the next two decades. In 1968 Spanish Guinea gained independence and renamed itself Equatorial Guinea. Right before Franco died, Morocco's King Hassan II took advantage of Spain's weakness and took over Spain's only remaining colony—Western Sahara—in the Green March. However, despite these colonial losses, Franco did pass on to his successor, King Juan Carlos, the beginnings of an economic and political liberalization that would reap the “Spanish Miracle.”

Indeed, the hierarchical nature of the state did not persist after Franco's death in 1975. Juan Carlos appointed Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez to rush in an era of democratization through legislation sometimes referred to as the “new Bourbon restoration.” Suárez was elected in 1977 under the Unión de Centro

Democrático party. After the elections, the Spanish constitution was drafted in 1978 by a committee made up of the deputies of most of the main political groups. It was signed by the king in 1979. Suárez's power weakened, however, and he resigned as president and party leader on January 29, 1981. Finding a successor was difficult in what became a very tense political and economic climate due to economic struggle, difficulty creating a new territorial organization of Spain, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (or ETA, a Basque separatist organization) terrorist attacks, and the army's lukewarm support of democratic institutions.

In this political atmosphere, democratic governance in Spain was tested by a 1981 coup that was called 23-F and El Tejerazo. Antonio Tejero, with 200 armed officers from the Guardia Civil, stormed the Spanish Congress of Deputies as it was electing Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo the new Spanish president. Tejero and the officers held the cabinet and parliament hostage. No one was harmed and the coup ended largely because the king called upon the army to abide by the orders of the democratically elected civilian authorities.

Social democratic rule began in 1982 with Felipe González's Socialist Party winning the elections. Spain's democratic rule was fairly stable from that point until 1996. Domestic reforms under González's administration included the legalization of abortion, education reforms, and increased personal freedoms. Also during this era, Spain made many advances in integrating back into the international economic and political community. It joined the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) and the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY in 1986. With integration came some important changes for the Spanish economy. Technological and industrial investment in the country increased, despite its persistently high unemployment rate. Ironically, although Spain was able to make progress in international integration, it still suffered from regional separatism and regional groups seeking autonomy from Spain.

In 1996 González was defeated, in part due to government corruption, and José María Aznar's Popular Party (PP) took over. During the PP's term, Spain's economy benefited from high domestic demand and export-led growth. It continued down the path of European integration, joining the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and adopting the euro in 1999. Yet again Spain suffered from internal divisions. ETA attacked tourists and Spanish officials again in 1999. Nevertheless, the PP won the 2000 elections. The attacks continued. In 2001 army Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Antonio Blanco García was assassinated. An enormous street

demonstration of over 1 million Spaniards protesting the assassination occurred the next day. Unfortunately, the killings continued. After some ETA members were killed in a car bomb that August, the ETA retaliated with a series of the bloodiest attacks since 1992, which included the assassination of Supreme Court justice José Francisco Querol Lombardero, his driver, bodyguard, and a bystander, and injuries to 60 others.

In 2003 Aznar supported the U.S. "War on Terror" in the IRAQ WAR, possibly resulting in the March 11, 2004, train bombings in Madrid. Nearly 200 people were killed and over 1,500 injured. Although the government blamed ETA, AL-QAEDA operatives carried out the attacks. In the elections that followed, the PP lost to the Socialist Party. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero took over as prime minister. Aznar, however, had decided not to run, despite not being barred from running for a third term.

Zapatero immediately withdrew Spanish troops from Iraq. Under his administration, Spain approved a same-sex marriage law with the support of a majority of the population. In contrast to Aznar, Zapatero's relations with the United States were strained. However, he maintained good relations with the UNITED NATIONS and the EUROPEAN UNION.

See also MOROCCO; PORTUGAL (1930–PRESENT).

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ASHLEY THIRKILL-MACKELPRANG

Sri Lanka

The island nation of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka gained independence from British rule on February 4, 1948. The country followed a nonaligned foreign policy and participated in various world bodies such as the UNITED NATIONS, the WORLD BANK, the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, and the ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK.

Sri Lanka also became a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). For 10 years the country was ruled by the United National Party (UNP) of Don Stephen Senanayake (1884–1952). After facing hardship under a socialist economy, Sri

Lanka became the first country in South Asia to liberalize its economy.

The government passed the 1956 Sinhala Only Act, which made Sinhala the official language. The onslaught of Singhalese nationalism marginalized the Tamils. The Tamils, living in the north and east, constituted about 18 percent of the population. They feared dominance by the Sinhala majority, who were 74 percent of the population. A separatist movement was launched, resulting in confrontation between the two communities.

The concept of *Tamil Elam* (homeland) was broached by several Tamil militant groups. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran, was emerging as the leading militant group. A large-scale riot broke out in 1977, and in the 1980s civil war broke out. Terrorist attacks by the LTTE and riots became common. Indian premier RAJIV GANDHI was assassinated by Tamil militants in the state of Tamil Nadu, India. The president of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, also was assassinated in Colombo.

After two decades of bloodshed, there was a formal cease-fire in February 2002 under the auspices of the government of Norway. Chandrika Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party became president. Meanwhile, the country was devastated by a tsunami in 2004. A lasting solution to the ethnic conflict had proved illusory, and large-scale human rights violations were committed by the army and the LTTE. Civil war began again in 2005, and violence continued in 2006. Peace talks were held in February and April 2006 in Geneva, but these did not produce any concrete results. In July and August 2006 there was heavy fighting in the Muslim-dominated Muttur region.

See also TAMIL TIGERS.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

St. Lawrence Seaway

Begun in 1954 and completed in 1959, the St. Lawrence Seaway, a wonder of engineering for its time, is a 2,342-mile-long series of canals, locks, and seaways constructed

jointly by Canada and the United States to allow ocean-going vessels access to the Great Lakes. It streamlined shipping and created additional hydroelectric facilities along its route.

The seaway opened to commercial traffic on April 25, 1959. The total cost was \$470 million, of which Canada provided \$336.2 million and the United States \$133.8 million. Canada's St. Lawrence Seaway Management Corporation manages 13 locks, while the U.S. St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation manages two locks. The hydroelectric facilities are administered by Ontario Power and the New York State Power Authority. Depending on weather conditions and ice management, the seaway is generally open from April to mid-December, approximately 250 days per year.

There are seven locks between Montreal and Lake Ontario, a distance of 187 miles. Each lock is 766 feet in length, 80 feet wide, and 30 feet deep, and all channels are dredged to a depth of 27 feet. To ensure proper depth it was necessary to flood some areas, displacing and relocating residents of river towns. Technically not part of the seaway, the two Soo Locks in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, are slightly larger and connect the upper Great Lakes with Lake Superior.

Ninety percent of the freight shipped consists of bulk commodities. Westbound traffic primarily carries cargoes of steel, coal, and iron ore; 40 percent of eastbound cargo is grain. Inter-lake trade accounts for four times the tonnage handled for international markets.

In recent years, proposals by the U.S. and Canadian governments to deepen the seaway and enlarge its locks have met with resistance. Those who seek to expand seaway traffic point out that the St. Lawrence project is operating at only half the capacity envisioned when the project began in the 1950s, while another, even older, water "highway," the Panama Canal, is achieving full capacity and more.

Opponents of the seaway's expansion fear damage to water quality in the world's greatest freshwater system and point to damage already caused by invasive animal and plant species introduced by shipping on the seaway. Studies claim that 182 nonnative species have entered the Great Lakes system, two-thirds of them since 1959 when the seaway opened.

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JOHN M. MAYERNIK

student movements (1960s)

The most striking result of the BABY BOOM was the activism of college students during the 1960s. In the United States, the initial impetus for student activism came from the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. As the decade wore on, students in the United States and elsewhere found more elements of the “establishment” that required political action: the VIETNAM WAR, the draft, and charges that universities were complicit with the military.

The first major student protest organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was founded in 1960 by Ella Baker, who had organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. She believed that existing civil rights organizations were out of touch with African-American students who were willing to push the movement further. Also in 1960 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) emerged from the Student League for Industrial Democracy, created in the 1930s to try to build a political left in Great Depression America.

SDS became the central institution of what would soon be called the New Left. In June 1962, 59 SDS members and sympathizers, including some SNCC members, assembled at an AFL-CIO camp in Port Huron, Michigan, to develop a political manifesto. The resulting Port Huron Statement was written by student Tom Hayden. It suggested that U.S. universities should become the locus for a new movement concerned with empowering individuals and communities.

SNCC was the first of these organizations to achieve national prominence. Its members, who had initiated sit-ins at segregated lunch counters, took part in the Freedom Rides of 1961, testing federal court orders desegregating interstate bus terminals. They conducted voter registration programs in several southern cities and demonstrated against segregation.

In 1964 SNCC and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) staged “Freedom Summer,” during which white college students were invited to teach African-American children and assist with voter registration efforts in Mississippi. During that summer, three student activists, whites Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman and African-American James Chaney, were murdered by white racists. The University of California, Berkeley’s FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT began when students returning from Freedom Summer found their university restricting political activity on campus.

White resistance to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1965 Voting Rights Act led activists in both SDS and SNCC to see themselves as allies of revolutionaries in



Students demonstrate against the war in Vietnam during the March on the Pentagon in 1967.

the rest of the world and to move further left. Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Ture), who became chairman of SNCC in 1966, coined the slogan “BLACK POWER” to express African-American pride, which had the effect of driving white activists out of the organization.

SDS and other white-dominated activist groups had, by this time, become outraged at the escalation of the war in Vietnam. The first “teach-in” against the war took place at the University of Michigan during the spring of 1965. In April a march on Washington organized by SDS drew 20,000 protesters. It was the first of many.

Concentration on antiwar politics had an unforeseen consequence. In 1964 SNCC staffers Mary King

and Casey Hayden anonymously circulated a position paper noting male dominance in movement organization. Later, they publicly raised the importance of FEMINISM in civil rights and antiwar groups. Some men in the movement saw women's issues as a trivial distraction from their own concerns about the draft. King and Hayden's work led to women's caucuses.

Between 1964 and 1969 many of the nation's college campuses became stages for student activism, whether connected to the war or not. Black students occupied buildings at the University of Chicago, Brandeis, and Cornell (armed with rifles). University officials were held hostage at Columbia University, Trinity College, and San Fernando Valley State College (now California State University Northridge). Students stormed boards of regents meetings and occupied buildings and offices.

In May 1968 youth uprisings in Paris nearly brought down the government of CHARLES DE GAULLE. A general strike led by elite Sorbonne university students, joined by many French workers, decried France's education system and its role in the Vietnam War. That same year, Czechoslovakia's "PRAGUE SPRING" tried to implement "socialism with a human face" in the teeth of Soviet domination. In August WARSAW PACT troops crushed the movement, while in the United States riots erupted between Chicago police and student activists during the Democratic National Convention.

Violence escalated in 1970 when National Guard units shot and killed students protesting the Vietnam War at Kent State and Jackson State Universities, touching off protests on many other campuses. But by then SNCC and SDS were collapsing. SDS had splintered at its 1969 convention into a number of groups, the best known of which, the Weathermen, took its name from a Bob Dylan song. Renamed the Weather Underground, this group is best remembered for a Greenwich Village explosion in which three members blew themselves up while assembling explosives. Broad-based student activism declined after the draft was discontinued in 1973.

See also COUNTERCULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

suburbanization, U.S.

Suburbanization describes a process by which U.S. city dwellers moved from central cities into residential areas characterized by single-family homes with lawn space. It is generally associated with the period directly following World War II, but suburbanization is a much older process. The term "suburb" has been in use since 1800. Although it originally applied to a pastoral existence, connected to but outside the central city, it is now associated with the basic ideals of U.S. family life.

The form of the U.S. city has been changing since the development of the steam engine. As the railroad replaced the stagecoach as a means of transportation, it became possible to live farther from the center of the city while still working in the central business district. The streetcar accelerated this outward movement, and automobiles accelerated it even more, creating "bedroom communities" with access to commuter trains, buses and ferries, and parking lots. By 1940 only 20 percent of U.S. citizens lived in the suburbs, which were regarded as communities for the upper class.

A shortage of housing in cities with significant concentrations of war-related industries led to the building of suburban communities to house workers during World War II, but the diversion of resources for the war effort created a national housing shortage for returning servicemen. Ninety-seven percent of all new single-family dwellings built between 1946 and 1956 were surrounded by their own plots.

The period saw the cottage industry of single-family home construction transformed into a major manufacturing process. The most famous example of this is Levittown, which is named after the family who built it. In 1946 Levittown was 4,000 acres of potato fields in Long Island, New York; by 1950 it was a town with 17,400 separate houses. Similarly the developers of Lakewood, in Los Angeles County, California, purchased 3,500 acres in 1949 and had built and sold 17,500 houses by 1953.

The new suburbs were characterized by low density, architectural monotony, and economic and racial homogeneity. Soon businesses, especially retailers, opened branch stores in the suburbs, creating shopping malls to reach consumers who had moved there. The suburbs continue to grow as the urban/suburban relationship in the nation's metropolitan areas evolves. This is evident in the explosive growth of suburbia in the formerly rural hinterlands of cities in the southern and southwestern United States, now known as the Sun

Belt, which attract homeowners with promises of fine weather, large acreages, and air-conditioning.

See also INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM, U.S.

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DAVID MILLER PARKER

Sudanese civil wars (1970–present)

The Sudan has been the theater for several major inter-communal conflicts since the 1950s. During the British administration of the Sudan under the Condominium Agreement, North and South Sudan had been administered separately. The north, with historic ties to Egypt, was predominantly Muslim and Arabic speaking. The population in the south was primarily black and a mixture of Christians and animists, speaking a variety of African languages. The British restricted Sudanese living north of the 10th parallel from traveling farther south, and the Sudanese living below the 8th parallel from traveling north. This helped sow the seeds of future conflicts.

The first Sudanese civil war broke out shortly before Sudanese independence in 1956 and lasted until 1972. The Addis Ababa Agreement was signed in 1972, ending hostilities and giving the southern Sudan considerable self-rule and autonomy. The peace held until President JAAFAR MUHAMMAD NUMEIRI broke the agreement in 1983 by trying to create a federated Sudan. President Numeiri moved to implement Islamic sharia law over all of the Sudan, including the Christian population. Newly discovered oil reserves in the southern territory also provided a motive for more northern interference in the region. Led by Colonel John Garang, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) launched an all-out war against northern domination, further weakening Numeiri.

The Numeiri regime was overthrown in a military-led coup in 1985, but the civil war continued as Islamist forces gained power in Khartoum. Negotiations for a cease-fire ended in 1986 when SPLA forces shot down a civilian aircraft. The National Islamic Front (NIF) then joined the northern forces to ensure that Islamic law was retained. This endangered hopes for future peace talks because one of the primary demands of those in the south had been the repeal of Islamic law.

Southern forces retained control over most of the southern countryside, and in 1989 further negotiations collapsed over the issue of Islamic law. In 1991 the tide changed when the Ethiopian government was deposed, depriving the south of its main ally and arms supplier. Inter-rival fighting among groups in the south further weakened the resistance against the north. As almost all of the fighting had occurred in southern provinces, the region had experienced massive population displacement, food shortages, and destruction. Throughout the 1990s, the south was torn apart by inter-tribal warfare as well as numerous offensives from the north.

With substantial international pressure, the 2003 peace talks made progress, and the two sides signed the Naivasha Treaty on January 9, 2005. The treaty guaranteed autonomy for southern Sudan for six years, after which a referendum was to be held regarding complete independence. Monies from oil reserves were to be divided equally between the north and south, and both north and south armies were allowed to remain in place. The peace treaty was imperiled after John Garang, the new co-vice president, was killed in a helicopter crash. Riots broke out in the south, where many believed the regime in Khartoum had been responsible for Garang's death. However, a tentative peace held, and Salva Kiir Mayardit became the new SPLA leader and Sudanese vice president.

The UNITED NATIONS (UN) established the UN Mission to Sudan under UN Security Council Resolution 1590 in March 2005; the mission was to protect and promote human rights in southern Sudan and to help to maintain the peace. However, an uprising in the western DARFUR region put the mission and Sudanese unity in danger.

The Darfur region, predominantly Muslim, rebelled in 2003, accusing the government of neglect; it used this as a basis for secessionist claims. The central government launched a brutal campaign of scorched earth against Darfur and aligned itself with Arab militias known as the Janjaweed. Many in Darfur fled into neighboring Chad, thereby creating an international crisis. By 2006 the government in Khartoum claimed victory and signed the Darfur Peace Agreement supervised by the African Union Mission in Sudan, but this failed to halt hostilities, and the conflict continues.

These ongoing civil wars have decimated large sectors of the Sudanese economy. The fluctuating price of cotton, the primary cash crop, has further weakened Sudan's economic prospects. The discovery of small oil reserves raised hopes, but with the ongoing violence, it is difficult to gauge the positive effects of this resource. Severe labor shortages and the emigration of

large portions of the educated elite in both the north and south have also had negative impacts on Sudan's recovery. Therefore it seems likely that the Sudan will remain a volatile and unstable region for the foreseeable future.

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KATIE BELLIEL

Suharto, Haji Mohammad

(1921–2008) *Indonesian president*

The second president of Indonesia after SUKARNO, General Haji Mohammad Suharto was born June 8, 1921, in Kemusuk Argamulja, central Java. His military career began with the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945. After Sukarno's declaration of independence in 1945, Suharto fought against the Dutch and later joined the Indonesian National Army. In the violent upheaval of 1965, he was instrumental in crushing the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, or INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY) coup and rose rapidly after this event.

As Sukarno's political authority weakened, Suharto began to strengthen his position. By an executive order in 1966, Sukarno was forced to grant emergency powers to Suharto. Under Suharto Orde Baru (New Order) was established, emphasizing economic development and social harmony. Relations with Western countries improved and confrontation with Malaysia ended, but relations with China deteriorated. Indonesia became a founding member of the ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN). The military became powerful and extended its hold over economic management, which led to large-scale corruption. Suharto also restricted political party activity. By March 1967 he was the acting president and he was elected president on March 21, 1968. He continued to hold the office until 1998, being reelected unopposed five times. His Golkar Party also won every election during this time.

Suharto's regime suppressed secessionist movements and added Western New Guinea, a former Dutch colony under UNITED NATIONS (UN) temporary executive authority after a stage-managed election in 1969. However, he had to deal with the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM, or Free Papua Movement) and its guerrilla campaign against the government of Indonesia.

Suharto also faced problems from the province of Aceh after the formation of the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM, or Free Aceh Movement), which demanded independence in 1976. He suppressed the rebellion by force and martial law, but discontent remained.

East Timor was a former Portuguese colony. Suharto ordered an invasion and incorporated it into Indonesia in 1976. A guerrilla war against Indonesian occupation continued amid reports of brutality by the army. In 1998 talks between Portugal, Indonesia, and the United Nations resulted in a plebiscite for the East Timorese people. However, the Indonesian army and a pro-Indonesian militia unleashed a reign of terror in the region that killed more than 1,300 people and sent 300,000 people fleeing into West Timor.

Suharto faced challenges on the economic front also, as his profligate spending and corruption forced the economy to falter. Beginning in the 1990s, opposition to his authoritarian regime gained intensity. The financial crisis of Asia in 1997 resulted in the plummeting value of the Indonesia currency, which lost 80 percent of its value in 1998. Riots escalated after May 1998, causing him to resign on May 21, 1998. He was replaced by Vice President Jusuf Habibie.

Suharto was placed under house arrest in 2000. In 2003 the Human Rights Commission of Indonesia began to examine atrocities committed under his regime. By then Suharto was in poor health, often hospitalized, and therefore spared prosecution. Indonesia returned to democratic government after his fall. Suharto died in Jakarta on January 27, 2008, from multiple organ failure.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Sukarno, Ahmed

(1901–1970) *Indonesian leader*

A charismatic leader, Ahmed Sukarno left an indelible imprint on the history and politics of Indonesia. Born

on June 6, 1901, he was the most important leader of the nationalist movement and the first president of the Indonesian Republic. After graduating from Bandung Technische Hoogeschool in 1926, Sukarno joined the nationalist movement and was instrumental in establishing the Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Union) on July 4, 1927. The PNI voiced the indigenous sentiment against colonial rule. He was imprisoned and exiled, returning to Jakarta after the Japanese occupation in 1942. Sukarno had a flair for flamboyant oratory. Sukarno enumerated the Pancasila, or five moral postulates, on June 1, 1945, as guidelines for governing Indonesia: nationalism, internationalism, consent, social justice, and belief in God. Unable to suppress the independence movement, the Netherlands signed the Hague Agreement of December 27, 1949, ending its colonial rule. Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta became president and prime minister, respectively.

The new constitution provided for a parliamentary form of government in which president Sukarno was a mere figurehead, with his rivals dominating the political scene. There was political instability and the collapse of five successive cabinets in six years. There were revolts against the central authority in West Java, Kalimantan, south Sulawesi, and Sumatra. Sukarno criticized the ineffective government and began to assert his authority gradually from 1955, instituting a "guided democracy" in 1957 that replaced democratic with authoritarian rule. On July 5, 1959, Sukarno reinstituted the 1945 constitution, assuming executive authority, ruling by decree. In July 1963 Sukarno was made president for life by a compliant assembly.

From the early 1960s Sukarno directed his attention to grandiose plans of projecting Indonesia into the international arena and himself as leader of the nonaligned bloc.

Examples of his image building were his hosting of the 29-nation Afro-Asian conference at Bandung in 1955. He also hosted the Asian Games and the games of the Newly Emerging Forces (NEF). In

1957 he nationalized Dutch businesses. In 1963 he annexed the western half of Papua New Guinea, or Dutch New Guinea.

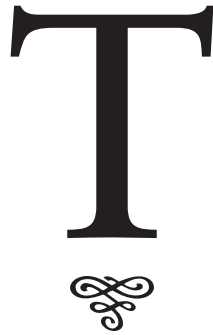
Sukarno broke off relations with the newly formed Malaysia in 1963 and attempted to destabilize it by guerrilla attacks. Indonesia withdrew from the UNITED NATIONS after the admission of Malaysia. Sukarno then consulted communist nations with Moscow responding with foreign aid. Domestically, inflation, corruption, deficit spending, and victimization of the Chinese business community led to economic ruin. Inflation reached a staggering proportion, and the economy was on the brink of collapse.

The attempted coup in September 1965 sealed Sukarno's fate. General HAJI MOHAMMAD SUHARTO took leadership in crushing the coup on September 30. As a result, the political authority of Sukarno was fatally weakened by Suharto, who became the president in March 1967. Sukarno, stripped of presidential powers, was banned from any political activity and remained under house arrest in Jakarta until his death on June 21, 1970.

There was a revival of the popularity of Sukarno in 1980s, because many people had become disenchanted with the dictatorial military regime of Suharto. They honored his struggle against colonialism. Megawati Sukarnoputri, his eldest daughter, became the symbol of the pro-democracy movement that opposed Suharto, and she was elected president of Indonesia from 2001 to 2004.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA



Taiwan (Republic of China)

The Nationalist (Kuomintang, or KMT) government of the Republic of China (ROC) lost the civil war against the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 and retreated to Taiwan, an island province that had been seized by Japan in 1895 and returned to China after World War II. About 2 million people from mainland China fled to Taiwan, joining about 6 million people who had earlier migrated to the island, mainly from the Fujian (Fukien) province across the Taiwan Strait.

Chiang Kai-shek, who was elected president of China under the constitution in 1947 and who had stepped down in 1949, resumed his presidency in 1950. He was reelected president four more times and died in 1975. Chiang ruled Taiwan in an authoritarian manner and invoked martial law because of the threat of invasion from the communist-ruled PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC). With the failure of the George Marshall mission to mediate the Chinese civil war, the United States became a bystander in the Chinese conflict until the invasion of Communist North Korea (later aided by "volunteers" from the PRC) of pro-Western South Korea in 1950. The U.S. Seventh Fleet then began to patrol the Taiwan Strait to prevent a PRC invasion of Taiwan, and in 1952 the United States and the ROC signed a Mutual Defense Treaty (ended in 1979), which provided protection for Taiwan.

By 1954 Chiang's government had completed a successful equitable land reform that transferred ownership to cultivators. Resource-poor Taiwan relied on social

and educational reforms to produce a literate citizenry. U.S. economic aid helped to reform all aspects of the economy so that an even greater rate of growth became possible when it ended in 1964. Industrial development began with labor-intensive light industries that capitalized on a literate workforce. Infrastructure building allowed the economy to shift to heavy, and later high technology, industries.

In 1978 the National Assembly elected CHIANG CHING-KUO (son of Chiang Kai-shek) president; he was reelected in 1984 and died in 1989. Chiang Ching-kuo accelerated the rapid economic development of Taiwan, called an economic miracle by the rest of the world. He began political reforms that ended martial law, granted freedom of the press, and allowed opposition political parties. The Chiang "dynasty" ended with Chiang Ching-kuo's death (he had disavowed succession by his family members), and he was followed by his vice president, Lee Teng-hui. Lee continued democratization and won two more terms, the second by a universal suffrage vote (rather than election by the National Assembly) under an amended constitution. In the 2000 election, the opposition Democratic Progressive Party candidate won the presidency. Taiwan thus added to its accomplishments the "political miracle" of a peaceful transformation from one-party rule to multiparty democracy without violence. With a population of 23 million, it continued to be one of the most advanced and prosperous nations in Asia. However, Taiwan's political future remained unclear because of the PRC's stated goal of national unification, by force if necessary.

See also DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND CHEN SHUI-BIAN (CHEN SHUI-PIEN).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Taliban

Osama bin Laden was born on March 10, 1957, in Riyadh, into a family who owned a construction dynasty estimated worth \$5 billion by the mid-1990s. When the Soviets invaded AFGHANISTAN in 1979, they began a war in which 1 million people were killed and 5 million were sent into exile. During the war, Osama bin Laden, then 22, lobbied his family and friends to support the cause of the Afghan freedom fighters, the mujahideen, and made several trips to Pakistan, where he continued his fund-raising work. During this time the United States also supported the cause of the mujahideen against the Soviets. The REAGAN administration authorized the CIA to establish training camps for the mujahideen in Afghanistan and Pakistan and asked King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to match U.S. contributions. King Fahd instructed the minister of intelligence, Turki al-Faisal, to raise money from private sources and Faisal, knowing of bin Laden's efforts toward the cause, entrusted bin Laden with the task of raising money. Besides raising money for the effort, bin Laden helped encourage Arab volunteers to fight in Afghanistan against the Soviets. He kept a database of his volunteers; the word *database* translates to Arabic as AL-QAEDA.

When the Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989, the United States withdrew its support for the mujahideen, and the country was plunged into chaos and civil war. When Iraq, built up as a major military power by the United States against Iran, invaded KUWAIT, the United States sent thousands of troops into Saudi Arabia. The U.S.-Saudi alliance was criticized by bin Laden, who objected to the presence of U.S. troops on land sacred to Muslims. Bin Laden began publicly criticizing the

Saudi regime. As a result, he was placed under house arrest. He convinced King Fahd that he had business to take care of in Pakistan as a means of escaping the country, and eventually found refuge in Sudan with HASAN AL-TURABI, the leader of the country's Islamic Front. While in Sudan, bin Laden opposed the presence of U.S. troops in Somalia, and al-Qaeda affiliates in Yemen bombed two hotels housing American troops in transit to Somalia. Following an attack by al-Qaeda on the World Trade Center in 1993, the Saudi government froze bin Laden's assets in the country and stripped him of his citizenship.

Meanwhile, in 1994, the Taliban (translated as "students"), a small group of graduates from madrassas (schools of Islamic learning) led by Mullah Muhammad Umar, took control of the city of Kandahar, Afghanistan. The Taliban were able to seize leaders of warring factions, and called for the city to disarm. Fatigued by two years of anarchy, the city willingly agreed to the restoration of order. The Taliban announced that it was their duty to set up an Islamic society in Afghanistan, and gained popular support. By 1996 they had taken Kabul and established a government willing to provide sanctuary to Osama bin Laden and to accept his support of their regime. In 2000, bin Laden was linked to the attack on the American guided missile destroyer USS *Cole* in Aden Harbor, Yemen, and on SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, al-Qaeda was held responsible by the United States for the attack on the twin towers and the Pentagon. While the Taliban regime fell as a result of U.S. attacks on Afghanistan on October 10, 2001, the United States was unable to capture Osama bin Laden or destroy the Taliban.

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TAYMIYA R. ZAMAN

Tamil Tigers

The Tamil Tigers, officially known as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, or LTTE, concentrate operations

predominantly in Sri Lanka with the goal of achieving a separate state for the majority Tamil regions located in north and east Sri Lanka. The rebel group gains much of its internal support from the Tamil agricultural workers and dislocated Tamil youths. Tamil Tiger operations have targeted both military and political objectives since the early 1970s. The United States, the EUROPEAN UNION, CANADA, and INDIA all consider the Tamil Tigers a terrorist organization. Under the leadership of its founder, Velupillai Prabhakaran, the LTTE argues that they are freedom fighters.

Until the 1970s the Tamils insisted upon autonomy but did not resort to violent methods. After a long period of attempts to negotiate, Tamils adopted the belief that the Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan government was unwilling to negotiate. A number of militant organizations were created—including the New Tamil Tigers and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. In 1979 the LTTE began a campaign of attacking military targets, including a July 1983 killing of 16 army soldiers that led to the killing of thousands of Tamil civilians. In response to the violence, LTTE membership dramatically increased. By 1984 the LTTE had begun higher intensity attacks and created a naval unit called the Sea Tigers. In 1987 a special elite unit of LTTE members known as the Black Tigers was formed. By 2001 the LTTE inexplicably dropped its call for a separate Tamil state and reduced its demands to regional autonomy. Norway negotiated a cease-fire, which as of mid-2006 was tenuous at best. In the summer of 2006 calls for a “Final War” for Tamil Eelam independence emerged.

The LTTE, in addition to its military activities, provides a host of government services. The LTTE’s de facto government funds schools, hospitals, police stations, courts, and other municipal services. The LTTE informal government operates under the precepts of socialism. The LTTE also has a political wing, the Tamil National Alliance, although formal attempts have not been made by the LTTE to create political parties.

External support for the Tamil Tigers has come from a number of Indian regimes. That support ended with a LTTE associate’s assassination of Indian prime minister RAJIV GANDHI. In addition the international arms of the Tamil Tigers, located in London and Paris, have facilitated a number of purchases of weaponry. Funding for activities originates in expatriate Tamil communities in the West. Other fund-raising activities include extortion and illegal trade as well as legitimate business fronts and charities. Many terror analysts note that part of the Tamil network includes cargo ships. This has prompted concerns over the use of the fleet in terror operations.

Very few Tamil rebels are captured alive. This is because of a rigorous training regime that includes political indoctrination emphasizing the importance of not being captured. Hence Tamil recruits typically wear a capsule of cyanide around their necks and are encouraged to commit suicide rather than face capture. In addition, the LTTE were one of the first modern terrorist groups to encourage suicide bombings. Much has also been written concerning the LTTE practice of recruiting children to fight in the rebellion. The rebel organization has participated in both a conventional war and attacks targeting civilians. The Tamil Tigers have also been accused of ethnic cleansing. Specifically, the Tamil Tigers attempted to remove all non-Tamil residents from the Tamil state of Jaffna in 1990.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Tashkent Agreement

The Tashkent Agreement of 1966 brought a temporary end to the 1965 war between India and Pakistan and was important subsequently in regulating negotiations over the disputed territory of Kashmir.

The UNITED NATIONS (UN) had organized a cease-fire in 1965 when it became clear that the fighting had the possibility of endangering large population centers. After 17 days of fighting, neither side wished to resume hostilities owing to the vulnerability of their people, the lack of ammunition and supplies, and the lack of war goals that could be held. Arms suppliers in the United States and the United Kingdom as well as in China were unwilling to provide more weapons. Consequently, all parties were amenable to finding a means of diplomatically resolving the confrontation.

Soviet prime minister Alexei Nikolaevich Kosygin invited both sides to a conference at Tashkent in the southern Soviet Uzbek Republic. The subsequent agreement was signed by the president of Pakistan, MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN, and the Indian prime minister, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, on January 10, 1966. Unfortunately,

Shastri died the following day of a heart attack. The main provisions included the withdrawal of all troops to their prewar positions, the restoration of diplomatic relations, the promise not to intervene in the internal affairs of the other side, and the agreement to hold discussions concerning various social and economic issues. The oversight of the withdrawal of forces was conducted by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) and the United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM). These missions were successfully concluded.

The permanent end to war and the renunciation of terrorist activities in Kashmir were not included in the final treaty, and both India and Pakistan suffered from some measure of internal disorder. In the case of Pakistan, unrest forced the resignation of Ayub Khan, the head of a military government, in 1969. Meanwhile, Shastri was succeeded by INDIRA GANDHI, whose administration was troubled by right-wing opposition. The two countries were at war again in 1971 as part of the secession of East Bengal from Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh.

See also INDO-PAKISTANI WAR (KASHMIR).

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JOHN WALSH

Tlatelolco massacre (1968)

In one of the most important and controversial episodes in postwar Mexican history, on October 2, 1968, police and army units violently suppressed a demonstration in Tlatelolco Square in the heart of Mexico City. The government's version of events differed starkly from those of eyewitnesses and the version that gained currency among much of the populace. The crackdown contributed to a growing crisis of legitimacy for the ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), fueling popular sentiments that the PRI was corrupt, dictatorial, and antidemocratic, and tarnishing Mexico's image on the eve of the country's hosting of the 1968 Summer Olympics.

The roots of the October 1968 events in Tlatelolco have been traced to the upsurge in student and worker democratic and anti-PRI activism from the late 1950s, including the Teachers' Movement in 1958; the Railway Workers' Movement in 1958–59; demonstrations in support of the Cuban Revolution (1959); a massive student strike at the National University (UNAM, spring 1966); and protest movements in the states of Puebla (1964), Morelia (1966), and Sonora and Tabasco (1967).

More immediate antecedents include the government's mobilization of an antiriot paramilitary squad, the *granaderos*, in response to street fights between two Mexico City schools in July 1968, and again in response to student protests commemorating the anniversary of FIDEL CASTRO's 26th of July Movement. Tensions mounted throughout August as students held huge demonstrations at the UNAM and the National Polytechnic Institute.

The events prompted the formation of a National Student Strike Committee, which issued a list of demands that included disbandment of the *granaderos* and release of all political prisoners. An estimated 500,000 people, mostly students and workers, participated in antigovernment demonstrations in Mexico City's central square (Zócalo) on August 27, to that date the country's single largest mass protest. Law enforcement agencies responded with tanks and armored cars, killing at least one student. In mid-September, President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz ordered 10,000 army troops to occupy the UNAM campus. Some 500 protesters were jailed, and in the ensuing weeks tensions throughout Mexico City ran high.

The exact sequence of events on the evening of October 2 in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas (Plaza of the Three Cultures) in the District of Tlatelolco, where 5,000 to 10,000 protesters had gathered, remains disputed. The next day the government claimed that terrorists had opened fire on the police from a nearby building and that police had responded to the unprovoked attack. Most newspapers at the time reported from 20 to 28 protestors killed. Eyewitnesses recalled with near unanimity that police and army units had instigated the violence, dropping flares from helicopters before spraying machine-gun and small-arms fire indiscriminately into the crowd, killing hundreds.

The British newspaper *The Guardian* estimated after "careful investigation" that 325 were killed, a figure cited by Mexican writer Octavio Paz as the most plausible. In the ensuing days and weeks, thousands were jailed. Memories of Tlatelolco remained fresh into

the 1990s and after, evidenced by a 1997 congressional investigation into the massacre and the 2006 indictment of ex-president and then-interior minister Luis Echevarría for his role in the events, which remain a festering wound in the nation's collective memory.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre

(1881–1955) *scientist, mystic, writer*

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was one of the most eloquent 20th-century voices for religion in an increasingly secular world. As a distinguished paleontologist and a Jesuit priest, he tried to synthesize evolutionary science with the incarnation of Christ. His ideas were new, speculative, and bold enough to figure into deliberations as diverse as the founding of the UNITED NATIONS and the formulation of several Vatican Council documents. Even today his name is cited for a spiritual perspective on the convergence of human communication due to the Internet.

He was born in France into a devout Catholic family of 11 children in 1881. His father was an intellectual and a farmer, and his mother was a great-grandniece of Voltaire. Teilhard's father provided his son a keen interest in science, and his mother an inclination toward mysticism. He received a top-notch Jesuit education and entered their novitiate program by 1899. By 1911 he was ordained a priest after doing assignments in England and Egypt. World War I interrupted further studies in geology, and he saw action on the front lines. His close calls with death prompted him to consider a more speculative approach to science.

After the war he brilliantly defended his doctorate at the Sorbonne in 1922. Soon thereafter he accepted the chair of the geology department at the Institut Catholique. From this platform he now began to publicize ideas about the synthesis of science and religion, and the resulting controversy cost him his license at the Institut and forced him abroad to do his research and study.

For almost the rest of his career he lived abroad, almost as in a self-imposed exile. Most of that time he

spent in China (1926–46), and there he collaborated with the Chinese Geological Survey and helped to discover the Peking Man skull. He wrote his important books, *The Divine Milieu* and *The Human Phenomenon*, during these years.

For one brief time after World War II he returned to France, but the Jesuits refused to allow him to take an academic position lest he receive more critical scrutiny. He was banned from lecturing in public or publishing his writings. He decided to go to New York in 1951. Lonely and suffering, he died on Easter Sunday, 1955, and is buried in a Jesuit cemetery there.

From a scientific point of view it is difficult to establish the methodology and provability of Teilhard's ideas. He has clearly advanced the fields of geology, stratigraphy, and paleontology, with a supreme competence in the areas of China and the Far East. However, his dominant interest and the source of his infamy was in "anthropogenesis," a new study focusing on the evolutionary position of humanity.

He proposed that evolution had entered a new phase with the emergence of humanity, whereby complexity and consciousness converged and spiritualized evolution. The final development of humanity he termed the "Omega Point," and he connected this perfection with Christ.

In 1962 the Catholic Church issued a warning against the uncritical acceptance of Teilhard's theories, though it did not question his scientific contributions or his integrity of faith. The best way of categorizing his unsystematized though eloquent speculation is as process theology, or perhaps even as a form of Christian pantheism.

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MARK F. WHITTER

Teresa of Calcutta, Mother

(1910–1997) *Albanian religious leader*

Small of stature but solid in fortitude, Mother Teresa was born on August 26, 1910, in Skopje, Albania. The youngest of the children of Nikola and Dran Bojaxhiu, she was baptized Gonxha Agnes. Her father's sudden death when Gonxha was eight left the family in



Mother Teresa's life bore witness to the joy of loving, the dignity of every human person, and the surpassing worth of faith in God.

difficult financial straits and left her mother as her guide for character and vocation. Her local Jesuit parish also contributed strongly to her formation.

At 18, desiring to become a missionary, Gonxha joined the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Sisters of Loretto) in Ireland. There she received the name Sister Mary Teresa after St. Thérèse of Lisieux. In December she departed for India, arriving in Calcutta on January 6, 1929. After making her first profession of vows in May 1931, Sister Teresa was assigned to the Loretto Entally community in Calcutta and taught at St. Mary's School for girls. On May 24, 1937, she made her final vows. From that time on she was called Mother Teresa. She continued teaching at St. Mary's and in 1944 became the school's principal.

On September 10, 1946, during the train ride from Calcutta to Darjeeling for her annual retreat, Mother Teresa said she experienced a divine love for souls, a force within her that motivated her for the rest of her

life. She felt called to establish a religious community, the Missionaries of Charity sisters, dedicated to the service of the poorest of the poor. Nearly two years passed in discernment before Mother Teresa received permission to begin. On August 17, 1948, she dressed for the first time in a white, blue-bordered sari and left Loretto to enter the world of the poor. On December 21 she went for the first time to the slums to find and serve among "the unwanted, the unloved, the uncared for." After some months she was joined by a number of her former students.

On October 7, 1950, the new congregation of the Missionaries of Charity was officially established in Calcutta. By the early 1960s Mother Teresa began to send her sisters to other parts of India. In February 1965 she opened a house in Venezuela. It was soon followed by foundations in Rome and Tanzania and, eventually, on every continent. During the years of rapid growth the world began to focus its attention on Mother Teresa. Numerous awards honored her work. An increasingly interested media began to follow her activities. Her humble stature and effective work also attracted the attention of many intellectuals and celebrities, many of whom were touched by her spirit.

Mother Teresa's life bore witness to the joy of loving, the dignity of every human person, the value of little things done faithfully, and the surpassing worth of faith in God. But only after her death was it revealed that her interior life was marked by a painful experience of feeling separated from God. At times she grappled with profound doubts and fears about her work and her faith. Despite increasingly severe health problems, she continued to govern her society of sisters and respond to the needs of the poor and the church. By 1997 Mother Teresa's sisters numbered nearly 4,000 and were established in 610 foundations in 123 countries. In March 1997 she handed on her duties as superior to a newly elected successor.

On September 3, 1997, Mother Teresa died. She was given a state funeral by the government of India, and her body was buried in the headquarters of her order. Her tomb quickly became a place of pilgrimage. Less than two years later, in view of Mother Teresa's widespread reputation of holiness and the miracles reported as connected to her intercession, Pope JOHN PAUL II permitted official discussions about her canonization as a saint to begin. On October 19, 2003, he beatified Mother Teresa before a crowd of at least 300,000.

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BRIAN KOLODIEJCHUK

terrorism

Terrorism—attacks on civilians and noncombatants for political purposes—has an ancient history. In earlier eras, terrorism was often religiously motivated. In the first century C.E. Jewish Zealots fought the Romans; the Assassins, a Shi'i sect of Islam, killed Muslims who disagreed with their practices in the 11th century; and Hindu Thugees in India killed innocents as part of ritualistic practices from the 7th to the 19th century.

From the 18th to the late 20th century, most terrorists were motivated by nationalist or political causes. Contemporary terrorism is systematic, political, conveys a message, and generates fear. Terrorism may be committed by a state or by individual groups, although some dispute the use of the term for governmental actions. In

English the term *terrorism* derives from the French revolutionary reign of terror under Maximilien Robespierre, when thousands were sent to their deaths, often at the guillotine, in 1793–94.

After World War II nonstate groups often adopted terrorist tactics to achieve political goals. Terrorism was usually the tactic of the weak and disaffected who lacked access to or possession of high technology and sophisticated weapons of war. In the modern era, the media and instant communications provided terrorists with ready platforms to publicize their programs and grievances. Publicity on a global scale permitted terrorists to have a psychological impact far beyond single deeds, thereby greatly magnifying their effects.

In their struggles against imperial powers, Third World liberation movements sometimes adopted terrorist tactics by attacking civilians as well as colonial armed forces to achieve national independence. Third World leaders often argued that these tactics were no less “terrifying” or horrific than the bombing of villages, the use of napalm, or the imprisonment of thousands in concentration camps. However, governments tended



The Pentagon in Washington, D.C., was damaged by a terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, concurrently with attacks on the World Trade Center using hijacked airliners filled with passengers. Nearly 3,000 people lost their lives in the attack.

to apply the term *terrorist* only to those groups they disliked or opposed, and to ignore or downplay those groups or countries that used similar tactics against their own citizens or enemies.

During the 1960s–70s leftist groups were responsible for numerous terrorist attacks in Europe. The Baader Meinhof Gang, militant German anarchists, bombed U.S. military installations and police stations and attempted to assassinate Alexander Haig, the supreme Allied commander of NATO, as well as bankers and media moguls. After most of their leaders had been imprisoned or had died, the Meinhof Gang's attacks ended in the 1990s. The communist Italian Red Brigades also kidnapped and killed leading establishment figures. In its struggle against the British, the nationalist Provisional IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) planted bombs in shopping malls and killed Lord LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN, first earl Mountbatten of Burma, and narrowly missed killing British prime minister MARGARET THATCHER. Similarly, the nationalist Basque party (ETA) attacked Spanish leaders and placed bombs at targets with heavy civilian use.

In the Middle East small Palestinian Marxist-Leninist groups skyjacked civilian airliners in dramatic and well-publicized attacks that brought world attention to the Palestinian national cause. The PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) also launched terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians as well as the military. At the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, Palestinians attacked and killed Israeli athletes. Israel retaliated by killing Palestinian leaders in Beirut and in Europe. The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), under Abdullah Ocalan, mounted a separatist insurgency against TURKEY; the PKK placed bombs on buses and other civilian sites and was outlawed by the Turkish government.

In Asia the nationalist TAMIL TIGERS in Sri Lanka attacked civilians, and the Japanese Red Army, a leftist paramilitary group, launched attacks in Europe and elsewhere. In 1995 the group Aum Shinrikyo released the poison gas sarin in the Tokyo subway.

Terrorism escalated throughout much of South America and Latin America in the 1970s–80s. During the 1970s the Argentina military junta and right-wing death squads terrorized and killed opponents. In Chile General AUGUSTO PINOCHET's regime tortured and "disappeared" opponents. The Pinochet regime was also implicated in the car bombing assassinations of a Chilean diplomat and Pinochet opponent, Orlando Letelier, and a U.S. colleague in downtown Washington, D.C., in 1976. During the same period, the SHINING PATH terrorized villagers and political leaders in Peru,

while narco-terrorism by criminal drug cartels killed judges, police, and others in Colombia. Similarly, left-wing guerrilla forces and right-wing death squads killed thousands of civilians as well as religious and nongovernmental volunteers from the international community in El Salvador. The government in Guatemala used terrorism to repress its Amerindian population.

From the 1960s onward a wide variety of political groups opposing the VIETNAM WAR and the conservative establishment or struggling for civil rights in the United States also adopted terrorist tactics. The Weathermen and other groups kidnapped high-profile individuals, bombed military and research installations, and sometimes killed law enforcement officers. In 1995 terrorists from the far right bombed a federal office building in Oklahoma City, killing over 100 people and wounding 400.

There was a revival of religiously motivated terrorism beginning in the later part of the 20th century. As YUGOSLAVIA split apart, sectarian violence escalated. Similarly, clashes among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs in INDIA proliferated. Prime Minister INDIRA GANDHI was killed by her Sikh bodyguard, and the Mumbai stock exchange was bombed. The 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran provided the impetus and support for numerous Islamist groups in the Middle East, including HIZBOLLAH in Lebanon and HAMAS in the occupied Palestinian territories of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Both of these groups used suicide bombers in an attempt to achieve their goals.

When their governments failed to provide the means for legitimate political dissent or jobs, many disillusioned Muslim young people around the world joined Islamist organizations that used encouraged *jihadis* (fighters of holy war) to use terrorism to oust corrupt regimes and establish regimes based on sharia, Islamic law. Many Islamic groups were hostile to the West, particularly the United States. Much of their anger was fueled by the spread of Western culture, which threatened or undermined old traditions and practices. Many young jihadis gained military training and experience fighting with the TALIBAN and other Islamic mujahideen groups against the Soviet occupation in AFGHANISTAN in the 1980s. After the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan, the Taliban managed to wrest power from its rivals and established an extreme theocracy. Its leader, Mullah Omar, provided a safe haven for one of the most extreme Islamic groups, AL-QAEDA, which was led by a disaffected Saudi Arabian, Osama bin Laden. In 1998 bin Laden issued a fatwa (religious proclamation) urging jihad against the United States.

Al-Qaeda members placed bombs that killed hundreds in Nairobi, Kenya, and attacked a U.S. military ship in Yemen.

On suicide missions al-Qaeda members skyjacked planes that crashed into the WORLD TRADE CENTER in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001. These were the most devastating terror attacks that the United States had ever experienced on its home territory. The United States and coalition forces retaliated and successfully overthrew the pro-al-Qaeda Taliban regime in Afghanistan; however they failed to destroy either the Taliban or al-Qaeda. Osama bin Laden managed to escape and continued to orchestrate terror attacks against U.S. forces and supporters. These included suicide bomb attacks on trains in Madrid, Spain, and the transit system in London, England.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Thatcher, Margaret baroness Thatcher of Kesteven

(1925–) *British prime minister*

Margaret Thatcher, Britain's first woman prime minister and leader of the Conservative Party, helped reverse the economic decline of her country. Even her enemies grudgingly respected the strong-willed "iron lady." She rejected the "consensus" politics that had characterized Britain since World War II in favor of polarizing "conviction" politics.

During her 10 years as the head of the British government, she created a successful free-market economy, but at a high price: deindustrialization of many old factory towns and, for several years, massive unemployment. Strongly nationalistic, Thatcher fought for Britain within and sometimes against the EUROPEAN UNION. She was lucky that the main body of the Labour Party moved to the left and Labour moderates broke away to form their own party; she defeated her divided opponents at general elections without

ever winning over a majority of the voters. She also was lucky to have the opportunity to fight a short, successful, and very popular war with distant Argentina, whose brutal military dictatorship had seized a sparsely populated and almost unknown British colony, the Falkland Islands. Labour eventually accepted her basic policies. She succeeded in changing the language of political discourse. Except for those from a few stubborn socialists, proposals for the nationalization of major industries disappeared from the debate over public policy.

In part because Thatcher was personally abrasive, she was controversial in her own Conservative Party. It was a rebellion among her nominal supporters that ended her political career. According to rumor, moreover, she did not get along with the other important woman in the British government, Queen Elizabeth II.

Intelligence and hard work, not family connections, explain Thatcher's rise to power. Her principles owed much to the middle-class values of her upbringing. Thatcher was born Margaret Hilda Roberts on October 13, 1925, in Grantham, a small town in eastern England. Her father was a grocer, and the family lived over his shop. Active in civic affairs, her father served for many years on the city council and at one point held the title of mayor. After attending local state schools Margaret Roberts studied chemistry at Somerville College, a women's college that was part of Oxford University. Already politically minded, she was elected president of Oxford's student Conservative organization in 1946, the year after Labour had crushed her party in the general election that followed the defeat of Nazi Germany.

After university she worked for several years as a research chemist. In addition, she stood for Parliament, always for seats that were hopeless for her party. During her political campaigns she met Dennis Thatcher, a wealthy businessman, whom she married in 1951. She left her first career as a research chemist to study law. In 1953 she gave birth to twins, Carol and Mark. Thatcher was in her mid-30s when in 1959 she was elected to the House of Commons for the safe Conservative seat of Finchley in north London. Two years later she was appointed to a junior position in the Harold Macmillan government as parliamentary secretary at the ministry of pensions and national service. Thatcher's first cabinet office came in the Edward Heath government. In 1970 she was appointed minister for education. As part of broader cuts in spending she eliminated free milk for



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher led an uncompromising conservative government in the United Kingdom during the 1980s.

school- children. The Labour Party attacked her as the heartless “Thatcher, the milk snatcher.”

Heath’s failure to stand up to the trade unions successfully and his defeat in two 1974 general elections cost him the support of many Conservatives. Despite his weakness, his principal colleagues were reluctant to challenge him. Thatcher, a midlevel figure in the Conservative Party with limited ministerial experience, dared in 1975. After the first ballot Heath withdrew, and on the second ballot Thatcher was elected leader of the Conservative Party. Four years later, the Conservatives won the general election, and Thatcher became prime minister. She also led her party to victory in the next two general elections.

Her policies during her more than a decade as prime minister came to be called “Thatcherism.” She acknowledged that many of her ideas came from an older Conservative politician, Sir Keith Joseph. He argued that Britain needed to revive its entrepreneurial spirit.

Thatcher became prime minister during a two-sided economic crisis: a depression accompanied by rising prices. She made her first priority fighting double-digit inflation. She cut government spending, with higher education suffering particularly hard. She increased interest rates and sales taxes and eventually income taxes too. Manufacturing shrank, and several million workers lost their jobs. It took years for this bitter medicine to cure runaway inflation, but it did. Some members of Thatcher’s own party thought that the human cost of her policies was unacceptable.

Convinced that the welfare state had ruined Britain, Thatcher wanted to encourage individualism and discourage reliance on the state. Consequently, she made it easy for tenants in council houses (public housing) to

buy their homes. Pressured by an increase in rent, hundreds of thousands did. As property owners, they were more inclined to vote Conservative.

Committed to competition and capitalism, Thatcher regarded the nationalized industries as a deadweight handicapping the British economy. In the early 1980s she sold off minor parts of the state’s array of industries, such as the railroad hotels, but it was not until the mid-1980s that privatization became dramatic. At this time Thatcher sold the telephone system, the gas industry, the principal automobile and truck manufacturers, the steel industry, and water companies.

Thatcher worried that the power of Britain’s militant trade unions crippled the economy. She decided to tame them. In 1984 Parliament enacted legislation that required a majority vote by secret ballot for a legal strike. In the same year, the leader of the coal miners challenged the management of one of the last nationalized industries. He hoped to block the closing of unprofitable mines. He used outside militants to intimidate working miners. These tactics offended public opinion. Worried about their own jobs, few other unions supported the miners. After nearly a year, the strike collapsed. As a result of competition from oil and natural gas, the coal mining industry soon shrank to almost nothing.

Priding herself on her decisiveness and rarely conciliatory toward opponents, Thatcher did not care how many people she alienated. She rejected compromise as weakness. Victory over Argentina in the FALKLANDS WAR was perhaps her only success that nearly everybody applauded. She refused any compromise when members of the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY, imprisoned in Ulster, started a hunger strike to be recognized as political prisoners. Ten IRA men died of starvation. Labour controlled many local councils, including that of greater London. Thatcher considered their spending profligate, and so she had Parliament abolish the troublesome councils. She regarded the European Community without enthusiasm. Protective of British sovereignty, she was suspicious of the trend toward economic and political centralization within the EUROPEAN UNION.

In contrast to her ambivalence toward Europe, she was a staunch ally of the United States. She was particularly close to President RONALD REAGAN. Although they were much alike in their economic and foreign policies and their insistence upon law and order, Thatcher did not share Reagan’s concern for moral issues in politics. She voted to decriminalize homosexuality and to legalize abortion. Thatcher’s relationship with the United States was, in part, the result of political realism. The world’s

most powerful nation was a useful ally. Her realism also showed in her conciliatory relationship toward MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, the last ruler of the Soviet Union. She recognized the importance of the reforms that he advocated in changing the nature of communism in his powerful country and the flexibility that he showed outside the Soviet Union. Unlike Reagan, she was not so entranced with Gorbachev as to propose mutual nuclear disarmament, but she did think the Soviet leader was somebody with whom she could “do business.”

In her last years as prime minister Thatcher blundered politically, which gave an opening to her numerous enemies within the Conservative Party. In her biggest mistake, she proposed a reform of local government finance widely denounced as an unfair poll tax. Except for the well-off, nearly all households would pay more than they had in the past. Perhaps because she was preparing for war against Iraq in alliance with the United States, Thatcher paid insufficient attention to the political situation at home. She also erred by making provocatively anti-European Union remarks that caused her foreign secretary to resign. One of her old enemies, a former defense secretary, challenged Thatcher for the party leadership in late 1990. When she failed to win on the first ballot, she withdrew and threw her support to one of her loyalists, John Major. After Major became Conservative Party leader and prime minister, Thatcher quickly alienated her one-time favorite. Calling herself a “good back-seat driver,” she interfered too much, undermining the new prime minister’s authority.

In retirement Thatcher took a nonhereditary peerage (baroness Thatcher of Kesteven) that made her a member of the House of Lords. She also wrote her memoirs. She outraged public opinion by visiting the former Chilean dictator AUGUSTO PINOCHET while he was under house arrest in Britain. Most people believed that he was guilty of torturing and murdering opponents in his home country.

By the first years of the 21st century, Thatcher’s physical and mental health began to fail. She rarely made public appearances and no longer gave speeches. Her husband died in 2003, and her children sometimes proved to be an embarrassment. Her son, Mark, became involved in an abortive coup against an African government. Her daughter, Carol, appeared on a widely viewed and undignified “reality” television program. According to her, Thatcher suffered from a form of dementia that destroyed her short-term memory.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Third World/Global South

The term *Third World* applies to those nations in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere that mostly secured independence from the imperial powers after World War II. In the COLD WAR construct the First World, dominated by the United States, also included Western Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. These nations were wealthy, highly industrialized, urban, largely secular, democratic, and had capitalist economies. The Second World consisted of the Soviet bloc, dominated by the Soviet Union. These nations were industrialized but not as wealthy as the First World; they were secular, authoritarian, and had socialist economics. The Third World nations, consisting of two-thirds of the world’s population, were poor, rural, and agrarian, with traditional societies. After the breakup of the Soviet bloc and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the terms no longer applied and because most of the nations of the Third World were south of the equator the term *Global South* came to be used as a collective label for these nations.

The gap between rich and poor nations grew in the 20th century. As the Indian prime minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU commented, “The poor have to run fast just to keep up.” Third World countries were caught in a cycle of poverty, with low incomes and low production. After independence many became dictatorships and attempted to improve their economies, usually unsuccessfully, by adopting socialist systems on the Soviet state capitalist model. Economists often referred to the poor developing nations as low-GDP (low Gross Domestic Product) countries, meaning they produced little in the way of goods and services. Countries in the Global South adopted a wide variety of methods to break out of the cycle of poverty. In China Mao Zedong led a socialist revolution and mobilized the masses, but only with privatization after his death did the Chinese economy begin to take off. INDIA, the world’s most populous democracy, adopted a capitalist approach; India also successfully applied the technology of the GREEN REVOLUTION, the use of

hybrid seeds to increase agricultural productivity. At the beginning of the 20th century, India suffered major famines but by the end of the century it was exporting foodstuffs. India and many other poor nations also invested heavily in education. In Southeast Asia educated workers became the backbone of industrialization and the development of high-tech firms.

Other nations built huge development projects, such as the ASWĀN DAM in Egypt and the Three Gorges Dam in China. Following Western advice in the 1950s and 1960s, many Third World nations concentrated on industrialization, to the detriment of the agricultural sector. That, along with ecological changes, droughts along wide bands of Africa, civil wars, political corruption, and instability, contributed to large famines and mass starvation in many African nations. In the Middle East oil-producing nations joined a cartel, the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), to gain increased revenues from their major resource. They then used the new revenues to build modern infrastructures. Kuwait was able to provide a complete welfare system from cradle to grave for its small population.

Other countries, such as the “little dragons” in Southeast Asia (Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore), attracted foreign businesses and industries. Many nations in South America and Africa also borrowed vast amounts of money from private and public Western banks, such as the WORLD BANK, to bring much-needed capital into their countries. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) also provided assistance in welfare, food, education, and healthcare. Brazil used foreign loans to create new industries and provide jobs, but it, along with many other countries, became ensnared in a web of indebtedness that was impossible to repay. By the 1990s rich nations promised but often failed to deliver increased foreign aid and to forgive or restructure the debts of these nations, especially the poorest in Africa. Other nations had some modest successes in adopting APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY to establish small, inexpensive grassroots projects.

Population growth also contributed to economic problems. In Kenya the population doubled every 18 years and in Egypt every 26 years, compared to every 92 in the United States. By 2000 the world's population had exceeded 6 billion, from 1 billion in 1800. It was expected to reach 9 billion by 2054. In poor countries high infant mortality contributed to the desire to have many children in hopes that at least some would survive to adulthood and be able to care for their parents, especially their mothers, in their old age. To limit its population China adopted a draconian

one-child policy and strictly enforced it through its totalitarian system. India adopted numerous approaches in attempts to limit population growth; these were often accepted by urban elites, but peasants continued to value large families. In societies where women had low status, having children, especially boys, brought status and the hope of some security. The educational status of many improved, and literacy rates improved, although in many countries boys enjoyed higher rates of education than girls. While programs to empower women were often successful, they were also resisted by traditional and religious leaders. Women's work continued to be undervalued and underpaid. Child labor was yet another problem. Globalization and privatization in the late 20th century actually caused some nations to become poorer as prices for agricultural goods and raw materials dropped.

In some Global South nations, such as India, a few people became millionaires, but most remained desperately poor. In the 1990s, incomes in 54 nations actually declined, and in Zimbabwe life expectancy fell from 56 to 331, compared to over 80 in the United States and Japan. Disease, especially AIDS, contributed to further economic and social problems, particularly in many southern African countries.

At the 2000 Millennium Summit, world leaders agreed to institute programs aimed at cutting in half the number of people living on under \$1 a day and at halving the number of people suffering from hunger by 2015. Five years later the commitments of the donor nations, especially the United States, had fallen short of the promises made, and it remained uncertain whether the goals would be met.

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JANICE J. TERRY

Tiananmen Square massacre

Throughout the 20th century, Tiananmen Square in central Beijing, China, has been the center of protest movements, the first being on May 4, 1919, when students and others demonstrated against the Treaty of Versailles,

which had handed the formerly German-occupied Chinese city of Qingdao to Japan. Another large protest was held there in April 1976 by supporters of the former premier ZHOU ENLAI, who had recently died.

In 1989 student protest movements started in Tiananmen Square following the April 15 death of Hu Yaobang, who had been general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party. Some of the students felt that Hu Yaobang had been made a scapegoat for government failures in 1987. By April 18, some 10,000 students were in Tiananmen Square taking part in protests in front of the Zhongnanhai, the seat of the government. Three days later, there were 100,000 students and others in the square, and on May 4 some 100,000 students and workers marched through Beijing, demanding a formal dialogue between the student leaders and the government and the removal of all restrictions on the media, which the government rejected.

The protest reached its first peak on May 13, just before the Soviet leader MIKHAIL GORBACHEV came to visit Beijing. Some of the protestors urged for the reforms that Gorbachev had introduced in the Soviet Union and saw him as a possible ally, but Gorbachev diplomatically refused to become involved. Early in the morning of May 19, Zhao Ziyang, the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, urged the students to end their protests and a hunger strike they had started. However, the demonstrations continued, and on May 30 a statue that became known as the “Goddess of Democracy” was erected in the square. It was not long after that protests and strikes started taking place in factories and in other parts of China. On May 27 some 300,000 people gathered in Hong Kong to protest in support of the students in Beijing.

By this time the Communist Party leadership was split as to how to deal with the protestors. Premier Li Peng urged for a hardline stance, supported by President Yang Shangkun, with Zhao Ziyang still urging for a moderate approach. Although Yang Shangkun’s presidency was a largely ceremonial role, it did, however, mean that he was the commander in chief of the armed forces. Martial law had been declared on May 20, and soldiers rushed to Beijing late in the evening of June 3. Tanks entered the square, and the accompanying soldiers cleared the square of demonstrators by the early morning. On June 5, in a famous photograph by Jeff Widener, a lone protestor stood in front of tanks advancing on the square, and the tank stopped and tried to drive around him. The lone demonstrator, never identified, was later pulled into the crowd. Nobody knows how many were killed in Tiananmen Square on

those two days in June and in the subsequent crackdown around the country. Casualty estimates range from 200 civilians and several dozen soldiers—made by the mayor of Beijing, defending the actions of the soldiers—to estimates from foreign commentators that many thousands died.

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GEOFFREY GOLSON

Tibetan Revolt (1959)

Tibet’s political ties with China began in the seventh century. It was annexed into the Yuan dynasty by Kublai Khan and came under tight Mongol control in the 13th century. Under the subsequent Ming dynasty (1366–1644), China conferred titles on local Tibetan leaders but exercised only loose supervision over them. The Qing (Ch’ing) dynasty (1644–1911) exerted considerable control over Tibet during its prime, stationing imperial commissioners and garrisons in its major centers. The Qing rulers also honored Tibet’s spiritual leaders the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Tibet became a pawn in international politics in the late 19th century; with the Qing dynasty in decline both Great Britain and Russia became interested in controlling Tibet and interfered in its internal politics, which neither China nor local Tibetans could resist. Weak Chinese central governments in the republican period were too beset by other problems to deal effectively with Tibet, which enjoyed autonomy. No country, however, recognized Tibet as an independent nation.

An important goal of the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA was to assert control over Tibet. The Panchen Lama, the second leader of Tibet who was headquartered in Tashilhumpo, accepted Chinese sovereignty. The DALAI LAMA’s government in Lhasa vainly tried to obtain international assistance in resisting China in 1950. His representatives then signed a Seventeen-Point Agreement in Beijing (Peking) in 1951 that allowed the Tibetans to maintain their traditional religious (Tibetan Buddhism), political (theocracy), and economic (large estates owned by monasteries and aristocrats) systems, under Chinese control. The Dalai Lama visited Beijing in 1954, had conversations

with Chinese leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), and expressed optimism that he could “work out a synthesis of Buddhist and Marxist doctrines.”

The Chinese Communists, however, looked at the traditional Tibetan Buddhist society, the theocratic government, and the landed estate system with extreme distaste and began a program to dismantle both. By 1957 armed resistance had begun in eastern Tibet that culminated in an uprising in Lhasa against the Chinese government in 1959.

Realizing that the revolt was suicidal and fearing that he would be captured by the Chinese, the Dalai Lama and his advisers fled Lhasa in disguise in March 1959 and headed for the Indian border. After putting down the revolt, China implemented a program that brought Tibet more in line with the rest of the country.

Chinese-Indian relations, warm after the establishment of the People's Republic, had become antagonistic by 1959, partly over Tibet. Popular sentiment in India sympathized with the Tibetans. In April the Dalai Lama and his party crossed into India and were granted political asylum. The Indian government also gave political asylum to 13,000 Tibetan refugees and allowed the Dalai Lama to establish a government in exile in Dharmasala, a Himalayan town near the Chinese border.

These acts further soured Chinese-Indian relations and exacerbated a border dispute that negotiations between the premiers of the two countries failed to resolve, and that culminated in a border war in 1962.

See also NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Tito, Marshal (Josip Broz)

(1892–1980) *Yugoslav leader*

Josip Broz was born on May 7, 1892, and died on May 4, 1980. His life was caught up in some of the

most momentous events of the 20th century. He fought in World War I, took part in the Russian Revolution, became a leader of guerrilla resistance to the German occupation of Yugoslavia, and after World War II until his death he was the leader of the country. During this period, he defied Joseph Stalin over the communist consolidation of power in Yugoslavia. “Tito” was a pseudonym that he adopted during his underground activities, and it was with this name that he became well known during World War II.

Tito was born in the village of Kumroves, some 50 kilometers northwest of Zagreb in what was then Austria-Hungary. His native village is located in the valley of the river Sutla, which served as a boundary between Croatia and Slovenia. Tito's father was a Croatian peasant, and his mother was Slovenian from a village across the river. In 1907, at the age of 15, he left home and went to the town of Sisak (Croatia), where he became an apprentice to a locksmith. Tito completed his apprenticeship in 1910 and began a series of mechanic jobs, which took him to factories across central Europe.

In the autumn of 1913 Tito was called up for his military service, which he did with the 25th Croatian Territorial Infantry Regiment based in Zagreb. When Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia in July 1914, Tito, already a sergeant, was sent to fight on the Serbian front. In January 1915 his regiment was transferred to Galicia in anticipation of a Russian offensive. There Tito was put in charge of a reconnoitering section operating behind enemy lines. However, during a Russian attack in April 1915, he was seriously wounded and taken as a prisoner of war (POW). It was during this time that Tito began sympathizing with the ideas of Bolshevism. In June 1917 he escaped from the POW camp and made his way to Petrograd in search of work, but the suppression of Bolshevik demonstrations forced him to flee to Finland. While attempting to cross the border he was captured and sent back to the POW camp, but he escaped on the way and arrived in Bolshevik-controlled Omsk in Siberia in autumn 1917. He enrolled in the Red Guard and applied for membership in the Communist Party. When the Bolsheviks retook Omsk in 1919, he started making his way back to Croatia. Tito returned to Kumrovec in October 1920, where he found that his village had become part of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (changed to Yugoslavia in 1929).

Upon his return he joined the newly founded Communist Party in Zagreb and became active in the union movement. During the 1920s he worked as a mechanic

in factories across Yugoslavia. In 1927 he became secretary of the Metalworkers' Union of Croatia. His activities brought him to the attention of the police, and in August 1928 he was arrested. Upon his release from prison in 1934 Tito resumed full-time clandestine activities for the Yugoslav Communist Party.

In February 1935 he was sent to Moscow for training with the Balkan Department of the Comintern. He stayed there until September 1936, when he was sent back to consolidate the Yugoslav party and recruit volunteers to fight in the Spanish civil war. During 1937 the factionalism within the Yugoslav Communist Party increased, and in the atmosphere of uncertainty Tito asserted his authority by setting up an interim secretariat under his leadership. Moscow offered him provisional approval in the beginning of 1939, and Tito was officially confirmed as a secretary at a party congress in October 1940.

In April of 1941 the Axis powers invaded, occupied, and partitioned Yugoslavia, which triggered a civil war in the country. Tito formed the Partisan Army of National Liberation, which waged guerrilla war against the occupying forces. In the process Tito's partisans also turned against rival guerrilla organizations, in particular the internationally recognized "Chetniks" of Draža Mihailović.

Tito and his partisans emerged victorious from the war, and, despite his promises to form a government of national unity, he immediately began consolidating his authority and establishing communist rule over the territory of Yugoslavia. At the same time Tito was entertaining ideas of leading a Balkan federation involving Albania, Bulgaria, and potentially Greece. The prospect of a regional federation under Tito's leadership seemed likely during 1947 and brought Tito into a direct confrontation with Stalin.

In 1948 the Yugoslav Communist Party was excluded from the Cominform (the postwar name for the Comintern), and this turned Tito into the first communist leader to break with the Soviet Union. This gave him both new international prominence and domestic appeal, which helped him consolidate his position in Yugoslavia.

In domestic affairs Tito promoted the principles of brotherhood and workers' self-management (a form of market-oriented socialism), in parallel with his ongoing suppression of internal dissent. His death in 1980 was a shock for the country, and the seeming stability of Yugoslavia began to crack under the strains of national factionalism. Many commentators trace the origins of the 1990s Yugoslav dissolution to Tito's authoritarian rule.

See also YUGOSLAVIA, BREAKUP AND WAR IN.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI

Togo

Togo is a small, narrow republic in western Africa. Slightly fewer than 22,000 square miles, with a north-south distance of about 340 miles, Togo is situated between GHANA and Benin. The capital and largest city of Lomé is located on the western side of the 56-kilometer coastline on the Gulf of Guinea. In spite of its small size, Togo's population is diverse. There are 37 ethnic groups among its nearly 6 million people, who practice traditional religions, Christianity, and Islam. French is the official language although the African languages Ewe and Kabié are also taught. Togo has one of Africa's highest rates of population growth and highest rates of deforestation. Over two-thirds of the population are engaged in agriculture and lives in areas with limited safe drinking water. In addition to other serious health problems, either HIV or AIDS results in about 10,000 deaths per year.

The slave trade was carried on in Togo during and after the 1600s. Germany made the territory the protectorate of Togoland in 1884 and during the next decade determined the permanent boundaries through agreements with France and Britain. The port city of Lomé was built by the Germans for shipment of goods from the interior. In 1914 Germany surrendered Togoland to British and French troops. After World War I, France received Togoland in exchange for interior land granted to the British. After World War II, the UNITED NATIONS gave Britain and France joint control of the territory.

In 1956 British Togo became part of the Gold Coast, which later became Ghana, while French Togo moved for independence. Under the leadership of Sylvanus Olympio, the National Union Party gained control of French Togo and refused an overture to unite with Ghana. The United Nations granted membership to the new country in 1960. Three years later, Premier Olympio was assassinated in a military coup that installed Nicolas Grunitzky as president. A new constitution was drafted and approved by the nation.

When the army staged a second coup in 1967, the new government, headed by Étienne Eyadéma, dismissed the legislature and threw out the constitution.

Eyadéma and his party, Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT, or Togolese People's Assembly), created a new constitution. In the elections that followed, Eyadéma was almost unanimously reelected president. On the 13th anniversary of his takeover of the government, Eyadéma announced the Third Togolese Republic. Unrest continued to plague Togo, and in 1986 France sent troops to help quell another attempted coup. Eyadéma was reelected to another seven-year term the same year. Eyadéma agreed in 1991 to work with a transitional government until general elections could be held. A national referendum in 1992 approved a new constitution. Among the provisions of the constitution were the establishment of multiparty elections and term limits for officials. In the 1993 election Eyadéma was still able to emerge as the victor for another term.

The elections resulted in a new legislature, which demanded concessions. In 1994 he appointed Edem Kodjo prime minister of a new coalition government. Nevertheless Eyadéma was reelected in 1998 and in 2003, after the legislature removed the term limits from the constitution. When President Eyadéma died in February 2005, he was succeeded by his son Faure Gnassingbe. The succession, supported by the military but not by the constitution, was challenged by popular protest and a threat of sanctions from regional leaders. Gnassingbe easily won the elections he held in April 2005.

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JEAN SHEPHERD HAMM

Torrijos, Omar

(1929–1981) *Panamanian military chief*

General Omar Efraín Torrijos Herrera was the de facto ruler of Panama from his coup d'état of 1968 until his death in an airplane crash on July 31, 1981, after which he was succeeded by General MANUEL NORIEGA. Best known for successfully negotiating a series of treaties in 1977 with the United States for the return of the Panama Canal to Panama in 2000, Torrijos (torr-EE-yos) was a staunch U.S. ally who instituted a range of popular reforms while also suppressing dissent and committing many human rights abuses during his years as

the country's supreme military ruler. Never elected to office, Torrijos dominated Panama's political life for 13 years, his rule representing a significant departure from the country's previous regimes, dominated by the country's traditional landowning and commercial elite concentrated in Panama City. Denounced by many as a false populist whose dictatorship ruthlessly crushed dissent, paid lip service to anti-imperialism, and selectively dispensed government patronage to defuse and coopt opposition, Torrijos was born on February 13, 1929, in the town of Santiago, southwest of Panama City. In 1952 he joined the U.S.-created National Guard, was promoted to captain in 1956, and attended the U.S.-run SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS. As a lieutenant colonel, in 1968 he and Major Boris Martínez overthrew the democratically elected president Arnulfo Arias.

Torrijos cultivated the political support of the urban and rural poor, the working class, the middle class, and students through government largesse, legal reforms, and the populist, nationalist, anti-imperialist rhetoric espoused by his People's Party (Partido del Pueblo, or PdP). Leaving existing property relations largely intact, he excluded the country's traditional powerholders from office, dissolving the national legislature and outlawing other political parties. The high point of his rule came in the 1977 treaties with the United States, though his expenditure of political capital in securing the treaties' passage compelled him to approve amendments to the constitution in 1978 that paved the way for a return to civilian rule. The circumstances of his death remain the topic of considerable controversy, with some implicating his successor, Noriega, in the plane crash that killed him in 1981.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Touré, Ahmed Sékou

(1922–1984) *Guinean president*

Sékou Touré, a prominent West African politician and anticolonial agitator, became president of the Republic of Guinea in 1958 and ruled the country as a single-party state until his death in 1984. Touré was born on

January 9, 1922, in Faranah and was a member of the Malinke people. Touré came from humble family circumstances. He improved his nationalist credentials by claiming the well-known anti-French resistance figure Samory Touré as his grandfather.

Touré's rise to power did not come through local social prominence and family connections but as the result of his success as a labor union organizer. His views were bitterly anticolonial, and complete independence from France was his desired goal. To achieve such a result he needed a strong political organization to promote his ambitions, and the Guinean Democratic Party (RDA), founded in 1946, became this vehicle. Through this affiliation he also linked with other emerging African politicians, such as Félix Houphouët-Boigny, a later president of the Ivory Coast. In 1952 Touré assumed the party leadership, and in 1956 he was elected to the French National Assembly.

Touré was committed throughout the 1950s to the drive for a total break from France, and he argued against any half measures such as partial independence under an associated Francophone union. This brought him into serious conflict with General CHARLES DE GAULLE. Touré took the total independence option on October 2, 1958, when he became Guinea's president. France responded abruptly and harshly by ending all political and economic cooperation. Relations between France and the Republic of Guinea hardened, and eventually in 1965 all links were broken.

The strong stand taken by Guinea proved costly, although it fitted the anticolonial mood. It also forced Touré to look to other powers for aid and assistance. Given his early Marxist orientation and admiration for Vladimir Lenin, it was not surprising that he found a ready friend in the Soviet Union and its satellites. His country's extensive bauxite reserves gave him a tool to maintain his position and attract international interest.

He was also keenly supported by KWAME NKRUMAH of Ghana, who in 1957 led his country to independence from Great Britain. In 1978 Touré partially mended his political disagreements with France, and in that year President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made a conciliatory gesture and visited Guinea.

Touré had for a time friendly relations with the United States, especially during the JOHN F. KENNEDY administration. By the late 1960s he feared Soviet intervention, but he was equally worried that U.S. involvement might undermine his regime. This suspicion of outside interference was confirmed when Portuguese Guinea in 1970 unsuccessfully invaded Guinea. This act, some have

argued, caused Touré to abandon democratic principles and impose a harsh one-man, one-party political system. Although elections were held during this period, there was not a serious voice of opposition. Most other local political forces were either exiled or imprisoned. Touré abandoned some of his Marxist-Socialist roots in the late 1970s in an attempt to improve the country's economic fortunes.

To maintain his power and authority, Sékou Touré did not reject all communist practices. He particularly made use of the labor camp as a tool for the state's domination of its people. His camps became watchwords for African oppression, brutality, and human rights abuses. He created the typical personality cult found in so many communist-inspired regimes. He also loaded his regime's offices with members of his extended family and exploited tribal rivalries to his benefit. Relations with the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) floundered toward the end of his rule; Guinea's foreign debt increasingly mounted, and repayments fell into arrears.

This dismal performance did not dampen Touré's ambitions for a wider political stage. In the years immediately preceding his death, he saw himself as a statesman. Touré's health declined in the early 1980s, and he died of complications following heart surgery in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 26, 1984. Upon his death the military seized power under the leadership of Colonel Lansana Conte and a new constitution was written. Elections saw Conte assume the presidency in 1993.

Although there are claims that Touré was warmly regarded by his people, the imprisonment and murder of his opponents makes this assumption hard to assess. His lasting legacy seems to be one of failure, and Guinea and its people seem to be the principal victims. Political instability and impoverishment remain the country's fate, and international estimates list Guinea as a prime example of a failed state.

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Trudeau, Pierre

(1919–2000) *Canadian politician*

Pierre Trudeau served as prime minister of Canada from 1968 to 1979 and 1980 to 1984. Born to an affluent Montreal family on October 18, 1919, he was educated at Jean-de-Brébeuf, an elite Jesuit preparatory school, received a law degree from the University of Montreal, and studied at Harvard University, the École des Sciences Politiques in Paris, and the London School of Economics. During a brief teaching career, he acted as the assistant professor of law at the University of Montreal from 1961 to 1965.

His 1965 election to the Canadian House of Commons marked the beginning of his ascendancy in Canadian politics. Lester B. Pearson appointed him parliamentary secretary in 1966 and then minister of justice and attorney general. Trudeau won the passage of social welfare reform measures regarding gun control, abortion, and homosexuality.

As the leader of the Liberal Party, he became the prime minister in 1968, largely due to his opposition to the Quebec separatist group Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). In 1972 his Liberal Party was weakened, possessing a minority of seats in the House of Commons, and relied on the support of the New Democratic Party (NDP) to pass its agenda. Trudeau struggled against economic and domestic problems throughout the 1970s. In 1979 Trudeau lost his position as prime minister to the Progressive Conservative Party; he regained power in the election of 1980, beginning his fourth term on March 3 of that year. His administration witnessed the defeat of a referendum in May 1980 on the separation of Quebec.

Trudeau's legacy as prime minister includes his successfully patriating the Canadian Constitution from the British Parliament, an act that gave Canada the power to amend the document without the need to seek the approval of the British Crown. He had included a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which guaranteed certain civil liberties, in the constitution that year. Sensitive to the linguistic preferences of Francophone Canadians, he passed laws that made Canada an officially bilingual nation and used his office to support multiculturalism.

Canadian journalists named Trudeau the top Canadian newsmaker of the 20th century in 1999. In 1971, at age 51, he married 22-year-old Vancouver socialite Margaret Sinclair. Their union, which produced three children and was the subject of enormous press coverage, ended in divorce in 1984. Trudeau's works include *Federalism and the French Canadians*, *Approaches*

to Politics, and *Conversations with Canadians*. Pierre Trudeau, the 15th Canadian prime minister, died on September 28, 2000.

See also QUEBEC SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT.

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CHRISTOPHER M. COOK

Turabi, Hassan 'abd Allah al-

(1932–) *Sudanese Islamist and politician*

Hassan al-Turabi was born into a respected and educated family in the central Sudan in 1932. His father was a judge, and al-Turabi is related by marriage to Sadiq al-Mahdi, the great-grandson of the 19th-century Mahdi and a former Sudanese prime minister. He is also related by marriage to the Saudi Arabian Islamist Osama bin Laden.

As a youth, Turabi received an Islamic education, but he also earned a law degree from Khartoum University and a doctorate in law from the Sorbonne in Paris. In the 1950s he joined the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood and later the Islamic Charter Front (ICF), an offshoot of the brotherhood. The party's goal was the creation of an Islamic state as delineated in the Islamic Charter for an Islamic State. The constitution, as revised by Turabi in the 1960s, provided for the full equality of women and non-Muslims but also advocated the creation of a presidential rather than a parliamentary state. The ICF also encouraged missionary efforts to spread Islam throughout the south. Turabi opposed the military dictatorship of Ibrahim Abboud (r. 1958–64), who was overthrown in 1964. Turabi won a parliamentary seat in the 1965 elections. When Sadiq al-Mahdi became prime minister, Turabi's influence increased until Mahdi's political fortunes waned by 1968.

In 1969 JAAFAR NUMEIRI, with the support of Sudanese communist allies, successfully overthrew the parliamentary government in a military coup d'état, and Charter Front members were arrested. Turabi was jailed and then went into exile in Libya. Numeiri, struggling

to retain power, disavowed his former communist allies and moved closer to the Islamic forces in the Sudan.

Turabi was permitted to return in 1977 and was subsequently appointed attorney general. With Turabi's support in 1983 Numeiri instituted sharia law in Sudan, thereby exacerbating relations with the large Christian population in the southern Sudanese provinces. This directly contributed to an escalation in the ongoing civil war between the predominantly Muslim government in the north and the southern Christian and animist south. During this period the brotherhood's influence in key institutions, especially schools and the military, markedly increased. In 1985 Numeiri, who had become increasingly isolated from all his former allies, was overthrown in a bloodless coup led by General Abdel Rahman Mohammed Hassan Siwar al-Dahab.

In 1991 Turabi established the Popular Arab and Islamic People's Congress, an umbrella organization of Islamist groups, and worked to bring Sunni and Shi'i Muslims closer together. He was elected secretary-general of the Congress in 1992. In the same year Turabi toured Europe, Canada, and the United States, speaking on behalf of the creation of liberal, nonviolent Islamic states. During the 1990s he also offered protection to the radical Osama bin Laden after bin Laden left Saudi Arabia for Sudan. Turabi was elected to Parliament in 1996 and became speaker of Parliament under the military dictatorship of Colonel Umar Hasan al-Bashir, who had seized power in 1989. But in 2004 al-Bashir had Turabi imprisoned; he was freed in 2005. After that time, Turabi adopted a far lower public profile, and although he was thought to exercise considerable political influence in the government, his exact role or impact remained unclear.

Turabi has never published a comprehensive study of his ideology, but his career has demonstrated considerable political flexibility. Under his leadership Islamist forces in the Sudan have played key roles in the Sudanese civil service, professions, and military. He also supported the export of Islamic movements to neighboring African nations in the north and east, particularly in Egypt.

See also SUDANESE CIVIL WARS (1970–PRESENT).

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JANICE J. TERRY

Turkey

Present-day Turkey lies in southeastern Europe and southwestern Asia and shares borders with Greece, Bulgaria, ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, Georgia, IRAN, Iraq, and Syria. It is made up of 780,580 square kilometers. It contains the Bosphorus Strait, which connects the Black and Marmara seas, and is one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world. Turkey also has coastline on the Aegean and Mediterranean seas. Turkey has 81 provinces, and Ankara is the capital city. Turkey's population is almost 70 million, of which a majority are Turkish, with a significant minority of KURDS, as well as Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Circassians, Assyrians, Arabs, and Laz communities. Turkey is overwhelmingly Muslim.

Turkey is a republican parliamentary democracy with a civil law system derived from several European legal systems such as the Swiss Code. The legislative branch is the unicameral Grand National Assembly, which contains 550 popularly elected seats.

Turkey's economy is a mix of industrial, agricultural, and commercial. The private sector is expanding, but the state still controls most basic industries and the banking, transport, and communication sectors. The main export industries are textile and clothing production, with automotive and electronic export production close behind. The main agricultural products include tobacco, cotton, grain, olives, sugar beets, pulses, citrus products, and livestock. In the 1990s Turkey's economy suffered severe fluctuations, which culminated in financial disaster in February 2001. The INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) provides heavy backing, but the economy faces high debt and deficits.

Ismet İnönü took over as president upon the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, and the Republican People's Party (RPP) held the majority until 1950. İnönü managed to stay out of World War II until 1945, when Turkey declared war on Germany as a symbolic gesture in order to qualify as a founder of the newly forming UNITED NATIONS. Under the Truman Doctrine, Turkey, due to its close proximity to the Soviet Union, qualified for massive financial aid. Despite these achievements, the economy was weak, and the RPP and İnönü grew increasingly unpopular. Turkey had by then formed a multiparty system, and in 1950 the Democratic Party (Demokrati Partisi, or DP) received the majority in the elections, forcing the RPP to relinquish its 27-year majority.

Celal Bayar became president, and Adnan Menderes became prime minister. The economic boom of the early 1950s strengthened Menderes and the DP's position. By

1952 Turkey had become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), largely due to the fact that Turkey had immediately volunteered troops for the KOREAN WAR. Turkey's entry into NATO ensured protection along its borders and allowed NATO a closer position against the USSR.

After the 1954 elections the DP became more authoritarian. Conflict was exacerbated when a Greek citizen placed a bomb at the Turkish consulate in Thessalonica. The island of CYPRUS, under British control and with an 80 percent Greek majority, also became a point of conflict. These two issues culminated in riots in 1955 that targeted Greek homes, shops, and businesses and wrought havoc throughout Istanbul. Many Turkish citizens of Greek origin fled Turkey after these riots. During this period, Greek nationalists of the EOKA movement on Cyprus also began a struggle against the British forces. Turkey strongly opposed British suggestions that the Greeks might be allowed to annex Cyprus. Ultimately Cyprus became an independent nation.

The DP lacked the support of the military, which had been vital to the RPP. This led to the DP's downfall in 1960. Because of training, aid, and financial support gained as a result of joining NATO, the Turkish military was a strong and powerful mechanism within Turkey. Menderes grew increasingly unpopular with the military. In 1960, the military overthrew the Menderes government. The coup was popular among students, who had been repressed by the DP. A new constitution was drawn up that justified military intervention if the ruling government acted unconstitutionally. The military was also given a role in government. In January 1961 political activity was allowed once again, and 11 parties registered for the elections to be held at the end of 1961. One of the parties, the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi, or JP) appeared to be a phoenix of the old, outlawed DP. Menderes and two of his cabinet members were tried by a military tribunal and executed in September 1961. Elections were held in October 1961.

The Justice and Republican People's Parties formed a shaky coalition. In 1965 the JP, led by Süleyman Demirel, won a major victory in elections. Under Demirel, Turkey saw significant economic growth. The JP espoused Islamist and traditional beliefs that ran directly counter to communist and leftist thought. The left grew increasingly popular among the student population and industrial proletariat. The right also emerged as a strong force in the 1960s, setting the stage for the crisis of the 1970s. The formation of two strong, Islamic-leaning parties,

the National Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) and the National Order Party (Millî Nizam Partisi), seriously threatened the JP's hold on the government in 1969.

Demirel's JP government started to fall apart in 1971. On March 12, 1971, the army forced the Demirel government from office.

Free elections were held in 1973, with a victory by Bülent Ecevit's RPP. However, because they failed to capture the majority vote, they were forced into coalition governments. This continued throughout the 1970s as rightist and leftist violence escalated. Kurdish separatism also flared up in the 1970s. Kurdish nationalist Abdullah Öcalan formed the left-leaning Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) in 1978. The sectarian violence escalated, and the military stepped in. After the IRANIAN REVOLUTION in 1979, Islamic groups in Turkey were suspected of receiving aid from Iran. The religious demonstrations in Konya in September 1980 provided an excuse for direct military intervention.

THE PURGE

The military suspended all political parties and groups and instituted martial law and curfews. General Kenan Evren was declared acting head of state. The National Security Council (NSC) arrested 122,000 people during 1980–81 in order to stop the violence. Academics and politicians were purged from the system. A new constitution was enacted in 1982. Kenan Evren was then elected president, and the military began to restructure the political system.

Elections were held in 1983, with the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi) gaining the majority under Turgut Özal. The old parties then reincarnated and changed their names in order to enter the 1984 elections. After Kenan Evren's term ended in 1989, Turgut Özal became president. Turgut Özal's presidency, although fraught with corruption and scandal, was also marked by impressive modernization.

The 1990s were also marked by the rise of the PKK. After the 1980 coup the Kurdish language was forbidden, as was the term Kurdish as a separate identity. Abdullah Öcalan had fled to Damascus after the 1980 coup. Turkey until 1991 refused to acknowledge the presence of Kurds in the country and referred to them as "mountain Turks." The government forbade their language, songs, customs, and names.

Öcalan's followers carried out their missions with an almost religious zeal. Talabani of the Kurdish PUK faction based in Iran helped Öcalan get financial support from Kurds living throughout the Middle East, which



The Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul, Turkey. Though a secular state, Turkey is a Muslim nation (mostly Sunni, but significant Shi'i, Alevi, and Sufi communities are present), where only 0.2 percent of the population are Christian or Jewish.

brought the PKK beyond the sphere of Turkey. The PKK also received support from Kurds living in Europe. The PKK used guerrilla warfare to launch attacks within Turkey. The Turkish army responded brutally to the terrorist attacks. Villages thought to be harboring PKK terrorists were destroyed, and thousands were arrested, detained, and tortured. Many innocent people were killed and their homes destroyed.

After the U.S. defeat of Iraq in 1991, Turkey feared the creation of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq that would be used as a base for Kurdish attacks on Turkey. Subsequently, President Özal officially recognized the existence of Kurds in Turkey and implemented a bill that would allow the Kurdish language to be used in everyday conversations but not in business, government, or any other official agency. Despite this, the PKK stepped

up their campaigns against the Turkish government, committing more atrocities, which further enraged the Turkish public. Öcalan was captured in Nairobi, Kenya, by Turkish commandos in 1999. He was sentenced to death and imprisoned on an island in the Marmara Sea, where he remained for years.

In 1993 the True Path Party came into power, and Tansu Çiller became the first female prime minister of Turkey. Necmettin Erbakan was the leader of Refah, which was supported by the young, professional middle class and students. Erbakan did not engage in a radical Islamic changeover. He personally championed reforms to change the working hours during Ramadan and loosen control of the Directorate of Religious Affairs to make it harder for the government to monitor Islam. Erbakan also proposed lifting the

ban against wearing headscarves in universities and government institutions. The Erbakan/Çiller coalition also made significant overtures to LIBYA and Iran, and at the same time condemned Israel. With the advent of new freedoms under Erbakan, many other Islamic leaders eagerly expressed their long-silent opinions. Refah wanted to abolish the Swiss legal code instituted by Atatürk, and secularists feared a return to sharia, or Islamic law. Erbakan and Çiller both left government, and in 1998 the Constitutional Court formally disbanded Refah and forced its members out of Parliament. Bülent Ecevit emerged as the new president, in large part because of his handling of Öcalan and the Kurdish conflict. In 1999 a huge earthquake struck İzmit, near Istanbul, killing between 15,000 and 40,000 people. The government was extremely slow to respond, and the public was enraged by the lack of support from both the government and the military. Memories of the earthquake played a role the emer-

gence of the Justice and Development Party (JDP, or Ak Partisi). In the 2002 elections the JDP, led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, won a majority in the Grand National Assembly. Although the JDP espoused a moderate Islamic line, it was careful to respect the secular state. Erdoğan also instituted reforms to help pull Turkey out of its financial troubles. Erdoğan and the JDP also scored a major victory with the October 2005 decision by the EUROPEAN UNION (EU) to start Turkey's EU membership bid.

See also GULF WAR, FIRST (1991).

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KATIE BELLIEL



Uganda (1950–present)

The area known today as Uganda was part of the charter of the British East Africa Company in 1888, and was ruled as a protectorate in 1894. As more territory was added to the British claims, the boundaries of what now form Uganda took shape in 1914. It was ruled as a British protectorate until given autonomy in 1962.

Apollo Milton Obote was prime minister of Uganda from 1962 to 1966 and state president from 1966 to 1971 and again from 1980 to 1985. Although he began his adult life as a schoolteacher, he is best known for leading Uganda to independence on October 9, 1962, in a relatively peaceful revolution. Prior to independence, Obote served on the Ugandan legislative council beginning in 1957, and in 1960 he founded the Ugandan People's Congress. Obote created a political coalition with his rival, Sir Edward Mutesa, king of Buganda, in preparation for the peaceful handover of colonial power to indigenous black African rule. Obote used the position of his rival political leader to gain political favor in the region of Buganda. In a practical political move, Mutesa was installed as president with Obote as prime minister.

As prime minister, Obote held formal state power in his hands. His nominally socialist rule after independence made him unpopular with Western states, particularly Britain. While the country was peaceful and economically stable, the period immediately following independence in Uganda was a difficult time for both Mutesa's presidency and Obote's prime ministership. At

the time of independence, Uganda was the only peaceful nation in the region and it became a safe haven for refugees from Zaïre, Sudan, and Rwanda. This placed a huge drain on Uganda's scarce resources and economy.

This period also made it clear that Obote was not going to share power with coalition president Mutesa. This made confrontation inevitable. The trigger for confrontation was Obote's indictment in a gold-smuggling plot with Idi Amin, then deputy of the Ugandan Armed Forces. Instead of complying with President Mutesa's investigations, Obote suspended the Ugandan constitution under the power of his prime ministership, abolishing the role of the leaders of Uganda's five tribal kingdoms, removing power from Mutesa, and giving himself unlimited emergency powers. The corrupt Ugandan judiciary cleared Obote of all charges of gold smuggling. The incident, however, incited Obote and his supporters to stage a coup against Mutesa in 1966. He then had himself installed as president on March 2. Obote's first act as president was to have his attorney general, Godfrey Binaisa, rewrite the Ugandan constitution, transfer all powers to Obote's presidency, and nationalize all foreign assets.

Obote's first presidency did not last long. In 1971 Obote was disposed of by his army chief, Idi Amin, who had assisted him in overthrowing Mutesa fewer than 10 years prior. Obote fled to Tanzania with many of his supporters. After nine years in exile, Obote gathered Ugandan exiles in Tanzania and ousted Amin in 1979. In an attempt finally to gain Western support for his second presidency, Obote ordered that Uganda be ruled

by a presidential commission before democratic elections were to be held in 1980. Although Obote won the 1980 elections, his second rule was marked by civil war, further distancing him from Western approval.

Believing the 1980 elections to be rigged, the opposition parties staged a guerrilla rebellion under Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army. Obote was deposed in July 1985, again by his own army commander, Bazilio Okello, and General Tito Okello in a military coup. This time Obote fled to Zambia. Obote remained in southern Africa until his death on October 10, 2005, of kidney failure at a hospital in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Idi Amin is perhaps best known for ousting his predecessor, Apollo Milton Obote, and for instituting a totalitarian regime that would devastate Uganda both politically and economically. Amin's rise to power began in January 1971, when President Obote headed off to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings in Singapore. Suspecting trouble, Obote left his staff with the order to have Amin and his supporters arrested upon his departure. On the morning of January 25, 1971, forces loyal to Amin stormed strategic military targets in Kampala and the airport in Entebbe. The first shells fired at Entebbe Airport killed two Roman Catholic priests, setting off a wave of violence throughout the country. Despite the initial disorganization on the part of Amin and his troops, they managed to carry out mass executions of pro-Obote troops and supporters. Obote chose exile in Tanzania.

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

After assuming power, Amin repudiated Obote's soft socialist foreign policy, resulting in Uganda's recognition by Israel, Britain, and the United States. However, many African nations and organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, refused to recognize Amin and his military government. Nevertheless, Amin embraced the label "totalitarian" and renamed the government house the Command House, later instituting an advisory defense council composed of military commanders. In an attempt to place Uganda under his military dictatorship, he extended military rule to his cabinet members, who, if not drawn from the military, were advised that they would be subjected to military discipline. Army commanders, with Amin's blessing, acted like warlords, representing the coercive arm of the government.

Foreign policy was revised again in 1972 so that the country could obtain financial assistance and technical support from LIBYA. In doing so, Amin expelled

all remaining Israeli advisers and became anti-Israeli in accordance with Libyan policy. Amin went in search of foreign help in the form of monetary aid from Saudi Arabia. In doing so, Amin rediscovered Uganda's previously neglected Islamic heritage. In attempts to recoup profits from lost Western foreign aid, Amin went on to expel the Asian minority in Uganda and seize their property. However, this appropriation proved disastrous for the already failing Ugandan economy, which was fueled by export crops. Yet the money from the sale of export crops was being recycled back into the purchase of imports for the army. As a result, rural farmers turned to smuggling from neighboring countries. This became an obsession for Amin toward the end of his rule. He went on to appoint his mercenary adviser, British citizen Bob Astles, to take all necessary steps to end the problem.

The end of Amin's rule also faced another problem—a counterattack from former Ugandan leader Obote. Amin feared this with good reason. Shortly after Amin expelled the Asian minority in 1972, Obote did attempt an attack into southern parts of Uganda. Although the attack was launched by a small contingent of only 27 army trucks, his ambition was to capture the strategic military post of Masaka near the border. Obote's troops decided to settle in and wait for a general uprising against Amin, which did not occur. Obote also attempted a seizure of Entebbe Airport by allegedly hijacking an East African Airways flight out of Tanzania. The attempt failed to accomplish much when the pilot blew out the tires on the passenger plane, and the flight remained in Tanzania.

Amin is internationally known for the hostage crisis at Entebbe Airport in June 1976, when Amin offered Palestinian hijackers of an Air France jet from Tel Aviv a protected base from which they could press their demands in exchange for the release of Israeli hostages. The dramatic rescue of the hostages by Israeli commandos was a severe blow to Amin. Amin's rule is also marked by a number of disappearances of priests and ministers in the 1970s. The matter reached a climax with the formal protest against army terrorism and death squad activity in 1977 by Church of Uganda ministers, led by Archbishop Janani Luwum. In response to Luwum's outspoken agenda against Amin's violent domestic policies, it appears that Amin had Luwum assassinated. Although Luwum's body was recovered from a clumsily contrived "auto accident," subsequent investigations revealed that Luwum had been shot by Amin himself.

This last in a long line of atrocities was greeted with international condemnation, but apart from the

continued trade boycott initiated by the United States in July 1978, verbal condemnation was not accompanied by action. Amin went on to claim that Tanzanian president JULIUS NYERERE—his perennial enemy, partially due to Nyerere's acceptance of Obote after the coup—had been at the root of his troubles. Amin accused Nyerere of waging war against Uganda. Amin invaded Tanzanian territory and formally annexed a section across the Kagera River boundary on November 1, 1978. Declaring a formal state of war against Uganda, Nyerere mobilized his citizen army reserves and counterattacked, joined by Ugandan exiles united as the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). The Ugandan Army retreated steadily. Libya's MUAMMAR QADDAFI sent 3,000 troops to aid fellow Muslim Amin, but the Libyans soon found themselves on the front line. Tanzanian troops and the UNLA took Kampala in April 1979, aided by Obote, and Amin fled by air, first to Libya and later into permanent exile in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, where he died on August 16, 2003, after being in a coma for over a month. The current president of Uganda is Yoweri Museveni, who was elected in February 2006.

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RIAN WALL

Ukraine

Since 1991, Ukraine has been an independent state, the sovereignty of which is now recognized by all the countries of the world. Ukraine is one of the biggest European states (603,700 square kilometers). Ukraine has common borders with seven countries (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Russia, and Byelorussia), and the Black and Azov Seas are on its southern border.

Ukraine consists of 24 regions (*oblast*) and the Crimea Autonomous Republic. The capital of Ukraine is Kiev. A Pan-Ukrainian population census in 2001 found the total number of inhabitants at 48,416,000. The majority are city inhabitants, and 32 percent live in the countryside. Over 100 ethnicities and nationalities are represented in contemporary Ukraine. Among them

are Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Crimean Tatars, and Bulgarians. Most of the population of Ukraine belongs to the Orthodox Christian Church.

Striving for national and state independence was a key issue in Ukraine in the 20th century. This aspiration, partly realized during the hard days of 1917–20, remained potent political motivation for Ukrainians living all over the world. The democracy brought by MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's perestroika inspired ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union to activate national liberation movements. Revision of the Ukrainian nation historical past, promoted by representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group of human rights activists; a rise in national identity supported and developed by artists, poets, writers, and scientists; and the people's movement known as "meeting democracy" had created the necessary background for historical action. On July 16, 1990, the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine, first among the republics of the former Soviet Union, adopted a declaration of state sovereignty of Ukraine. The next step was a coup that took place in the Soviet Union on August 19–21, 1994, and that resulted in the pronouncement of the Act of State Independence of Ukraine by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Soon afterward the first elections were held for president of independent Ukraine (Leonid Kravchuk won and was president from 1991 to 1994), combined with an all-Ukrainian referendum for endorsement of the independence of Ukraine.

Since that time a series of measures aimed at the organization of bodies and institutions necessary for an independent Ukraine have been undertaken. Some acts were compromises with the Russian Federation; because of the deep economic integration of both countries, it was hard to become separated at once. Issues included the state border between Ukraine and Russia in the Azov Sea; the presence of the Russian navy in Sevastopol in Crimea and the status of that city; and the problem of the frontier with Romania around Zmeinyi Island. Some others still remain only partially solved. On December 7–8, 1991, the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia signed a document denouncing the union treaty of 1922, according to which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been organized. A treaty establishing a Commonwealth of Independent States was signed instead. Since that time, Ukraine has been free to conduct its internal policy.

During 1991–94 a series of democratic reforms were instituted in Ukraine, among which the most important were beginning a constitutional process, the improvement of the multiparty system, the formulation of basic

principles of foreign policy and international cooperation, the formulation of a military doctrine, introduction of economic reforms, the elaboration of an ethnic policy, and the creation of relationships with the different churches represented in Ukraine.

The presidential and parliamentary elections of 1994 opened a new phase in the political development of Ukraine. The keystone of the political history of Ukraine at that time was the adoption of a new constitution (June 28, 1996), a long and hard process that repeatedly caused political and parliamentary crisis. It was the beginning of parliamentary and presidential opposition, which led to growing tension during Kuchma's presidency in relation to the composition of parliament factions and their representation.

The presidential elections of 2004 and the following Orange Revolution opened a new era in the political history of Ukraine, characterized by general democratization and liberalization of the political process. Ukrainians dissatisfied with officially announced results of the runoff election between presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich and leader of the opposition Viktor Yushchenko demonstrated in the principal square of Kiev—the Maidan (Square) of Independence—and for several weeks people from various cities, towns, and villages in Ukraine marched for democracy, for their political rights, and for the possibility to make their political choices freely.

ORANGE REVOLUTION

Representatives of different political parties and movements united their efforts in this process, and the Orange Revolution ended in a victory for democracy in Ukraine. A coalition government, with the participation of all “orange” parties and movements, was formed, with Julia Timoshenko as the first woman prime minister in the history of Ukraine.

In local administrations, thousands of former functionaries of different levels have been replaced by “orange” democrats. New priorities in foreign policy, a tendency toward integration with the EUROPEAN UNION (EU) and cooperation with the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) and reorientation of trade relationships have been elaborated.

Nevertheless, as early as the beginning of September 2005, Julia Timoshenko's government was dismissed, and it became clear that there were serious discrepancies among Orange Revolution leaders and representatives of different orange parties.

Political reform that implies the transition of Ukraine from presidential to parliamentary republic was adopted

by the parliament and became a point of serious discussion among “orange” revolutionaries, social democrats, representatives of the Party of Regions, and communists. The ideals of democracy and freedom still remain the essence of the Viktor Yushchenko presidency, as was shown by the first free parliamentary election in March 2006.

Shortly after its independence, Ukraine faced problems during the transitional period of economic development from planned socialism to free-market forms. The destruction of traditional Soviet resources, marketing, and energetic and macroeconomic networks, along with the extreme difficulty of creating new ones in the European community, and the urgent need for modernization of basic equipment and production techniques, negatively influenced the general state and the prospects of further development of the economy of Ukraine. A so-called shadow economy sprang up and grew rapidly with substantial support from the highest administration of Ukraine, which appeared to be corrupt.

Inflation, accompanied by a decrease in purchasing power, indicated that the standard of living of Ukrainians decreased to a crucial level, creating a need for the state administration to finance a series of social programs. Pension reform, changes in support for families with low income, support for veterans of World War II, and many other social actions were undertaken. Broad-scale raising of salaries, stipends, and pensions began in 2004 under the government headed by Viktor Yanukovich on the eve of presidential elections. The new president of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, and his ministries consequently instituted a series of social programs aimed at improving the standard of living.

A series of economic reforms, including the introduction of new currency, privatization in agriculture and industry, promotion of national producers and national product exportation, searches for new investments and new sources of power supply abroad, and cooperation with the WORLD BANK, gradually contributed to a general slow growth of the Ukrainian economy after 2000. The creation of a new macroeconomic network, tending toward integration with the European Union (EU) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), is the principal strategic goal proclaimed by President Yushchenko.

The organization of an independent state of Ukraine led to a new trend in the development of the ideology and culture of the country, connected with the formation of the ideas of national unity and ethnic and national self-identification. The process of national memory revival, studies of the cultural and historical past of the Ukrainian nation, rediscovering cultural heritage, the revival of the folk culture of national minorities,

and the establishment of fruitful connections with the Ukrainian diaspora are key aspects of the cultural development of Ukraine in the new millennium.

One of the sharpest debates in the context of cultural development is the discussion of an official language of Ukraine. It was demonstrated in the presidential election of 2004 and the parliamentary election of 2006 that a strong Russian-speaking opposition still exists in Ukraine.

The activation of religious life in independent Ukraine after the dismantling of a totalitarian ideology brought a series of conflicts, first of all among representatives of different branches of Orthodox Christianity. As stated by the constitution of Ukraine, the nonobligatory character of any religion creates the background necessary for religious pluralism and freedom of people's consciousness.

See also SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The United Arab Emirates (UAE), an oil-rich Arab country, is located on the southeast side of the Arabian Peninsula. This country, bordering Oman and Saudi Arabia, comprises seven emirates: Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai, Al Fujayrah, Ras al-Khaymah, Shariqah, and Um Al Qaywayn. Formerly known as the Trucial States, a term dating from the 19th-century agreement between British and Arab leaders, the UAE was created when six of the emirates merged in 1971; Ras al-Khaymah joined in 1972.

Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan served as president from the country's founding until his death in 2004. His son, Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, succeeded as president. The Supreme Council comprises the individual rulers of the seven emirates, and the president and vice president are elected by the council

every five years. The position of the presidency is an unofficial hereditary post for the Al Nahyan family. The council also elects the Council of Ministers and an appointed Federal National Council reviews legislation. The federal court system includes all the emirates except Dubai and Ras Al-Khaymah. All of the emirates have a mix of secular law and sharia (Islamic law) with civil, criminal, and high courts.

The UAE is a member of the UNITED NATIONS and the Arab League, and has diplomatic relationships with more than 60 countries. It plays a moderate role in the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The UAE plays a vital role in the affairs of the region because of its massive foreign development and moderate foreign policy positions. Unlike its neighbors, the UAE, under the leadership of Sheikh Zayed, promotes religious tolerance. Sheikh Zayed also encouraged foreign development and investment.

The UAE is one of the largest producers of oil, after SAUDI ARABIA and Iran, in the Middle East. Since its formation, the UAE has transformed from an impoverished desert country to a modern, wealthy country. Zayed invested the country's oil revenues in hospitals, schools, and universities and gave all citizens free and universal access to these public services. He distributed free land and held *majlis* (traditional Arab consultation councils) that were open to the public. Zayed was a contemporary liberal who advocated for women's rights and for the education and participation of women in the work force. Education was one of the most significant achievements in the rapid transformation of the UAE. The country boasts numerous universities and colleges and hundreds of schools.

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JULIE EADEH

United Arab Republic (UAR)

The United Arab Republic, a union of Egypt and Syria, lasted from 1958 to 1961. As Syrian political parties on

the left and right vied for power, Syria became enmeshed in a cycle of political instability and short-lived coalition governments. The BA'ATH PARTY, under pressure from the Syrian Communist Party, was instrumental in approaching GAMAL ABDEL NASSER in Egypt to propose a union between the two Arab nations early in 1968. Recognizing the difficulties posed by the lack of a contiguous border, with Israel between them, and the political and economic differences between the two countries, Nasser was reluctant to join such a union. The Ba'athists, who mistakenly thought they would control the direction of the union from behind the scenes, convinced Nasser to become the leader of the union. A February 1958 plebiscite on the union received nearly unanimous support from the citizens of both Egypt and Syria, and the union was implemented in late February. The Yemeni imam, or ruler, also joined the union, but Yemen was never fully integrated into the UAR.

Nasser served as president, and the Syrian leader Shukri al-Quwatli became vice president, but the real power rested with Egypt, which was by far the larger, more populous, and more powerful of the two nations. Shortly after the establishment of the UAR, Nasser made a tumultuous tour of Syria, where he received overwhelming popular support. It was the apogee of pan-Arabism, but the honeymoon was short-lived. Under the terms of the union all Syrian political parties were dissolved, although the Ba'ath Party had anticipated that it would play a key role. In addition, Egyptian political and economic policies, including land reform, were instituted. Although health services and conditions for the working and urban middle classes improved the Syrian upper class, many Ba'athists and the military grew increasingly disenchanted with Nasser. Initially Nasser's close associate General Abd al-Hakim Amer was appointed to oversee the government in Syria, but by 1960 the former Syrian interior minister, Abd al-Hamid Sarraj, became the strongman within the administration. Syrians chafed under his heavy-handed rule.

The UAR also faced considerable opposition from conservative Arab regimes and Western nations, especially the United States. To counter Nasser's growing strength, the Hashemite monarchs in Jordan and Iraq announced a union between their two nations, but it was never really implemented. Saudi Arabia was also opposed to the union and feared the political shift toward the left. The United States viewed the union through the prism of the COLD WAR and was determined to prevent possible Soviet expansion into the region. The civil war in Lebanon and the revolution in Iraq, both in 1958, accentuated the rivalries between the progressive, leftist

Arab regimes dominated by Nasser and the conservative monarchies in what has been called the Arab cold war. The West blamed Nasser for both the LEBANESE CIVIL WAR and the Iraqi revolution. Although Nasser supported both, he was not primarily responsible for either.

The nationalization of banks and many large businesses in the summer of 1961 created a form of state socialism that was unpopular in Syria. In reaction, army officers led a coup in September 1961 to withdraw from the union, and Nasser reluctantly agreed to the breakup. Nasser blamed Syrian feudal elites and conservative Arab regimes, particularly Saudi Arabia, for the collapse of the union. For the remainder of the 1960s he turned increasingly to the left and to support from the Soviet Union. In Syria the breakup of the UAR allowed the Ba'ath Party gradually to become the dominant political force. Following the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, HAFEZ AL-ASSAD, a committed Ba'athist, seized power and established a regime that remained in power into the 21st century. Although both Nasser and the Ba'ath Party continued to advocate Arab union, no effective political or economic unions among Arab nations were formed after the collapse of the UAR.

See also IRANIAN REVOLUTION; IRAQ REVOLUTION (1958).

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JANICE J. TERRY

United Nations

The United Nations, already six decades old, has traversed a long, strife-formed COLD WAR. Not a super-state above the states, it collectively approaches issues of war, peace, development, and justice, and has sufficient transforming potentials to create a new, better world order. Since the end of the cold war, it has acquired new dynamism, but at the same time it has to be restructured to cope with an emerging complex world of nation-states, various movements, and unforeseen challenges like TERRORISM.

The United Nations, founded in the aftermath of World War II, was established at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 on the principle of collective security. It was the successor to the League of Nations, which had



Indonesian peacekeepers board an aircraft in Jakarta, Indonesia, en route to Lebanon to support the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). The peacekeeping force monitored the cease-fire between Hizbollah and Israel.

been established after World War I but failed to organize world order on the principles of universality. The United Nations, therefore, took care to avoid the mistakes of its predecessor, and five major powers were given special power and responsibility through the mechanism of “veto” power in the most important organ of the United Nations—the Security Council.

The goals of the United Nations were enshrined in the Charter: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international cooperation, and to work as a harmonizer among nations. Security was the principal goal of the United Nations. Unlike in the league, however, security was not narrowly conceived in the United Nations but was broadened to include socioeconomic justice, human rights, and development. Like the league, the United Nations was based on the principles of collective security. The new principle on

which the league and the United Nations were based does not consider security as the individual affair of states or regions but as a collective affair of all states, and aggression against one state is considered aggression against all others. All states are obliged to take collective action against the aggressor.

FROM THE LEAGUE

The UN Charter provided for six major organs, four of which evolved out of the League of Nations. The General Assembly was based on the democratic principle of “one country, one vote,” irrespective of size and power, and was essentially a deliberative organ. The countries of the THIRD WORLD used the body for organizing themselves and took up issues of colonialism and racialism. The Charter provided for some supervisory functions of the General Assembly. The council and assembly had joint functions as well. The Security Council, the most

important organ of the United Nations, reflected the reality of power. The United States, the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, and China were the five permanent members with veto power and had special responsibility to maintain world peace and security. However, veto became a mechanism of obstruction, and the Soviet Union frequently used it; while the United States did not use it in earlier years, the frequency of veto increased after 1970. The Security Council was based on the assumption that the major powers would agree on issues of war and peace, but the onset of the cold war around 1945 made the United Nations a helpless spectator.

The Charter provided for a mechanism of maintaining peace, whereby the council may call upon members states to apply sanctions against the aggressor and may form a Military Staff Committee consisting of the chief of staff of permanent members of the Security Council. The enforcement of peace was possible in the KOREAN WAR, and a united command was formed under the United States. It placed an embargo on the export of strategic materials to China and North Korea. Subsequently the provision could not be replicated for a long time.

It was only after the closing stages of the cold war that the Security Council became effective again; consultations and coordination among the major powers in the council have been frequent, as in the Persian Gulf crisis and more recently over Iran's nuclear ambitions.

For about five decades of the cold war, the United Nations never appeared to play the role envisaged at San Francisco in the realm of peace and security; it was bypassed in major flash points across the globe, such as the Panama Canal crisis, Hungary, the BERLIN BLOCKADE, the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, ARAB-ISRAELI conflicts, the India-China border war, VIETNAM and INDOCHINA, and the Sino-Soviet border war. The United Nations was a passive bystander as major powers professed to settle scores outside the United Nations. When the United Nations was hamstrung due to the use of veto, the General Assembly sought a way out through the Uniting for Peace Resolution to consider measures in a situation of breach of peace.

After the end of the cold war, the United Nations became more active again, although in the process it acquired new functions, in line with but not envisaged in the Charter. During the turn of the 21st century this function, known as peacekeeping—traditionally denoting acting as a buffer between contending parties or monitoring ceasefire agreements—expanded to other areas. Now peacekeeping also means the provision of humanitarian relief, removal of mines, repatriation of refugees, and reconstruction of national infrastructure in devastated

areas, such as AFGHANISTAN. The costs of all of these functions have been enormous, especially in recent peacekeeping operations: South Africa, Rwanda, Iraq-Kuwait, Mozambique, SOMALIA, Haiti, and Liberia. Sometimes the United Nations has drawn flak; the UN troops have also been targeted, as in Somalia and Bosnia.

COOPERATION

Unlike during the cold war years, however, the United Nations finds cooperation among major powers to repulse aggression. In the FIRST GULF WAR, Moscow supported U.S. efforts to impose sanctions against Iraq, which had annexed Kuwait. The machinery of the United Nations was used. Other major powers contributed troops, particularly France and Britain. Japan and Germany too accepted new security roles.

Besides war and peace, the United Nations has been instrumental in various humanitarian efforts. A large amount of credit must go to the United Nations for ending apartheid in South Africa, improving life expectancy in Africa, helping children suffering from malnutrition, and fighting diseases. It has not been as successful in the removal of global poverty, but it has launched efforts in that direction.

Now the United Nations finds itself playing a new role against international terrorism. It has not been as successful, and the United States acted unilaterally in 1998 when AL-QAEDA attacked U.S. embassies in East Africa. Subsequently, following September 11, 2001, the United States took drastic steps, and the United Nations was more involved than before; terrorism became a key issue of international and United Nations concern.

The United Nations has been moving into new, uncharted areas. In a world where millions of children die days after they are born, the issue of human rights has become a major arena of international attention. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, has been enshrined in constitutions of states. Now the United Nations has also been a force in expanding the frontiers of democracy worldwide, believing that democracy fosters world peace.

While the United Nations is engaged in redefining issues of war, peace, development, and freedom, reforming the world body has become a burning issue since the end of the cold war, and more particularly since 1998, when 185 states met to celebrate 50 years of the United Nations. There is also demand to restructure the Security Council and to add new permanent members—with or without veto power. Brazil, Germany, INDIA, Japan, and some African countries are key candidates demanding permanent places on the Security Council.

The major powers with vetos—the United States, Russia, China, Britain, and France—themselves differ about who should be permanent members in a reformed council. Reforms are, however, necessary to make the United Nations more in tune with the changes of the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

See also AIDS CRISIS.

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R.G. PRADHAN

U Nu

(1907–1995) *Burmese leader*

U Nu was the prime minister of Burma (now the Union of Myanmar) from 1948 to 1958 and from 1960 to 1962 and was an important leader earlier in the struggle for independence from Britain.

U Nu was born in a period during which the British colonization of Burma was coming under increasing pressure from nationalist Burmese and opposition in Britain. U Nu graduated from the University of Rangoon and worked for several years as a schoolteacher. In 1934 he returned to the university to study law and became involved with nationalist politics. He became leader of the student union and was subsequently expelled from the university, along with Aung San. The subsequent student strike was one of the earliest confrontations between the Burmese and the British, which intensified in the following years. U Nu joined the We-Burmans Association (Dobama Asi-ayone), which had been formed in the wake of the 1932 anti-Indian riots and was a center for nationalism. The association was dominated at first by the Rangoon University student union, but under U Nu and others it expanded its activities. It was influenced by a combination of Marxism, democratic socialism, and Irish nationalism. The leaders, including U Nu, took the forename Thakin, or master, to demonstrate that they were not subservient to the British. The forename “U” is an honorific.

When World War II broke out in Asia, British authorities arrested U Nu and others, and they were imprisoned until Burma was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. The Japanese established a puppet government under Ba Maw, and U Nu served in his cabinet for a period. In the years between the end of the war and independence, U Nu assumed the leading position in the nationalist movement following Aung San’s assassination in 1947. Consequently, he headed the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League and became the first prime minister of independent Burma in 1948. Winning two subsequent elections, he remained in office for a decade, with only a brief hiatus in 1956–57.

His time as prime minister was marked by numerous communist insurgencies and independence struggles by ethnic minority peoples, and a decline in the value of rice exports. His government proved unable to improve the lot of the people. He resigned in 1958, and the government was taken over by General NE WIN as a result of widespread social disorder. U Nu returned to power in a brief return to democracy from 1960 to 1962, but the subsequent military coup returned the country to the repressive regime that remained in power into the 21st century.

U Nu was imprisoned by Ne Win and not released until 1969. He made several subsequent attempts to return to power, the first when he attempted to organize resistance to the military government in 1969. He was then forced into exile in INDIA, although he returned to Rangoon to become a Buddhist monk in 1980. He had throughout his life been a devoted Buddhist and had introduced several laws to support the religion. In 1988 it briefly appeared that democracy would return to Burma, but U Nu’s attempt to seize power was crushed and he was put under house arrest. He was freed in 1992 and died in Rangoon three years later.

See also AUNG SAN SUU KYI.

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JOHN WALSH

U.S.-Japan Mutual Defense Treaty

This was an agreement between the United States and Japan, which concluded in 1955, that allowed the United

States to maintain its major security presence in Japan. Because of the communist threat in the COLD WAR, the government of YOSHIDA SHIGERU of Japan agreed to a U.S. proposal to create the Self-Defense Force (SDF) at a modest size of 180,000 troops in 1954. By allowing the Japanese government to train a modestly sized defense force, the constitution of 1947 was kept intact.

The original treaty was replaced in 1960 by the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, which marked a significant change from the one-sided alliance to a more balanced relationship based on shared responsibility for defense. For the Japanese, the treaty provided a commitment from the United States to defend Japan against an armed attack, and it also required the United States to consult the Japanese government on the use of military bases on its soil. Consultation was required to ensure that any major changes to U.S. operations or force deployments would be approved by both governments. For the Eisenhower administration, the treaty ensured a greater commitment to a stable alliance to support U.S. interests in Northeast Asia. Gradually Japan took a greater share for its defense. In 1962 Japan began to pay some of the cost of U.S. military installations in Japan. The United States returned Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands to Japanese control. Beginning in the mid-1970s, U.S. forces were gradually reduced in Japan.

In the late 1970s a new series of agreements were implemented to transfer the responsibility for protecting specific sea lanes to Japan. Along with its expanded commitments, Japan broke the former 1 percent spending cap for defense and began purchasing American-made aircraft.

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought renewed focus to the U.S.-Japan defense alliance and lessened the need for a major U.S. military presence in northeast Asia. At the same time, Japan began to take on a greater international role. However, in 1991, the Japanese government was forced to decline requests to send troops to participate in the FIRST GULF WAR, bowing to parliamentary opposition. The next year, the Japanese government passed a new law authorizing Japan to participate in UNITED NATIONS peacekeeping operations, with contingents of Japanese troops. The expansion of Japan's international commitments were reaffirmed in 1996 with the Clinton-Hashimoto Security Declaration, in which the U.S. committed to maintain 100,000 troops in the Western Pacific region that included Japan.

In 1999 the Japanese Diet passed the Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan. It authorized the

use of force in "rear areas" surrounding Japan, partly in response to Communist North Korea's development of nuclear weapons. After 2001 Japan's Self-Defense Forces and Maritime Defense Forces participated in U.S.-led military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Washington encouraged and supported Japanese efforts to contribute to the war on terror.

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DAN FITZSIMMONS

U.S. relations with China (Nixon)

The visit of U.S. president RICHARD NIXON to China in February 1972 marked a turning point in U.S.-China relations. It gave maneuvering space to the United States in the strategic contest with the USSR.

Their confrontation in the KOREAN WAR began two decades of confrontation at a number of strategic points, especially in the Taiwan Straits and in Vietnam, where the United States was embroiled in a ground war supporting South Vietnam and while China provided backing to its then-ally North Vietnam.

The turn in U.S.-China ties from confrontation to rapprochement was a result of a host of factors, but mainly because both nations were concerned about the dangers posed by the Soviet Union. The U.S. Senate began a review of U.S.-China policy. China too was moving from Maoist ideological puritanism toward greater pragmatism, spurred on by the Sino-Soviet border dispute. The Soviet Union's intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 led to its pronouncement of the Brezhnev Doctrine that as the leading country of the Marxist bloc, the USSR had the right to determine the correct interpretation of Marxism and to intervene in socialist countries that deviated from the correct line. Since China under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) had developed its own version of Marxism, it feared that it could become a Soviet target for its deviations. Hence came China's quest to end its diplomatic isolation with a rapprochement with the United States.

The Nixon administration saw an opening with China as a graceful way out of the VIETNAM WAR. It therefore needed China's leverage to facilitate a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The opening came when U.S. and Chinese table tennis teams met in an international table tennis tournament, with the result that the U.S. team was invited to China. President Nixon took steps to expedite visas for visitors from China to the United States, relaxed currency controls, and lifted restrictions on U.S. oil companies to provide fuel to ships and aircraft traveling to and from China.

Since Washington and Beijing had no diplomatic ties, Pakistan acted as intermediary. In July 1971 National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger secretly visited China via Pakistan "to seek normalization of relations" and an exchange of views of common interest.

The announcement heralded an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality in U.S.-China relations, which had been frozen for two decades. Meanwhile the United States had also departed from its hard-line stand that blocked the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA from seating its legitimate representation in the UNITED NATIONS. In August 1971 the United States dropped its opposition, paving the way for the seating of China in the United Nations.

In his report to the U.S. Congress on February 9, 1971, Nixon stressed the importance of his forthcoming visit to China as the starting point for changing "the post-war landscape." While a quick resolution of outstanding issues were not possible, it signaled the end of "a sterile and barren interlude" in ties.

Nixon arrived in Beijing on February 21, 1972, accompanied by Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Henry Kissinger. The visit generated global interest as a watershed in redefining the balance of power of the world. Transcending previous differences, Nixon emphasized "common interests" in a new era. The two countries signed the SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUÉ, wherein China stated its stand on Cambodia, Korea, and Vietnam. The United States envisaged "the ultimate withdrawal" of all forces from Indochina; significantly, both countries declared opposition to hegemony in the Asia-Pacific area, implying that both had an interest in limiting Soviet power in the region. The Taiwan issue evaded a solution, but U.S.-China ties had moved from deep hostility to détente, facilitating major changes in the global balance of power.

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R.G. PRADHAN

U.S.-Republic of Korea Mutual Defense Treaty

The U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) Mutual Defense Treaty was signed October 1, 1953, and became effective in 1954. It committed the United States to the defense of the ROK against future attacks by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). In early 1953, as the KOREAN WAR armistice talks opened, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower sought a way to convince ROK president SYNGMAN RHEE to accept a truce with DPRK. Rhee, who had insisted that no truce short of military reunification of the two Koreas would suffice, balked at the U.S. demand that he sign an armistice with DPRK. Rhee flatly rejected any agreement that would allow the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (Chinese Communists) to remain in Korea following a cease-fire because he maintained that such an agreement would be tantamount to ROK's signing its own death warrant. Despite Eisenhower's assurances that the United States would pursue all peaceful means of reunification, and offers to enter a mutual security pact with the ROK, Rhee sought a mutual defense treaty with the United States as a precondition for any armistice.

Rhee's unilateral release of 25,000 DPRK prisoners of war on June 25, 1953, complicated negotiations and increased pressure on the United States to bring the ROK leader to agree to an armistice. To that end, Eisenhower sent Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robinson to offer Rhee a mutual security pact and promised economic incentives in return for Rhee's agreement. The Robinson mission was successful, and when Rhee did not stand in the way of the armistice, which was signed on July 27, 1953, the two countries set about crafting the bilateral treaty.

On August 8, 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles initiated negotiations that culminated in a treaty of six articles, based on the model of existing treaties between the United States and the Philippines, and the United States and Australia and New Zealand. The NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION model was

rejected because it would have given the president the authority to consider an external attack on ROK as an attack on American territory.

Seeking to limit its commitment and to contain its ally, the United States defined its responsibilities as extending only to territory under ROK control at the time the treaty was signed or subsequently recognized as lawfully incorporated into the ROK. During the ratification debates in the U.S. Senate a note of understanding was added to the treaty clarifying the U.S. position that the mutual defense agreement extended only to attacks from external forces. It received ratification on January 26, 1954, and the president accepted the Senate's recommendations on February 5, 1954, subject to the agreement on the limitation of commitment. ROK agreed to the change, and the treaty came into effect when ratification documents were exchanged in Washington, D.C., on November 17, 1954. The treaty remains in effect, and U.S. forces remain stationed in the ROK.

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ANTHONY SANTORO

U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty

The United States and the Republic of China (Taiwan) signed a mutual defense treaty in 1954 in which the United States would provide protection for the ROC in case of invasion by the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC). The treaty was approved by U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower and Taiwan's president Chiang Kai-shek and was fully ratified by their respective legislatures.

The treaty was a product of U.S. COLD WAR policy. The United States had washed its hands of China's civil war in 1948, but had become concerned about communist expansion when Communist North Korea attacked pro-Western South Korea in 1950. The United States then sent the Seventh Fleet to patrol the waters in Taiwan Strait.

In September 1954 the PRC attacked the ROC. The terms of the treaty committed the U.S. government to deploy land, sea, and air forces in and around Taiwan as required for its defense. The treaty also stipulated that the ROC and the United States would aid each other

to increase their capacity to resist an armed attack or communist subversive activities directed against either country's territorial integrity. Furthermore, both sides agreed to maintain peace and security in the region and refrain from the use of force in any manner inconsistent with their obligations to the UNITED NATIONS.

Following the 1954 crisis with the PRC, the United States became concerned that the nationalist government of Taiwan might deploy force against the mainland. This could possibly involve American troops despite the treaty's defensive nature. United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles met with ROC president Chiang Kai-shek to urge against attacking the PRC.

An incident occurred in 1958 when the PRC shot down two Nationalist F-84s on patrol. The PRC also renewed attacks on the offshore islands in midsummer 1958, testing the commitment of the United States to the treaty. In response, the United States deployed an aircraft carrier battle group to the region that included combat aircraft and transports. Nationalist forces were escorted safely by their ships to supply their offshore islands.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union urged a peaceful solution. Throughout the 1950s–60s the United States remained sympathetic to the cause of the ROC but also acted to restrain the ROC from acts that might provoke the PRC.

Beginning in 1971 the United States began to negotiate with the PRC. In 1972 President RICHARD NIXON visited China. The visit culminated in the SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE in which China declared that Taiwan was a part of China and that differences should be resolved peacefully.

In 1978 President JIMMY CARTER established formal diplomatic relations with the PRC, effective in 1979, thereby severing relations with the ROC and ending the U.S.-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty. A Taiwan Relations Act enacted by the U.S. Senate in 1979 authorized non-official relations with the ROC that also provided for the U.S. sale of weapons to the ROC.

See also U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA (NIXON).

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DAN FITZSIMMONS



Vajpayee, Atal Bihari

(1924–) *Indian political leader*

Atal Bihari Vajpayee is the former leader of the BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (BJP), or Indian People's Party, a pro-Hindu political movement that seeks to define Indian culture and society according to Hindu religious values. Vajpayee was twice prime minister of INDIA, in 1996 and from 1998 to 2004. He is considered the leader of Hindu nationalism and served as a member of parliament for almost 50 years. During his six years as prime minister, Vajpayee worked to modernize the Indian economy and settle long-standing disputes with Pakistan. His government has been accused of fostering racism against Muslims and political extremism. Alongside his political activity Vajpayee also earned a reputation as a poet, publishing collections of poetry.

Vajpayee was born in Gwailor in Madhya Pradesh in 1924. He earned a master's degree in political science from Victoria College and DAV College. His involvement with politics started at a very early age. Although initially close to communism he soon shifted to the right, finding inspiration in the campaigns of Syama Prasad Mookerjee for the inclusion of the Muslim majority state of Kashmir in the Indian Union. In 1957 Vajpayee won his first parliamentary seat, and, after Mookerjee's death, he took on the leadership of the BJS, becoming one of the major and most respected voices of opposition to the Congress Party. Yet, although the BJS increasingly won strong support in the northern regions of the country, it repeatedly failed to remove the Congress from power.

During the Indian Emergency of 1975–77, proclaimed by then-prime minister INDIRA GANDHI, Vajpayee was a vocal critic of the government and the suspensions of civil rights. He was also briefly put in jail. Upon his release he helped to form the Janata Coalition.

In his two years in government and in spite of his Hindu nationalism, Vajpayee worked to improve diplomatic relationships with Pakistan and China, visiting both countries and establishing trade relations with them. As the Janata government folded, destroyed by internal rifts, Vajpayee founded the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which became the new party of Hindu nationalism and conservatism. The party performed badly in the 1984 election, in which it won only two seats in Parliament, in part because of the wave of sympathy for the Congress Party that swept the nation after the murder of Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards. The anti-Muslim sentiment that took hold of large sectors of the nation in the 1980s and early 1990s led to an impressive growth in the BJP.

With strong parliamentary support, Vajpayee embarked on a large program of economic reforms, encouraging the private sector and limiting state involvement in the industrial sector to contain waste and public debt. He also stimulated foreign investments and research in information technology, making India one of the major powers in the field. During Vajpayee's government, India experienced one of its fastest periods of economic growth. Yet critics argue that the poorer sectors of Indian society were left out of this prosperity. Vajpayee's foreign policy record is equally mixed. His decision to

conduct five underground nuclear tests in Rajasthan provoked international criticism.

Yet his government made historic progress in the establishment of normal relations with Pakistan, and President BILL CLINTON's official visit to India signaled the beginning of a new diplomatic entente between the United States and India after the tensions of the COLD WAR. The economic and diplomatic successes of his government, however, were not enough to assure Vajpayee's reelection.

See also JANATA PARTY.

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LUCA PRONO

Vatican II Council (1962–1965)

The Second Vatican Council was one of the most significant events in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. As an ecumenical council Vatican II attempted to redirect the Catholic Church. Its effect was considerable, both in its intended and unintended results.

The council was called by Pope John XXIII in January 1959. He signaled the need for renewal so that the church could more effectively impact the world. The first session of the council was held in fall 1962. Shortly after its conclusion, Paul VI replaced John XXIII as pope. The

council continued for three more sessions, concluding on December 8, 1965. It issued 16 documents, the most authoritative being the Constitutions on the Liturgy, the Church, Revelation, and the Church in the Modern World.

The council envisioned serious change. It directed a major revision of the liturgy, the services of the Catholic Church that had practically not changed for four centuries. It promoted the use of the Bible and emphasized its authority, mandated a restoration of the college of bishops in the governing of the church, reversed the earlier rejection of the ecumenical movement among the Christian churches, took a positive approach to other religions and to modern society, and reversed the traditional Catholic position upholding the ideal of the governmental establishment of the church.

The council opened the door to change, and a period of rapid, confusing, and often unintended change then began. For instance, shortly after the council, the liturgy began to be celebrated in the vernacular, the Eucharist was celebrated with the priest facing the people, and women stopped wearing head-coverings. For many, there was shock that the unchangeable had changed. For others, when Pope Paul VI refused to change the ruling against artificial contraception in 1967, there was shock that the changes would not include the elimination of many unpopular teachings and practices. Many Catholics took a secularizing approach, many a conservative resisting approach; many clergy and laity left, and soon there was a common conviction the Catholic Church was in crisis.

Pope JOHN PAUL II, who had participated in the council as archbishop of Kraków, began a process of stabilization after becoming pope in 1978. The Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985 under his leadership reaffirmed the value of Vatican II and urged Catholics to avoid the deviations of extreme rejection and of promotion of secularization. As a result of his papacy, Vatican II has been accepted as the charter of the modern church and may turn out to be the source of renewal that was hoped for.

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Vatican City is a landlocked sovereign city-state whose territory consists of a walled enclave within the city of Rome.

STEPHEN B. CLARK

Velasco Ibarra, José

(1893–1979) *president of Ecuador*

The “father of Ecuadorian populism,” José María Velasco Ibarra was the country’s president five times from the 1930s to the 1970s. A gifted orator, charismatic and mercurial, he is perhaps best known for his boast, “Give me a balcony, and I will be president!” Beginning with his campaign for his second term (1944–47), Velasco Ibarra cultivated a large personal following, mainly among coastal urban dwellers, by employing a host of modern campaign techniques that included radio, public address systems, and mass-produced leaflets. In subsequent years, he forged a national state far more activist and populist in orientation. Pitching his appeal principally to the urban working and middle classes, he alienated many of the country’s traditional landowning and military elite while leaving traditional relations of power and privilege largely intact. In keeping with broader 20th-century trends in Latin America, he also promoted the expansion of internal infrastructure and public works (especially roads); implemented universal suffrage; and used nationalist discourse to bolster his own popularity and unify his compatriots vis-à-vis other countries. The populist legacy he bequeathed continues to shape Ecuador’s political landscape.

Born in Quito on March 19, 1893, to a middle-class family, he graduated from the capital city’s Central University law school and soon established a reputation as one of the country’s leading writers and intellectuals. In 1932 he was named president of the House of Deputies and in 1933 won the country’s presidential election. Serving only a year before being overthrown by the military, he went into exile in Colombia and Argentina. From exile he built a formidable following, returning in 1944 to wide popular acclaim, mobilizing strikes and protests and forcing the resignation of the sitting president. As provisional president he supervised a constitutional convention and triumphed in the 1944 presidential election that followed. His populist policies alienated many of his elite supporters, prompting his overthrow by the military in 1947. Again going into exile, he returned for the 1952 presidential campaign and won in a landslide. He was reelected in 1960, only to be overthrown by the military a year later; the same sequence unfolded in his election of 1968 and overthrow in 1972.

Like most populists of the era he was also a nationalist, and his emphasis on Ecuadorian national sovereignty prompted him to enforce the 1952 Declaration of Santiago among Ecuador, Chile, and Peru, which

extended these countries’ territorial waters 200 miles into the Pacific to protect their rich fishing grounds. The United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries recognized only a 12-mile limit. The result was the so-called tuna war of the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the Velasco Ibarra regime impounded U.S. tuna boats that had not paid the requisite average \$10,000 special fee, prompting a cutoff in most U.S. aid. His populist policies, causing a growing economic crisis and fiscally unsustainable, prompted his final overthrow in 1972. He died on March 30, 1979, leaving a complex legacy of heightened political mobilization, resurgent nationalism, and unmet political and economic aspirations on the part of the country’s poor majority.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Vietnam, Democratic Republic of

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), or North Vietnam, as it became commonly known after the 1954 Geneva Accords, came into existence on September 2, 1945. Following the Japanese surrender in World War II, Vietnamese Communist Party (Vietminh) leader HO CHI MINH seized the opportunity and declared Vietnamese independence. Vietminh strength was centered in the north. The French, however, were disinclined to accept this, and moved to reimpose their colonial rule over the entire region. They quickly established control in the south, although they could not effectively control the countryside.

Since the French and the Vietminh hoped to avoid a full-scale war, both sides entered into intermittent negotiations. In March 1946 the French provisionally recognized the DRV in exchange for Ho’s agreement to include the north in a proposed French Union. Final agreement remained elusive, however, and the relationship between the two sides continued to deteriorate. In November 1946 the French shelled the port of Haiphong. Ho and his supporters escaped into the mountains in the north and began a war of nationwide resistance.



With fear showing on their faces, women and children scurry past the bodies of three Vietcong killed in the fighting in May 1968.

The war against the French unfolded against the backdrop of the emerging COLD WAR. On the battlefield, the Vietminh relied on the military genius of General VO NGUYEN GIAP. They also seized land belonging to French landowners and alleged traitors and redistributed it to peasants, winning popular support. The French were decisively defeated at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. At the Geneva Conference that followed, Ho was pressured by the Soviet Union and the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA to accept a compromise. The result was the partitioning of Vietnam, with the promise of nationwide elections in 1956. Those elections never took place. Although he had envisioned the establishment of an independent government over all of Vietnam, Ho had to accept a truncated Democratic Republic of Vietnam north of the 17th parallel.

With the official formation of the DRV, North Vietnam became the first communist state in Southeast Asia, with Ho Chi Minh as president and Hanoi as its capital. Political power rested in the Communist Party, or the Vietnamese Workers' Party (VWP), as it had been renamed in 1951. The power nucleus of the VWP was the Politburo, which was responsible for day-to-day decision making.

The primary task that confronted Ho and his colleagues was the need to consolidate their rule. At Geneva the DRV leadership had issued a directive that indicated its intention to proceed cautiously and take gradual steps toward establishing a socialist economy. In order

to reassure the population, the government announced that the country would operate with a mixed economy, indicating acceptance of private wealth and property. At the same time, the government also stated its intention to respect the freedom of religion.

These pronouncements failed to reassure many in the north, and after the partition some 800,000 refugees made the trek south. An official policy of fair treatment for Catholics notwithstanding, many leaders in the VWP and others in local party and government structures continued to nurture suspicion of them, and harsh treatment of Catholics bred resentment in some areas.

The economy, which had been devastated by years of war, posed a tremendous challenge to the government. Moreover, fleeing refugees left many businesses abandoned. The DRV government moved to nationalize certain sectors of the economy such as utilities, banking, and some large enterprises. Prices and wages also came under government regulation.

The industrial sector had remained underdeveloped under French rule. In 1961 the government launched the first Five-Year Plan to develop heavy industry. By the middle of the decade war with the United States diverted resources from industrial development and stalled these efforts. The agricultural sector required immediate attention since food was in chronically short supply. This, as well as the need to win over the rural population, seemed to demand land reform. In 1955 the government launched a program to confiscate land from wealthy landlords for redistribution.

The land reform program, however, produced mixed results. On the positive side it increased the rates of landownership, increased rice production, reduced the influence of wealthy landlords, and won the support of numerous poor peasants who reaped the benefits. On the negative side, overzealous cadres and poor peasants often denounced those who owned only medium-sized holdings, and local tribunals executed many. In 1956 the hostility eventually erupted in a peasant uprising in the province of Nghe An. Ho Chi Minh publicly admitted that errors had been made and slowed the pace of land reform. But within two years the government initiated a large-scale collectivization effort that brought most of the rural population into some form of state-controlled cooperative farming.

The VWP also created party-run organizations that recruited different segments of Vietnamese society, including veterans, workers, farmers, youths, and women. By mobilizing the population into various communist-led organizations, the VWP realized its domination of Vietnamese society.

The consolidation and nation-building efforts in the north also included increasingly harsh efforts to silence criticism and dissent. Freedom of expression was curbed. Authors of protest literature came under increasing public attack from 1958 onward. Culprits were sent to work in agricultural cooperatives or work camps to be reeducated.

The South Vietnamese government's decision to boycott the elections planned for 1956 compelled the North Vietnamese leadership to decide the priority it would give to reunification. By and large the DRV leadership decided to adhere to the decision to build socialism in the north while searching for some means to reunify the country. Debates in the VWP Central Committee in the mid-1950s, however, suggested that the leadership anticipated reunification to be realizable only after a military struggle.

In 1959 the VWP shifted to a more activist approach and began to approve efforts to increase pressure on NGO DINH DIEM's regime in the south. By this point a broad-based resistance movement against Diem had gained strength. In late 1960, largely at the behest of southern cadres, the National Liberation Front was created as an umbrella organization that rallied a broad range of anti-Diem resistance.

The road to the reunification of Vietnam led the DRV to war against the United States, whose commitment to a noncommunist South Vietnam had grown steadily. Between 1965 and 1973 U.S. combat troops fought in the VIETNAM WAR. Some evidence suggests that Hanoi had begun infiltrating troops into the south in late 1964. Supplies and men flowed south along the Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos and Cambodia.

In January 1973, after several rounds of peace talks, the Paris Peace Accords ended U.S. involvement. The cease-fire between north and south broke down, and the war resumed. On April 30, 1975, victorious North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon and achieved Ho's dream of a unified Vietnam. In his honor Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City in 1976, in a country now renamed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

See also JOHNSON, LYNDON B.; VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF.

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SOO CHUN LU

Vietnam, Republic of

The Republic of Vietnam was the portion of southern Vietnam that fought against communist North Vietnam in the Second Indochina War (VIETNAM WAR). It was created after the defeat of previous colonial masters, the French, and ceased to exist with the seizure of its capital, Saigon, by communist forces.

Southern Vietnam was historically the home of the Cham peoples. When the French arrived in the 19th century, they made the southern part of the country, which they named Cochinchina, a full colony. It was, therefore, more firmly French-run than the rest of Indochina. Saigon was more thoroughly internationalized than the remainder of the country, and the people were more familiar with the capitalist system and French culture. The French created the state of Vietnam in 1949, which centered on the Cochinchina colony and had the emperor as head of state. The defeat of the French and the Geneva Conference of 1954 established the state as occupying the territory south of the 17th parallel. In the following year the Republic of Vietnam was announced after Emperor Bao Dai was deposed.

The first president of the republic was NGO DINH DIEM, who had been involved in the ousting of the emperor and who adopted an authoritarian approach to ruling the country. When Diem was deposed and killed, a brief interlude under Nguyen Cao Ky was succeeded by military rule, which began in 1965. In 1967 NGUYEN VAN THIEU was elected president and then was reelected unopposed four years later. Despite the massive outlay of lives and matériel to resist the North Vietnamese, after the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1973 as a result of the Paris Accord, the capture of Saigon in 1975 seems to have been inevitable.

Although the Republic of Vietnam had developed a sophisticated bicameral parliamentary system, its existence was tainted more or less throughout by corruption and by the authoritarian rule of its presidents and rulers. A number of people have characterized the state as little more than a puppet U.S. state, and certainly it would not have lasted so long without large-scale U.S. military support. However, it would be

scarcely fair to consider the presidents of the republic, notably Nguyen Van Thieu, as mere puppets. Indeed Nguyen Van Thieu was often trenchant in his criticisms of U.S. leaders and intransigent in pursuing policies of his own devising.

See also VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF.

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JOHN WALSH

Vietnam War

The Vietnam War was America's longest war. In total, the conflict in Vietnam lasted from 1946 to 1975. The official dates of U.S. involvement were 1964–73. The Vietnam War was extremely costly and destructive and had a profound effect on both the soldiers who fought it and the civilians who lived through it. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution was signed by LYNDON B. JOHNSON in 1964 and gave him the power to wage war in Vietnam.

Throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s, the Vietminh under HO CHI MINH were fighting the French colonial presence in Vietnam. By 1954 the United States was paying 80 percent of the cost of France's war against the Vietminh. In July 1954 the French and the Vietminh signed an armistice in Geneva, which divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh controlled the north, and Vietnam-wide elections were to be held in 1956. The United States did not sign the agreement, and plans were put in place to stop Ho Chi Minh's plans to conquer all of Vietnam. President Dwight Eisenhower was afraid that if Vietnam fell to communism, the rest of Southeast Asia would follow.

Not wanting Vietnam to be under the control of a communist leader, the United States pushed aside the French puppet leader and replaced him with NGO DINH DIEM, a Vietnamese nationalist. Many were confident that Diem could rally Vietnam against communism. The United States increased aid to South Vietnam, and the first U.S. advisers arrived there in early 1955. These decisions laid the groundwork for the Vietnam War.

Ho Chi Minh was frustrated that Vietnam was not yet independent and unified, so in 1957 the Vietminh in South Vietnam began to revolt against the Diem regime. In May 1959 communist North Vietnam came to the

aid of the revolutionaries in the south. As a result, the United States increased its aid to South Vietnam.

In South Vietnam conditions deteriorated rapidly. Diem's regime never gained popular support. In 1960 anti-Diem communists and Buddhists created the National Liberation Front, with the Vietcong as its military wing, and began operations against Diem's forces. The United States had pledged in the 1954 SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION pact to defend South Vietnam against external aggression, and President JOHN F. KENNEDY lived up to that obligation.

To Kennedy and other politicians, Vietnam was another COLD WAR battlefield. Signs of weakness would lead the Soviet Union to believe that the United States was weak and vulnerable. As such, South Vietnam also became a testing facility for counterinsurgency units. The U.S. Green Berets advised the South Vietnamese army, and civilians provided medical and technical aid and economic and political reforms, all in an effort to "win the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese.

There was a general consensus in Kennedy's administration about the consequences of losing Vietnam to communism; there were others who feared the worst. Undersecretary of State George Ball told Kennedy that within five years there would be 300,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. However, Ball was incorrect: within five years nearly 400,000 soldiers were in Vietnam.

Even with his advisers calling for escalation, Kennedy proceeded cautiously. By the middle of 1962 he had increased the number of military advisers from 700 to 12,000. He added another 5,000 in 1963. As the number of casualties increased, the prospects of withdrawing became increasingly difficult. In the face of so many problems, Kennedy gave the order to overthrow Diem. On November 1, South Vietnamese military officials, with the assistance of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, arrested Diem and his brother. While in custody, both were assassinated. However, the plan backfired. A number of inexperienced military officers took command in South Vietnam with little support and were unable to govern effectively. The country sank deeper into trouble and the role of the United States increased.

After President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, the issue of Vietnam fell to President Lyndon B. Johnson; Johnson was deeply troubled over Vietnam and had been for some time. During the rest of the months leading up to the November 1964 election, Johnson tried all he could to keep the issue of Vietnam in the background, fearing it would hurt his chances of being elected. In many of his conversations with Robert McNamara, secretary of defense, Johnson

discussed doing all he could to keep the public thinking that he had made no final decisions on Vietnam. Some advisers were trying to give Johnson suggestions for getting out of Vietnam and still saving face; meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were advising him that preventing the loss of South Vietnam was of overriding importance to the United States.

Robert McNamara visited Saigon. He reported to Johnson that conditions had worsened there since General Khanh took over power in January 1964. Many officials there favored increased pressure on North Vietnam, including air strikes. McNamara, aware of Johnson's wish to be ambiguous to the public regarding his stance, offered to take a lot of the heat. Johnson, knowing the conditions in Vietnam, understood that in order to achieve the ambitious conditions set out in McNamara's policy statement, an escalation of military power in the country would have to be undertaken.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed in Congress on August 7, 1964. It provided the legal authority for Johnson to escalate the Vietnam War. On August 2 North Vietnamese gunboats had attacked the USS *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. On August 4 the *Maddox* and another vessel, the USS *Turner Joy*, reported being under attack. Many doubts exist about whether or not the second attack actually took place, but the Johnson administration used it as a pretext for retaliation. Johnson ordered the first U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam. The resolution was passed 88-2.

Johnson won the 1964 presidential election by a landslide. In addition to his domestic agenda, the GREAT SOCIETY, Vietnam was the largest issue he dealt with. Still relying on trusted advisers like Richard Russell, even though he would not take his advice, Johnson had countless discussions about Vietnam. Johnson's rationalization was what he considered a treaty commitment inherited from Eisenhower and Kennedy. No matter what Johnson said to him, Russell stuck to his conviction that Vietnam was not the place to invest U.S. blood and treasure. Johnson told Everett Dirksen, Senate minority leader, that communist propaganda, his advice from Eisenhower, and the domino theory informed his policies with regard to Vietnam.

MAJOR ESCALATION

After July 1965 the war escalated into a major international conflict. The North Vietnamese army numbered in the thousands, and they supported an estimated National Liberation Front force of 80,000. From 6,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam in July 1965, the number increased to over 536,000 by 1968, with an additional 800,000 South Vietnamese troops. Both sides played to



The social activism and antiwar movements of the late 1960s spurred many protests against the Vietnam War.

their own strengths. The United States had great wealth, modern weapons, and a highly trained military force under the command of General William Westmoreland. Using bombing raids and search-and-destroy missions, it sought to force the opponent to surrender.

The National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese army, under the exceptional direction of Vo NGUYEN GIAP, used a different strategy altogether. They were lightly armed and knew the area. They relied on the guerrilla warfare tactics of stealth and mobility. Giap wanted to wear down the United States and its allies by harassment missions.

Between 1965 and 1967 the United States did untold amounts of damage to Vietnam. Bombing increased from 63,000 tons in 1965 to over 226,000 tons in 1967. The U.S. military strategy failed to produce clear results. The war dragged on, and opposition to the conflict in the United States intensified. Countless protests took place in cities and on college campuses. Troops who returned home were often treated poorly, quite the opposite of the heroes' welcome experienced by returning veterans of World War II.

The Tet Offensive of 1968 brought a new phase of the war. In late 1967 the North Vietnamese launched operations in remote areas to draw U.S. forces away from cities. On January 31, 1968, the National Liberation Front launched massive attacks on the unsecured urban areas. They led strikes on 36 provincial capitals, 5 major cities in the south, and 64 district capitals. They also attacked the U.S. embassy in Saigon and captured Hue for a period. Although the Tet Offensive failed overall, it had a profound psychological effect on the people of the United States. Protests increased, and murmurs that

the war was unwinnable became much more audible. As a result of developments in Vietnam and widespread unrest across the country, Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection in 1968.

After the Tet Offensive, ensuing peace talks failed to produce any agreement. The problem of Vietnam fell to the fourth U.S. president involved in the Vietnam conflict, RICHARD NIXON. In 1969 he expanded the war into neighboring Cambodia, a move that he kept from the press, further increasing the gap in the people's trust in the government when he went public about the decision in 1970. The domestic backlash led to a new wave of protests, during which four students died at Kent State University in Ohio, and two more at Jackson State University in Mississippi.

Nixon's involvement in Vietnam was marked by increased domestic opposition. After the Cambodian affair, Congress repealed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The trial of Lieutenant William Calley, commander of a unit that murdered 500 South Vietnamese civilians at My Lai, raised fundamental moral questions about the war. Finally, the Pentagon Papers were published in 1971, which deepened public distrust in the government. Polls showed that more than 70 percent of Americans felt that the United States had erred when it sent troops into Vietnam. During 1972–73 the U.S. phase of the war ended.

A peace agreement was signed in Paris on January 27, 1973. It allowed for the extraction of U.S. military forces from Vietnam and the return of U.S. prisoners of war but did not address the fundamental issues over which the war had been fought. North Vietnam was allowed to leave 150,000 troops in the south, and the future of South Vietnam was not directly and clearly spelled out. Fighting broke out between the north and the south, and the U.S. Congress drastically cut military and economic aid to South Vietnam.

When Richard Nixon resigned because of the WATERGATE SCANDAL, the Vietnam War issue was passed to its fifth president, GERALD FORD. Congress rejected his request for \$722 million in aid for South Vietnam, agreeing to only \$300 million in emergency aid to extract the remaining U.S. personnel from the south. The climax of this came on May 1, 1975, with a harrowing rooftop helicopter evacuation.

The total cost of the war was extensive. South Vietnamese military casualties exceeded 350,000, and estimates of North Vietnamese losses range between 500,000 and 1 million. Civilian deaths cannot be accurately counted but ran into the millions. More than 58,000 U.S. troops were killed, and over 300,000 were

injured. The total financial cost of the war exceeded \$167 billion.

Many of Johnson's Great Society reforms were cut back because of the increased military expenditures. Veterans returning home experienced long-lasting effects, which ranged from flashbacks to posttraumatic stress disorder to the effects of exposure to chemicals. Furthermore, the war saw no tangible results. Once the United States evacuated Saigon, the North overran the city, and Vietnam was united under communist rule.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Vo Nguyen Giap

(1911–) *Vietnamese military leader*

In the history of communist Vietnam, Giap is second only to HO CHI MINH in the impact he had. Ho named Giap commander in chief of the Vietminh forces fighting the French at the end of World War II. Giap orchestrated the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1953 and was named minister of defense of the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. Giap was also the chief military strategist against the U.S. led VIETNAM WAR.

Giap was born in central Annam, just north of the 17th parallel, on August 25, 1911, to Nguyen Thi Kien and Vo Quang Nghiem. His early life was spent in one of the poorest sections of Vietnam. However, Giap's father was a member of the tiny middle class of his region, a rice farmer who tilled his own land and rented another small portion, in addition to being a practitioner of traditional Asian medicine.

From age five until eight, he attended school in An Xa. The school was supervised by the French but taught by Vietnamese. In 1923 he received a certificate for finishing elementary studies, which was not very common. The following year he took the entrance examination to qualify for additional education at Hue but failed. He studied diligently and passed the exam in 1925. He attended school at the Quoc Hoc, which was a known

seedbed of revolution; his leadership abilities and intelligence helped him excel as a student.

Giap then became a history teacher, a profession he retained throughout the 1930s. At the same time, he was active in various revolutionary movements. He joined the Communist Party in 1934, and assisted in founding the Democratic Front in 1936. He was a devoted scholar of military tactics and studied Napoleon and the ancient Chinese military tactician Sunzi extensively. The French outlawed communism in 1939, so Giap, along with Ho Chi Minh, fled to China, where he studied guerrilla warfare.

From 1939 until around 1947 Giap was busy developing and directing the military plan that defeated the French and eventually caused the United States to abandon its efforts in Vietnam. It was a multifaceted plan that included gathering popular support for his efforts and mobilizing the people to join the communist cause. Giap's military strategies caused millions of people to lose their lives, including millions of Vietnamese, both North and South, and over 58,000 Americans. Many American soldiers were impressed with the diligence of the Vietnamese, the skill of the North Vietnamese army, and their discipline. Much of this was due to the leadership of Giap.

When the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established in 1975, when North Vietnam conquered the south and united the nation, Giap served as deputy prime minister and minister of defense. After his retirement, he wrote several books. In 1992, he was awarded the Golden Star Award, Vietnam's highest decorative honor.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Vorster, B. J.

(1915–1983) *South African prime minister*

Balthazar Johannes (John) Vorster was South African prime minister from 1966 to 1978. He is perhaps best known for having legislated into power some of apartheid's most discriminatory and racial policies. Born on December 13, 1915, in Uitenhage, Eastern Cape, John

Vorster was the 13th child of a wealthy sheep farmer. After receiving his primary and secondary education in the Eastern Cape, he went on to receive his bachelor of law degree from Stellenbosch University and set up a law practice in Port Elizabeth in the late 1930s. With the onset of World War II, he ardently opposed South Africa's involvement in support of the Allies by becoming a member of the pro-Nazi Ossewa-Brandwag. His support of the Nazi regime under Adolf Hitler landed Vorster in jail during much of World War II. However, this did little to deter his radical ideology, and he maintained that the dictatorial regime in Germany at the time was a more productive and suitable model for South African governance than the parliamentary system already in place. When Vorster was released from jail in 1944, his right-wing political and social views led him to join the growing South African National Party.

Vorster worked his way up the ranks of the party cadre, and in 1953 he was elected to parliament in Cape Town as a National Party representative. After one session in parliament he was appointed deputy minister of education in 1958; he rigidly enforced apartheid's Bantu education policies. Under Prime Minister Verwoerd he became minister of justice in 1961. During this time, the government sent South African Defense Force soldiers to support Ian Smith's white regime in Rhodesia, with the popular support of most of white South Africa.

Vorster succeeded Prime Minister Verwoerd unopposed after Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966. His brief and uneventful time as a cabinet minister under Verwoerd meant that he knew little about the workings of departments other than his own. He knew little about the African population and the inner workings of the huge departments that governed their lives. However, during the year he came to succeed Verwoerd, Vorster combined the Justice portfolio with that of Police and Prisons, strengthening the power of the department and the South African Police Service. Although Vorster continued with the basic tenets of separate development policies, he alienated extremist factions of the National Party early in his prime ministership by pursuing diplomatic relations with African countries and by agreeing to let black African diplomats live in white areas. However, Vorster's tenure as prime minister was marked mainly by an increase in racial discrimination and violence in all of South Africa, including an increase in detention without trial.

Although Vorster's government is mainly known for streamlining and harshly enforcing apartheid's policies, his foreign policy initiatives are generally viewed

as moderate and conciliatory. He began by unofficially supporting Rhodesia, which at the time was struggling to gain independence from British rule under prime minister Ian Smith. Although publicly he espoused the white public opinion in South Africa, he did not wish to alienate potential political allies such as the United States by extending diplomatic recognition to Rhodesia. He exerted his pressure as a hegemon in the region by persuading Smith to negotiate with Mozambique during the regional civil war that was ongoing in southern Africa. Vorster began cutting off vital supplies to Smith and even went so far as to refuse calls made by the Rhodesian prime minister. International pressure continued to squeeze South Africa for the remainder of apartheid.

Vorster, in an attempt to regain South African public approval, invaded Angola in the 1970s in order to protect South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) against rebel attempts by Angola to invade the country for diamonds. Continuing his conciliatory initiatives in September 1974, Vorster announced in Cape Town his famous *Détente with Africa* policy. Despite regional efforts in Angola at the time, Vorster promised cooperation with the leaders of neighboring black African nations. The negotiations over Rhodesia and attempts to make peace with black Africa were predicated on the hopes that such maneuvers would postpone Vorster's day of reckoning in South Africa. His hope was that emerging Zimbabwean and Mozambican states would feel indebted to South Africa for its role in liberating these countries.

The 1970s were a turbulent time for Vorster. He harshly suppressed the Soweto uprising in 1976, which would draw more international pressure in the form of economic and social sanctions. He granted independence to the Transkei in 1976 and Bophuthatswana in 1977 in accordance with apartheid's separate development policies, although economic development within them would stagnate.

He maintained the view that Africans could exercise political rights only in their homelands regardless of where they actually lived. On September 12, 1977, Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness leader, died in horrifying circumstances while in police custody. Vorster's response was personally to ban 18 organizations. This step helped him to an overwhelming victory in the general election of November 1977.

However, Vorster did take the first, unconscious steps toward a more equal South Africa. Vorster's minister of sport and recreation, Dr. Piet Koornhof, managed to secure some limited desegregation of sport by invoking the fiction of multinationalism: Each national group had to play sport separately, but they might play against each other in multinational events. Similarly higher-class hotels and restaurants might acquire multinational status and thereby admit people of all races. An elaborate system of permits for mixed gatherings, events, and venues was initiated. Vorster saw many apartheid policies as unnecessary and began the slow process of weeding them out.

In the late 1970s Vorster was implicated in what became known as Muldergate (so named after Dr. Connie Mulder, the information cabinet minister at the center of the scandal). Although Vorster was certainly a victim of the scandal, in a sense the scandal arose from circumstances that he himself had perpetrated. Vorster was implicated in the use of a slush fund to buy the loyalty of *The Citizen*, the only major English-language newspaper favorable to the National Party. The official investigation concluded that Vorster, in conjunction with the head of the South African Police Services, General H. J. van den Bergh, had not only conspired to manipulate *The Citizen* but also to buy the U.S.-based *Washington Star*.

It was discovered that in 1973 Vorster had agreed to Mulder's plan to shift about 64 million rands from the defense budget for a series of propaganda campaigns. In what became a National Party embarrassment, a commission of inquiry finally concluded in 1979 that Vorster had been aware of the fund and had tolerated it. After the scandal, Vorster retired from the position of prime minister in 1978. Vorster died in Cape Town in 1983.

See also MANDELA, NELSON.

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RIAN WALL



Wajed, Sheikh Hasina

(1947–) *Bangladeshi leader*

Sheikh Hasina Wajed is the president and head of the Bangladesh AWAMI LEAGUE. She is the daughter of SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, the popular Bangladeshi leader who played a leading role in the founding of Bangladesh. Sheikh Hasina Wajed was one of only two members of the Mujib family to survive a bloody August 15, 1975, military coup.

Sheikh Hasina Wajed was born on September 28, 1947, in the city of Tungipara in the Gopalganj district of Bangladesh. She earned her B.A. from Dhaka University in 1973. During her school days, she became active in politics, becoming the chief of the Student Union at the Government Intermediate College for Women in 1966. She and other members of her family were imprisoned several times by Pakistan's military government leading up to the Bangladesh liberation struggle in 1971.

After the assassination of Mujibur Rahman in 1975, Wajed was forced by the military government of General Ziaur Rahman to live in exile until 1981. In 1981 she became the president of the Bangladesh Awami League.

With an absolute majority secured by her Awami League in the 1996 election, Wajed became the prime minister of Bangladesh on June 23. She took many measures to alleviate rural poverty, enhance per capita income, create job opportunities, and increase agricultural production. She also introduced new

welfare schemes, innovative housing programs in rural areas that reversed the trend of migration from rural to urban areas.

She was the leader of the opposition in the Bangladeshi parliament from 1986 to 1987, 1991 to 1993, and 2001 forward. Under her stewardship, the Awami League boycotted parliament until June 2004, accusing the government of Khaleda Zia of corruption and nepotism.

Wajed is a fierce, enigmatic leader who believes in political parties based in the needs of the masses and in mobilizing the party cadre to win elections. Coming from a political family and with a father who was a highly revered personality in Bangladesh politics, Wajed is a political force to be reckoned with and is likely to play a prominent role in Bangladeshi politics for the foreseeable future. She is also an author of repute.

See also BANGLADESH, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF; PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.

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MOHAMMED BADRUL ALAM

Warsaw Pact

Warsaw Pact is the informal title given to the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), a group of Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union pledged to mutual assistance and defense. In 1955 the member nations signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. The Warsaw Pact's objectives from its inception to its demise in 1991 changed, but throughout that time, the organization served as the means by which the Soviet Union bound its Eastern European client states together militarily.

The Warsaw Pact agreement replaced a series of bilateral treaties of defense and friendship between the Soviet Union and these nations. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania joined with the Soviet Union. The NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) had been in existence since 1949, but NATO announced in May 1955 that it would include West Germany as a member; this prompted the formation of the Warsaw Pact. Thus only 10 years after the end of World War II, the Soviet Union not only was engaged in a COLD WAR with the West but also faced a resurgent Germany.

It was not only an external threat that moved the Soviets to change their agreements with these nations, but there was the matter of internal stability as well. Following World War II, there had been significant armed resistance to the Soviets, who had entered these nations while advancing against the retreating German armies. Polish anti-Soviet partisans opposed the Soviets until well into the late 1940s. Demonstrations against the Soviets caused real concern about the stability of the communist elites running these countries. By bringing in Soviet troops to occupy these countries as part of Warsaw Pact activities, the Soviet Union allowed itself to more easily defend any attacks that might come from the West and, at the same time, to keep these friendly regimes stable. East Germany joined in 1956. Yugoslavia did not join at any time.

The treaty clearly stated that national sovereignty would be respected and that all of the signatories were independent. The treaty was to last for 20 years, with an automatic 10-year extension. Each member nation could unilaterally leave the organization; the reality proved to be very different. In 1956 the Hungarian government of Imre Nagy declared that it would no longer be allied with the Soviet Union but would become a neutral. Part of this neutrality process would be its withdrawal from the pact.

Regardless of any promises, the Soviet Union acted quickly to defeat this rebellion. Using the request of

some Hungarian Communist Party members as an invitation to act, Soviet infantry and armor invaded the country and after a two-week struggle replaced Imre Nagy's government with a more compliant government under János Kádár. Although the Soviets cited the danger of breaking up the alliance to justify the invasion, it was only Soviet troops that took part in the operation.

In the early days of the Warsaw Pact, the nature of the alliance was somewhat vague. Each of the member nations, while influenced by the Soviet Union, still had a certain amount of independence in its tactical doctrine and did not coordinate its training with either the Soviet Union or other members. That situation would change in the coming years. From 1961 on, combined exercises were conducted, and Soviet-manufactured weapons and equipment were purchased by the member nations. High-ranking Soviet officers were assigned to the defense ministries of Warsaw Pact members to ensure a uniformity of training and to keep the national militaries subservient to and a part of the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

Although the Warsaw Pact gained cohesion in terms of command and control, there were movements that served to weaken it. In 1962 there was another defection from the Warsaw Pact, this time a successful one. In this case it involved Albania strengthening its ties to China and distancing itself from the Soviet Union. Because Albania did not border on any other Warsaw Pact member, the Soviet Union had no choice but to accept this action. The Soviets thus lost access to a Mediterranean port. Albania's formal defection in 1968 merely ratified what already existed.

INDEPENDENT STREAKS

Another unhappy member of the alliance was Romania. This country managed to conduct a very successful balancing act in staying within the alliance, exercising a surprising degree of independence, and not paying a very high price for its actions. Romania's independent streak began as early as 1958, when it stated that Soviet troops were not welcome on its territory, continuing through 1968, when it would not participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Romania's position was that the pact existed only for self-defense and not to maintain communist elites in the separate nations. In part because Romania was loyal in other ways and because it was not close to the potential front with Germany, this independent streak went unpunished.

Not every nation was so fortunate. In late 1967 a reform movement within the Czechoslovak Communist Party caused a major change in leadership. These events

were closely monitored by the Soviet leadership. After the attempted defection by Hungary 10 years before, Albania's departure, and Romania's distancing itself, the Soviets were concerned that any reform or liberalization might weaken their control over this state. The continued freedom of the press and freedom of expression forced the Soviets to act. On the night of August 20–21, Soviet troops, assisted by forces from Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Poland, invaded. Combined Warsaw Pact exercises had been taking place that summer, and the Warsaw Pact nations had been able to stage their invasion and subsequently move quickly into the country. The Czechoslovak government was changed, and there was no more discussion of changing Czechoslovakia's role in the Warsaw Pact.

Thirteen years later, the Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia influenced another nation. This time it was Poland, where vigorous opposition appeared in the form of the labor union SOLIDARITY. By the end of 1981, after almost two years of liberalization, the Communist government of Poland imposed martial law. Union leaders were imprisoned, the union was declared illegal, and Polish soldiers took over many of the government's functions. The rationale for this move was that the imposition of martial law by Polish authorities would eliminate the possibility of a repetition of the events of 1968.

SOVIET LEADERSHIP

As the 1980s wore on, there were significant changes in Soviet leadership. LEONID BREZHNEV, who had ordered the invasion of Czechoslovakia and threatened the same for Poland, died in 1982. He was succeeded by Yuri Andropov, who had, earlier in his career, restored order to Hungary after its unsuccessful rebellion in 1956. Andropov, died in 1984 and was for a few months succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko. With the accession of MIKHAIL GORBACHEV to power in 1985, relationships between the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact slowly changed. That year the Warsaw Pact came up for renewal, and the members agreed to another 20-year term to be followed by a 10-year extension, as had been done 30 years before. It became recognized that there would be no more interventions such as the ones that had taken place in Czechoslovakia and had been threatened in Poland.

The Warsaw Pact still, however, existed as a force with over 6,300,000 soldiers—20 percent of whom were non-Soviet. The resolution of the Euromissile crisis and changing politics within the Soviet Union were leading to other changes. At the end of 1988 Gorbachev announced that there would be troop withdraw-

als from East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The power elites did not look forward to this, as their position within their own countries had been strengthened against dissidents and other opposition by the presence of the Soviet army.

Early in 1989 the Hungarian government removed its barbed wire barriers along its border with Austria, and Solidarity scored well in a partially free election. Before the year was out, the regimes had changed in Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. Although there were some attempts to keep the Warsaw Pact alive as a political organization, the Warsaw Pact ended in 1991. Eight years later three former members of the Warsaw Pact—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—joined NATO. In 2004 former members Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia joined, as did three former republics of the Soviet Union—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

The Warsaw Pact never functioned as smoothly as desired. There was a great deal of distrust between the Soviet Union and the member states and among the member states themselves. Several of these countries had not enjoyed good relations before World War II and still harbored ill feelings toward each other. Also, although the Soviet Union, could compel these nations to buy Soviet equipment and essentially to become part of the Soviet army, they could not force complete obedience in all matters. Despite Soviet demands that pact members buy substantial amounts of military equipment, many of the nations refused to do so.

The purchase of military equipment presented another difficulty. Arms purchases would bring in cash desired by the Soviet Union, and it wanted these nations to field equipment compatible with Soviet issue. On the other hand, the Soviets did not want other pact members to have armies, air forces, or navies that could present obstacles to the Soviet Union. Although the Warsaw Pact sent advisers and provided military aid to Soviet clients, there never was a conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. To predict that pact forces would have fought unreservedly to protect the Soviet Union and socialism is an unrealistic assumption.

See also HUNGARIAN REVOLT (1956); PRAGUE SPRING; SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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ROBERT N. STACY

Watergate scandal

Watergate is an impressive hotel, apartment, and office complex that overlooks the Potomac River near an old canal lock. It was built between 1964 and 1971. The name evolved to become an all-embracing label for political corruption, intrigue, and the misuse of presidential authority. Watergate, in the lexicon of U.S. politics, is simply synonymous with scandal. In the period from 1972 to 1974 the scandal emerged as an interconnected series of events and deeds that would destroy the RICHARD NIXON presidency and lead to his resignation on August 9, 1974. In its wake, Watergate produced a national crisis in leadership and a lasting sense of national betrayal.

The Watergate crisis began with a burglary on June 17, 1972. A security guard discovered a suspicious tape holding a stairwell door open, and this prompted him to contact Washington police. The police discovered and arrested on the scene Bernard Barker, Virgilio Gonzalez, Eugenio Martinez, James W. McCord, Jr., and Frank Sturgis. The men were in the process of breaking into the Democratic National Committee Headquarters. They also had wiretapping equipment. McCord, a former CIA operative, was the chief of security at the Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP, or CREEP), and in his possession was the telephone number of E. Howard Hunt, a possible incriminating direct link to the White House.

After a White House dismissal of the affair, the burglary could have passed into obscurity in this 1972 presidential election year if there had not been continuing media attention, driven by the efforts of *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward. Making use of FBI sources, the reporters launched a deep probe of the events. The outcome was that the burglary began to appear as one part of a complex dirty-tricks campaign by Nixon cronies.

The basis for such suspicions rested largely with E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, who were tied to the Special Investigations Unit of the White House, known as the "Plumbers." This group was active in undermining administration opponents through a variety of nefarious schemes such as breaking into the offices of Daniel Ellsberg, a former Pentagon and State

Department employee. As the future would reveal, these actions would have unfortunate consequences for the president. The Watergate burglary itself had the approval of former attorney general John Mitchell and the support of leading White House personnel such as Charles Colson and John Ehrlichman, in addition to the president's campaign manager, Jeb Magruder. Few believed that any of these men would have acted without the personal approval of the president.

The Watergate burglars, along with Liddy and Hunt, went on trial in January 1973. All pleaded guilty except McCord and Liddy. All were convicted of burglary, wiretapping, and conspiracy. The defendants initially refused to talk, and the judge, John Sirica, ordered long sentences unless there was greater cooperation. This brought about McCord's admission that the campaign was behind the burglary and had arranged payments to guarantee silence.

With the McCord admission, the political stakes were considerably raised, leading to a Senate investigation chaired by Senator Sam Ervin. Watergate was now on the national agenda, and White House staff faced subpoenas to testify. Nixon's close advisers H. R. Haldeman and Ehrlichman resigned, and White House counsel John Dean was fired. A new attorney general, Elliot Richardson, was also appointed. Richardson appointed Archibald Cox to head an independent inquiry.

The Senate investigation was televised from May 17 until August 7, 1973, and many former White House officials testified, including John Dean. The testimonies produced disastrous results for the president. The situation became even more complex after a White House official, Alexander Butterfield, admitted the existence of a White House taping system, which seemed to offer a way of finding the truth. The tapes then became part of the subpoena process.

Nixon thought that this particular intrusion represented an attack on executive privilege. He ordered the attorney general to dismiss Cox if he didn't cancel the subpoena. This led to what has come to be known as the "Saturday Night Massacre," which produced the resignation of Richardson and his deputy, William French Smith. Nixon appointed a new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, and as a desperate compromise gesture released the tapes in an edited form. The tapes seemed to cause not less but more distress for Nixon, particularly after it was revealed that there had been an 18-minute erasure as well as many additional erasures. Ultimately, the issue of the tapes was resolved on July 24, 1974, when the Supreme Court in its decision

United States v. Nixon denied the presidential claim of executive privilege.

Nixon's position throughout 1974 had also been progressively undercut through an ever-increasing series of guilty pleas by White House associates. In January campaign aide Herbert Porter admitted lying to the FBI; in February Nixon's lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, pleaded guilty to illegal electioneering; and in March the so-called Watergate Seven were all indicted for conspiring to interfere with the Watergate investigation. To make matters worse, other Watergate grand jury indictments followed in April when Ed Reinecke, a lieutenant governor of California and a Nixon campaigner, was charged with three counts of perjury. Also in April Dwight Chapin, Nixon's appointments secretary, admitted perjury and lying to the Senate and a grand jury.

The situation for Nixon was now without redemption. The House of Representatives began preparations for impeachment following a July 27, 1974, vote of 27 to 11 by the House Judiciary Committee on obstruction of justice charges. Other impeachment articles followed on July 29 and 30. The release in early August of a damning tape from June 23, 1972, which revealed Nixon and Haldeman discussing possibilities for blocking FBI investigations, proved to be the final blow that toppled Nixon from power.

Without support in the House and little promise of support in the Senate, Richard M. Nixon announced to the nation on August 8, 1974, that he would resign as of noon on August 9, 1974, becoming the first U.S. president to do so. He was succeeded by GERALD FORD. Ford, on September 8, pardoned Nixon and thus saved him from criminal prosecution. Until his death, Nixon maintained his innocence. Watergate poisoned the political waters of the nation and left a jaundiced, cynical view of politicians and their promises. When stripped of their offices and the emblems of power, the politicians appeared disgraceful, dishonest purveyors of power for power's sake without regard for the well-being of the democracy. This would create a lasting legacy of paranoid suspicions and give rise to a climate receptive to conspiracy theories.

On a more positive note, the events surrounding Watergate led to reforms in campaign financing as well as the passage of the Freedom of Information Act in 1986. The media became a much stronger voice, particularly as the nation moved toward news coverage on a 24-7 basis. This led to the quandary of instant analysis, often incorrect, which can shape policy and possibly undermine the best democratic interests of the nation.



Richard Nixon (right) departs the White House after his resignation. His administration was devastated by the Watergate scandal.

The cult of personality and celebrity has now perhaps replaced the cult of power.

See also PRESIDENTIAL IMPEACHMENT, U.S.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Wen Jiabao (Wen Chia-Pao)

(1942–) *Chinese politician*

Wen Jiabao was born in Tianjin, China, and attended Nankai High School. He graduated from the Beijing Geological Institute, joined the Communist Party in 1965, and began his career in the Gansu provincial geological bureau.

Wen moved to Beijing in the 1980s and advanced through the ranks of the General Office of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party. He worked closely with Zhao Ziyang in the late 1980s and was demoted after Zhao's fall from grace following the TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE. Unlike Zhao's, Wen's career recovered quickly, and he was able to continue to work under JIANG ZEMIN, becoming an alternate member of the Politburo in 1992. In 1998 premier Zhu Rongji entrusted him with oversight of agriculture, finance, and environment policies.

Wen became premier of China in 2003, succeeding Zhu Rongji. He is noted for his encyclopedic knowledge, practical approach, and consensual management style. He has proven himself to be a political survivor and has built up a network of influential friends during his political career. Wen has shifted the focus of China's economic policies from growth and development at all costs to consideration of social goals such as public health and education, more egalitarian development, and an awareness of the costs of development such as pollution and workers' illness and injury.

Wen has not been afraid to deal publicly with controversial matters involving public health and safety. In 2003 he ended public silence over the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak, which began in Guangdong Province in November 2002. He was also the first Chinese official to address the AIDS problem in China. AIDS is already a serious and growing problem in China, and some experts estimate that there will be 10–20 million cases by 2010 if the problem is not addressed aggressively. In his efforts to address rural poverty Wen indicated the seriousness of his concern by making numerous unannounced visits to rural areas, thus avoiding elaborate preparations by local officials to cover up problems that exist.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

Western Saharan War

Spain ruled the western Saharan region known as Río de Oro as part of its colonial empire. The region was sparsely populated by mostly Sunni Muslim nomadic peoples of mixed Berber and Arab ancestry who were Arabic speaking. The region contained some of the

world's richest phosphate mines but was otherwise desperately poor. In the early 1970s the Polisario Front (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia al Hamra and Río de Oro) initiated an armed nationalist struggle for independence from Spain.

After the death of Francisco Franco, a committed imperialist, the new Spanish government granted the territory independence in 1975. Although the UNITED NATIONS declared that the Sahrawi should have self-determination, Morocco and Mauritania both immediately claimed the territory. King Hassan II of Morocco launched the "Green March" of over 300,000 unarmed Moroccans to march into the territory and incorporate it into Morocco.

Because of its rivalry with Morocco as well as its desire for access to a port on the Atlantic Ocean, Algeria supported the Polisario, supplying it with arms and assistance. The Polisario proclaimed the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in 1976. Recognized by some 70 nations, SADR became a full-fledged member of the African Union.

The war between the Polisario, Morocco, and Mauritania lasted from 1975 to 1984. The Polisario was able to defeat Mauritania, which withdrew its claims in 1979, but it was largely defeated by Morocco, which obtained arms from the United States. Moroccan troops moved into the northern sector of the territory and occupied the huge phosphate mines at Bu Craa. The war and Moroccan occupation resulted in the displacement of over 200,000 Sahrawi, who continue to live in refugee camps in surrounding regions to the present day.

By the early 1980s Morocco controlled the majority of the territory, and SADR administered the remainder as liberated territory. To protect its holdings, Morocco built a 380-mile earth wall studded with electronic sensors and antipersonnel radar provided by the United States. The wall effectively enclosed the Moroccan-held sections of Western Sahara.

The United Nations called for a referendum, for the people to vote for independence or for union with Morocco. The Polisario supported the referendum, but Morocco moved in settlers, who probably now outnumber the indigenous Sahrawis, to the territory it held. Morocco argued that the settlers, presumably all in favor of union, should be allowed to vote in the proposed referendum. Not surprisingly, SADR and its supporters strongly rejected Morocco's claim.

Both the United Nations and the United States attempted to mediate but failed to break the impasse. It appeared that Morocco would refuse any referendum until it could guarantee a victory in the election. An esti-

mated 160,000 Moroccan soldiers continued to occupy the territory, which had a population of some 267,000 Sahrawi people. In 1983 King Hassan II negotiated an agreement with Algeria, which then halted its support for the Polisario, although many Sahrawis remained refugees in Algeria and other neighboring countries.

After Hassan's death in 1999 his son King Muhammad VI announced his desire for a resolution to the problem, but he also opposed holding a referendum on independence. In 2005 riots by supporters of the referendum in Moroccan-held territory broke out; Moroccan forces quickly quelled the riots and repressed SADR supporters. Hence one of the longest liberation struggles in the contemporary era continued to be unresolved.

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JANICE J. TERRY

World Bank

Founded at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944 by representatives of 44 governments, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), commonly known as the World Bank, was conceived as a mechanism through which financial resources could be funneled to Europe to aid in the rebuilding effort in the aftermath of World War II. Initially based solely in Washington, D.C. (where its world headquarters remains), and from its founding to the present day dominated by the United States, the World Bank played a key role in the COLD WAR between the United States and the Soviet Union: at first in western Europe, and then through its loans to nation-states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (the so-called Third World), considered by the United States key sites in the struggle against international communism.

From the 1950s the World Bank broadened its mandate to encompass economic development and poverty issues in Third World countries through its International Finance Corporation (IFC), its International Development Association (IDA), its International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), and its Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), which together with the IBRD compose the World Bank Group. In 2007 the World Bank

Group had 185 member states, with close coordination between the activities of its five entities and some 40 percent of its staff based outside the United States. Its governing structure consists of a board of governors, with a representative from each member state; a board of executive directors; and a president.

In the decades following its foundation, the World Bank underwent a number of broad shifts, from funding postwar reconstruction to large development projects in Third World countries to its current focus on the alleviation of poverty and sustainable development. Scholarly interpretations of the World Bank's role in world affairs vary widely. Neoclassical and neoliberal economists and social scientists tend to interpret the World Bank in positive terms, as a force for progressive social change. In contrast, many left-leaning social scientists tend to view it as serving the interests of multinational corporations and facilitating the foreign policy goals of the world's advanced industrial countries, particularly the United States.

The bank itself acknowledges many of its past mistakes, particularly its support for massive "white elephant" projects in Africa and Latin America that lined the pockets of corrupt politicians and business owners while doing little to alleviate poverty or advance genuine economic development. Such projects included the Kariba Dam in Zambia and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) in the 1950s, which displaced and impoverished thousands of Tonga people; the Singrauli thermal coal mining projects in India (financed from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s and accused of causing massive environmental damage and human misery); and the Yacyreta Dam in Paraguay and Argentina (financed in the 1980s and early 1990s and denounced as an environmental catastrophe and a "monument to corruption").

Despite divergent interpretations, all observers agree that the World Bank and the closely affiliated International Monetary Fund, also founded at Bretton Woods in 1944, have been among the most important international financial entities of the postwar era.

See also INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF).

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

World Trade Center, September 11, 2001

The United States of America and, in fact, the world, would not be the same after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The term 9/11 was added to the U.S. vocabulary, symbolizing armed aggression holding humankind for ransom. American Airlines Flight 11, United Airlines Flight 175, American Airlines Flight 77, and United Airlines Flight 93 were hijacked by AL-QAEDA, a group owing allegiance to the militant Islamic leader Osama bin Laden.

The aircraft, respectively, were crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center (WTC), the south tower of the WTC, the Pentagon headquarters, and a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. About 3,000 people died, and property worth billions of dollars was lost.

Bin Laden, the son of Saudi Arabian construction tycoon Mohammed Awad bin Laden, was the mastermind behind the September 11 attacks. Bin Laden had a deep hatred of the U.S. policy in the Middle East and called for the liberation of the region from the United States.

PREVIOUS TARGET

The United States had previously been the target of terrorist attacks such as the World Trade Center bombing (February 1993), a truck bomb at the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City (April 1995), bomb attacks on U.S. barracks in Dhahran (June 1996), the bombing of U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (August 1998), a bomb attack on the USS *Cole* (October 2000), and year 2000 millennium attack plots. But these were not like September 11 in magnitude and precision. Bin Laden was linked with many terrorist attacks all over the world. The successful execution of the attack inside U.S. territory by 19 Islamic militants was a demonstration of the failure of U.S. intelligence. The terrorists dispatched by al-Qaeda passed through security checkpoints of airports easily and performed their mission. It was one of the greatest failures of U.S. intelligence since Pearl Harbor.

The militants had visited the United States and stayed there. Targets, as well as the type of aircraft, were being modified until the final decision. The plan had begun with Operation Bojinka, which was conceived by Khalid Shaikh Mohammed and Ramzi Yousef as early as 1995 in Manila. While Khalid was in AFGHANISTAN, he presented al-Qaeda with the argument that instead of using

aircraft loaded with explosives, commercial planes could be used to hit the targets. Nine planes were to be crashed into different targets such as the WTC, the Pentagon, the White House, and the Capitol. A 10th plane was to be hijacked by Khalid himself. It would be landed in the United States after all the male passengers were killed. Bin Laden decided to use four planes. The WTC, the Pentagon, and the United States Capitol were to be the targets. A new terrorist cell was established in Hamburg, Germany, and militants were chosen by bin Laden.

Bin Laden was eager to carry out the plan. At a January 2000 meeting held in Kuala Lumpur, militants discussed the USS *Cole* bombing and the September 11 attacks. Some of the members had already been to the United States, renting apartments and undergoing training as students at flight schools. By June 2000 al-Mihdhar, al-Hazmi, Mohammed Atta, and Marwan al-Shehhi were already in the United States. Omar al-Bayoumi had been in San Diego, California, since 1995. The terrorists often changed their places of residence, spent money on airline tickets, and got driver's licenses by obtaining mailboxes. In the final preparations, four teams were chosen and airline tickets were purchased.

The first plane, AA Flight 11, crashed into the north tower of the WTC and had on board the hijackers Walid Al Shehri, Wail Alsheri, Mohammad Atta, Aabdul Alo-mari, and Satam Sugami. UA Flight 175 hit the south tower of the WTC and had on board Marawn Alshehhi, Fayez Ahmed, Mohald Alshehri, Hamza Al Ghamdi, and Ahmed Al Ghamdi. The Pentagon was hit by AA Flight 77, this third plane carrying Khalid al-Mihdhar, Majed Moqued, Nawaf Al Hazmi, and Salem Al Hazmi. Ahmed Al Haznawi, Ahmed Alnami, Ziad Jarrah, and Saeed Alghamdi had overpowered the fourth plane, UA Flight 93, which eventually crashed into the ground in Shanksville. Flight 11 crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center at 8:46:40 A.M. local time and at 9:03:11 A.M. Flight 175 crashed into the south tower. Millions of people watched the live collapse of the north and south towers. The casualty figure was 2,986.

SHOCK AROUND THE WORLD

The whole world was shocked by the attacks. Some European countries observed three minutes of silence. Messages of sympathy poured in to the administration and the people of the United States. The UNITED NATIONS, in Resolution 1368, expressed its support to the United States in defending its homeland. The member countries of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) declared that the attack on the United States was an attack against all NATO members. The



The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon shocked the world. The ruins of the twin towers are seen in an aerial shot. The towers had previously been the target of a terrorist attack in 1993.

immediate reaction of shock and fear gave way to anger and vengeance afterward in the United States. President GEORGE W. BUSH addressed the nation on the evening of September 11, saying that the United States was not going to be cowed by the acts of mass murder. The United States declared al-Qaeda the prime suspect, and bin Laden became a wanted man.

Patriotism reached a new height, and sales of the U.S. flag soared. Donations to charitable organizations topped half a billion dollars within two weeks after September 11. Blood donations increased. A \$40-billion emergency fund was granted by the U.S. Congress to tackle terrorism and help in recovery operations in New York and Washington after the attack.

Counterterrorism laws were introduced by the Bush administration infringing on the personal liberty of citizens. A Council for Homeland Security was established for internal counterterrorism efforts. The USA Patriot Act empowered federal authorities to prosecute terrorism suspects and detain them without charges. The Information Awareness Office (IAO), created in 2002, initiated measures for collecting information pertaining to Internet activity, credit card purchase histories, air-

line ticket purchases, medical records, driver's licenses, and personal information.

The Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities Before and After the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001, released its final report in December 2002. The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission), the bipartisan commission created by Congressional legislation, made its report public on July 22, 2004.

The attacks also had significant economic repercussions, pushing the United States deeper into a recession. U.S. stocks lost \$1.2 trillion in value in a week, after the stock market was reopened six days after the attack. Recovery operations took months to complete, and the WTC fire was extinguished after burning for three months. The September attack led to the "War on Terror," with the United States increasing its military operations, putting pressure on terrorist groups, threatening governments sheltering the militants, and waging war in Afghanistan and afterward in Iraq.

Operation Enduring Freedom, which lasted for two months, began on October 7, 2001, against the TALIBAN regime in Afghanistan. Although a cooperative

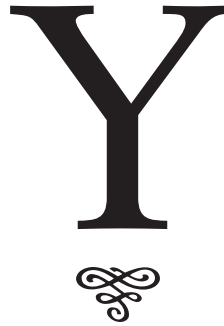
government was installed in Afghanistan, bin Laden was not captured. But initial support for the War on Terror waged by the United States began to drop significantly after the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

See also IRAQ WAR; TERRORISM.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA



Yahya Khan

(1917–1980) *Pakistani president*

Yahya Khan was the president of Pakistan and chief of army staff from 1969 to 1971, following the resignation of Mohammad Ayub Khan. As soon as he rose to power, Yahya Khan declared martial law to quell the widespread riots caused by discontent in the aftermath of the INDO-PAKISTANI WAR of 1965. Yahya Khan also dissolved the National Assembly and terminated the constitution. His two years as president were marked by strong tensions in East Pakistan, leading to the Bangladesh Liberation War and the eventual secession of BANGLADESH in 1971.

Yahya was born in Chakwal on February 4, 1917, into a family of Persian origins, descended from the military elite. He attended Punjab University and graduated first in his class from the Indian Military Academy. Yahya joined the British army, and during World War II he served in Iraq, Italy, and North Africa. After the partition of INDIA, he became the youngest brigadier general in the Pakistani army, commander in chief of the army in 1966, and when President Ayub Khan resigned, he turned to his faithful aide Yahya Khan to maintain order in the country. Yahya was resolute in his restoration of order in the country. To make this suspension of political and civil liberties more palatable, he also started a large-scale renovation of the country's civil service personnel. He also announced restrictions on economic monopolies and a more equal distribution of wealth.

Yet Yahya's reforms and his government were swept away by the conflict that erupted in 1971 between East and West Pakistan. SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, leader of the AWAMI LEAGUE, launched a campaign for the creation of a federation in which East Pakistan would enjoy great autonomy. The League performed extremely well in the 1970 election, winning 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan. However the party did not get a single seat in western constituencies, which overwhelmingly went to ZULFIKAR BHUTTO's PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY. Since neither Bhutto nor Mujibur would support the other as prime minister, Yahya decided to solve the political impasse by sending the army to East Pakistan to crush the Awami League. The acts of brutality committed by the army caused millions to flee to India for Indian intervention, forcing the West Pakistani army to surrender. East Pakistan declared its independence, establishing the state of Bangladesh in 1972. Yahya Khan's only option was to hand power to Zulfikar Bhutto, who put him under arrest. He spent his later years far from the political scene.

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LUCA PRONO

Yeltsin, Boris

(1931–2007) *Russian president*

Boris Yeltsin was the first president of Russia following the collapse of the communist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Yeltsin struggled against the vestiges of the former regime and the chaos following its collapse to introduce a stable, democratic system.

Yeltsin was born in the region of Sverdlovsk in 1931. He studied construction at the Ural Polytechnic Institute, graduating in 1955. Yeltsin served in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) from 1961 to 1990. He first became a party administrator in 1969 and continued to develop contacts within the Soviet system.

Yeltsin rose to the top of the CPSU during the 1980s through connections with General Secretary MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, the de facto leader of the country, and other reformers. Gorbachev appointed Yeltsin to the Politburo. Yeltsin portrayed himself as a reformer and people's champion despite his lavish lifestyle. His initiatives became popular. However, Yeltsin repeatedly shuffled and fired staff members and underwent criticism by hard-line Communists. Soon Gorbachev also began to criticize Yeltsin. In 1987 Gorbachev removed Yeltsin from his high-ranking party positions. Yeltsin became a harsh critic of Gorbachev and advocated a slow pace of reform, which became a hallmark of his later policies. This was an effort to counter Gorbachev's favoring of a decentralization of power to create hurried reform. In response, Yeltsin was demoted. He vented in the Congress of People's Deputies, a parliamentary body established by Gorbachev. Yeltsin's detractors attempted to undermine his integrity, accusing him of being heavily intoxicated in public.

Growing dissatisfaction with the Soviet system made men who opposed it, such as Yeltsin, popular. In 1989 Yeltsin ascended to the Congress of People's Deputies as delegate from the Moscow district and gained a seat on the Supreme Soviet. In 1990 Yeltsin became chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In June 1990 the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR adopted a declaration of sovereignty. Soon after, Yeltsin resigned from the CPSU. During the 1991 democratic presidential elections, Yeltsin won 57 percent of the vote. In August 1991 hard-line Communists launched a coup against Gorbachev, who was held in the Crimea. Yeltsin returned to his presidential office in Moscow, which was surrounded by troops, to deal with the coup. From a tank turret, Yeltsin made a rousing speech that rallied the troops to defect in the face of mass popular demonstrations. The leaders of the coup were dispersed; Yeltsin emerged a national hero.

Gorbachev returned to power with diminished authority. Throughout 1991 the Russian government continued to take over the Soviet Union government. In November, Yeltsin banned the CPSU in the RSFSR. In December, Yeltsin met with the presidents of Ukraine and Belarus to discuss the Soviet Union's dissolution and its replacement with a voluntary Commonwealth of Independent States. On December 24 the Russian federation took the Soviet Union's place in the UNITED NATIONS. The next day, Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union would cease to exist.

Despite the Soviet system's collapse, its vestiges remained. The Supreme Soviet contained many opposed to Yeltsin's policies, and local elites collaborated with criminal organizations. Yeltsin bypassed the Supreme Soviet and deliberated policy with his own inner circle. Throughout 1992 Yeltsin attempted to implement economic reforms by decree and declined to hold new elections. In January, Yeltsin removed state control over the prices of most goods, thereby reintroducing a capitalist system and stabilizing currency. The administrative elite of the Soviet era retained control of factories, shops, offices, and farms. Consequently they retarded implementation of Yeltsin's reforms. Lobbyist groups pressured Yeltsin, who granted a concession continuing governmental subsidies and guarantees that the denationalization of companies would not hinder directors' and workers' immediate interests. To appease his detractors, Yeltsin appointed their candidates to some key positions. In the face of skyrocketing inflation Yeltsin fired his premier and replaced him with Viktor Chernomyrdin, who introduced limits on profit rates for several goods.

Popular disenchantment with Yeltsin increased, and the country descended into crisis. Many farmers went unpaid for deliveries to state purchasing agents, and industrial production declined. Crime continued to grow. Several Russian republics rebelled. Yeltsin reasserted central authority, enacting a no-tolerance policy toward separatist movements to maintain the Russian state's integrity during the implementation of reforms.

Yeltsin maneuvered around cabinet members appointed to appease the opposition. He had inherited a constitution enabling the Congress of People's Deputies to intervene in any organ's jurisdiction. Former Communist elites in positions of power were concerned with securing their dominance and engaged in a power struggle with Yeltsin. In April 1993 Congress unsuccessfully attempted Yeltsin's impeachment. In response, Yeltsin held a national referendum concerning popular trust in his socioeconomic policies. The results encouraged Yeltsin, who dissolved the Russian parliament in September. Some of Yeltsin's detractors barricaded

themselves in the parliament building; Yeltsin ordered the seizure of the building and their forced removal and arrest. Yeltsin briefly declared a state of emergency. In December new elections were held under limited censorship, and Yeltsin initiated a new constitution increasing presidential authority. Yeltsin reappointed his favored cabinet and quickly implemented reforms. He continued to position his supporters as provincial governors. Russia's inability to establish a stable multiparty system gave Yeltsin freedom to maneuver. In late 1993 remaining price controls were lifted, and privatization continued. By 1994, however, Yeltsin realized that economic reform was happening too fast, and conditions were improving unevenly throughout the country.

Yeltsin's politics verged on opportunism. Following the nationalists' success in the 1993 elections, Yeltsin pursued nationalist policies. Following the Communists' success in 1995, Yeltsin adopted Communist policies. In December 1994 Yeltsin ordered Russian troops into the breakaway republic of Ichkeria. His military campaigns were unsuccessful and unpopular, damaging his political reputation and his image as protector of Russia's integrity. In 1995 Yeltsin suffered a heart attack. In 1996 he narrowly won the presidency in the face of a Communist resurgence resulting from disillusionment with democracy. Yeltsin became increasingly unstable, and his alcohol consumption mounted. He resumed his economic reforms and reduced the budget deficit. However, Yeltsin did little to curb the corrupt practices carried out by his administration. That same year Yeltsin announced Russia's default on its debts; financial markets panicked; and Russia's currency collapsed. In 1999 Yeltsin again fired his entire cabinet. His approval rating plummeting, Yeltsin resigned as president in favor of Prime Minister VLADIMIR PUTIN.

See also SOVIET UNION, DISSOLUTION OF THE.

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ERIC MARTONE

Yemen

The Arab Republic of Yemen is located on the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, sharing borders with Saudi Arabia and Oman. Three-quarters of its popula-

tion in 2004 lived in rural areas, and its topography ranges from coastal plains to highlands to desert.

The British occupation and colonization of southern Yemen (Aden) continued until the late 1950s, when the United Kingdom promised to grant independence to the six states under its control in the south. Two southern Yemeni groups, the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and the National Liberation Front (NLF), fought the plans as well as each other, forcing the British to declare in 1967 that they would hand over power to any group that could set up a government. In November 1967 the last British troops were withdrawn, and the NLF formed a government with Aden as its capital. The federation was officially called the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The name reflected the Marxist leanings of the government. Other communist countries, including the Soviet Union, CHINA, and Cuba, provided the impoverished nation with economic aid and assistance.

In 1962 the ruling religious leader (imam) in northern Yemen, Imam Ahmad, was overthrown by military officers with the support of Egypt. Fighting ensued between the royalists, supported by SAUDI ARABIA, and the republicans, supported by Egypt. Following their defeat in the 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, the Egyptians were forced to withdraw their troops. The republicans forged a peace with the remaining royalist tribes and obtained backing from the Saudis. The fighting ended in 1970, and a government was formed of both royalists and republicans as the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), known as North Yemen or Yemen, with Sanaa as the capital. The republicans eventually took over the reins of government, exiling the imam's son to Britain.

In 1972 the two Yemeni governments fought over their common border. The dispute was mediated by the Arab League and resulted in the surprising Cairo Treaty, which anticipated the unification of the two sides within 12 months. The merger was delayed, and the two sides moved further right and left. The late 1970s was a period of assassination of leaders, upheaval, and armed clashes between the two sides.

During the 1980s a trend emerged: The two Yemens would fight, they would sign an agreement to unify the country, and the proposed merger would fail. In addition, in the mid-1980s oil was discovered in the Rub Al-Khali, the desert that straddled the two Yemens. In May 1988 the two Yemens agreed on a neutral zone so that each could use the oil in cooperation with the other. The resolution of this issue and the boost to their economies helped to pave the way for a concrete 14-month plan for unification. Declining assistance from

the crumbling Soviet bloc also encouraged the south to take reunification plans more seriously. In 1990 the border was demilitarized, and currencies were made valid in both Yemens. On May 22, 1990, the two Yemens were united as the Republic of Yemen, with the political capital in Sanaa and the economic capital in Aden. A referendum ratified the unification, and generally fair and open elections were held in April 1993.

Despite these political developments, the unification was seen by some Yemenis as too favorable to the north. During the 1990–91 Gulf crisis, Yemen declared its support for an Arab solution to the invasion of KUWAIT, demanding the Iraqis leave Kuwait and the U.S. troops withdraw from the region. In retaliation, Saudi Arabia expelled tens of thousands of Yemeni workers. Income plummeted as unemployment rose. In early 1994 violence spread and a new civil war broke out. With no outside support, the south was soon overrun.

After the 1994 war, Yemeni unity was reinforced, and all national parties now support national unity. In 1997 a second fair and calm parliamentary election was held, and President Ali Abdullah Saleh was elected to a seven-year term. With wide executive powers he appointed a vice president, cabinet members, a prime minister, and the 111 members of the Shura Council. However, the regime is threatened by mounting pressure from Islamist groups and local leaders.

See also GULF WAR, FIRST (1991).

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RANDA KAYYALI

Yoshida Shigeru

(1878–1967) *Japanese diplomat and politician*

Yoshida Shigeru was both a diplomat and a politician; he served as prime minister of Japan from 1946 to 1947 and from 1948 to 1954. Yoshida led Japan through much of the U.S. occupation of Japan. His leadership ultimately allowed Japan to emerge from the economic, psychological, and physical damage of World War II. His policies led Japan to rapid economic recovery, and he was willing to give up independence in foreign affairs in exchange for military protection from the United States. As a result, Yoshida outlined much of the policy for Japan during the COLD WAR era. His

belief that the United States would provide the necessary security appealed to the United States as well as many of Japan's conservatives.

Yoshida was born in Tokyo on September 22, 1878, and educated at the Tokyo Imperial University. Like many of the Japanese military and diplomatic leaders of the early 20th century, he joined the Japanese diplomatic corps. In 1938 Yoshida retired while posted in London. He spent a brief time in prison after World War II for his participation in the Japanese government. He emerged as a key postwar leader.

On May 22, 1946, Yoshida became the prime minister of Japan. Allied occupation forces held him in high regard for his pro-United States and pro-British stances as well as his familiarity with Western cultures. On May 24, 1947, Tetsu Katayama replaced Yoshida as prime minister, but he regained the position on October 15, 1948, and would continue to serve in the position until 1954. Yoshida's policies for Japan concentrated on the economic growth required to rebuild the war-torn infrastructure. His policies were quite popular, and he was reelected for three consecutive terms—1949, 1952, and 1953.

Yoshida's most complicated role was bridging the gap from World War II Japan to Japan under occupation to the modern and contemporary economic power. Yoshida brought stability to Japan but also, in the direction he planned for Japan, offered an opportunity for regional peace and economic prosperity. Yoshida died on October 20, 1967. The decade during which he led Japan is called the Yoshida Years.

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MATTHEW H. WAHLERT

Yugoslavia, breakup and war in

The wars that attended the breakup of Yugoslavia during the 1990s tend to be explained by indicating some historical predisposition of Balkan nationalities toward violence against one another. Although the legacy of the past did play a role in the conflict, it did not determine the bloodshed. In this respect there is no single reason for the dissolution of the Socialist Federated Republic



U.S. Marines set up a roadblock to check for weapons near the village of Koretin, Kosovo. Units were deployed as an enabling force for KFOR, the NATO-led peacekeeping mission in the Balkan region.

of Yugoslavia. Instead, there is a complex array of economic, cultural, and systemic factors.

Many of these factors can be traced to the federal design imposed on the state by Marshal Tito (Josip Broz), which began to unravel soon after his death. The April 1981 Albanian riots in Kosovo marked a turning point in the history of the Yugoslav state, which saw an escalation in interethnic tensions during the 1980s. These were underpinned by regional economic disparities. Gradually, economic nationalism impacted political developments. The ethnically based structure of the federation ensured that the political elites of individual republics relied on the support of their respective republics. Political programs, therefore, were increasingly influenced by nationalist agendas.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ

These developments would not have sufficed to take Yugoslavia down the path of intercommunal violence

had it not been for the agency of individual republican leaders. Most commentators agree that it was the rise to power in Serbia of Slobodan Milošević that led to war. His manipulation of Serb nationalist sentiments allowed him to become president of Serbia in 1989. Under Milošević's leadership the Serbian parliament amended the constitution of the republic in March 1989. The provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina lost their autonomy. In December 1990 Milošević ordered the National Bank of Yugoslavia to allocate unauthorized credits to Serbian-owned enterprises, which both triggered hyperinflation and stiffened the resolve of other republics to secede from Yugoslavia. Milošević's chauvinistic rhetoric and policies pushed the country into war.

From April to December 1990 all republics held multiparty elections. The overall success of nationalist formations at the ballot box precipitated the impasse that Yugoslavia reached in 1991. In October 1990 Slovenia and Croatia tabled a formal proposal for the

transformation of Yugoslavia into a loose confederation. Milošević rejected it. The crisis came in spring 1991 when Serbia announced that it was going to block the rotation of the federal presidency. In May 1991 the Serb representative refused to step down, which forced Slovenia and Croatia to declare independence on June 25, 1991, starting a series of wars.

The shortest of those conflicts was the so-called 10-day war in Slovenia. It started on June 27, 1991, when units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) crossed into Slovenia from Croatia, and JNA units around Ljubljana moved in to occupy the airport. Yet what the authorities in Belgrade did not anticipate was the resolve of the fledgling Slovenian army and Slovenian citizens. By deploying effectively, Slovenian detachments engaged in attacks and ambushes of JNA convoys, besieged JNA barracks, and blocked roads. On July 5 the two sides agreed to a cease-fire, and on July 7, 1991, under the auspices of the European Community, the heads of Yugoslavia's republics signed the Brioni Agreement, which allowed for Slovenia's independence.

The Brioni Agreement, however, did not address the situation in Croatia. In February 1991 there were skirmishes between Croatian police and Serb militias. In April 1991 the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina declared its secession from Croatia. By June, fighting in this area had already begun. JNA forces retreating from Slovenia lent their support to Serb militias, and in July 1991 a full-fledged war began in Croatia. The JNA attack targeted towns across Croatia. The city of Vukovar in particular became a symbol of the barbarity of the war. Completely surrounded by Serb forces in August, it was under siege for nearly 90 days, by the end of which the entire town was leveled.

"ETHNIC CLEANSING"

The war in Croatia witnessed the first instances of "ethnic cleansing"—a policy for "clearing" a particular territory of rival ethnic groups by either killing or expelling them. In October 1991, JNA forces began bombing the old city of Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian coast. This marked a turning point in the wars of Yugoslav dissolution as it urged international actors to get involved in stopping the violence. In late November all sides to the conflict agreed to a cease-fire, which was brokered by the UNITED NATIONS (UN).

The truce allowed for the establishment of a United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). This ended the first phase of the war in Croatia. The cease-fire held from 1992 to 1994. In May 1995 the Croatian army took the offensive again, starting the second phase of

the war, and retook most of the Serb-controlled areas in western Slavonia and in the region of Krajina. This triggered an exodus of almost all the Serbs who lived in the country. The war in Croatia ended in December 1995.

In many respects the fighting in Croatia marked the next stage in the dissolution of Yugoslavia—the attempt to carve ethnically homogeneous states. On December 19, 1991, the Serbian-controlled western Slavonia and the region of Krajina declared themselves the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and on December 26, 1991, the government in Belgrade declared the establishment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia, Montenegro, and Serbian Krajina. This formation attested to Milošević's strategy of carving out a "Greater Serbia" under the guise of a smaller Yugoslavia.

This approach was tragically confirmed during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The republic was one of the most ethnically heterogeneous in former Yugoslavia. In 1990 the JNA had already begun transferring weapons to Serb militias in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In August 1991 Milošević met with the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić to discuss a strategy for annexing portions of the republic to Serbia. In September the JNA began establishing, securing, and arming Serbian areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which in January 1992 proclaimed themselves the Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic). At the same time, the Croatian president Franjo Tuđman was also plotting to annex the Croat-dominated areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Despite the ongoing fighting between Serbia and Croatia, Milošević and Tuđman met secretly in September 1991 to discuss the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began in April 1992. The initial stages saw Serbian forces confronting Bosniaks and Herzegovinian Croats. The Serb forces unleashed a campaign of ethnic cleansing. In response to the violence, the United Nations designated as "safe areas" the cities of Sarajevo, Bihać, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tuzla, and Zepa; dispatched UNPROFOR troops; and declared Bosnia-Herzegovina a no-fly zone. The international community presented a peace plan in January 1993 that proposed the division of the country between the Serbs, the Croats, and the Bosniaks. This proposal was rejected. Fighting continued until March 1994, when the Bosniaks and Croats formed a Bosniak-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Another front line was opened between the Bosniak forces themselves. The confrontation started in 1993 and went on until 1995. The intensity of the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in particular the massacre of 7,000 Bosniak men and boys as a result of

the capture of the “safe area” of Srebrenica by Bosnian Serb forces, urged the international community to act. During November 1995 all sides met in Dayton and negotiated a peace agreement, which ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his first act as president of Serbia in 1989, Milošević had revoked the autonomy of Kosovo. This exacerbated the tensions between the Kosovo Albanians (Kosovars) and the Serbs in the province. Although the Kosovars organized a peaceful resistance, some of them formed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in 1996. The KLA began to carry out sporadic attacks on Serbian police in the province. In 1998 the tensions started to escalate, and both the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) tried to mediate in the conflict. It was the January 1999 massacre of Albanians in the village of Racak by Serb forces that urged the international community to put more pressure on the two sides. During February and March 1999 the international community organized a conference at Rambouillet (in France). Its failure and the continued violence in Kosovo forced NATO to initiate a bombing campaign of Yugoslavia on

March 24, 1999. NATO’s campaign, which lasted for 78 days, was its first-ever peace-enforcing mission without a UN mandate.

After the war in Kosovo, the only republics to remain in Yugoslavia were Serbia and Montenegro. The latter became increasingly vocal about its desire for independence, and in February 2003 the EUROPEAN UNION brokered an agreement for the creation of a UNION of Serbia and Montenegro. In June 2006 both Montenegro and Serbia declared their independence as two separate nations. This act formally ended the existence of Yugoslavia.

See also BALKANS (1991–PRESENT); WARSAW PACT.

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EMILIAN KAVALSKI



Zapatistas

In the heavily Mayan Indian state of Chiapas in southeastern Mexico, on New Year's Day, 1994, a group of rebels carrying automatic rifles, axes, and sledgehammers, wearing black ski masks, and calling themselves the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) proclaimed themselves in rebellion against the Mexican government. The uprising was timed to coincide with the implementation of the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) between Mexico, the United States, and CANADA. The Mexican government responded by sending some 25,000 soldiers into Chiapas, armed with automatic weapons, tanks, and helicopters.

On January 12 the government declared a cease-fire, saying it would respond with force only if attacked. By this time around 150 people had been reported killed, most by government security forces. Talks between the EZLN and government negotiators began on February 20. The Zapatista spokesperson, who called himself Sub-Commander Marcos, soon became an international celebrity. In what has been called the world's first post-modern rebellion—waged against not only a national government but an international trade agreement, its principal weapons not guns but words, grassroots organizing, and the Internet, and launched not with the goal of military victory but of gaining indigenous rights and national and international solidarity—the Zapatista movement continued into the 21st century, posing a thorny challenge to the Mexican state and local power-holders. In 2007 the rebellion still simmered, centered

in dozens of Zapatista “autonomous municipalities” in the heart of the Chiapas Lacondón rain forest, central highlands, and northern zones.

Home to some of the oldest civilizations on Earth, Mexico's Maya zones have seen a long series of protest movements against local, regional, national, and imperial authorities that stretch back to the initial Spanish invasion in 1522 and continued with the Tzeltal Revolt of 1712, the Jacinto Canek Revolt of 1761, the Caste War of Yucatán from 1848 and its aftermath, and subsequent revolts and resistance movements. After the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the establishment of a “one party democracy” under the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) in 1929, Chiapas remained one of the poorest and most marginalized states in the Mexican States United (Estados Unidos Mexicanos). In 1994 its 3.5 million people, spread over some 76,000 square kilometers, included large concentrations of Maya Indians, some two-thirds living in rural areas and divided into numerous ethno-linguistic groups, including Tzelatales, Tzotziles, Choles, Zoques, and Tojolabales.

At least half of the indigenous people did not have access to potable water and were illiterate; two-thirds did not have sewage systems; and 90 percent had little or no income. In 1992 President Carlos Salinas and the PRI-dominated houses of Congress approved far-reaching changes to Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution, effectively privatizing the *ejidos* (collective village lands) that had been a cornerstone of Mexico's postrevolutionary agrarian reform laws. The terms of NAFTA further accelerated decades-long trends toward privatization

and the opening of the Mexican economy to transnational corporations and unfettered trade.

The rebels named their army after Emiliano Zapata, a village leader from the state of Morelos and one of the leading figures in the Mexican Revolution, whose honesty, rectitude, and uncompromising demands for “land and liberty” made him a heroic figure among the country’s poor and Indian population. The Zapatista spokesperson, Sub-Commander Marcos, remains an enigmatic figure. Never photographed without his black ski mask, he is thought to be Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, a Jesuit-educated former professor of philosophy at the Metropolitan Autonomous University in Mexico City who began working and organizing among the Maya of Chiapas in the mid-1980s. His name is presumed to be an acronym for the municipalities first taken over by the rebel army (Las Margaritas, Amatenango del Valle, La Realidad, Comitán, Ocosingo, and San Cristóbal de Las Casas). He is called the group’s “sub-commander” because the EZLN is based on grassroots participatory democracy, and he is therefore considered not the group’s leader but a subordinate to the people in whose name he speaks.

Peace talks between representatives of the EZLN and the national government began at San Andrés Larrainzar in April 1995. On February 17, 1996, the parties agreed to the terms of the Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture, known as the San Andrés Accords. The Accords called for revision of Article Four of the 1917 Constitution to require the Mexican state to “recognize the right of Indian peoples to freely determine their own forms of social, economic, political, and cultural organization.” In essence, the accords would have permitted an autonomous parallel state and political structure within Mexico, including an independent judicial system based on indigenous practices.

Meanwhile, the military buildup by the Mexican army and security forces in Chiapas intensified as the government waged a low-intensity war against EZLN forces throughout the region. Local paramilitaries, growing out of the “white guards” (*guardias blancas*) organized by the region’s cattle and landowning oligarchy and active since the early 1980s, also stepped up their attacks against EZLN activists and supporters. New anti-EZLN paramilitaries formed, including the Indigenous Revolutionary Anti-Zapatista Movement (MIRA) and the Red Mask. Attacks, assaults, and human rights abuses against EZLN supporters mounted. On December 22, 1997, the Red Mask massacred 45 people at Acteal, including 21 women and 15 children.

In this context of growing militarization and violence, in August 1996 the EZLN sponsored an International Conference for Humanity Against Neoliberalism (called by Marcos the “Intergalactic Encuentro”), attended by intellectuals, activists, and celebrities from around the world. In January 1997 President Ernesto Zedillo proposed a watered-down version of the San Andrés Accords that eliminated the provisions recognizing indigenous rights. The EZLN rejected the revisions, and henceforth the accords remained a dead letter.

PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE

The EZLN’s propaganda offensive continued in marches, demonstrations, solidarity agreements with various sectors of civil society, and a flurry of communiqués and declarations from Sub-Commander Marcos. In March 2001 Zapatista commanders headed a caravan to Mexico City, where they rallied with supporters to demand legislation implementing the original San Andrés accords. Instead, the government passed a law denounced by indigenous rights groups. The Zapatistas responded with a four-year period of “strategic silence,” which they broke in June 2005 with their “Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle,” inaugurating a series of grassroots meetings and a national tour, the “Other Campaign,” to form a coalition of left groups.

Typical of the EZLN’s approach to waging war was the assault by the “Zapatista Air Force” against a Mexican military installation in January 2000, in which rebels launched hundreds of paper airplanes into the camp, each bearing handwritten messages such as: “Soldiers, we know that poverty has made you sell your lives and souls. I also am poor, as are millions. But you are worse off, for defending our exploiter Zedillo and his group of moneybags.” Part of a broader resurgence of indigenous political organizing in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes, in 2007 the EZLN controlled over 30 autonomous municipalities, while the struggle in Chiapas and beyond showed no signs of abating.

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Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai)

(1898–1976) *Chinese communist leader*

Zhou Enlai came from a gentry family, studied in Tianjin (Tientsin), and participated in the student movement before sailing for France in 1920. He was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps in France, in charge of political indoctrination. He also joined the Nationalist Party (or Kuomintang, KMT) in 1923, his dual-party membership made possible by the united front that KMT leader Sun Yat-sen negotiated with the Soviet Union. After returning to China in 1924, he became the deputy director of the political department of the Whampoa Military Academy, which Chiang Kai-shek headed, in which position he recruited young cadets for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to infiltrate the KMT officer corps.

Zhou was able to escape Chiang's dragnet when the latter purged communists from the KMT in 1927, visited the Soviet Union, and finally surfaced in Ruijin (Juichin), the CCP headquarters in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province, in 1931. In Ruijin the Zhou–Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) collaboration began, and lasted until Zhou's death in 1976. Zhou participated in the Long March (1934–35) and was a negotiator for the CCP in the formation of the Second United Front with the KMT, which came about as a result of Japan's all-out war against China in 1937. He represented the CCP in China's wartime capital Chongqing (Chungking) as a member of the People's Political Council and successfully undermined the KMT with his personal charisma and the reasonable image he projected of the CCP. Zhou represented the CCP in post–World War II talks with the KMT, mediated by U.S. special ambassador George Marshall. Zhou employed the “now talk; now fight” strategy, which contributed to the United States washing its hands of China and the CCP victory over the KMT in 1949.

When the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) was established in 1949, Zhou became both premier and foreign minister. He personally handled China's important international negotiations even after he ceded the foreign minister post to Chen Yi in 1958. Besides taking numerous negotiating trips to the Soviet Union, he also represented China at the Geneva Conference, which ended the FIRST INDOCHINA WAR in 1954, and at the BANDUNG CONFERENCE of 29 Afro-Asian states in 1955, where China was accepted as the leader of the “anti-imperialist” bloc of nations.

He mediated between the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland in 1957 but failed to find a peaceful solution with INDIA in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. He was the lone leader of moderation during the violence and

chaos of the Cultural Revolution after 1966 and played a key role in bringing about the rapprochement between China and the United States that culminated in President RICHARD NIXON's visit to China in 1972. In his last years Zhou promoted pragmatist DENG XIAOPING (Teng Hisao-p'ing) to be his vice premier. Deng consolidated power and began economic reforms after Mao's death. Among Mao's senior associates, Zhou alone escaped being purged in a long career.

See also GANG OF FOUR AND JIANG QING; GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA (1966–1976).

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Zia, Khaleda

(1945–) *Bangladeshi prime minister*

Khaleda Zia became the prime minister of BANGLADESH for the third time in October 2001 for a five-year term. She was born on August 15, 1945, in Jalpaiguri (now in Bengal, India), the third of her parents' five children. Zia had her early school education at Dinajpur Government Girl School and her post-secondary education at Surendranath College. She was married to Ziaur Rahman, then a captain in the Pakistan army, in August 1960. Ziaur Rahman later broke away from the Pakistan army to join the pro-independence forces of Bangladesh on March 25, 1971. After her husband's assassination in 1981, his party, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), chose Zia as the president on March 10, 1984.

In the 1991 election the BNP received a massive mandate, securing an absolute majority, and Zia began her tenure as Bangladesh's first female prime minister (1991–96). During her first tenure she brought about major educational changes by mandating free and compulsory education for girls. She introduced incentives such as stipends for young female students and revitalized the economy by taking poverty alleviation measures.

Zia became prime minister for the second consecutive term when the BNP scored a landslide victory in the February 1996 general election. During her second

term she increased the age limit for entry into government service to 30 years of age. She also made efforts to safeguard the traditional and cultural identity of underdeveloped hill and tribal people of Bangladesh by providing them with employment opportunities, education, and other facilities to improve their standard of living. She was elected prime minister for the third time in October 2001, when she led a four-party alliance to win a two-thirds majority in the parliamentary poll, but was deposed in 2007.

In foreign affairs she promoted regional cooperation with Bangladesh's South Asian neighbors, including India. She also actively supported United Nations peacekeeping efforts.

On the environment she took measures for planned usage of water resources, prevention of erosion of riverbanks, and maintaining ecological balance through conservation of forests. In local government and people's empowerment she decentralized the power at the village, union, district, and sub-district levels through a four-tier, autonomous, and democratic local self-governance.

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MOHAMMED BADRUL ALAM

Zia-ul-Haq, Mohammad

(1924–1988) *Pakistani president*

Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq was president of Pakistan for more than a decade from 1977, when he overthrew the government of ZULFIKAR BHUTTO, to 1988, the year of his death in a plane crash. As the president of Pakistan, in 1978, Zia established a totalitarian and dictatorial regime based on the enforcement of martial law, the suppression of political opponents, and the dissolution of all political parties.

When he decided to partially restore democracy, he made key amendments to the constitution ensuring the president the right to overrule parliamentary decisions in the national interest. As president he tried to maintain close links to Islam and to revive the country's declining economy, while his foreign policy was marked by the support of the mujahideens in the Soviet-Afghan War.

Zia was born in Jalandhar on August 12, 1924, the son of a teacher in the British army. He first attended the Government High School in Simla, and then went on to earn his B.A. at St. Stephen College, Delhi. He was commissioned in the British army when he was 19 years old. At the time of the Indian partition he, like most Muslims, chose to continue his career in the Pakistani army. In the early 1960s Zia trained in the United States, and he was later sent to Jordan to help the formation of the country's army.

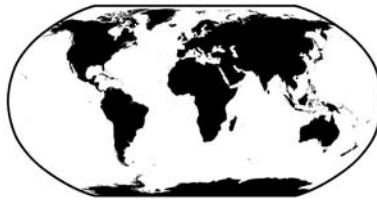
In April 1976 Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto surprisingly appointed Zia chief of army staff instead of more senior generals. Bhutto probably underestimated Zia's political abilities, ambitions, and his following in the army. Yet when the opposition coalition of the Pakistan National Alliance charged Bhutto with rigging the electoral results, Zia took advantage of the situation, leading a military coup against Bhutto and decreeing martial law to reestablish order. Zia consolidated his grip on the government and created the Disqualification Tribunal, which forced many politicians and members of Parliament to retire from public life.

He also decided to dissolve parliament and replace it with the Majlis-i-Shoora, an assembly of 284 member from the different classes of Pakistani society who were, however, selected by the president himself. Former prime minister Bhutto was hanged in 1979 after a long and controversial trial. When Zia finally decided to call elections in the mid-1980s, he first secured his right to continue to be president with a referendum that closely linked his presidency with the Islamization of Pakistan.

He overwhelmingly won the referendum and appointed Muhammad Khan Junejo as the prime minister. Tensions between the president and the prime minister soon surfaced, and he removed Junejo from office in 1988. The president soon found himself in a difficult position due to the return to Pakistan of Bhutto's daughter, BENAZIR BHUTTO, who had started to gather the forces of opposition. Zia had not been able to decide how to solve his intricate political situation before he died in a plane crash near Bhawalpur on August 17, 1988.

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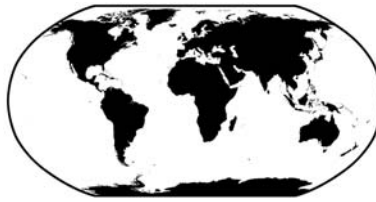
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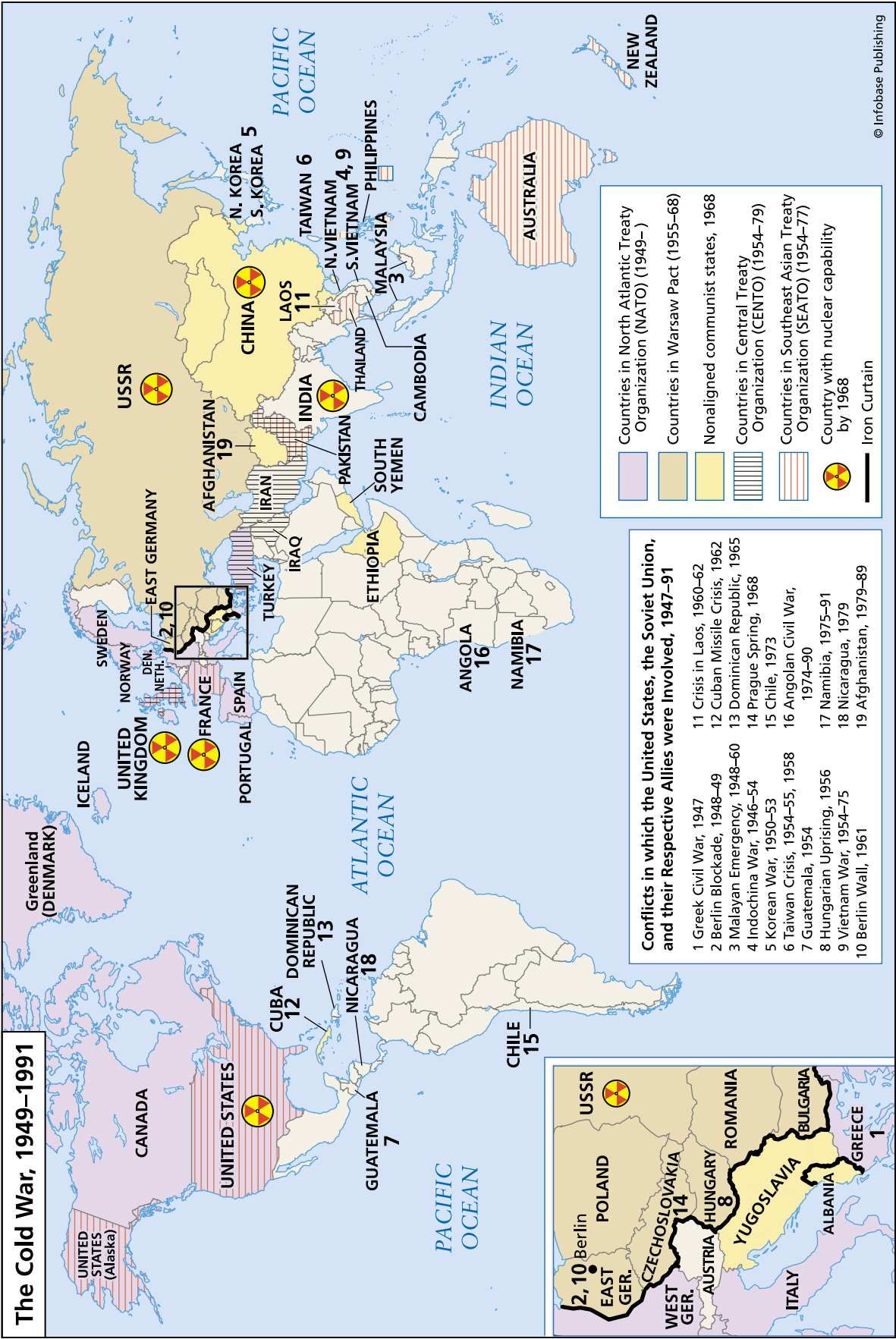
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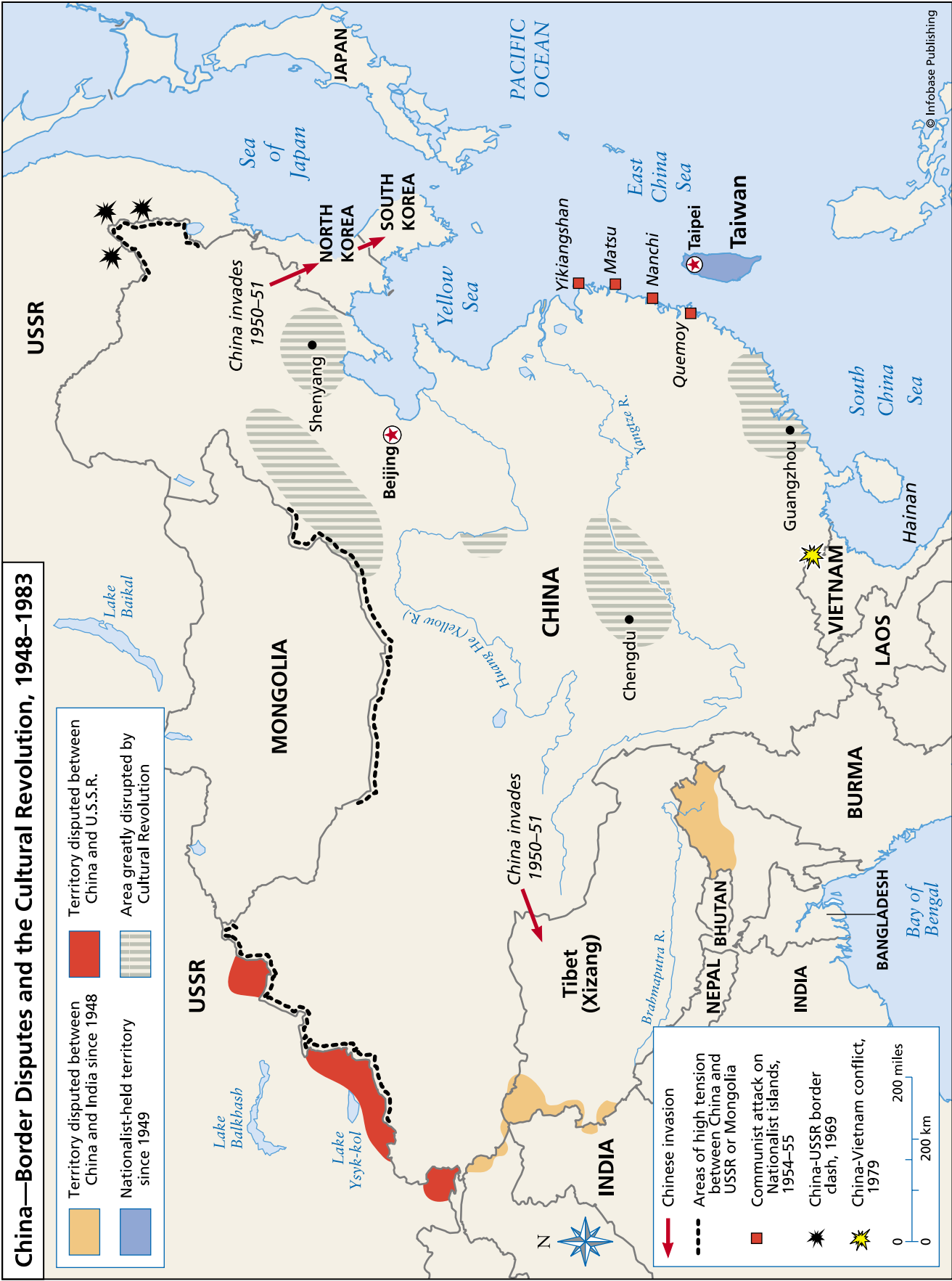
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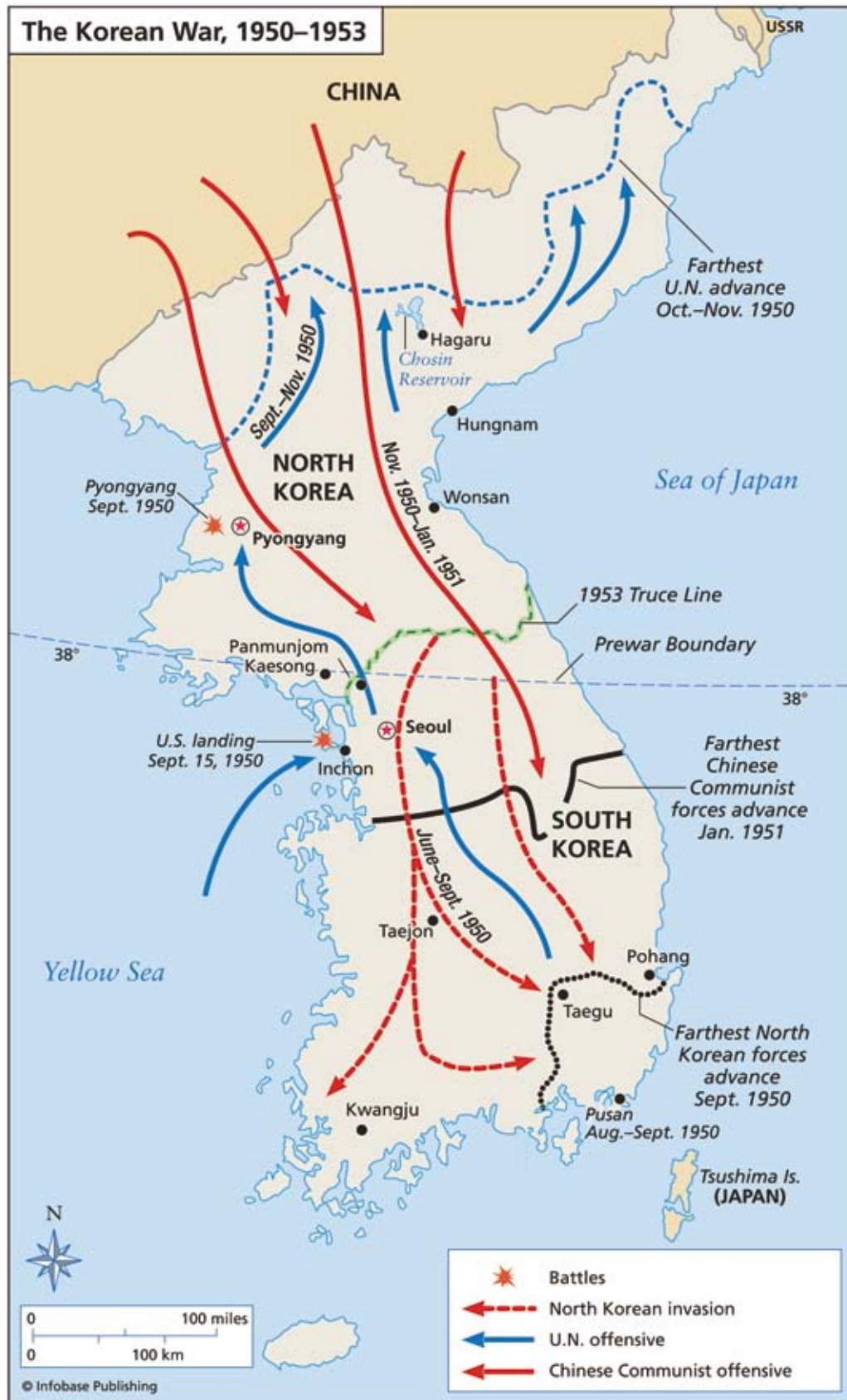
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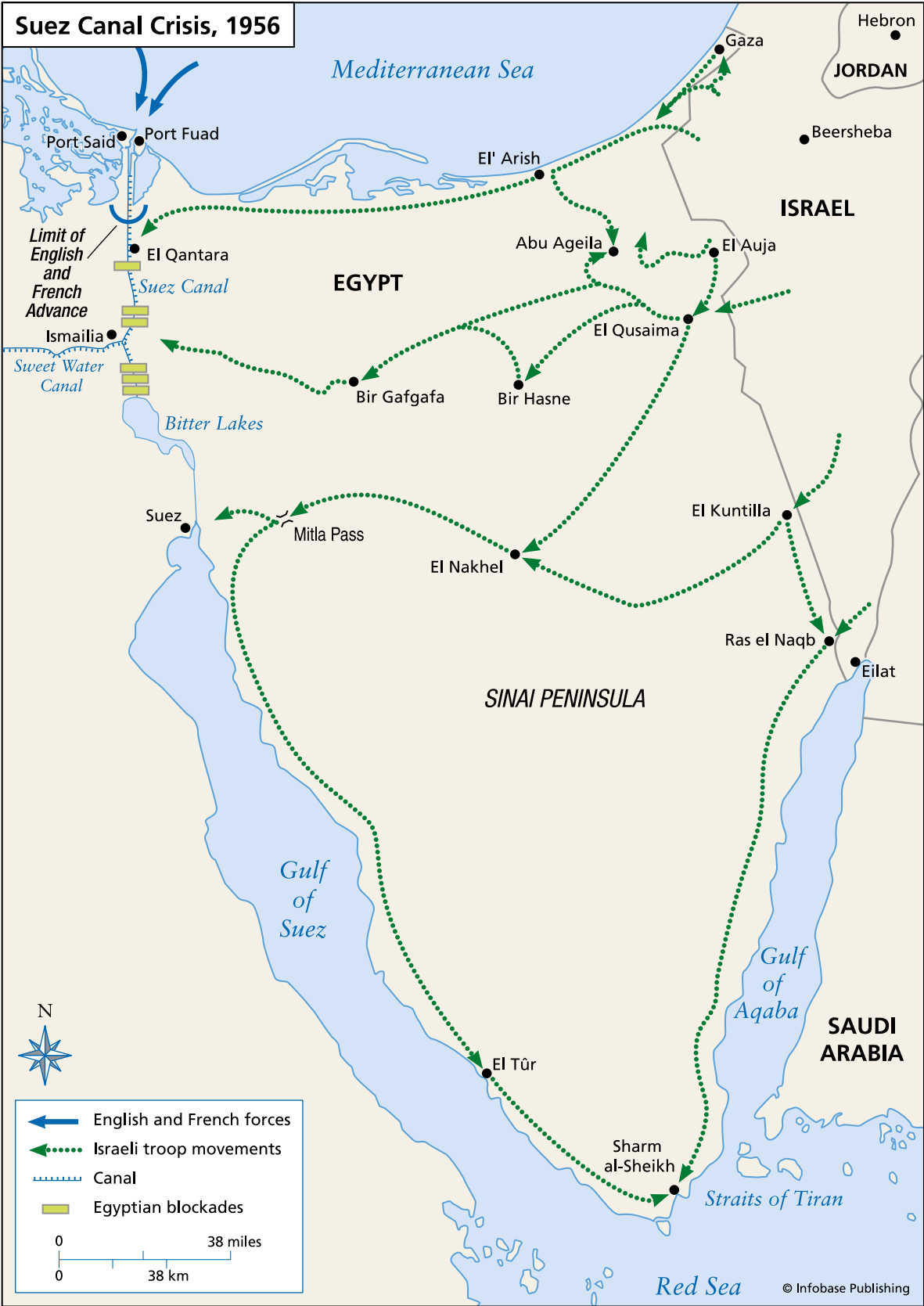
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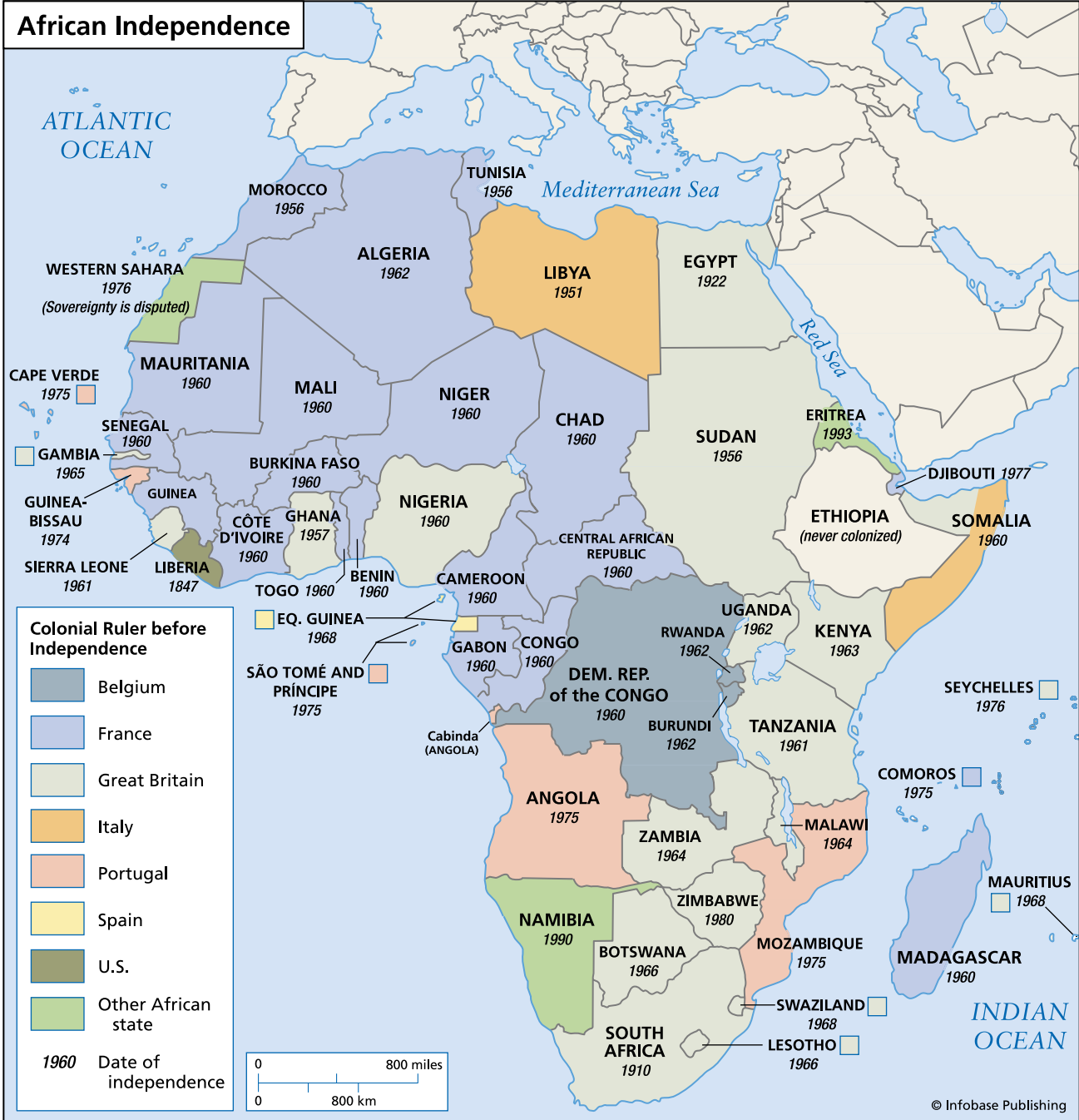






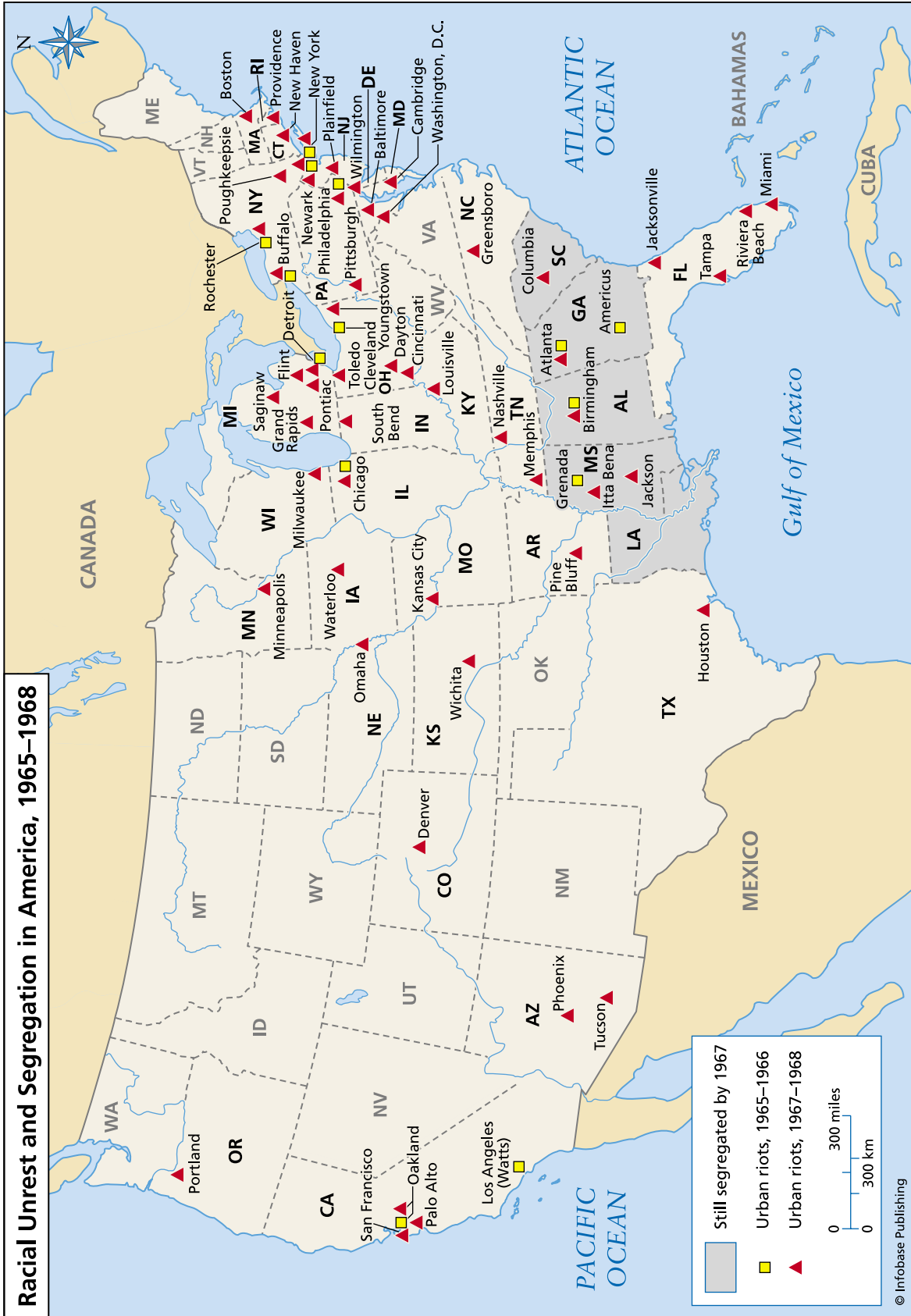


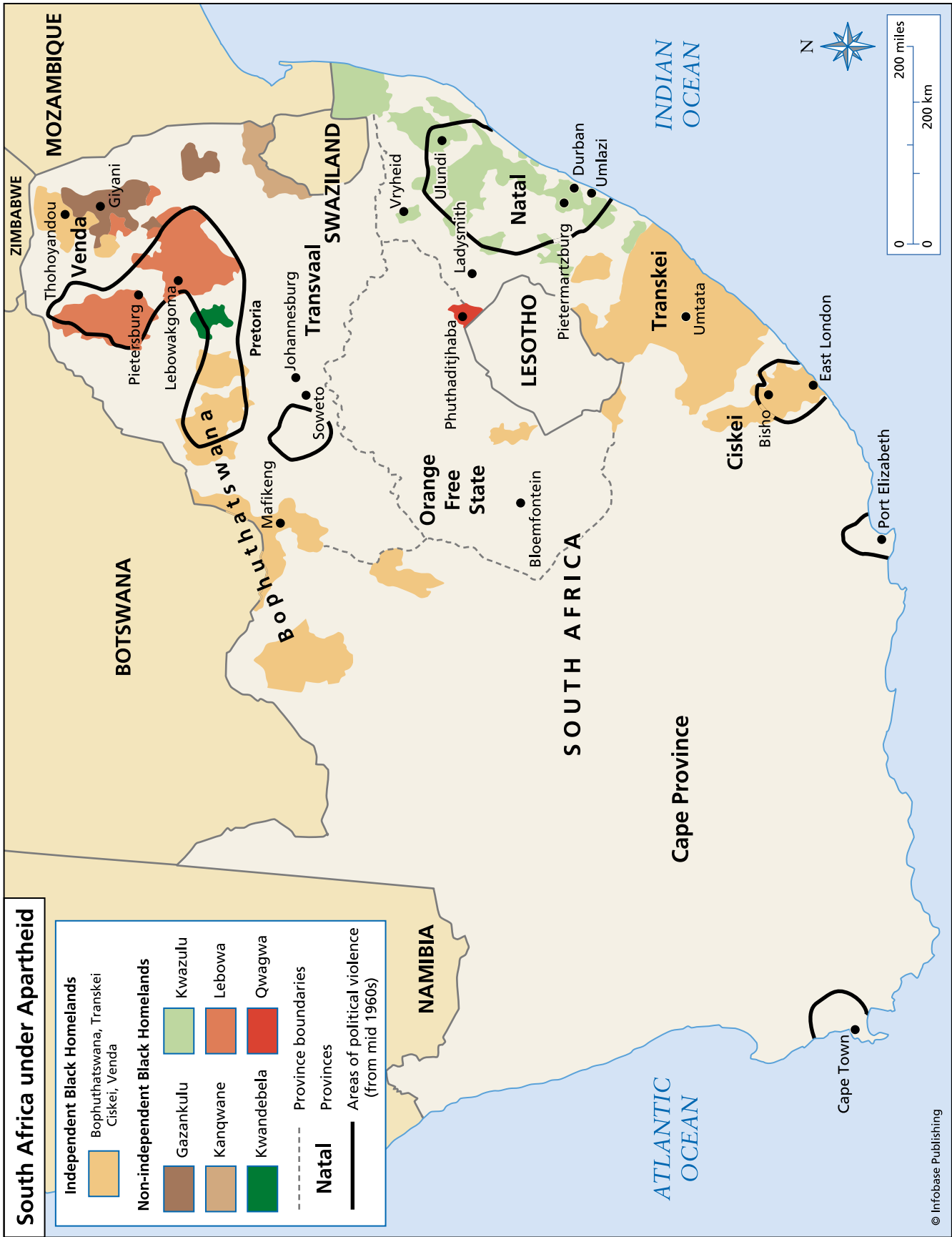


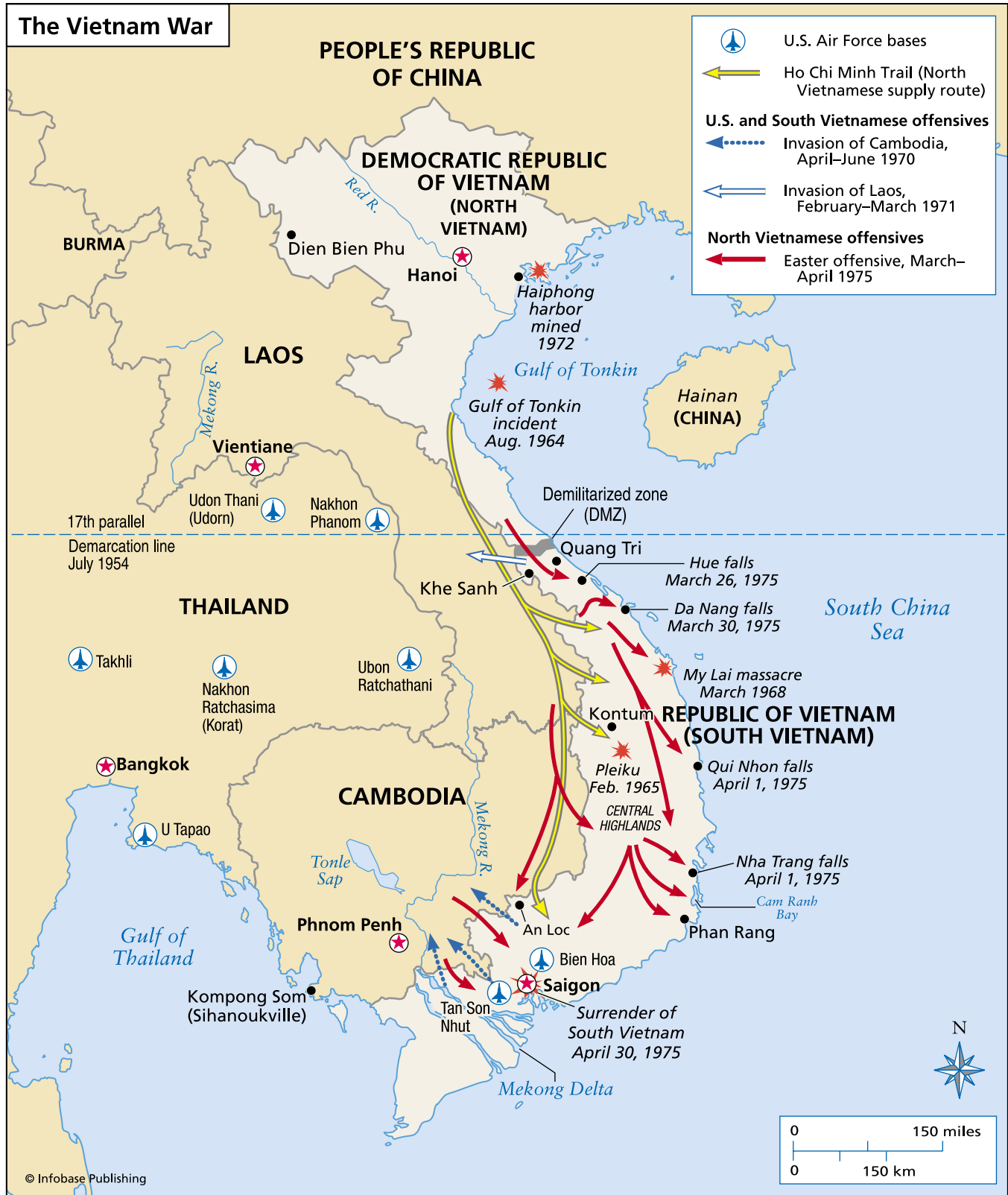




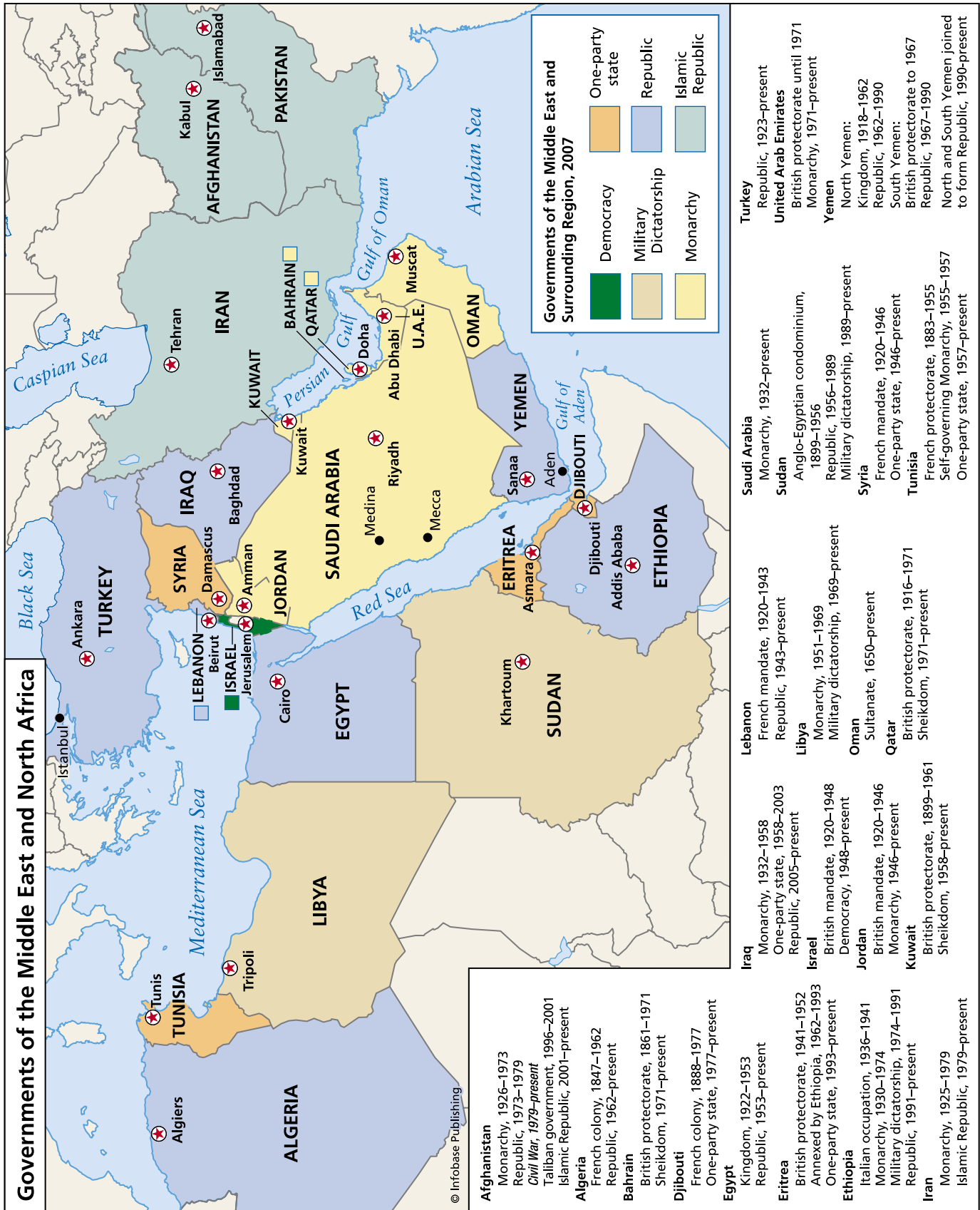


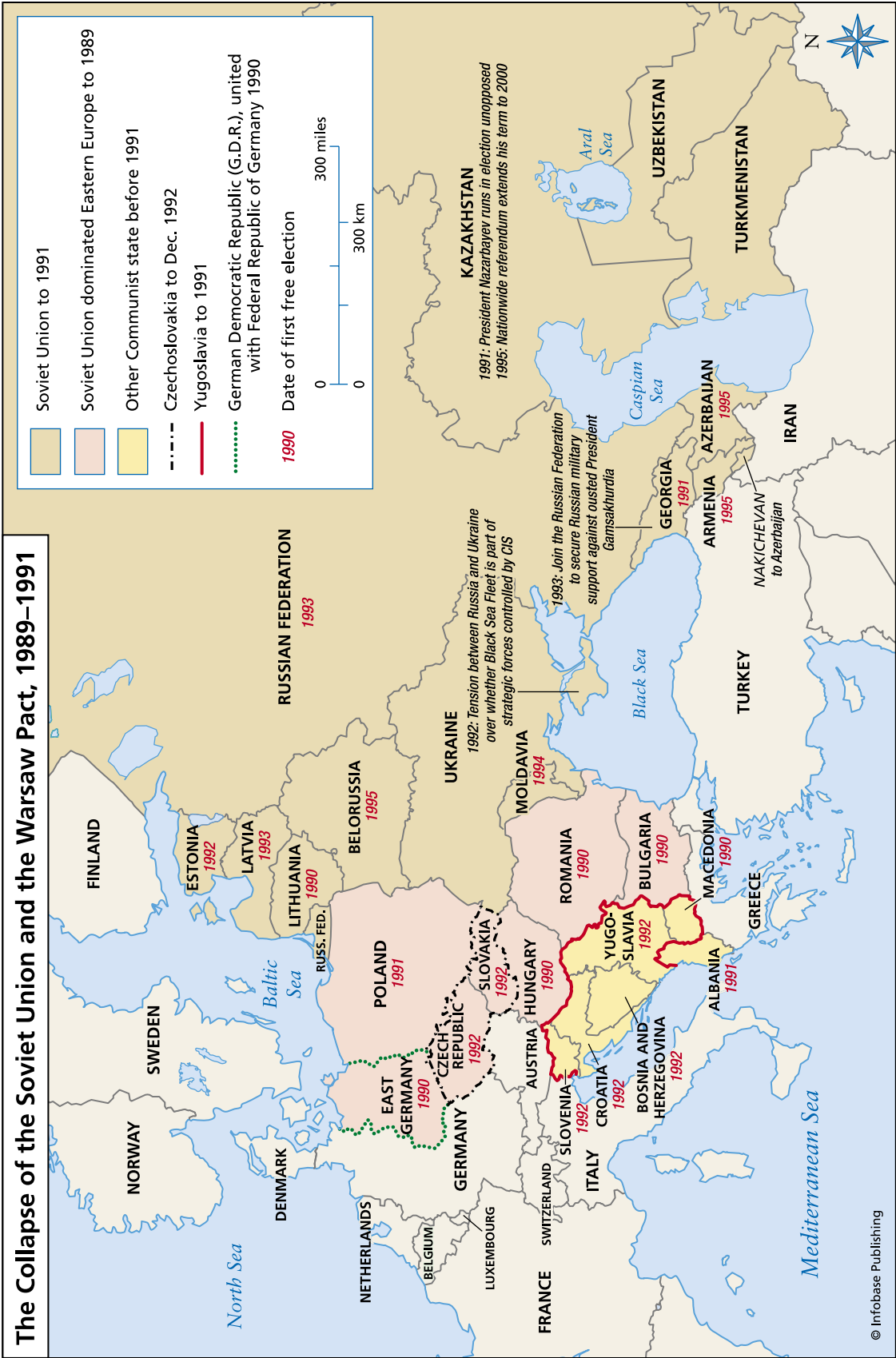


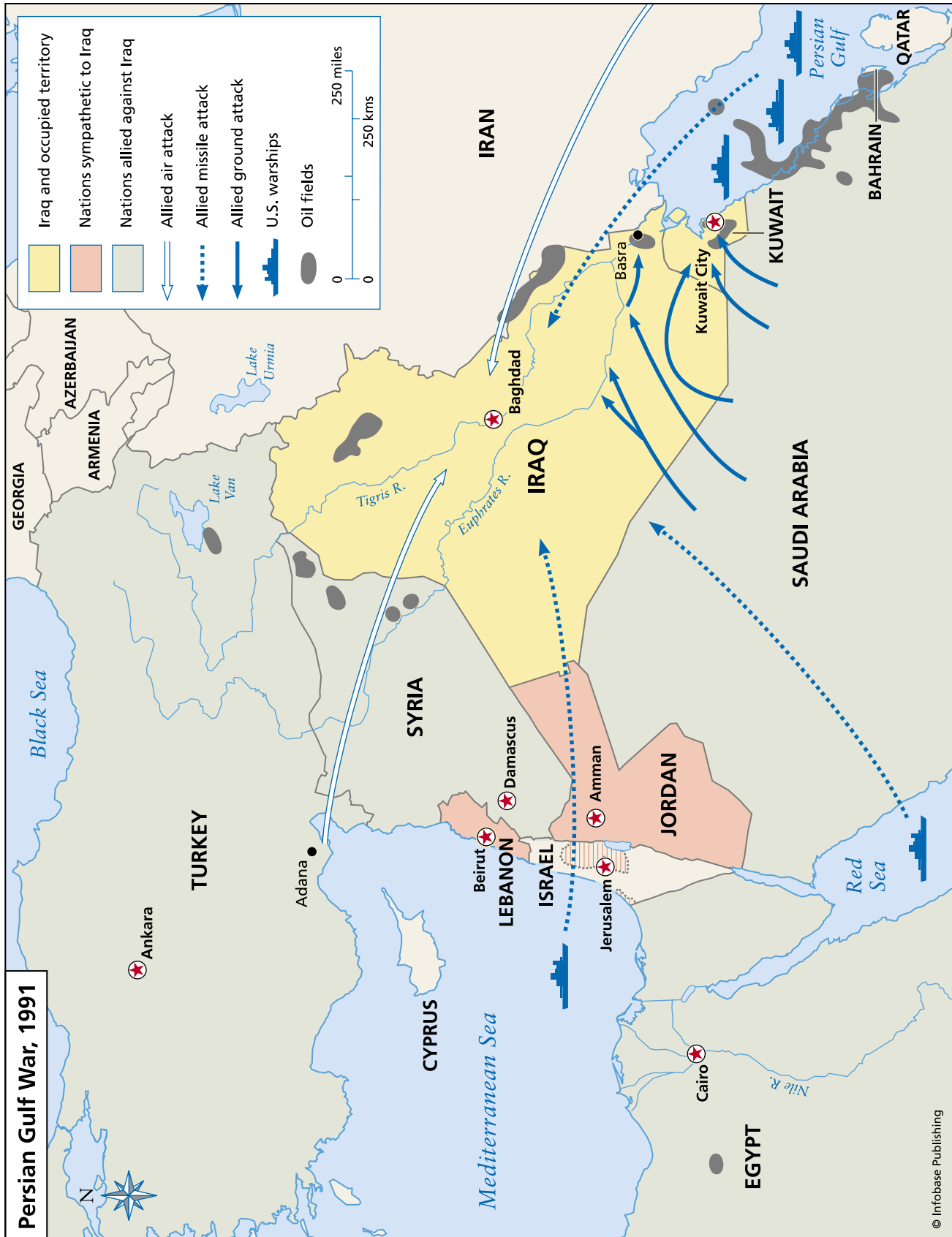






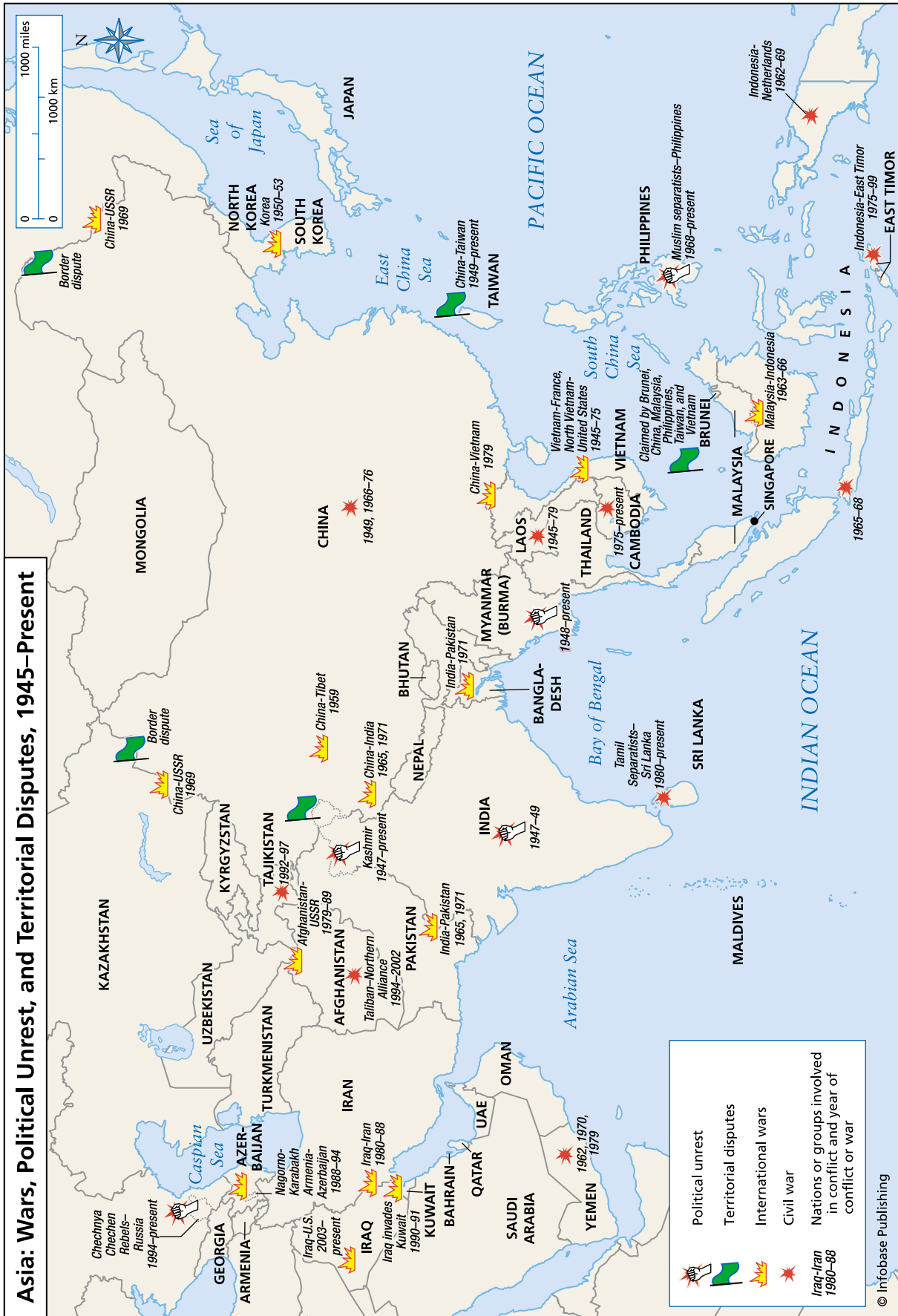


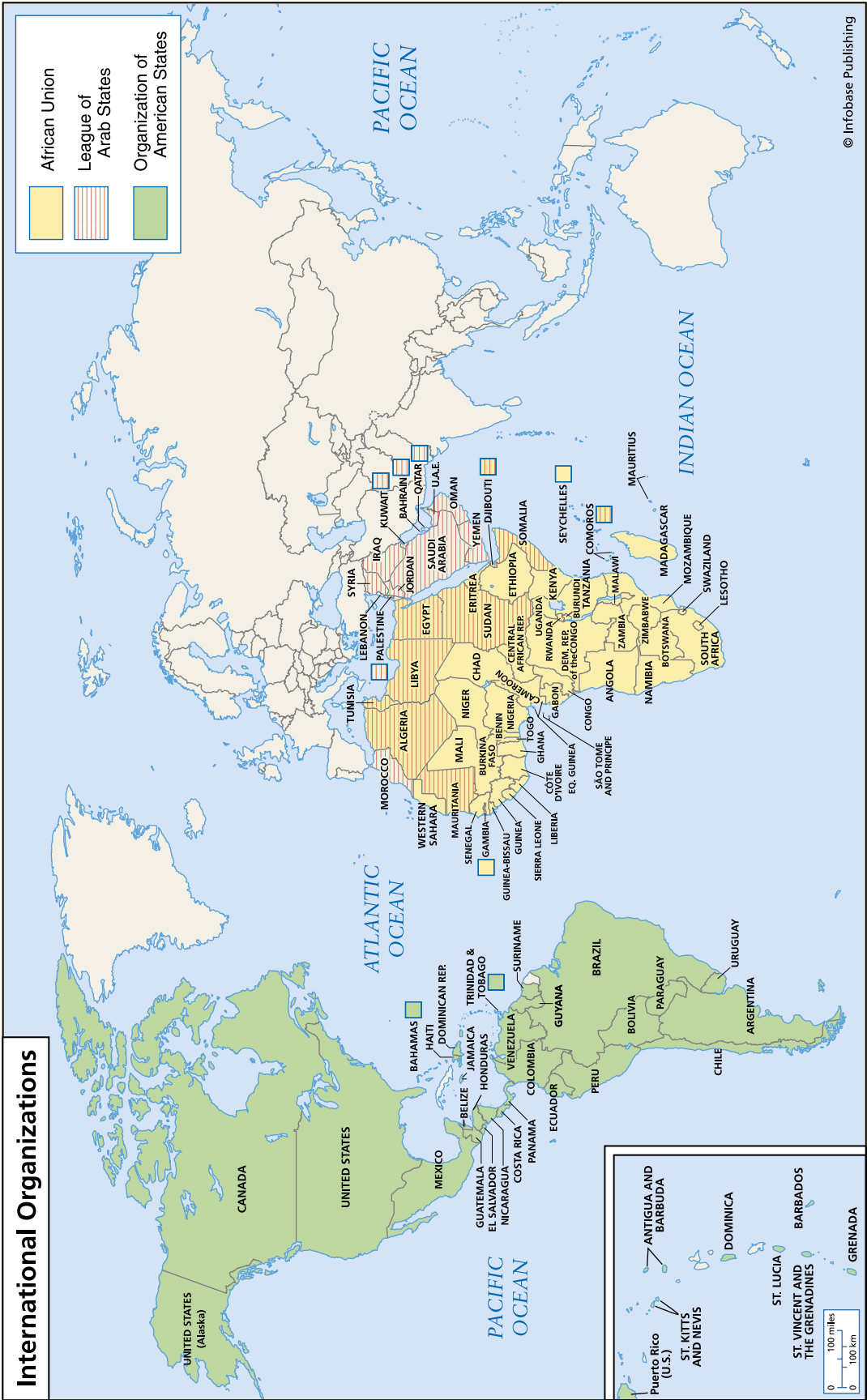


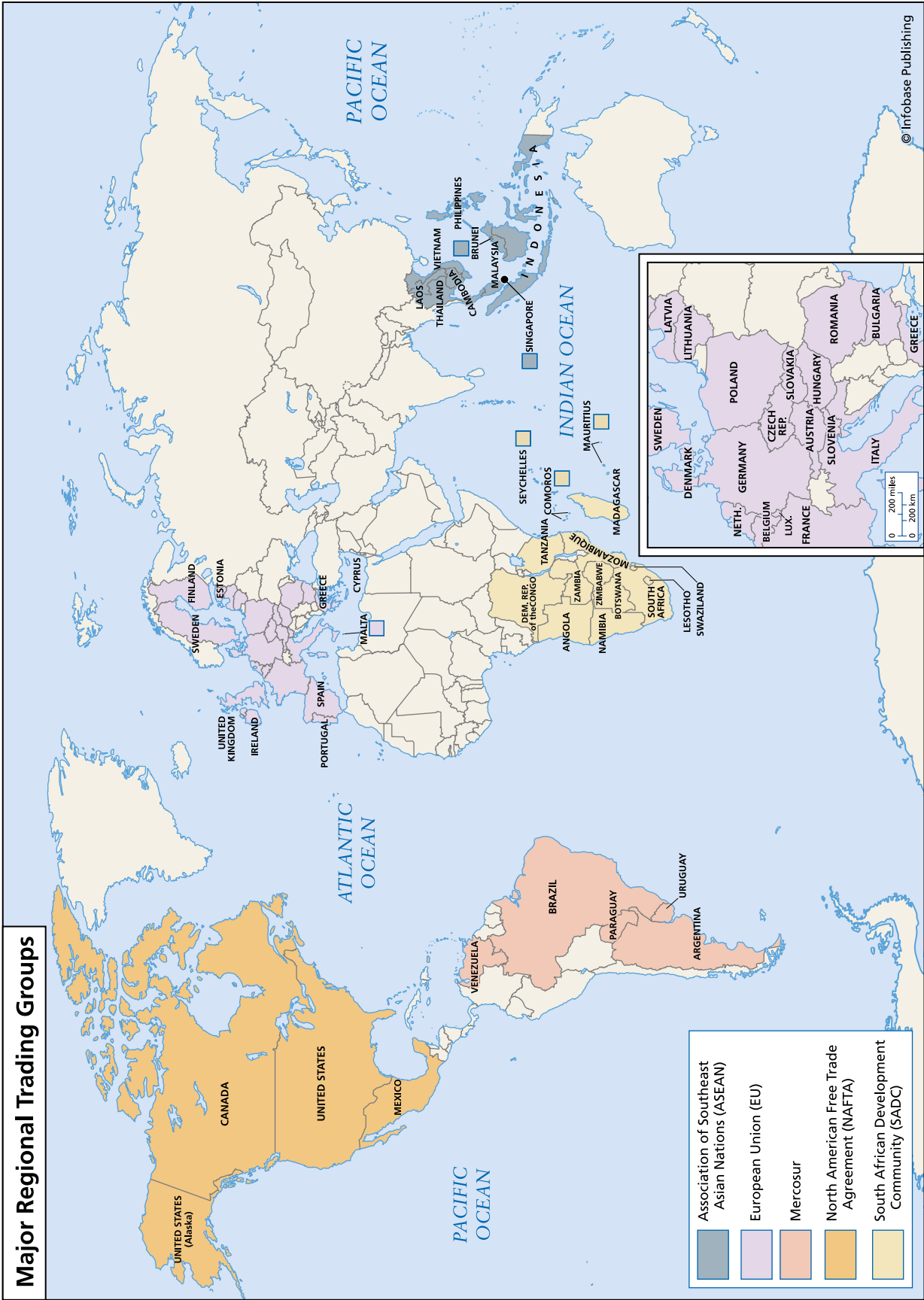


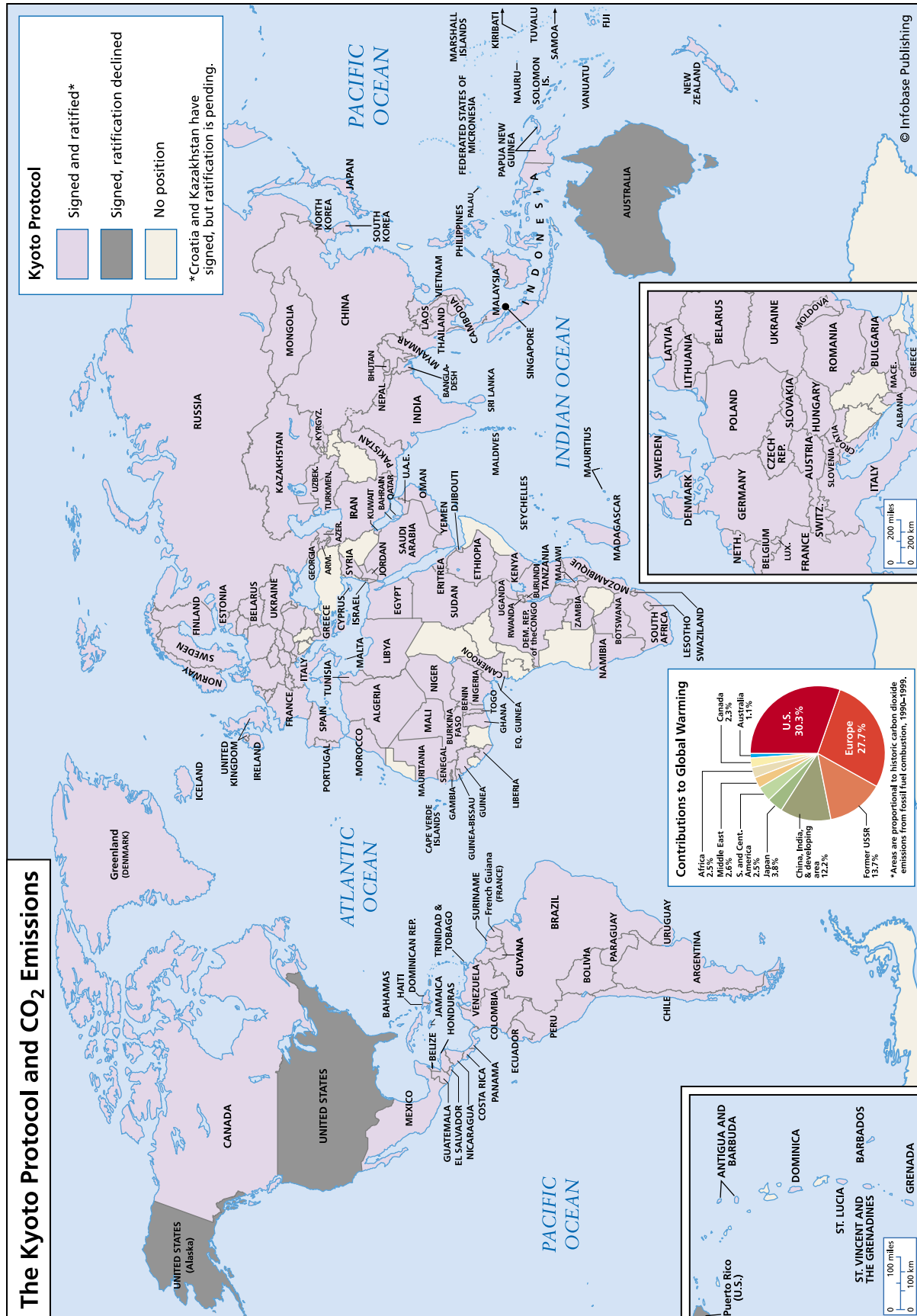




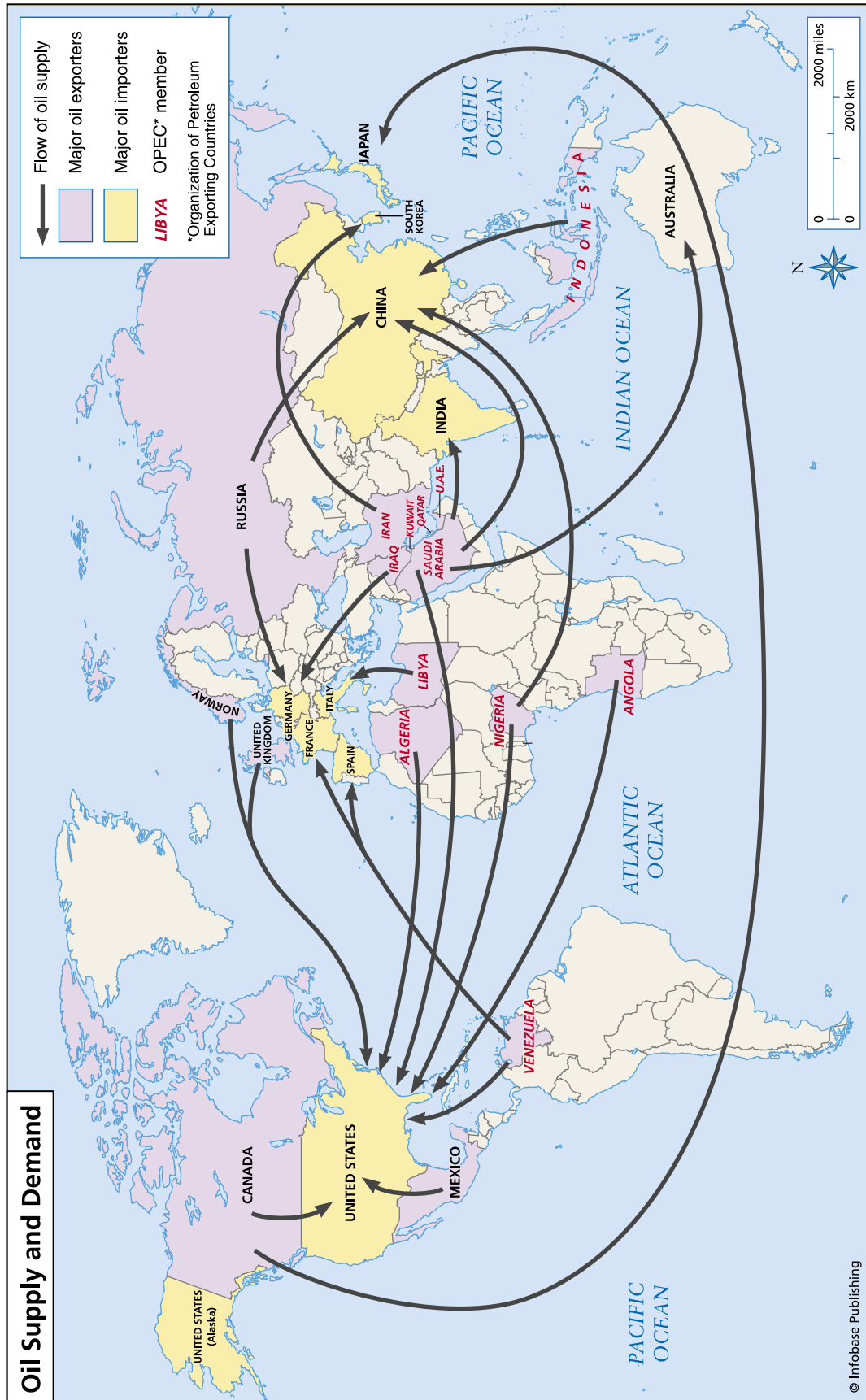


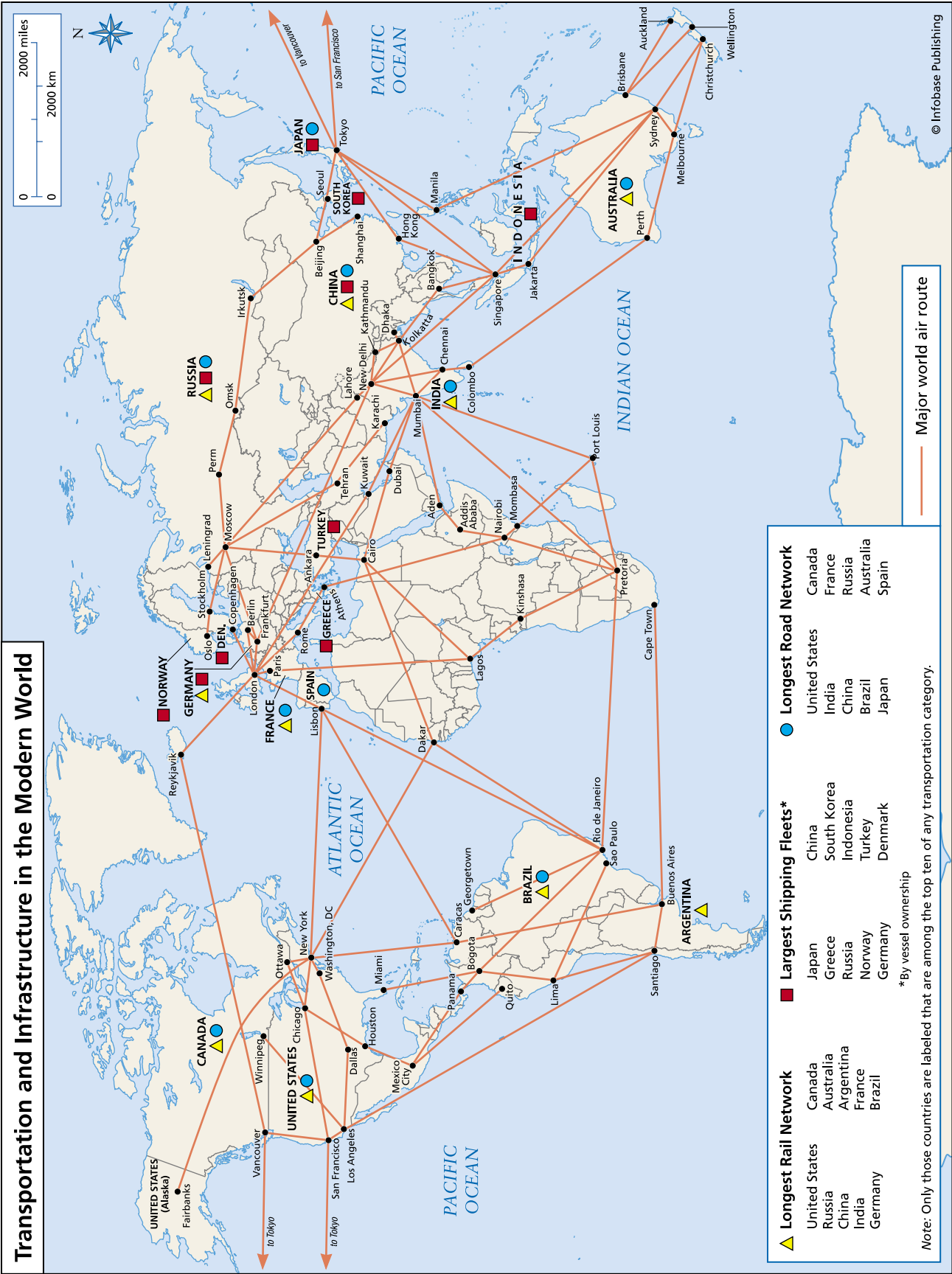


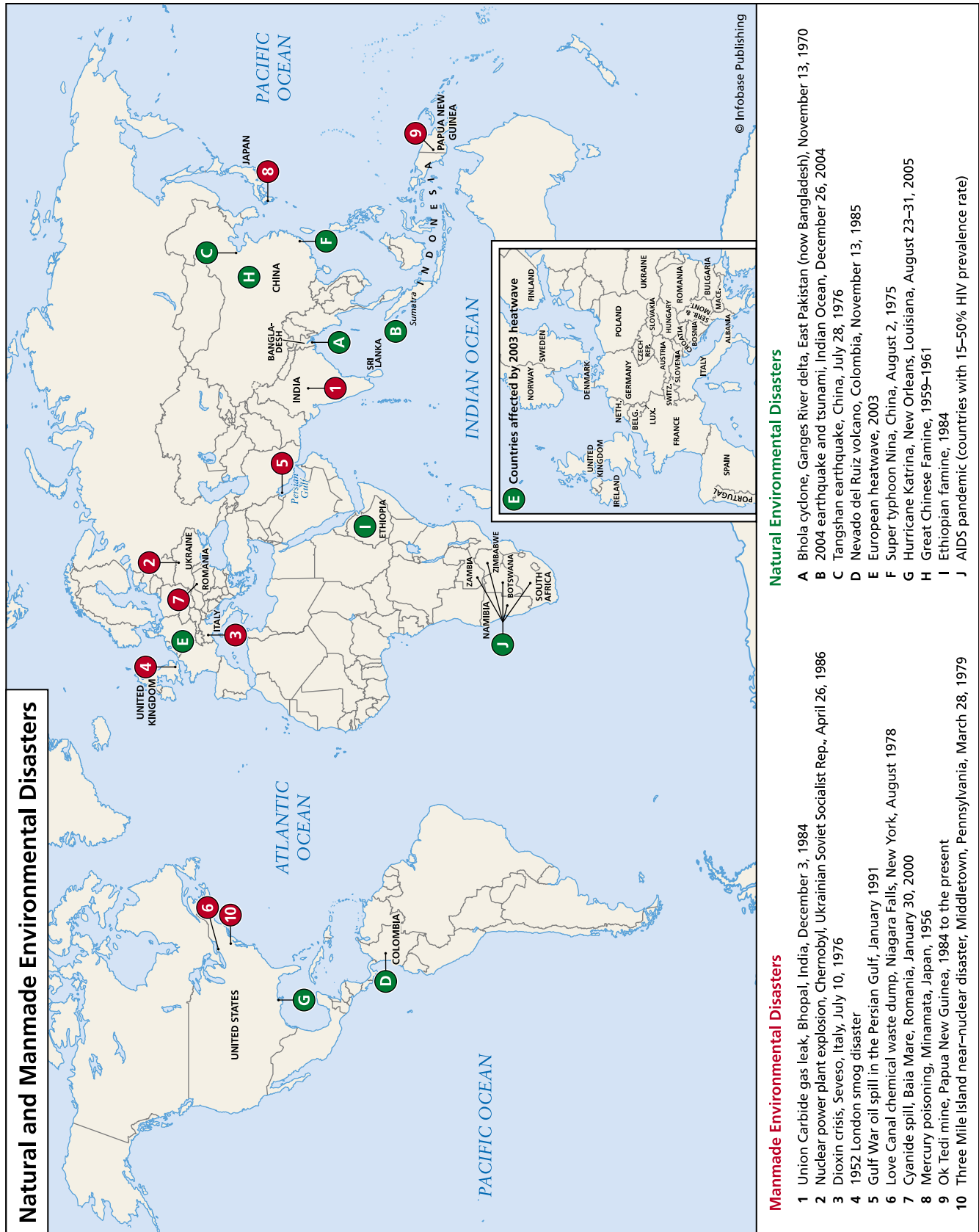


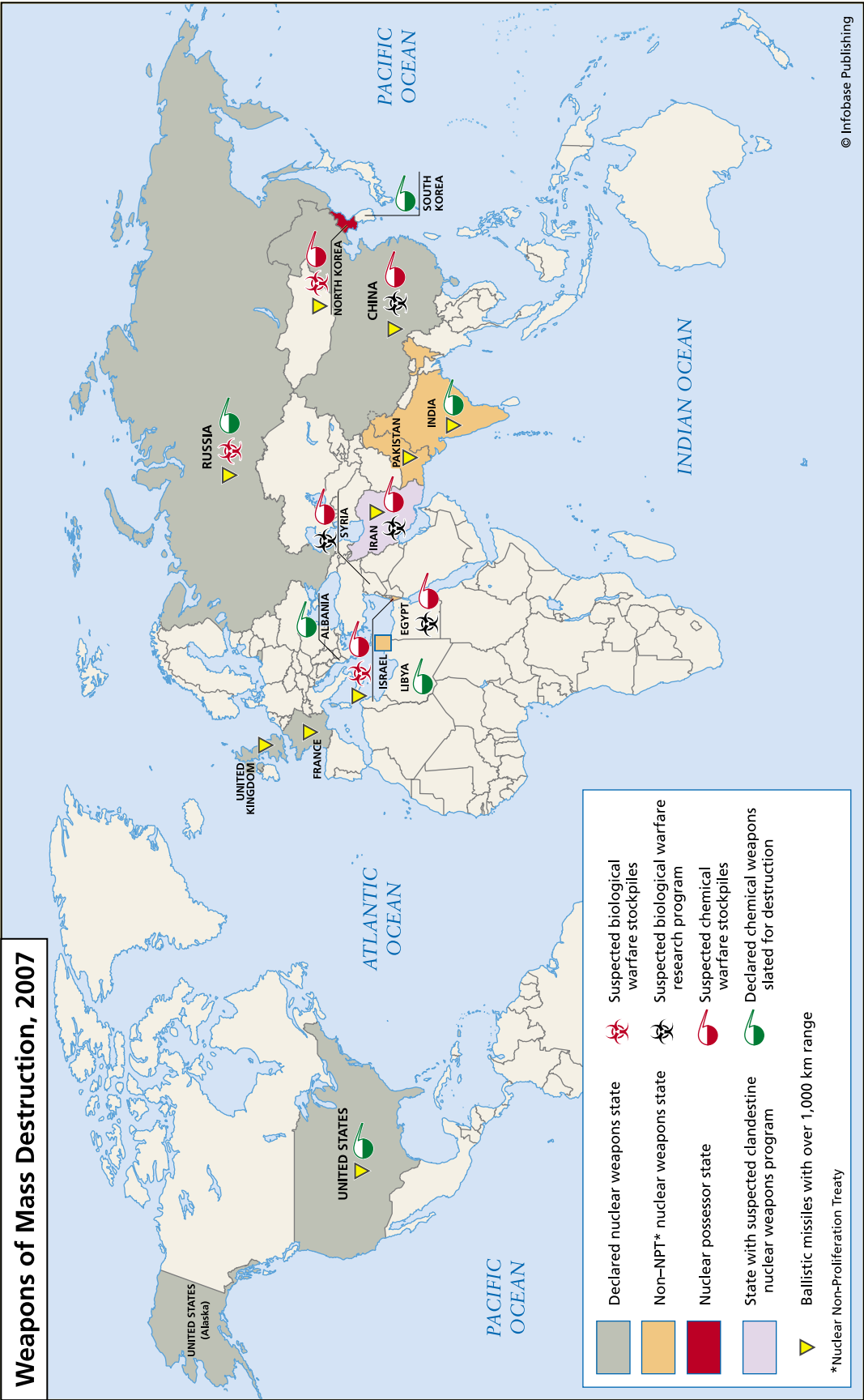


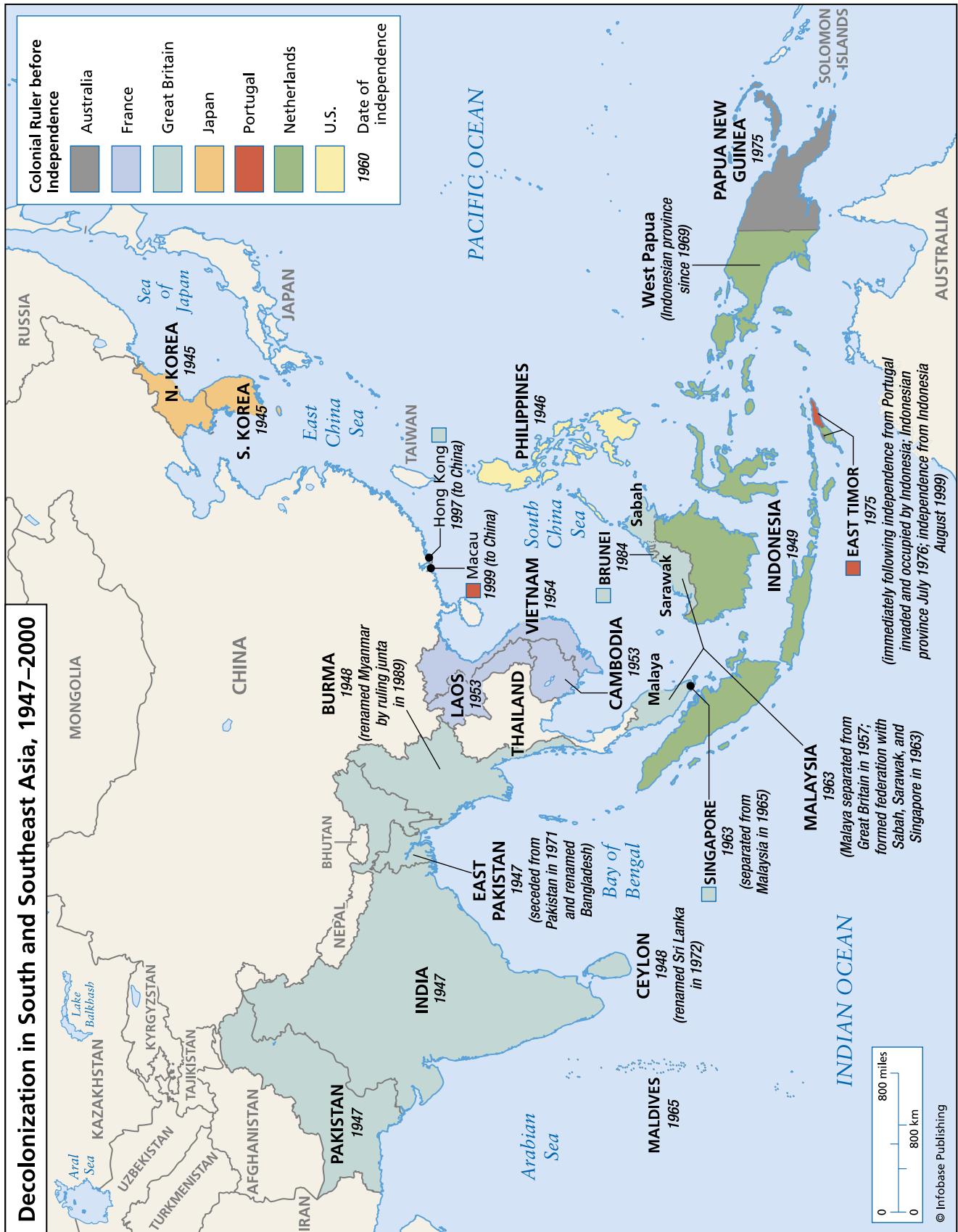


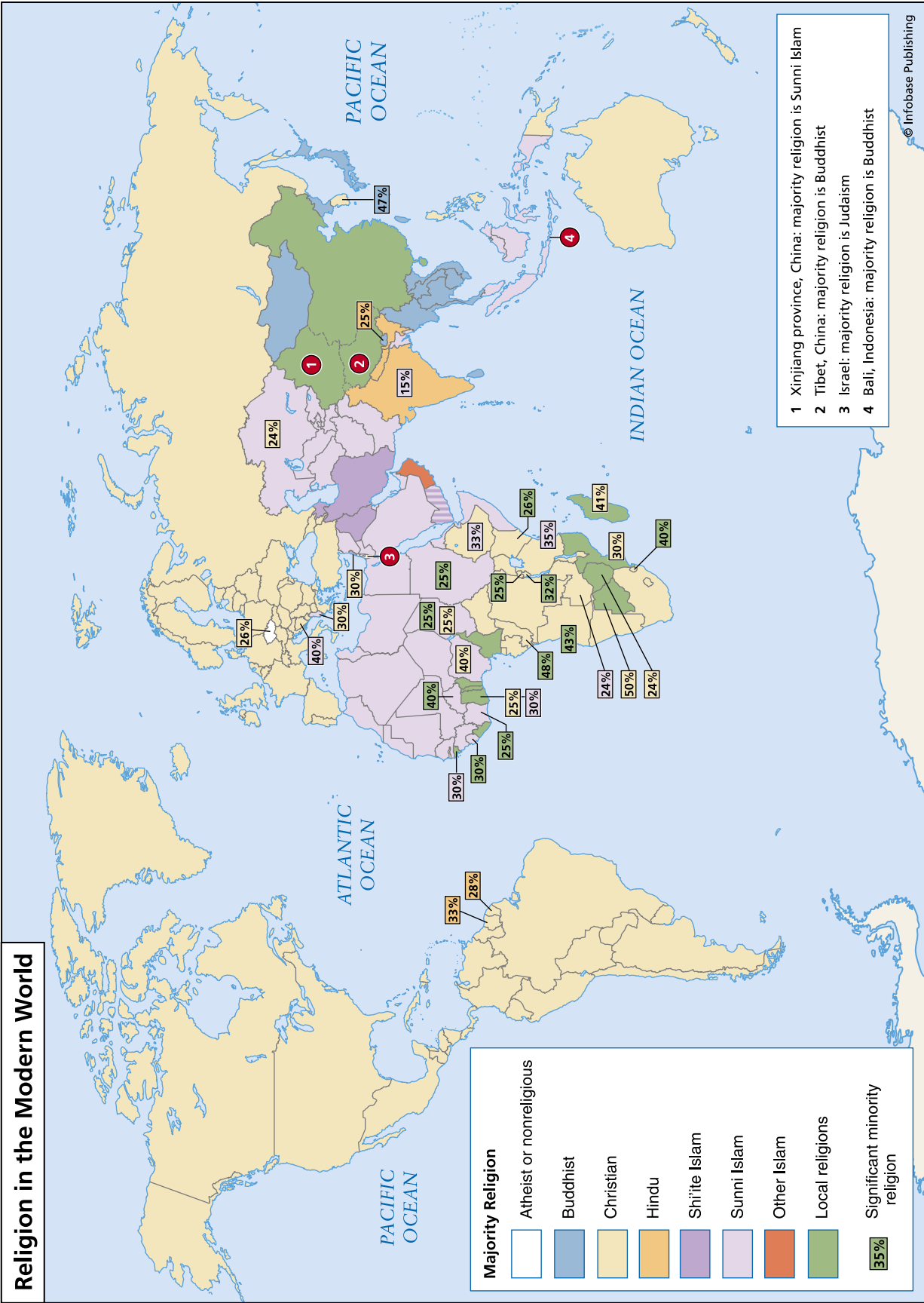


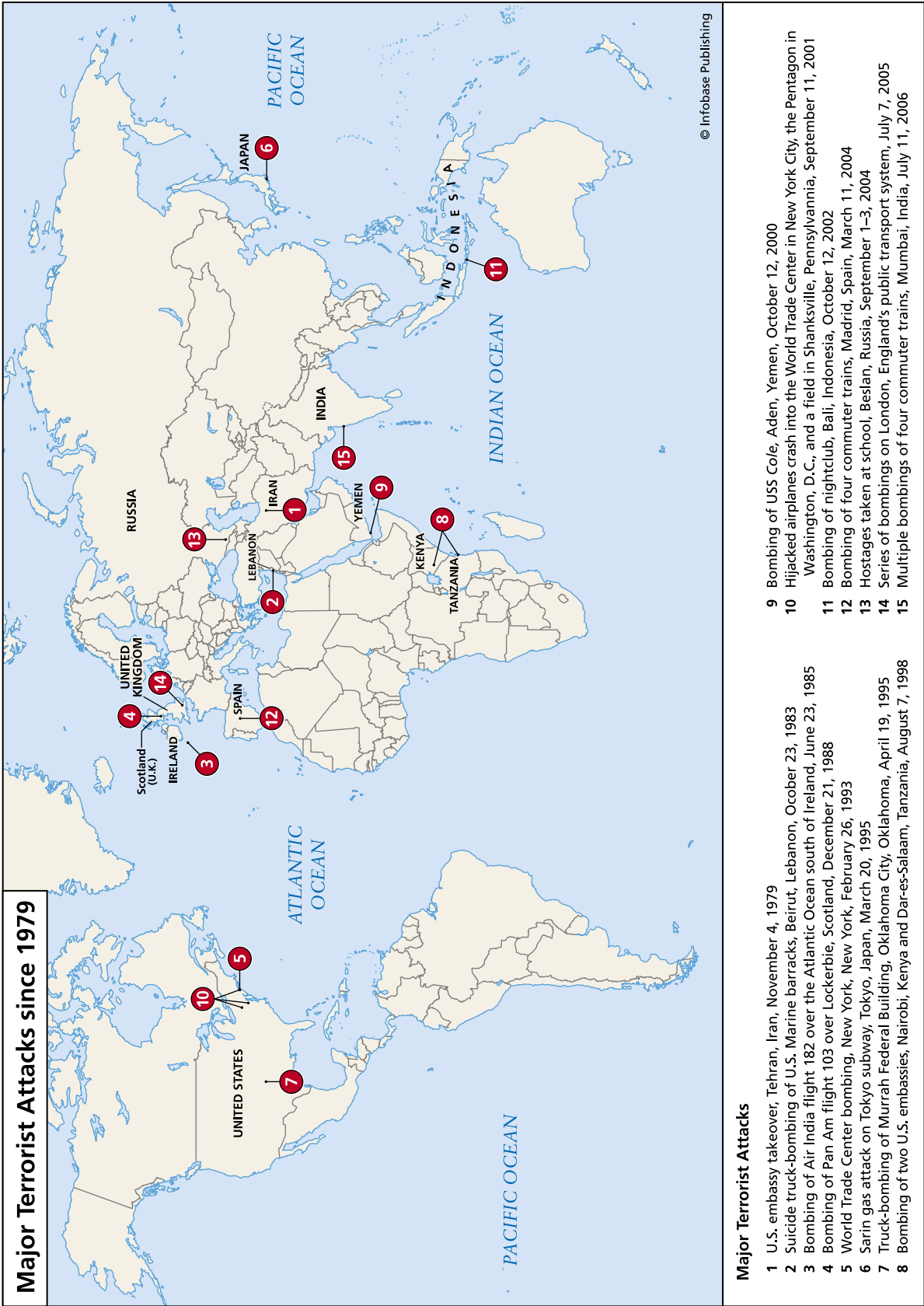




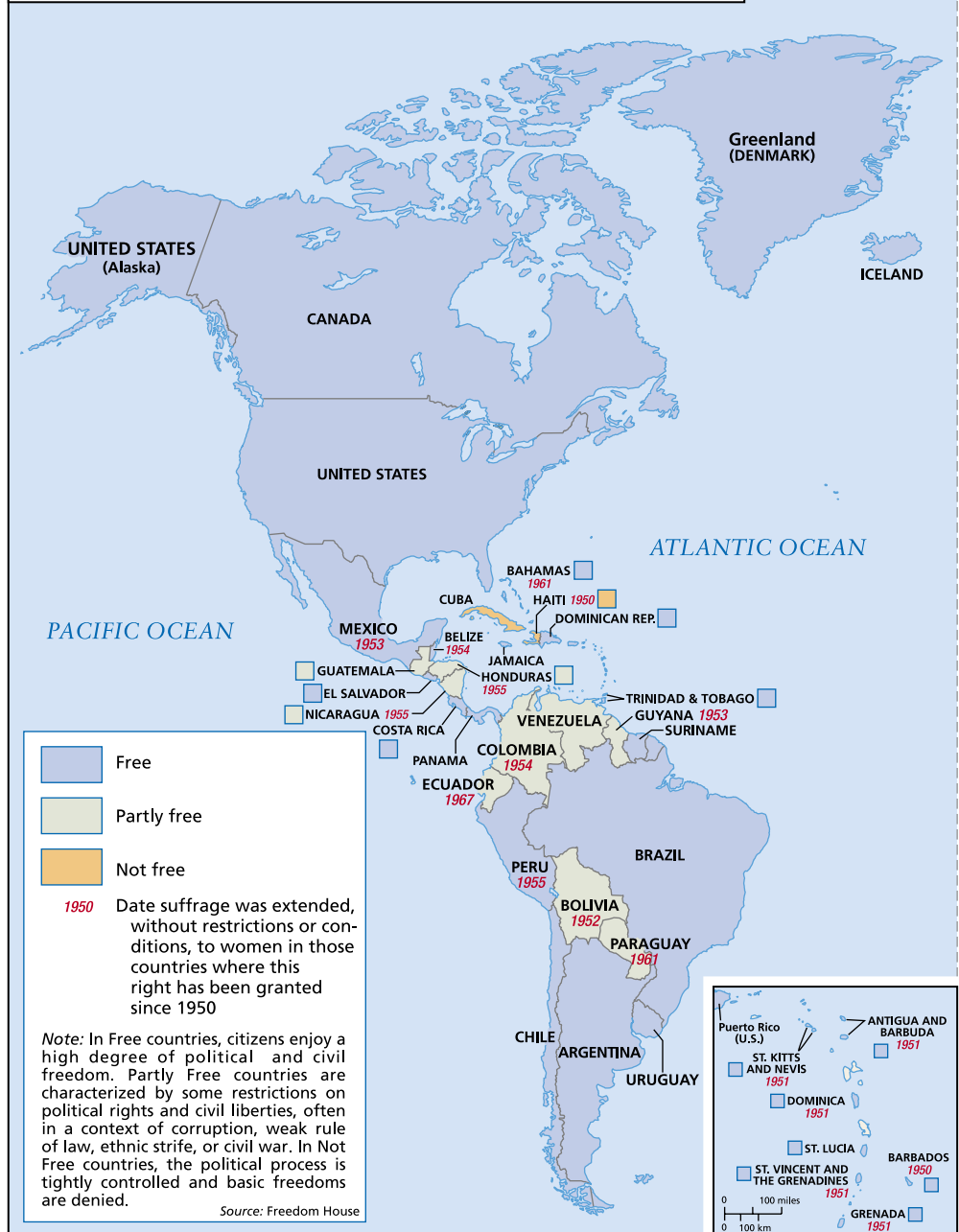








The Spread of Democracy and Women's Suffrage



The following country names are abbreviated on the map:

Azerbaijan	AZER.	Lithuania	LITH.
Belgium	BEL.	Luxembourg	LUX
Central African Republic	C.A.R.	Netherlands	NETH.
Liechtenstein	LIECH.	Switzerland	SWITZ.



M192 Air Campaign in Kosovo, March 25–June 20, 1999



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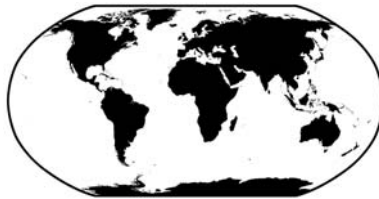
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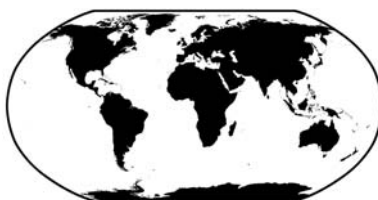
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Code of Hammurabi

Date: 18th century B.C.E.

The situations described in the Code of Hammurabi offer the modern-day reader a glimpse into the workings of a Mesopotamian society of nearly 3,800 years ago. Hammurabi I ruled Babylon from 1792 to 1750 B.C.E., in the period of the First Dynasty (c. 1900–1595 B.C.E.). He was a contemporary of Rim-Sin I (1822–1763 B.C.E.), king of Larsa, and Zimri-Lim (1776–1761 B.C.E.), ruler of Mari, both of whom he defeated in battle late in his reign, incorporating their cities into his empire. His law code, which was part of an even earlier tradition, was a means of imposing order over the territories he conquered, much as the gods Anu (An) and Enlil oversaw the organization of heaven and earth. The codification of responses to certain—and probably recurring—problems would also have served the purpose of simplifying and standardizing the administration of justice in his empire.

While his laws existed in various copies, the version that is now in the Louvre was inscribed in Akkadian cuneiform on a stela, or stone slab, and set up—according to the inscription itself—in “E-Sagil” (also spelled Sagil and Esagila), the temple of Marduk at Babylon. A few hundred years after the First Dynasty of Babylon fell, the Elamite king Shutruk-Nabhun (ruled c. 1185–1155 B.C.E.) carted off the stela to Susa, his capital in southwestern Iran, where the French archaeologist Jacques de Morgan found it about 3,000 years later, in 1901.

The inscription can be divided into three parts: an introduction, the code, and an epilogue. In the first section, Hammurabi justifies his position as ruler of Babylon by describing it as a consequence of the divine ordering of the world and boasts of his achievements as a conqueror and restorer of temples. This section lists the names of known cities such as Nippur and Sippara (Sippar) but also cities such as Dur-ilu, which are unidentifiable today. Also mentioned are the Akkadian names of gods (thus Sin rather than Nanna; Shamash rather than Utu; Nebo rather than Nabu) and their temples. Enlil’s main temple at Nippur was E-kur (“mountain house”); E-babbar (“white temple”) was the temple of the sun god Shamash at Larsa; E-anna (“sky house”) that of the sky god Anu. As with the place-names, some of the gods and temples mentioned are of uncertain identity.

The second section is the code itself. It consists of 282 statements pronouncing judgment on various problems that might occur in a complex society. The judgments treat a wide range of matters, from stolen property to inheritance rights to hired labor. The situations described are very specific, with each occurrence phrased in a conditional “if” clause, followed by the appropriate response to that occurrence. To modern readers of the code, one of its most striking features is the harshness of many of the penalties. Death was prescribed for offenses ranging from murder (number 153) to harboring a runaway slave (number 16) to robbery (number 22). It is often pointed out that the code, most notably in the laws dealing with personal injury (numbers 194 to 214), calls for the lex talionis, or law of reciprocal punishment—the familiar “eye for an eye” (number 196). Yet not all of the prescribed punishments are overly severe, as evidenced by those concerning farmers (numbers 42–56) and merchants (numbers 100–107). And, while the laws illustrate the highly patriarchal organization of Babylonian society, women are accorded a certain amount of rights, as shown by numbers 137 and 179.

The third section, the epilogue, can itself be broken into two parts. In the first half, Hammurabi reasserts his authority as ruler, stating that he set up these laws to protect the people of Akkad and Sumer. In the second half, he prays that the gods make life very unpleasant for any future rulers who dare to corrupt or destroy his words.

Original spellings have been retained in this document. The following is an excerpt.

CODE OF LAWS

1. If any one ensnare another, putting a ban upon him, but he can not prove it, then he that ensnared him shall be put to death.
2. If any one bring an accusation against a man, and the accused go to the river and leap into the river, if he sink in the river his accuser shall take possession of his house. But if the river prove that the accused is not guilty, and he escape unhurt, then he who had brought the accusation shall be put to death, while he who leaped into the river shall take possession of the house that had belonged to his accuser.
3. If any one bring an accusation of any crime before the elders, and does not prove what he has charged, he shall, if it be a capital offense charged, be put to death.
4. If he satisfy the elders to impose a fine of grain or money, he shall receive the fine that the action produces.
5. If a judge try a case, reach a decision, and present his judgment in writing; if later error shall appear in his decision, and it be through his own fault, then he shall pay twelve times the fine set by him in the case, and he shall be publicly removed from the judge’s bench, and never again shall he sit there to render judgement.

6. If any one steal the property of a temple or of the court, he shall be put to death, and also the one who receives the stolen thing from him shall be put to death.

7. If any one buy from the son or the slave of another man, without witnesses or a contract, silver or gold, a male or female slave, an ox or a sheep, an ass or anything, or if he take it in charge, he is considered a thief and shall be put to death.

8. If any one steal cattle or sheep, or an ass, or a pig or a goat, if it belong to a god or to the court, the thief shall pay thirtyfold therefor; if they belonged to a freed man of the king he shall pay tenfold; if the thief has nothing with which to pay he shall be put to death.

9. If any one lose an article, and find it in the possession of another: if the person in whose possession the thing is found say "A merchant sold it to me, I paid for it before witnesses," and if the owner of the thing say, "I will bring witnesses who know my property," then shall the purchaser bring the merchant who sold it to him, and the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner shall bring witnesses who can identify his property. The judge shall examine their testimony—both of the witnesses before whom the price was paid, and of the witnesses who identify the lost article on oath. The merchant is then proved to be a thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost article receives his property, and he who bought it receives the money he paid from the estate of the merchant.

10. If the purchaser does not bring the merchant and the witnesses before whom he bought the article, but its owner bring witnesses who identify it, then the buyer is the thief and shall be put to death, and the owner receives the lost article.

11. If the owner do not bring witnesses to identify the lost article, he is an evil-doer, he has traduced, and shall be put to death.

12. If the witnesses be not at hand, then shall the judge set a limit, at the expiration of six months. If his witnesses have not appeared within the six months, he is an evil-doer, and shall bear the fine of the pending case.

14. If any one steal the minor son of another, he shall be put to death.

15. If any one take a male or female slave of the court, or a male or female slave of a freed man, outside the city gates, he shall be put to death.

16. If any one receive into his house a runaway male or female slave of the court, or of a freedman, and does not bring it out at the public proclamation of the major domus, the master of the house shall be put to death.

17. If any one find runaway male or female slaves in the open country and bring them to their masters, the master of the slaves shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18. If the slave will not give the name of the master, the finder shall bring him to the palace; a further investigation must follow, and the slave shall be returned to his master.

19. If he hold the slaves in his house, and they are caught there, he shall be put to death.

20. If the slave that he caught run away from him, then shall he swear to the owners of the slave, and he is free of all blame.

21. If any one break a hole into a house (break in to steal), he shall be put to death before that hole and be buried.

22. If any one is committing a robbery and is caught, then he shall be put to death.

23. If the robber is not caught, then shall he who was robbed claim under oath the amount of his loss; then shall the community, and . . . on whose ground and territory and in whose domain it was compensate him for the goods stolen.

24. If persons are stolen, then shall the community and . . . pay one mina of silver to their relatives.

25. If fire break out in a house, and some one who comes to put it out cast his eye upon the property of the owner of the house, and take the property of the master of the house, he shall be thrown into that self-same fire.

26. If a chieftain or a man (common soldier), who has been ordered to go upon the king's highway for war does not go, but hires a mercenary, if he withholds the compensation, then shall this officer or man be put to death, and he who represented him shall take possession of his house.

27. If a chieftain or man be caught in the misfortune of the king (captured in battle), and if his fields and garden be given to another and he take possession, if he return and reaches his place, his field and garden shall be returned to him, he shall take it over again.

28. If a chieftain or a man be caught in the misfortune of a king, if his son is able to enter into possession, then the field and garden shall be given to him, he shall take over the fee of his father.

29. If his son is still young, and can not take possession, a third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and she shall bring him up.

30. If a chieftain or a man leave his house, garden, and field and hires it out, and some one else takes possession of his house, garden, and field and uses it for three years: if the first owner return and claims his house, garden, and field, it shall not be given to him, but he who has taken possession of it and used it shall continue to use it.

31. If he hire it out for one year and then return, the house, garden, and field shall be given back to him, and he shall take it over again.

32. If a chieftain or a man is captured on the "Way of the King" (in war), and a merchant buy him free, and bring him back to his place; if he have the means in his house to buy his freedom, he shall buy himself free: if he have nothing in his house with which to buy himself free, he shall be bought free by the temple of his community; if there be nothing in the temple with which to buy him free, the court shall buy his freedom. His field, garden, and house shall not be given for the purchase of his freedom.

33. If a . . . or a . . . enter himself as withdrawn from the "Way of the King," and send a mercenary as substitute, but withdraw him, then the . . . or . . . shall be put to death.

34. If a . . . or a . . . harm the property of a captain, injure the captain, or take away from the captain a gift presented to him by the king, then the . . . or . . . shall be put to death.

35. If any one buy the cattle or sheep which the king has given to chieftains from him, he loses his money.

36. The field, garden, and house of a chieftain, of a man, or of one subject to quit-rent, can not be sold.

37. If any one buy the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, his contract tablet of sale shall be broken (declared invalid) and he loses his money. The field, garden, and house return to their owners.

38. A chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent can not assign his tenure of field, house, and garden to his wife or daughter, nor can he assign it for a debt.

39. He may, however, assign a field, garden, or house which he has bought, and holds as property, to his wife or daughter or give it for debt.

40. He may sell field, garden, and house to a merchant (royal agents) or to any other public official, the buyer holding field, house, and garden for its usufruct.

41. If any one fence in the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, furnishing the palings therefor; if the chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent return to field, garden, and house, the palings which were given to him become his property.

42. If any one take over a field to till it, and obtain no harvest therefrom, it must be proved that he did no work on the field, and he must deliver grain, just as his neighbor raised, to the owner of the field.

43. If he do not till the field, but let it lie fallow, he shall give grain like his neighbor's to the owner of the field, and the field which he let lie fallow he must plow and sow and return to its owner.

44. If any one take over a waste-lying field to make it arable, but is lazy, and does not make it arable, he shall plow the fallow field in the fourth year, harrow it and till it, and give it back to its owner, and for each ten gan (a measure of area) ten gur of grain shall be paid.

45. If a man rent his field for tillage for a fixed rental, and receive the rent of his field, but bad weather come and destroy the harvest, the injury falls upon the tiller of the soil.

46. If he do not receive a fixed rental for his field, but lets it on half or third shares of the harvest, the grain on the field shall be divided proportionately between the tiller and the owner.

47. If the tiller, because he did not succeed in the first year, has had the soil tilled by others, the owner may raise no objection; the field has been cultivated and he receives the harvest according to agreement.

48. If any one owe a debt for a loan, and a storm prostrates the grain, or the harvest fail, or the grain does not grow for lack of water; in that year he need not give his creditor any grain, he washes his debt-tablet in water and pays no rent for this year.

49. If any one take money from a merchant, and give the merchant a field tillable for corn or sesame and order him to plant corn or sesame in the field, and to harvest the crop; if the cultivator plant corn or sesame in the field, at the harvest the corn or sesame that is in the field shall belong to the owner of the field and he shall pay corn as rent, for the money he received from the merchant, and the livelihood of the cultivator shall he give to the merchant.

50. If he give a cultivated corn-field or a cultivated sesame-field, the corn or sesame in the field shall belong to the owner of the field, and he shall return the money to the merchant as rent.

51. If he have no money to repay, then he shall pay in corn or sesame in place of the money as rent for what he received from the merchant, according to the royal tariff.

52. If the cultivator do not plant corn or sesame in the field, the debtor's contract is not weakened.

53. If any one be too lazy to keep his dam in proper condition, and does not so keep it; if then the dam break and all the fields be flooded, then shall he in whose dam the break occurred be sold for money, and the money shall replace the corn which he has caused to be ruined.

54. If he be not able to replace the corn, then he and his possessions shall be divided among the farmers whose corn he has flooded.

55. If any one open his ditches to water his crop, but is careless, and the water flood the field of his neighbor, then he shall pay his neighbor corn for his loss.

56. If a man let in the water, and the water overflow the plantation of his neighbor, he shall pay ten gur of corn for every ten gan of land.

57. If a shepherd, without the permission of the owner of the field, and without the knowledge of the owner of the sheep, lets the sheep into a field to graze, then the owner of the field shall harvest his crop, and

the shepherd, who had pastured his flock there without permission of the owner of the field, shall pay to the owner twenty gur of corn for every ten gan.

58. If after the flocks have left the pasture and been shut up in the common fold at the city gate, any shepherd let them into a field and they graze there, this shepherd shall take possession of the field which he has allowed to be grazed on, and at the harvest he must pay sixty gur of corn for every ten gan.

59. If any man, without the knowledge of the owner of a garden, fell a tree in a garden he shall pay half a mina in money.

60. If any one give over a field to a gardener, for him to plant it as a garden, if he work at it, and care for it for four years, in the fifth year the owner and the gardener shall divide it, the owner taking his part in charge.

61. If the gardener has not completed the planting of the field, leaving one part unused, this shall be assigned to him as his.

62. If he do not plant the field that was given over to him as a garden, if it be arable land (for corn or sesame) the gardener shall pay the owner the produce of the field for the years that he let it lie fallow, according to the product of neighboring fields, put the field in arable condition and return it to its owner.

63. If he transform waste land into arable fields and return it to its owner, the latter shall pay him for one year ten gur for ten gan.

64. If any one hand over his garden to a gardener to work, the gardener shall pay to its owner two-thirds of the produce of the garden, for so long as he has it in possession, and the other third shall he keep.

65. If the gardener do not work in the garden and the product fall off, the gardener shall pay in proportion to other neighboring gardens.

[Here a portion of the text is missing, apparently comprising thirty-four paragraphs.]

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Book of the Dead

Also known as: *pert em hru* (excerpts)

Date: 1567–1085 B.C.E.

Known by the Egyptians as pert em hru, "coming forth by day," the Book of the Dead is the general title now given to the collection of Egyptian funerary texts from the New Kingdom (1567–1085 B.C.E.). The ancient Egyptians placed these spells, hymns, and incantations (which were illustrated with vignettes) in tombs for the deceased to recite and thereby successfully achieve a new existence in the afterlife. Written on papyri in hieratic script, they developed from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom (2698–2181 B.C.E.) and the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom (1991–1786 B.C.E.). While these earlier texts were used respectively by royalty and the elite, the spells in the Book of the Dead were available to anyone who could afford them. The incantations, drawn from particular chapters, could be varied according to an individual's taste and financial means.

The first two selections, "A Hymn to the Setting Sun" and an excerpt from "A Hymn and Litany to Osiris," are from the papyrus of Ani. Ani, a scribe, was the person for whom this particular collection of hymns and prayers was assembled, probably during the 18th Dynasty (1567–1320 B.C.E.). This papyrus is currently in the British Museum. The third selection is a different version of "A Hymn to the Setting Sun" from a 19th Dynasty papyrus now located in Dublin. The final selection is from the papyrus of Nu, an example of the "Chapter of Coming Forth by Day."

In the first and third selections, the two hymns to the setting Sun, the texts refer to the journey of the sun god Re (Ra) from his birth each morning in the arms of the sky goddess Nut to his death in her arms each evening. The repetition of this journey symbolized the rebirth of the dead soul. The first hymn, from chapter 15 of the Ani papyrus, can more accurately be described as a hymn to both the rising and the setting sun, as is stated in the hymn's first lines. Ani is also named in these lines. The second hymn, from the Dublin papyrus, may not have been purchased by anyone. The space in the last line where the owner's name would appear (here marked with ellipses) was left blank. This papyrus includes a more elaborate description of the underworld than does the hymn in the Ani papyrus.

The second selection, also from chapter 15 of the Ani papyrus, is a hymn and an excerpt from the litany to Osiris. Osiris, god of the underworld, was violently murdered by his brother, Seth, and then reborn with the help of his wife, Isis. The litany includes a series in which the deceased addresses Osiris by a variety of titles and functions, along with the repetition of a prayer for safe passage through the underworld. Repetition is also a feature of the fourth selection here, an example from one of the many chapters of "Coming Forth by

Day.” The first lines include the name of the deceased, Nu, and give his occupation as “chancellor-in-chief.” The focus in this text on Nu’s “mastery” over various parts of his body would probably refer to how his ka, or the “double” of his human body, would exist after death.

A HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

A hymn of praise to Re when he riseth upon the horizon, and when he setteth in the land of life. Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:

“Homage to thee, O Re, when thou risest as Tem-Heru-khuti (Tem-Harmakhis). Thou art adored by me when thy beauties are before mine eyes, and when thy radiance falleth upon my body. Thou goest forth to thy setting in the Sektet boat with the fair winds, and they heart is glad; the heart of the Matet boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the never-resting stars sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which rest, and the stars which never fail, glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon of Manu, O Thou who art beautiful at morn and at eve, O thou lord who livest and art established, O my lord!

“Homage to thee, O thou who art Re when thou risest, and Tem when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and shinest on the back of my mother Nut, O thou who art crowned king of the gods! Nut doeth homage unto thee, and everlasting and never-changing order embraceth thee at morn and at eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart, and the Lakes of Testes is content thereat. The Sebau Fiend hath fallen to the ground; his arms and his hands have been hacked off, and the knife hath severed the joints of his body. Re hath a fair wind; the Sektet boat goeth forth and, sailing along, it cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east, praise thee, O thou divine substance, from whom all forms of life come into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and the earth is flooded with silence, O thou only One, who didst dwell in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains came into existence. O Runner, O Lord, O only One, thou maker of things which are, thou hast fashioned the tongue of the company of the gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth from the waters, and thou springest up from them over the flooded land of the Lake of Horus. Let me snuff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from my mother Nut. Oh, make thou to be glorious my shining form, O Osiris, make thou to be divine my soul! Thou art worshipped in peace (or in setting), O Lord of the gods, t’with thy rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, Osiris the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the lords of Abtu (Abydos), the royal scribe in truth who loveth thee; Ani, victorious in peace.”

HYMN AND LITANY TO OSIRIS

“Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, lord of eternity, Unnefer, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), whose forms are manifold, and whose attributes are majestic, Ptah-Seker-Tem in Annu (Heliopolis), the lord of the hidden place, and the creator of Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis) and of the gods therein, the guide of the underworld, whom the gods glorify when thou settest in Nut. Isis embraced thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the mouth of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face upon Amentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who have lain down (i.e., the dead) rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy face when the Disk riseth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who art Eternity and Everlastingness!”

LITANY

“Homage to thee, O Lord of starry deities in Annu, and of heavenly beings in Kher-aba; thou god Unti, who art more glorious than the gods who are hidden in Annu; oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O An in Antes, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), with long strides thou stridest over heaven, O Heru-khuti. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O Soul of everlastingness, thou Soul who dwellest in Tattu, Unnefer, son of Nut; thou art lord of Akert. Oh, grant thou unto me a path wherein I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu; the Ureret crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One who maketh the strength which protecteth himself, and thou dwellest in peace in Tattu. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O Lord of the Acacia tree, the Seker boat is set upon its sledge; thou turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou causet the Utchat to rest upon its seat. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.”

A HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

A hymn of praise to Re-Heru-Khuti (Re-Harmakhis) when he setteth in the western part of heaven. He (i.e., the deceased) saith:

“Homage to thee, O Re who in thy sitting art Tem-Heru-khuti (Tem-Harmakhis), thou divine god, thou self-created being, thou primeval matter from which all things were made. When thou appearest in the bows of thy bark men shout for joy at thee, O maker of the gods! Thou didst stretch out the heavens wherein thy two eyes might travel, thou didst make the earth to be a vast chamber for thy Khus, so that every man might know his fellow. The Sektet boat is glad, and the Matet boat rejoiceth; and they greet thee with exaltation as thou journeyest along. The god Nu is content, and thy mariners are satisfied; the uraeus-goddess hath overthrown thine enemies, and thou hast carried off the legs of Apep. Thou art beautiful, O Re, each day, and thy mother Nut embraceth thee; thou settest in beauty, and thy heart is glad in the horizon of Manu, and the holy beings therein rejoice. Thou shinest there with thy beams, O thou great god, Osiris, the everlasting Prince. The lords of the zones of the Tuat in their caverns stretch out their hands in adoration before thy Ka (double), and they cry out to thee, and they all come forth in the train of thy form shining brilliantly. The hearts of the lords of the Tuat (underworld) are glad when thou sendest forth thy glorious light in Amentet; their two eyes are directed toward thee, and they press forward to see thee, and their hearts rejoice when they do see thee. Thou harkenest unto the acclamations of those that are in the funeral chest, thou doest away with their helplessness and drivest away the evils which are about them. Thou givest breath to their nostrils and they take hold of the bows of thy bark in the horizon of Manu. Thou art beautiful each day, O Re, and may thy mother Nut embrace Osiris . . . , victorious.”

COMING FORTH BY DAY

The chapter of coming forth by day. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

“The doors of heaven are opened for me, the doors, of earth are opened for me, the bars and bolts of Seb are opened for me, and the first temple hath been unfastened for me by the god Petra. Behold, I was guarded and watched, but now I am released; behold, his hand had tied cords round me and his had darted upon me in the earth. Re-hent hath been opened for me and Re-hent hath been unfastened before me, Re-hent hath been given unto me, and I shall come forth by day into whatsoever place I please. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my breast; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over my two feet; I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over sepulchral offerings; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over air; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the river and over the land; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the male workers for me; I have gained the mastery over the female workers for me; I have gained the mastery over all the things which were ordered to be done for me upon the earth, according to the entreaty which ye spake for me, saying, ‘Behold, let him live upon the bread of Seb.’ That which is an abomination unto me, I shall not eat; nay, I shall live upon cakes made of white grain, and my ale shall be made of the red grain of Hapi (i.e., the Nile). In a clean place shall I sit on the ground beneath the foliage of the date-palm of the goddess Hathor, who dwelleth in the spacious Disk as it advanceth to Annu (Heliopolis), having the books of the divine words of the writings of the god Thoth. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my heart’s place (or breast); I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the rivers; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the men who work for me; I have gained the mastery over the women who work for me in the underworld; I have gained the mastery over all things which were ordered to be done for me upon earth and in the underworld. I shall lift myself up on my left side, and I shall place myself on my right side; I shall lift myself up on my right side, and I shall place myself on my left side. I shall sit down, I shall stand up, and I shall place myself in the path of the wind like a guide who is well prepared.”

If this composition be known by the deceased he shall come forth by day, and he shall be in a position to journey about over the earth among the living, and he shall never suffer diminution, never, never.

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Daodejing

Also known as: *Tao-te Ching*; *Daode Jing*; *Tao Te Ching*

Date: eighth. century–third century B.C.E.

Daoism (or Taoism), one of the three major religions of China (Confucianism and Buddhism being the other two), was founded during a turbulent time in China’s history. Though hard to define in English, Daoism

stresses the Way, or the Path, a sort of energy that flows through the world, and the concept of wuwei, or "action through inaction." The Daodejing; (or Tao-te Ching; translated as The Way and Its Power) is one of the central texts in Daoism. Originally attributed to Laozi, the traditional founder of Daoism, the text is now thought to have been written anywhere between the eighth and the third century B.C.E.

The following is an excerpt from the first section. Original spellings have been retained in this document.
Tao-te Ching, Attributed to Laozi, Translated by: James Legge

PART I.

Ch. 1

1. The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.
2. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.
3. Always without desire we must be found, If its deep mystery we would sound; But if desire always within us be, Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.
4. Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

Ch. 2

1. All in the world know the beauty of the beautiful, and in doing this they have (the idea of) what ugliness is; they all know the skill of the skilful, and in doing this they have (the idea of) what the want of skill is.
2. So it is that existence and non-existence give birth the one to (the idea of) the other; that difficulty and ease produce the one (the idea of) the other; that length and shortness fashion out the one the figure of the other; that (the ideas of) height and lowness arise from the contrast of the one with the other; that the musical notes and tones become harmonious through the relation of one with another; and that being before and behind give the idea of one following another.
3. Therefore the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech.
4. All things spring up, and there is not one which declines to show itself; they grow, and there is no claim made for their ownership; they go through their processes, and there is no expectation (of a reward for the results). The work is accomplished, and there is no resting in it (as an achievement). The work is done, but how no one can see; 'Tis this that makes the power not cease to be.

Ch. 3

1. Not to value and employ men of superior ability is the way to keep the people from rivalry among themselves; not to prize articles which are difficult to procure is the way to keep them from becoming thieves; not to show them what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder.
2. Therefore the sage, in the exercise of his government, empties their minds, fills their bellies, weakens their wills, and strengthens their bones.
3. He constantly (tries to) keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act (on it). When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal.

Ch. 4

1. The Tao is (like) the emptiness of a vessel; and in our employment of it we must be on our guard against all fullness. How deep and unfathomable it is, as if it were the Honoured Ancestor of all things!
2. We should blunt our sharp points, and unravel the complications of things; we should attemper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others. How pure and still the Tao is, as if it would ever so continue!
3. I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God.

Ch. 5

1. Heaven and earth do not act from (the impulse of) any wish to be benevolent; they deal with all things as the dogs of grass are dealt with. The sages do not act from (any wish to be) benevolent; they deal with the people as the dogs of grass are dealt with.
2. May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows? 'Tis emptied, yet it loses not its power; 'Tis moved again, and sends forth air the more. Much speech to swift exhaustion lead we see; Your inner being guard, and keep it free.

Ch. 6

1. The valley spirit dies not, aye the same; The female mystery thus do we name. Its gate, from which at first they issued forth, Is called the root from which grew heaven and earth. Long and unbroken does its power remain, Used gently, and without the touch of pain.

Ch. 7

1. Heaven is long-enduring and earth continues long. The reason why heaven and earth are able to endure and continue thus long is because they do not live of, or for, themselves. This is how they are able to continue and endure.

2. Therefore the sage puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place; he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved. Is it not because he has no personal and private ends, that therefore such ends are realised?

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Tao-te Ching." Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: "Tao-te Ching." In *The Tao Teh King, or the Tao and its Characteristics*, by Lao-Tse. Translated by James, Legge, 1883.

Constitution of Ancient Japan

Date: 604 B.C.E.

The Seventeen Article Constitution (in Japanese, Kenpo Jushichijo) was an early piece of Japanese writing and represented the basis of Japanese government through much of Japanese history. The constitution reflects Confucian principles (together with a number of Buddhist elements). The Constitution emphasized the Confucian values of harmony, regularity, and the importance of the moral development of government officials.

THE SEVENTEEN ARTICLE CONSTITUTION OF PRINCE SHOTOKU

1. Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighboring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

2. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures: the Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood, [The Buddha, the Law of Dharma, and the Sangha, or order of male and female monks, are the three treasures, or key elements, of Buddhism] are the final refuge . . . and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not go to the three treasures, how shall their crookedness be made straight?

3. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

4. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behavior their leading principle, for the leading principle of the government of the people consists in decorous behavior. If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behavior, there must necessarily be offenses. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself . . .

6. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of speaking at length to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence toward the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

7. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man...

10. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like men...

11. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. You high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments. . . .

15. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces toward that which is public—this is the path of a Minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is subversive of law...

16. Let the people be employed [in forced labor] at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? If they do not attend the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

17. Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. may miscarry, that one should arrange They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Aston, W. G. trans. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Vol. 2. London: Keagan and Co., 1896, pp. 128–133.

Hebrew Bible, Old Testament

Date: c. 571–562 B.C.E.

In this excerpt from the Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament, the Jewish prophet Ezekiel describes the destruction of Egypt, as well as Ethiopia and Libya, by the Babylonian king Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar). Written about 570–562 B.C.E. during the period of the Babylonian exile, the text refers to events that occurred probably about 593–570 B.C.E. This chapter is part of a section (chapters 25–32) of prophecies against the enemies of the kingdom of Judah. Egypt is cursed in chapters 29–32.

Ezekiel 30:1–26. Douay version, 1609–1610

The desolation of Egypt and her helpers: all her cities shall be wasted.

30:1. And the word of the Lord came to me, saying:

30:2. Son of man prophesy, and say: Thus saith the Lord God: Howl ye, Woe, woe to the day:

30:3. For the day is near, yea the day of the Lord is near: a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the nations.

30:4. And the sword shall come upon Egypt: and there shall be dread in Ethiopia, when the wounded shall fall in Egypt, and the multitude thereof shall be taken away, and the foundations thereof shall be destroyed.

30:5. Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia, and all the rest of the crowd, and Chub, and the children of the land of the covenant, shall fall with them by the sword.

30:6. Thus saith the Lord God: They also that uphold Egypt shall fall, and the pride of her empire shall be brought down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord the God of hosts.

30:7. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the lands that are desolate, and the cities thereof shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted.

30:8. And they shall know that I am the Lord: when I shall have set a fire in Egypt, and all the helpers thereof shall be destroyed.

30:9. In that day shall messengers go forth from my face in ships to destroy the confidence of Ethiopia, and there shall be dread among them in the day of Egypt: because it shall certainly come.

30:10. Thus saith the Lord God: I will make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon.

30:11. He and his people with him, the strongest of nations, shall be brought to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords upon Egypt: and shall fill the land with the slain.

30:12. And I will make the channels of the rivers dry, and will deliver the land into the hand of the wicked: and will lay waste the land and all that is therein by the hands of strangers, I the Lord have spoken it.

30:13. Thus saith the Lord God: I will also destroy the idols, and I will make an end of the idols of Memphis: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt and I will cause a terror in the land of Egypt.

30:14. And I will destroy the land of Phatures, and will make a fire in Taphnis, and will execute judgments in Alexandria. Alexandria . . . In the Hebrew, No: which was the ancient name of that city, which was afterwards rebuilt by Alexander the Great, and from his name called Alexandria.

30:15. And I will pour out my indignation upon Pelusium the strength of Egypt, and will cut off the multitude of Alexandria.

30:16. And I will make a fire in Egypt: Pelusium shall be in pain like a woman in labour, and Alexandria shall be laid waste, and in Memphis there shall be daily distresses.

30:17. The young men of Heliopolis, and of Bubastus shall fall by the sword, and they themselves shall go into captivity.

30:18. And in Taphnis the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the sceptres of Egypt, and the pride of her power shall cease in her: a cloud shall cover her, and her daughters shall be led into captivity.

30:19. And I will execute judgments in Egypt: and they shall know that I am the Lord.

30:20. And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first month, in the seventh day of the month, that the word of the Lord came, me, saying:

30:21. Son of man, I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt: and behold it is not bound up, to be healed, to be tied up with clothes, and swathed with linen, that it might recover strength, and hold the sword.

30:22. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I come against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and I will break into pieces his strong arm, which is already broken: and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand:

30:23. And I will disperse Egypt among the nations, and scatter them through the countries.

30:24. And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and will put my sword in his hand: and I will break the arms of Pharaoh, and they shall groan bitterly being slain before his face.

30:25. And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall: and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have given my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall have stretched it forth upon the land of Egypt.

30:26. And I will disperse Egypt among the nations, and will scatter them through the countries, and they shall know that I am the Lord.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: "Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) (excerpt)." *The Holy Bible*. Oxford: University Press, 1911.

Sunzi (Sun Tzu): *Art of War*

Date: c.400 B.C.E.

Also known as: Sun Tzu, Sun-tzu

An English translation of the Chinese treatise, Sunzi Bingfa, on the subject of war and strategy was written about 400 B.C.E. by the Chinese general Sunzi (Sun-Tzu). The basic premise is that if a commander knows his enemy as well as he knows his own troops, he can win any battle. It reveals a profound understanding of the practical and philosophical bases of war, emphasizing politics, tactics, and intelligence (secret agents). "All warfare is based on deception," said Sunzi, who instructed his followers: "Hold out

baits to entice the enemy. Feign disorder, and crush him.” Modern strategists have been clearly influenced by his tactics concerning guerrilla warfare: “Know the enemy, know yourself . . . Know the ground, know the weather; your victory will then be total.” Sunzi wrote that success comes from avoiding an enemy’s strength and striking his weakness.

The following is an excerpt from the first section. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

I. LAYING PLANS

1. Sun Tzu said: The art of war is of vital importance to the State.
2. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.
3. The art of war, then, is governed by five constant factors, to be taken into account in one’s deliberations, when seeking to determine the conditions obtaining in the field.
4. These are: (1) The Moral Law; (2) Heaven; (3) Earth; (4) The Commander; (5) Method and discipline.
- 5, 6. The MORAL LAW causes the people to be in complete accord with their ruler, so that they will follow him regardless of their lives, undismayed by any danger.
7. HEAVEN signifies night and day, cold and heat, times and seasons.
8. EARTH comprises distances, great and small; danger and security; open ground and narrow passes; the chances of life and death.
9. The COMMANDER stands for the virtues of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage and strictness.
10. By METHOD AND DISCIPLINE are to be understood the marshaling of the army in its proper subdivisions, the graduations of rank among the officers, the maintenance of roads by which supplies may reach the army, and the control of military expenditure.
11. These five heads should be familiar to every general: he who knows them will be victorious; he who knows them not will fail.
12. Therefore, in your deliberations, when seeking to determine the military conditions, let them be made the basis of a comparison, in this wise:
13. (1) Which of the two sovereigns is imbued with the Moral law? (2) Which of the two generals has most ability? (3) With whom lie the advantages derived from Heaven and Earth? (4) On which side is discipline most rigorously enforced? (5) Which army is stronger? (6) On which side are officers and men more highly trained? (7) In which army is there the greater constancy both in reward and punishment?
14. By means of these seven considerations I can forecast victory or defeat.
15. The general that hearkens to my counsel and acts upon it, will conquer: let such a one be retained in command! The general that hearkens not to my counsel nor acts upon it, will suffer defeat: let such a one be dismissed!
16. While heading the profit of my counsel, avail yourself also of any helpful circumstances over and beyond the ordinary rules.
17. According as circumstances are favorable, one should modify one’s plans.
18. All warfare is based on deception.
19. Hence, when able to attack, we must seem unable; when using our forces, we must seem inactive; when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away; when far away, we must make him believe we are near.
20. Hold out baits to entice the enemy. Feign disorder, and crush him.
21. If he is secure at all points, be prepared for him. If he is in superior strength, evade him.
22. If your opponent is of choleric temper, seek to irritate him. Pretend to be weak, that he may grow arrogant.
23. If he is taking his ease, give him no rest. If his forces are united, separate them.
24. Attack him where he is unprepared, appear where you are not expected.
25. These military devices, leading to victory, must not be divulged beforehand.
26. Now the general who wins a battle makes many calculations in his temple ere the battle is fought. The general who loses a battle makes but few calculations beforehand. Thus do many calculations lead to victory, and few calculations to defeat: how much more no calculation at all! It is by attention to this point that I can foresee who is likely to win or lose.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. “Art of War.” *Dictionary of Historic Documents, Revised Edition*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2003. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Sun-tzu. *The Art of War*. Translated from the Chinese by Giles, Lionel, M.A. London: 1910.

Plato's Republic

Date: c. 385–370 B.C.E.

The Republic is a long dialogue in 10 books on the nature of justice. In this excerpt from Book 7, the main speaker, the philosopher and teacher of Plato, Socrates, uses the parable of the cave to show how the philosopher, the true “lover of wisdom,” must escape from the bonds of the physical world and see the “real” world of ideas. The other speaker is Socrates’ friend Glaucon. Plato’s philosophy is based on the idea that reality lies not in what the eye can see but in “forms” or “ideas” of those things. Whoever apprehends these forms will acquire wisdom. The parable of the cave, with its image of humans who are capable only of seeing shadows of objects and not the objects themselves, is Plato’s method of illustrating this concept.

And now, I said, let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened—Behold! human beings living in a underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets.

I see.

And do you see, I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent. You have shown me a strange image, and they are strange prisoners. Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave?

True, he said; how could they see anything but the shadows if they were never allowed to move their heads?

And of the objects which are being carried in like manner they would only see the shadows?

Yes, he said.

And if they were able to converse with one another, would they not suppose that they were naming what was actually before them?

Very true.

And suppose further that the prison had an echo which came from the other side, would they not be sure to fancy when one of the passers-by spoke that the voice which they heard came from the passing shadow?

No question, he replied.

To them, I said, the truth would be literally nothing but the shadows of the images.

That is certain.

And now look again, and see what will naturally follow if the prisoners are released and disabused of their error. At first, when any of them is liberated and compelled suddenly to stand up and turn his neck round and walk and look towards the light, he will suffer sharp pains; the glare will distress him, and he will be unable to see the realities of which in his former state he had seen the shadows; and then conceive some one saying to him, that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he is approaching nearer to being and his eye is turned towards more real existence, he has a clearer vision,—what will be his reply? And you may further imagine that his instructor is pointing to the objects as they pass and requiring him to name them,—will he not be perplexed? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?

Far truer.

And if he is compelled to look straight at the light, will he not have a pain in his eyes which will make him turn away to take refuge in the objects of vision which he can see, and which he will conceive to be in reality clearer than the things which are now being shown to him?

True, he said.

And suppose once more, that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent, and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not likely to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light his eyes will be dazzled, and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities.

Not all in a moment, he said.

He will require to grow accustomed to the sight of the upper world. And first he will see the shadows best, next the reflections of men and other objects in the water, and then the objects themselves; then he will gaze upon the light of the moon and the stars and the spangled heaven; and he will see the sky and the stars by night better than the sun or the light of the sun by day?

Certainly.

Last of all he will be able to see the sun, and not mere reflections of him in the water, but he will see him in his own proper place, and not in another; and he will contemplate him as he is.

Certainly.

He will then proceed to argue that this is he who gives the season and the years, and is the guardian of all that is in the visible world, and in a certain way the cause of all things which he and his fellows have been accustomed to behold?

Clearly, he said, he would first see the sun and then reason about him.

And when he remembered his old habitation, and the wisdom of the den and his fellow-prisoners, do you not suppose that he would felicitate himself on the change, and pity them?

Certainly, he would.

And if they were in the habit of conferring honours among themselves on those who were quickest to observe the passing shadows and to remark which of them went before, and which followed after, and which were together; and who were therefore best able to draw conclusions as to the future, do you think that he would care for such honours and glories, or envy the possessors of them? Would he not say with Homer, 'Better to be the poor servant of a poor master,' and to endure anything, rather than think as they do and live after their manner?

Yes, he said, I think that he would rather suffer anything than entertain these false notions and live in this miserable manner.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "The *Republic* (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Plato. "The *Republic* (excerpt)." In *Plato's Republic*. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894.

Mencius

Also known as: Mengzi.

Date c. 300 B.C.E.

The word Mengzi was "Latinized" in the West to Mencius. The Mencius is a collection of philosopher's conversations elaborating on Confucian ideas, which are presented in no particular order.

The Chinese philosopher Mengzi was schooled in Confucianism and developed many of its principles in his own work, recorded by his disciples in The Sayings of Mencius, of which this is Book I. Mencius lived during the Warring States Period (403–221 B.C.E.), when dynastic power had eroded and feudal states fought against each other. Mencius traveled to many of the warring states, trying to persuade the feudal lords to respect their vassals and live virtuously.

ON GOVERNMENT

Mencius had an audience with King Hui of Liang. The king said, “Sir, you did not consider a thousand li too far to come. You must have some ideas about how to benefit my state.” Mencius replied, “Why must Your Majesty use the word ‘benefit?’ All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right.

If Your Majesty says, ‘How can I benefit my state?’ your officials will say, ‘How can I benefit my family?’ and officers and common people will say, ‘How can I benefit myself?’ Once superiors and inferiors are competing for benefit, the state will be in danger. When the head of a state of ten thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably a noble with a fief of a thousand chariots, When the head of a fief of a thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably head of a subfief of a hundred chariots. Those with a thousand out of ten thousand, or a hundred out of a thousand, had quite a bit. But when benefit is put before what is right, they are not satisfied without snatching it all. By contrast there has never been a benevolent person who neglected his parents or a righteous person who put his lord last. Your Majesty perhaps will now also say, ‘All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right. Why mention ‘benefit?’”

After seeing King Xiang of Liang, Mencius to someone, “When I saw him from a distance he did not look like a ruler, and when I got closer, I saw nothing to command respect. But he asked ‘How can the realm be settled?’ I answered, ‘It can be settled through unity.’ ‘Who can unify it?’ he asked. I answered, ‘Someone not fond of killing people.’ ‘Who could give it to him?’ I answered ‘Everyone in the world will give it to him. Your Majesty knows what rice plants are? If there is a drought in the seventh and eighth months, the plants wither, but if moisture collects in the sky and forms clouds and rain falls in torrents, plants suddenly revive. This is the way it is; no one can stop the process. In the world today there are no rulers disinclined toward killing. If there were a ruler who did not like to kill people, everyone in the world would crane their necks to catch sight of him. This is really true. The people would flow toward him the way water flows down. No one would be able to repress them.”

King Xuan of Qi asked, “Is it true that King Wen’s park was seventy li square,” Mencius answered, “That is what the records say.” The King said, “Isn’t that large?” Mencius responded, “The people considered it small.” “Why then do the people consider my park large when it is forty li square?” “In the forty square li of King Wen’s park, people could collect firewood and catch birds and rabbits. Since he shared it with the people, isn’t it fitting that they considered it small? When I arrived at the border, I asked about the main rules of the state before daring to enter. I learned that there was a forty-li park within the outskirts of the capital where killing a deer was punished like killing a person. Thus these forty li are a trap in the center of the state. Isn’t it appropriate that the people consider it too large?”

After an incident between Zou and Lu, Duke Mu asked, “Thirty-three of my officials died but no common people died. I could punish them, but I could not punish them all. I could refrain from punishing them but they did angrily watch their superiors die without saving them. What would be the best course for me to follow?” Mencius answered, “When the harvest failed, even though your granaries were full, nearly a thousand of your subjects were lost—the old and weak among them dying in the gutters, the able-bodied scattering in all directions. Your officials never reported the situation, a case of superiors callously inflicting suffering on their subordinates. Zengzi said, ‘Watch out, watch out! What you do will be done to you.’ This was the first chance the people had to pay them back. You should not resent them. If Your Highness practices benevolent government, the common people will love their superiors and die for those in charge of them.”

King Xuan of Qi asked, “Is it true that Tang banished Jie and King Wu took up arms against Zhou?” Mencius replied, “That is what the records say.” “Then is it permissible for a subject to assassinate his lord?” Mencius said, “Someone who does violence to the good we call a villain; someone who does violence to the right we call a criminal. A person who is both a villain and a criminal we call a scoundrel I have heard that the scoundrel Zhou was killed, but have not heard that a lord was killed

King Xuan of Qi asked about ministers Mencius said, “What sort of ministers does Your Majesty mean?” The king said ‘Are there different kinds of ministers?’ “There are. There are noble ministers related to the ruler and ministers of other surnames.” The king said, “I’d like to hear about noble ministers.” Mencius replied, “When the ruler makes a major error, they point it out. If he does not listen to their repeated remonstrations, then they put someone else on the throne.” The king blanched. Mencius continued, “Your Majesty should not be surprised at this. Since you asked me, I had to tell you truthfully.” After the king regained his composure, he asked about unrelated ministers. Mencius said, “When the king makes an error, they point it out. If he does not heed their repeated remonstrations, they quit their posts.”

Bo Gui said, “I’d like a tax of one part in twenty. What do you think?” Mencius said, “Your way is that of the northern tribes. Is one potter enough for a state with ten thousand households?” “No, there would

not be enough wares. The northern tribes do not grow all the five grains, only millet. They have no cities or houses, no ritual sacrifices. They do not provide gifts or banquets for feudal lords, and do not have a full array of officials. Therefore, for them, one part in twenty is enough. But we live in the central states. How could we abolish social roles and do without gentlemen? If a state cannot do without potters, how much less can it do without gentlemen? Those who want to make government lighter than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree barbarians. Those who wish to make government heavier than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree [tyrants like] Jie.”

ON HUMAN NATURE

Mencius said, “Everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. The great kings of the past had this sort of sensitive heart and thus adopted compassionate policies. Bringing order to the realm is as easy as moving an object in your palm when you have a sensitive heart and put into practice compassionate policies. Let me give an example of what I mean when I say everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. Anyone today who suddenly saw a baby about to fall into a well would feel alarmed and concerned. It would not be because he wanted to improve his relations with the child’s parents, nor because he wanted a good reputation among his friends and neighbors, nor because he disliked hearing the child cry. From this it follows that anyone who lacks feelings of commiseration, shame, and courtesy or a sense of right and wrong is not a human being. From the feeling of commiseration benevolence grows; from the feeling of shame righteousness grows; from the feeling of courtesy ritual grows; from a sense of right and wrong wisdom grows. People have these four germs, just as they have four limbs. For someone with these four potentials to claim incompetence is to cripple himself; to say his ruler is incapable of them is to cripple his ruler. Those who know how to develop the four potentials within themselves will take off like a fire or burst forth like a spring. Those who can fully develop them can protect the entire land while those unable to develop them cannot even take care of their parents.”

Gaozi said, “Human nature is like whirling water. When an outlet is opened to the east, it flows east; when an outlet is opened to the west, it flows west. Human nature is no more inclined to good or bad and water is not inclined to east or west.” Mencius responded, “Water, it is true is not inclined to either east or west, but does it have no preference for high or low? Goodness is to human nature like flowing downward to water. There are no people who are not good and no water that does not flow down. Still water if splashed can go higher than your head; if forced, it can be brought up a hill. This isn’t the nature of water; it is the specific circumstances. Although people can be made to be bad, their natures are not changed.”

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Selections from the Writings of Han Fei

Date: c. 230 B.C.E.

Legalism in China reached a kind of peak in the late third century B.C.E. in the writings of Han Feizi (Master Han Fei) as well as in the policies of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi. Before he committed suicide in 233 B.C.E., Han Fei wrote a number of essays on how to construct a stable and peaceful state. The selections below present the major principles of Han Fei’s political philosophy.

HAVING REGULATIONS

No country is permanently strong. Nor is any country permanently weak. If conformers to law are strong, the country is strong; if conformers to law are weak, the country is weak....

Any ruler able to expel private crookedness and uphold public law, finds the people safe and the state in order; and any ruler able to expunge private action and act on public law, finds his army strong and his enemy weak. So, find out men following the discipline of laws and regulations, and place them above the body of officials. Then the sovereign cannot be deceived by anybody with fraud and falsehood....

Therefore, the intelligent sovereign makes the law select men and makes no arbitrary promotion himself. He makes the law measure merits and makes no arbitrary regulation himself. In consequence, able men cannot be obscured, bad characters cannot be disguised; falsely praised fellows cannot be advanced, wrongly defamed people cannot be degraded.

To govern the state by law is to praise the right and blame the wrong.

The law does not fawn on the noble... Whatever the law applies to, the wise cannot reject nor can the brave defy. Punishment for fault never skips ministers, reward for good never misses commoners. Therefore, to correct the faults of the high, to rebuke the vices of the low, to suppress disorders, to decide against mistakes, to subdue the arrogant, to straighten the crooked, and to unify the folkways of the masses, nothing could match the law. To warn the officials and overawe the people, to rebuke obscenity and danger, and to forbid falsehood and deceit, nothing could match penalty. If penalty is severe, the noble cannot discriminate against the humble. If law is definite, the superiors are esteemed and not violated. If the superiors are not violated, the sovereign will become strong and able to maintain the proper course of government. Such was the reason why the early kings esteemed Legalism and handed it down to posterity. Should the lord of men discard law and practice selfishness, high and law would have no distinction.

THE TWO HANDLES

The means whereby the intelligent ruler controls his ministers are two handles only. The two handles are chastisement and commendation. What are meant by chastisement and commendation? To inflict death or torture upon culprits, is called chastisement; to bestow encouragements or rewards on men of merit, is called commendation.

Ministers are afraid of censure and punishment but fond of encouragement and reward. Therefore, if the lord of men uses the handles of chastisement and commendation, all ministers will dread his severity and turn to his liberality. The villainous ministers of the age are different. To men they hate they would by securing the handle of chastisement from the sovereign ascribe crimes; on men they love they would by securing the handle of commendation from the sovereign bestow rewards. Now supposing the lord of men placed the authority of punishment and the profit of reward not in his hands but let the ministers administer the affairs of reward and punishment instead, then everybody in the country would fear the ministers and slight the ruler, and turn to the ministers and away from the ruler. This is the calamity of the ruler's loss of the handles of chastisement and commendation.

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Primary Source Citation: W. L. Liano. trans. *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939, pp. 40, 45–47. Reprinted in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Vol. 1, 2d. ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994, pp. 95–97.

Cicero: *On the Republic*

Date: 54–51 B.C.E.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was the eldest son of an equestrian, though not noble, family. He was born in 105 b.c.e. and was beheaded by Antony's soldiers in 43 B.C.E. The path for a "new man" [i.e., without a family who had held a magistracy in Rome] to receive political honors was through the law, and at 26, after a thorough Greek and Latin education, Cicero pleaded his first case. The next year he successfully defended Publius Sextus Roscius against the favorite of Sulla, the dictator, and thought it best, during the rest of Sulla's dictatorship, to travel for his education and his health. At 32 he was elected quaestor to Sicily, and because of his integrity while holding this magistracy, was soon afterwards chosen by the Sicilians to prosecute their former governor Verres for extortion. Cicero was curule aedile in 69 B.C.E., and praetor urbanus in 66 B.C.E. In this year he supported Pompey for the eastern command, and the two remained friends. Cicero was consul in 63 B.C.E., and put down the conspiracy of Catiline.

Cicero wrote a major work discussing the nature of politics, written in six books, between 54–51 B.C.E. The original Latin name is *De re publica* or, alternatively, *De republica* and today is known to some as *The Republic*, similar to the dialogue of Plato, the style of which Cicero copied. The work is also known as *On the Republic* and *On the Commonwealth*. The series of books are a philosophical political dialogue written in the format of a Socratic dialogue. Cicero's characters were renowned Romans of a generation or two before him. The classical style of the books and the use of characters familiar to the Romans made Cicero's work very popular in its own time. The politics he wrote about, however, were the divisive politics and current affairs of his day. He presented his opinions and those of his political allies, as well as those of his political adversaries. Cicero's books were considered politically controversial in Rome.

ON THE REPUBLIC

Book I.

35. Then Laelius said: But you have not told us, Scipio, which of these three forms of government you yourself most approve.

Scipio: You are right to shape your question, which of the three I most approve, for there is not one of them which I approve at all by itself, since, as I told you, I prefer that government which is mixed and composed of all these forms, to any one of them taken separately. But if I must confine myself to one of the particular forms simply and exclusively, I must confess I prefer the royal one, and praise that as the first and

best. In this, which I here choose to call the primitive form of government, I find the title of father attached to that of king, to express that he watches over the citizens as over his children, and endeavors rather to preserve them in freedom than reduce them to slavery. So that it is more advantageous for those who are insignificant in property and capacity to be supported by the care of one excellent and eminently powerful man. The nobles here present themselves, who profess that they can do all this in much better style; for they say that there is much more wisdom in many than in one, and at least as much faith and equity. And, last of all, come the people, who cry with a loud voice, that they will render obedience neither to the one nor to the few; that even to brute beasts nothing is so dear as liberty; and that all men who serve either kings or nobles are deprived of it. Thus, the kings attract us by affection, the nobles by talent, the people by liberty; and in the comparison it is hard to choose the best.

Laelius: I think so, too, but yet it is impossible to dispatch the other branches of the question, if you leave this primary point undetermined.

36. *Scipio:* We must, then, I suppose, imitate Aratus, who, when he prepared himself to treat of great things, thought himself in duty bound to begin with Jupiter.

Laelius: Why Jupiter? And what is there in this discussion which resembles that poem?

Scipio: Why, it serves to teach us that we cannot better commence our investigations than by invoking him whom, with one voice, both learned and unlearned extol as the universal king of all gods and men.

Laelius: How so?

Scipio: Do you, then, believe in nothing which is not before your eyes? Whether these ideas have been established by the chiefs of states for the benefit of society, that there might be believed to exist one Universal Monarch in heaven, at whose nod (as Homer expresses it) all Olympus trembles, and that he might be accounted both king and father of all creatures; for there is great authority, and there are many witnesses, if you choose to call all many, who attest that all nations have unanimously recognized, by the decrees of their chiefs, that nothing is better than a king, since they think that all the gods are governed by the divine power of one sovereign; or if we suspect that this opinion rests on the error of the ignorant, and should be classed among the fables, let us listen to those universal testimonies of erudite men, who have, as it were, seen with their eyes those things to the knowledge of which we can hardly attain by report.

Laelius: What men do you mean?

Scipio: Those who, by the investigation of nature, have arrived at the opinion that the whole universe [is animated] by a single Mind. . . . [Text missing].

37. *Scipio:* But if you please, my *Laelius*, I will bring forward evidences, which are neither too ancient, nor in any respect barbarous.

Laelius: Those are what I want.

Scipio: You are aware, that it is now not four centuries since this city of ours has been without kings.

Laelius: You are correct, it is less than four centuries.

Scipio: Well, then, what are four centuries in the age of a state or city; is it a long time?

Laelius: It hardly amounts to the age of maturity.

Scipio: You say truly, and yet not four centuries have elapsed since there was a king in Rome.

Laelius: And he was a proud king.

Scipio: But who was his predecessor?

Laelius: He was an admirably just one; and, indeed, we must bestow the same praise on all his predecessors, as far back as Romulus, who reigned about six centuries ago.

Scipio: Even he, then, is not very ancient.

Laelius: No, he reigned when Greece was already becoming old.

Scipio: Agreed. Was Romulus, then, think you, king of a barbarous people?

Laelius: Why, as to that, if we are to follow the example of the Greeks, who say that all people are either Greeks or barbarians, I am afraid that we must confess that he was a king of barbarians; but if this name belong rather to manners than to languages, then I believe the Greeks were just as barbarous as the Romans.

Scipio: But with respect to the present question, we do not so much need to inquire into the nation as into the disposition. For if intelligent men, at a period so little remote, desired the governing of kings, you will confess that I am producing authorities that are neither antiquated, rude, nor insignificant.

38. *Laelius:* I see, *Scipio*, that you are very sufficiently provided with authorities; but with me, as with every fair judge, authorities are worth less than arguments.

Scipio: Then, *Laelius*, you shall yourself make use of an argument derived from your own senses.

Laelius: What senses do you mean?

Scipio: The feelings which you experience when at any time you happen to feel angry at anyone.

Laelius: That happens rather oftener than I could wish.

Scipio: Well, then, when you are angry, do you permit your anger to triumph over your judgment?

Laelius: No, by Hercules! I imitate the famous Archytas of Tarentum, who, when he came to his villa, and found all its arrangements were contrary to his orders, said to his steward "Ah! you unlucky scoundrel, I would flog you to death, if it were not that I am in a rage with you."

Scipio: Capital. Archytas, then, regarded unreasonable anger as a kind of sedition and rebellion of nature, which he sought to appease by reflection. And so, if we examine avarice, the ambition of power or glory, or the lusts of concupiscence and licentiousness, we shall find a certain conscience in the mind of man, which, like a king, sways by the force of counsel all the inferior faculties and propensities; and this, in truth, is the noblest portion of our nature; for when conscience reigns, it allows no resting place to lust, violence, or temerity.

Laelius: You have spoken the truth.

Scipio: Well, then, does a mind thus governed and regulated meet your approbation ?

Laelius: More than anything on earth.

Scipio: Then you would not approve that the evil passions, which are innumerable, should expel conscience, and that lusts and animal propensities should assume an ascendancy over us?

Laelius: For my part, I can conceive nothing more wretched than a mind thus degraded, or a man animated by a soul so licentious.

Scipio: You desire, then, that all the faculties of the mind should submit to a ruling power, and that conscience should reign over them all?

Laelius: Certainly, that is my wish.

Scipio: How, then, can you doubt what opinion to form on the subject of the commonwealth? in which, if the state is thrown into many hands, it is very plain that there will be no presiding authority; for if power be not united, it soon comes to nothing.

39. *Laelius*: But what difference is there, I should like to know, between the one and the many, if justice exists equally in many?

Scipio: Since I see, my *Laelius*, that the authorities I have adduced have no great influence on you, I must continue to employ yourself as my witness in proof of what I am saying.

Laelius: In what way are you going to make me again support your argument?

Scipio: Why thus. I recollect when we were lately at Formiae that you told your servants repeatedly to obey the orders of not more than one master only.

Laelius: To be sure, those of my steward.

Scipio: What do you at home? do you commit your affairs to the hands of many persons?

Laelius: No, I trust them to myself alone.

Scipio: Well, in your whole establishment, is there any other master but yourself ?

Laelius: Not one.

Scipio: Then I think you must grant me that as respects the state, the government of single individuals, provided they are just, is superior to any other.

Laelius: You have conducted me to this conclusion, and I entertain very nearly that opinion.

40. *Scipio*: You would still further agree with me, my *Laelius*, if, omitting the common comparisons, that one pilot is better fitted to steer a ship, and a physician to treat an invalid, provided they be competent men in their respective professions, than many could be, I should come at once to more illustrious examples.

Laelius: What examples do you mean?

Scipio: Do you observe that it was the cruelty and pride of one single Tarquin only, that made the title of king unpopular among the Romans ?

Laelius: Yes, I acknowledge that.

Scipio: You are also aware of this fact, on which I think I shall debate in the course of the coming discussion, that after the expulsion of King Tarquin, the people were transported by a wonderful excess of liberty. Then, innocent men were driven into banishment; then the estates of many individuals were pillaged, consulships were made annual, public authorities were overshadowed by mobs, popular appeals took place in all cases imaginable; then secessions of the lower orders ensued; and lastly, those proceedings which tended to place all powers in the hands of the populace.

Laelius: I must confess this all too true.

Scipio: All these things now happened during periods of peace and tranquility, for licence is wont to prevail when there is too little to fear, as in a calm voyage, or a trifling disease. But as we observe the voyager and invalid implore the aid of some competent director, as soon as the sea grows stormy and the disease alarming! so our nation in peace and security commands, threatens, resists, appeals from, and insults its magistrates, but in war obeys them as strictly as kings; for public safety is after all rather more valuable than popular licence. And in the most serious wars, our countrymen have even chosen the entire command to be deposited in the hands of some single chief, without a colleague; the very name of which magistrate indicates the absolute character of his power. For though he is evidently called dictator because he is appointed, yet do we still observe him, my *Laelius*, in our sacred books entitled *Magister Populi*, the master of the people.

Laelius: This is certainly the case.

Scipio: Our ancestors, therefore, acted wisely.

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Aeneid of Virgil

Date: c. 29–19 B.C.E.

As the author of the Eclogues and the Georgics, Virgil was already an established, even famous, poet when he began writing the Aeneid around 29 B.C.E. The poem, an epic in 12 books published after Virgil's death in 19 B.C.E., had a tremendous impact because it effectively created a political, historical, and literary identity for Rome in a way that no work had previously done.

The Aeneid tells the story of Aeneas, a survivor of the Trojan War, who struggles to reach Italy and establish a kingdom that will one day be known as the Roman Empire. The first six books describe the wanderings of the Trojans in search of a homeland, and the remaining books tell the story of the war between the Trojans and the native-born Italians. The poem ends with Aeneas victorious in combat over the Italian Turnus. This somewhat simplistic narrative is only one layer of a work of great depth and complexity.

A close study of the poem reveals, among other things, that Virgil had an astounding knowledge of history, philosophy, and literature. In crafting an epic that took as its subject the founding of Rome, he made use of many sources, both Greek and Latin. From its first line, "I sing arms and the man" (Arma virumque cano), the Aeneid makes reference to its two greatest models, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. In the sixth book, Aeneas descends to the underworld to see his father Anchises. Although one of the models for this scene is book 11 of the Odyssey, Virgil writes the scene as an expression of Roman culture and ideals, which culminates in a pageant of Roman history. In this passage (lines 788–853 in the Latin) Anchises directs Aeneas's sight to a line of his descendants, among whom (according to this invented genealogy) will be the Emperor Augustus. After describing Augustus and his deeds, Anchises then recounts a brief history of Rome, from the time when it was ruled by kings through the early and late Republic, describing the names and deeds of famous men. Yet after this display of Rome's glory, the passage concludes with a warning. Anchises cautions Aeneas with the words, "Romane, memento," or "Roman, remember": Remember who you are, and that as ruler of the world, while it is your duty to "tame the proud," it is equally important to foster peace and to be sparing to the weak. At the end of the poem, when Aeneas stands with sword drawn over the wounded Turnus, the reader may recall these words. Although Turnus begs for his life and appeals to Aeneas in the name of his father, Anchises, Aeneas only hesitates for a second before plunging the sword into Turnus's chest.

The following is an excerpt from: The Aeneid, Book 6.

Now fix your sight, and stand intent, to see
Your Roman race, and Julian progeny.
The mighty Caesar waits his vital hour,
Impatient for the world, and grasps his promis'd pow'r.
But next behold the youth of form divine,
Ceasar himself, exalted in his line;
Augustus, promis'd oft, and long foretold,
Sent to the realm that Saturn rul'd of old;
Born to restore a better age of gold.
Afric and India shall his pow'r obey;
He shall extend his propagated sway
Beyond the solar year, without the starry way,
Where Atlas turns the rolling heav'ns around,
And his broad shoulders with their lights are crown'd.
At his foreseen approach, already quake
The Caspian kingdoms and Maeotian lake:
Their seers behold the tempest from afar,
And threat'ning oracles denounce the war.
Nile hears him knocking at his sev'nfold gates,
And seeks his hidden spring, and fears his nephew's fates.
Nor Hercules more lands or labors knew,
Not tho' the brazen-footed hind he slew,
Freed Erymanthus from the foaming boar,
And dipp'd his arrows in Lernaean gore;
Nor Bacchus, turning from his Indian war,
By tigers drawn triumphant in his car,
From Nisus' top descending on the plains,
With curling vines around his purple reins.
And doubt we yet thro' dangers to pursue

The paths of honor, and a crown in view?
But what's the man, who from afar appears?
His head with olive crown'd, his hand a censer bears,
His hoary beard and holy vestments bring
His lost idea back: I know the Roman king.
He shall to peaceful Rome new laws ordain,
Call'd from his mean abode a scepter to sustain.
Him Tullus next in dignity succeeds,
An active prince, and prone to martial deeds.
He shall his troops for fighting fields prepare,
Disus'd to toils, and triumphs of the war.
By dint of sword his crown he shall increase,
And scour his armor from the rust of peace.
Whom Ancus follows, with a fawning air,
But vain within, and proudly popular.
Next view the Tarquin kings, th' avenging sword
Of Brutus, justly drawn, and Rome restor'd.
He first renews the rods and ax severe,
And gives the consuls royal robes to wear.
His sons, who seek the tyrant to sustain,
And long for arbitrary lords again,
With ignominy scourg'd, in open sight,
He dooms to death deserv'd, asserting public right.
Unhappy man, to break the pious laws
Of nature, pleading in his children's cause!
Howeer the doubtful fact is understood,
'T is love of honor, and his country's good:
The consul, not the father, sheds the blood.
Behold Torquatus the same track pursue;
And, next, the two devoted Decii view:
The Drusian line, Camillus loaded home
With standards well redeem'd, and foreign foes o'ercome
The pair you see in equal armor shine,
Now, friends below, in close embraces join;
But, when they leave the shady realms of night,
And, cloth'd in bodies, breathe your upper light,
With mortal hate each other shall pursue:
What wars, what wounds, what slaughter shall ensue!
From Alpine heights the father first descends;
His daughter's husband in the plain attends:
His daughter's husband arms his eastern friends.
Embrace again, my sons, be foes no more;
Nor stain your country with her children's gore!
And thou, the first, lay down thy lawless claim,
Thou, of my blood, who bearist the Julian name!
Another comes, who shall in triumph ride,
And to the Capitol his chariot guide,
From conquer'd Corinth, rich with Grecian spoils.
And yet another, fam'd for warlike toils,
On Argos shall impose the Roman laws,
And on the Greeks revenge the Trojan cause;
Shall drag in chains their Achillean race;
Shall vindicate his ancestors' disgrace,
And Pallas, for her violated place.
Great Cato there, for gravity renown'd,
And conqu'ring Cossus goes with laurels crown'd.
Who can omit the Gracchi? who declare
The Scipios' worth, those thunderbolts of war,
The double bane of Carthage? Who can see
Without esteem for virtuous poverty,

Severe Fabricius, or can cease t' admire
 The plowman consul in his coarse attire?
 Tir'd as I am, my praise the Fabii claim;
 And thou, great hero, greatest of thy name,
 Ordain'd in war to save the sinking state,
 And, by delays, to put a stop to fate!
 Let others better mold the running mass
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
 And soften into flesh a marble face;
 Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,
 And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
 But, Rome, 't is thine alone, with awful sway,
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
 Disposing peace and war by thy own majestic way;
 To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free:
 These are imperial arts, and worthy thee."

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Acts

Also known as the Acts of the Apostles—attributed to Luke
 Date: c. 60–90 C.E.

Like an early Christian Odyssey, this passage from the New Testament Acts describes Paul's journey by sea from Jerusalem to Rome in about 60 C.E., providing a fascinating eyewitness account of ancient ship travel. The evangelist Luke wrote Acts (also called Acts of the Apostles) in koine, or common dialect Greek, between 60 and 90 C.E. The 28-chapter book documents the lives of Christ's followers after his crucifixion. Much of the narrative of Acts focuses on Paul, formerly Saul, of Tarsus. Following his conversion, which is described in chapter 9:1–30, Paul undertook several missionary journeys in Greece and Asia Minor. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he was arrested by the authorities. As a Roman citizen, he appealed to Caesar and after two years was sent to Rome to stand trial. Chapter 27 describes the journey taken by Paul and the author (note how the narrative uses the pronoun "we") and the storm that wrecks their ship on the island of Malta (Melita). The remainder of the excerpt, chapter 28:1–14, describes the travelers' reception on the island and their eventual arrival at Rome.

Describing Paul's voyage

27:1 And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band. 27:2 And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; one Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us. 27:3 And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. 27:4 And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. 27:5 And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia. 27:6 And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy; and he put us therein. 27:7 And when we had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone; 27:8 And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens; nigh where unto was the city of Lasea.

27:9 Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished them, 27:10 And said unto them, "Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives." 27:11 Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul. 27:12 And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south west and north west.

27:13 And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete. 27:14 But not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. 27:15 And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive. 27:16 And running under a certain island which is called Claudia, we had much work to come by the boat: 27:17 Which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven. 27:18 And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship; 27:19 And the third day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. 27:20 And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.

27:21 But after long abstinence Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, "Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss. 27:22 And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship. 27:23 For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, 27:24 Saying, 'Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Caesar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.' 27:25 Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. 27:26 Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island."

27:27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country; 27:28 And sounded, and found it twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little further, they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms. 27:29 Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day. 27:30 And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, 27:31 Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." 27:32 Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off.

27:33 And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, "This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing. 27:34 Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you." 27:35 And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat. 27:36 Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some meat. 27:37 And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. 27:38 And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.

27:39 And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship. 27:40 And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore. 27:41 And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves. 27:42 And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape. 27:43 But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land: 27:44 And the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

28:1 And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. 28:2 And the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. 28:3 And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. 28:4 And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. 28:5 And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. 28:6 Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

28:7 In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously. 28:8 And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.

28:9 So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed: 28:10 Who also honoured us with many honours; and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary. 28:11 And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux. 28:12 And landing at Syracuse, we tarried there three days. 28:13 And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli: 28:14 Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "New Testament: Acts (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Luke. "New Testament: Acts (excerpt)." *The Holy Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911.

Bhagavad Gita

Also known as: *Song of the Lord*.

Date: c. 100 C.E.

The Bhagavad Gita is a Sanskrit poem forming part of the sixth book of the Hindu epic, the Mahabharata. Probably written in the first or second century C.E., it is often regarded as the greatest philosophical expression of Hinduism. The poem itself is a dialogue between Lord Krishna (as an incarnation of Vishnu) and Prince Arjuna on the eve of the Battle of Kurukshetra. Krishna eases Arjuna's concerns about the coming battle and instructs him on the importance of absolute devotion (bhakti) to a personal god as a means of salvation. As such, the Bhagavad Gita represents a fundamental departure from the brahman-atman (world-spirit and self) doctrine of the Vedas.

CHAPTER XIV

Gunatrayavibhagayog, or The Book of Religion by Separation from the Qualities.

Krishna.

Yet farther will I open unto thee
 This wisdom of all wisdoms, uttermost,
 The which possessing, all My saints have passed
 To perfectness. On such high verities
 Reliant, rising into fellowship
 With Me, they are not born again at birth
 Of Kalpas, nor at Pralyas suffer change!
 This Universe the womb is where I plant
 Seed of all lives! Thence, Prince of India, comes
 Birth to all beings! Whoso, Kunti's Son!
 Mothers each mortal form, Brahma conceives,
 And I am He that fathers, sending seed!
 Sattwan, Rajas, and Tamas, so are named
 The qualities of Nature, "Soothfastness,"
 "Passion," and "Ignorance." These three bind down
 The changeless Spirit in the changeful flesh.
 Whereof sweet "Soothfastness," by purity
 Living unsullied and enlightened, binds
 The sinless Soul to happiness and truth;
 And Passion, being kin to appetite,
 And breeding impulse and propensity,
 Binds the embodied Soul, O Kunti's Son!
 By tie of works. But Ignorance, begot
 Of Darkness, blinding mortal men, binds down
 Their souls to stupor, sloth, and drowsiness.
 Yea, Prince of India! Soothfastness binds souls
 In pleasant wise to flesh; and Passion binds
 By toilsome strain; but Ignorance, which blots
 The beams of wisdom, binds the soul to sloth.
 Passion and Ignorance, once overcome,
 Leave Soothfastness, O Bharata! Where this
 With Ignorance are absent, Passion rules;
 And Ignorance in hearts not good nor quick.
 When at all gateways of the Body shines
 The Lamp of Knowledge, then may one see well
 Soothfastness settled in that city reigns;
 Where longing is, and ardour, and unrest,

Impulse to strive and gain, and avarice,
Those spring from Passion—Prince!—engrained; and where
Darkness and dulness, sloth and stupor are,
'Tis Ignorance hath caused them, Kuru Chief!
Moreover, when a soul departeth, fixed
In Soothfastness, it goeth to the place—
Perfect and pure—of those that know all Truth.
If it departeth in set habitude
Of Impulse, it shall pass into the world
Of spirits tied to works; and, if it dies
In hardened Ignorance, that blinded soul
Is born anew in some unlighted womb.
The fruit of Soothfastness is true and sweet;
The fruit of lusts is pain and toil; the fruit
Of Ignorance is deeper darkness. Yea!
For Light brings light, and Passion ache to have;
And gloom, bewilderments, and ignorance
Grow forth from Ignorance. Those of the first
Rise ever higher; those of the second mode
Take a mid place; the darkened souls sink back
To lower deeps, loaded with witlessness!
When, watching life, the living man perceives
The only actors are the Qualities,
And knows what rules beyond the Qualities,
Then is he come nigh unto Me!
The Soul,
Thus passing forth from the Three Qualities—
Whereby arise all bodies—overcomes
Birth, Death, Sorrow, and Age; and drinketh deep
The undying wine of Amrit.
Arjuna.
Oh, my Lord!
Which be the signs to know him that hath gone
Past the Three Modes? How liveth he? What way
Leadeth him safe beyond the threefold Modes?
Krishna.
He who with equanimity surveys
Lustre of goodness, strife of passion, sloth
Of ignorance, not angry if they are,
Not wishful when they are not: he who sits
A sojourner and stranger in their midst
Unruffled, standing off, saying—serene—
When troubles break, “These be the Qualities!”
He unto whom—self-centred—grief and joy
Sound as one word; to whose deep-seeing eyes
The clod, the marble, and the gold are one;
Whose equal heart holds the same gentleness
For lovely and unlovely things, firm-set,
Well-pleased in praise and dispraise; satisfied
With honour or dishonour; unto friends
And unto foes alike in tolerance;
Detached from undertakings,—he is named
Surmounter of the Qualities!
And such—
With single, fervent faith adoring Me,
Passing beyond the Qualities, conforms
To Brahma, and attains Me!
For I am
That whereof Brahma is the likeness! Mine
The Amrit is; and Immortality
Is mine; and mine perfect Felicity!

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: O'Brien, Patrick K., gen. ed. "Bhagavad Gita." *Encyclopedia of World History*. Copyright George Philip Limited. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2000. Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: *The Song Celestial or Bhagavad-Gita* (From the *Mahabharata*). Translated from the Sanskrit Text by Sir Edwin Arnold, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. New York: Truslove, Hanson & Comba, Ltd., 1900.

Tacitus: *The Histories*

Date: 106–107 C.E.

This passage from The Histories illustrates why Tacitus (c. 56/57–c. 117 C.E.) is considered one of Rome's greatest writers. It describes the battle that took place in the city of Rome on December 20, 69 C.E., and the death of the emperor Vitellius (15–69 C.E.). In the struggle for control of the empire, Vitellius was the third emperor in less than a year, and he would not be the last. Like his predecessors Galba and Otho, he fell to the leader of a more powerful army. The man who would succeed him, Vespasian (9–79 C.E.), was serving as the governor of Judaea when his army (called Flavians after Vespasian's full name, Titus Flavius Vespasianus) proclaimed him emperor in the summer of 69. When the Flavians reached Rome that December, they had already won a decisive victory against the Vitellians at Bedriacum in northern Italy in October. It was the second time that year that a battle for the succession had been fought there.

Tacitus begins his narrative of the events that occurred in Rome that day, not with an account of the main actors, but by focusing on the crowd that has gathered to watch. He describes their behavior and the fighting in detail noting the historical significance of both. The account of the battle at the camp of the Praetorian Guard is brief yet effective in its narrative flow and in its mixture of military detail with the reported thoughts of the soldiers. The defeat of the Vitellians there leads to the palace and a description of the final actions of Vitellius himself. In a chilling account, Tacitus relates how, in a panic, the emperor attempted to escape, but was ultimately unable to avoid his fate.

The Histories (Book 3, chapters 83–85) (c. 106–107 C.E.)

The following is an excerpt.

The people came and watched the fighting, cheering and applauding now one side, now the other, like spectators at a gladiatorial contest. Whenever one side gave ground, and the soldiers began to hide in shops or seek refuge in some private house, they clamoured for them to be dragged [our] and killed, and thus got the greater part of the plunder for themselves: for while the soldiers were busy with the bloody work of massacre, the spoil fell to the crowd. The scene throughout the city was hideous and terrible: on the one side fighting and wounded men, on the other baths and restaurants: here lay heaps of bleeding dead, and close at hand were harlots and their companions—all the vice and licence of luxurious peace, and all the crime and horror of a captured town. One might well have thought the city mad with fury and mad with pleasure at the same time. Armies had fought in the city before this, twice when Sulla mastered Rome, once under Cinna. Nor were there less horrors then. What was now so inhuman was the people's indifference. Not for one minute did they interrupt the life of pleasure. The fighting was a new amusement for their holiday. Caring nothing for either party, they enjoyed themselves in riotous dissipation and took a frank pleasure in their country's disaster.

The storming of the Guards' camp was the most troublesome task. It was still held by some of the bravest as a forlorn hope, which made the victors all the more eager to take it, especially those who had originally served in the Guards. They employed against it every means ever devised for the storming of the most strongly fortified towns, a 'tortoise', artillery, earthworks, firebrands. This, they cried, was the crown of all the toil and danger they had undergone in all their battles. They had restored the city to the senate and people of Rome, and their Temples to the gods: the soldier's pride is his camp, it is his country and his home. If they could not regain it at once, they must spend the night in fighting. The Vitellians, for their part, had numbers and fortune against them, but by marring their enemy's victory, by postponing peace, by fouling houses and altars with their blood, they embraced the last consolations that the conquered can enjoy. Many lay more dead than alive on the towers and ramparts of the walls and there expired. When the gates were torn down, the remainder faced the conquerors in a body. And there they fell, every man of them facing the enemy with all his wounds in front. Even as they died they took care to make an honourable end.

When the city was taken, Vitellius left the Palace by a back way and was carried in a litter to his wife's house on the Aventine. If he could lie hid during the day, he hoped to make his escape to his brother and the Guards at Tarracina. But it is in the very nature of terror that, while any course looks dangerous, the present

state of things seems worst of all. His fickle determination soon changed and he returned to the vast, deserted Palace, whence even the lowest of his menials had fled, or at least avoided meeting him. Shuddering at the solitude and hushed silence of the place, he wandered about, trying closed doors, terrified to find the rooms empty; until at last, wearied with his miserable search, he crept into some shameful hiding-place. There Julius Placidus, an officer of the Guards, found him and dragged him out. His hands were tied behind his back, his clothes were torn, and thus he was led forth—a loathly spectacle at which many hurled insults and no one shed a single tear of pity. The ignominy of his end killed all compassion. On the way a soldier of the German army either aimed an angry blow at him, or tried to put him out of his shame, or meant, perhaps, to strike the officer in command; at any rate, he cut off the officer's ear and was immediately stabbed.

With the points of their swords they made Vitellius hold up his head and face their insults, forcing him again and again to watch his own statues hurtling down, or to look at the Rostra and the spot where Galba had been killed. At last he was dragged along to the Ladder of Sighs, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had lain. One saying of his which was recorded had a ring of true nobility. When some officer flung reproaches at him, he answered, 'And yet I was once your emperor.' After that he fell under a shower of wounds, and when he was dead the mob abused him as loudly as they had flattered him in his lifetime—and with as little reason.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Tacitus. "*The Histories*, Book 3 (excerpt)." In *Tacitus, The Histories*. Vol. 2. Translated and with an introduction and notes by W. Hamilton Fyfe. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912.

Edict of Milan

Date: 313 C.E.

With this decree, issued in 313 C.E., the coemperors Constantine (c. 285–337 C.E.) and Licinius (c. 263–325 C.E.) granted freedom of worship to all people throughout the Roman Empire. The decree was directed primarily at Christians, who, persecuted since the time of Nero (37–68 C.E.), had been subjected more recently to extremely brutal treatment under the emperors Diocletian (ruled from 284 to 305 C.E.) and Galerius (ruled as augustus from 305 to his death in 311 C.E.). Although Galerius had issued an edict of toleration in the last year of his reign, his successor, Maximinus II Daia, ignored it and continued the persecutions. The jointly issued decree of Constantine and Licinius not only restated the government's toleration of Christian worship but also returned confiscated property to the Christians.

The text in which the edict has been preserved, On the Deaths of the Persecutors, is a history of the Christian persecutors in the Roman Empire. It was written in Latin between 300 and 318 C.E. by Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, a converted Christian from North Africa. The edict as recorded by Lactantius is not technically an edict but a letter, written to a provincial governor, who, at the close, is instructed to announce the decree publicly.

Constantine and Licinius

When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I, Licinius Augustus, had fortunately met near Mediolanum (Milan), and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought that among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, that those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and to all others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us, and all who are placed under our rule. And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision, we thought to arrange that no one whatever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion or of that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the supreme Deity, to who worship we freely yield our hearts, may show in all things his usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians, and now any one of these who wishes to observe the Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without any disturbance or molestation. We thought it fit to commend these things most fully to your care that you may know that we have given to those Christians free and unrestricted opportunity of religious worship. When you see that this has been granted to them by us, your Worship will know that we have also conceded to other religions the right of open and free observance of their worship for the sake of the peace of our times, that each one may have the free

opportunity to worship as he pleases; this regulation is made that we may not seem to detract aught from any dignity or any religion.

Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially, we esteemed in best to order that if it happens that anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury or from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception. Those, moreover, who have obtained the same by gift, are likewise to return them at once to the Christians. Besides, both those who have purchased and those who have secured them by gift, are to appeal to the vicar if they seek any recompense from our bounty, that they may be cared for through our clemency. All this property ought to be delivered at once to the community of the Christians through your intercession, and without delay. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians, that is to say the corporations and their conventicles:—providing, of course, that the above arrangements be followed so that those who return the same without payment, as we have said, may hope for an indemnity from our bounty. In all these circumstances you ought to tender your most efficacious intervention to the community of the Christians, that our command may be carried into effect as quickly as possible, whereby, moreover, through our clemency, public order may be secured. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state. Moreover, in order that the statement of this decree of our good will may come to the notice of all, this rescript, published by your decree, shall be announced everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all, so that the decree of this, our benevolence, cannot be concealed.

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Text Citation: “Edict of Milan.” Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Constantine and Licinius. “Edict of Milan.” In *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. Vol. 4. Edited by William Fairley. Philadelphia: Dept. of History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1898.

Confessions of St. Augustine

Date: 397–400 C.E.

Augustine wrote his Confessions between 397 and 400 C.E., about 85 years after Constantine and Licinius signed the Edict of Milan, which legalized Christianity in the Roman Empire. Despite the new religion's increasing popularity, Roman culture was at this time still largely, if not primarily, pagan. Many continued to worship the old gods and to read Cicero and Homer, whose texts glorified these gods and the mortals who served them. As Christianity's influence increased, the extent to which Christians should partake of this classical culture became an issue among church leaders such as Augustine and Jerome. In this section of his spiritual autobiography, Augustine, a converted Christian, intersperses the narrative of events in his childhood with pleas to God to forgive him for what he now views as sinful behavior. Here, in Book 1, he describes how he was given a traditional education in classical literature. He relates with shame that as a boy he loved the Aeneid, but, expressing the frustration of anyone who has struggled with learning a foreign language, he tells how he hated Homer because he was unable to understand the Greek.

But now, my God, cry Thou aloud in my soul; and let Thy truth tell me, “Not so, not so. Far better was that first study.” For, lo, I would readily forget the wanderings of Aeneas and all the rest, rather than how to read and write. But over the entrance of the Grammar School is a vail drawn! true; yet is this not so much an emblem of aught recondite, as a cloak of error. Let not those, whom I no longer fear, cry out against me, while I confess to Thee, my God, whatever my soul will, and acquiesce in the condemnation of my evil ways, that I may love Thy good ways. Let not either buyers or sellers of grammar-learning cry out against me. For if I question them whether it be true that Aeneas came on a time to Carthage, as the poet tells, the less learned will reply that they know not, the more learned that he never did. But should I ask with what letters the name “Aeneas” is written, every one who has learnt this will answer me aright, as to the signs which men have conventionally settled. If, again, I should ask which might be forgotten with least detriment to the concerns of life, reading and writing or these poetic fictions? who does not foresee what all must answer who have not wholly forgotten themselves? I sinned, then, when as a boy I preferred those empty to those more profitable

studies, or rather loved the one and hated the other. “One and one, two”; “two and two, four”; this was to me a hateful singsong: “the wooden horse lined with armed men,” and “the burning of Troy,” and “Creusa’s shade and sad similitude,” were the choice spectacle of my vanity.

Why then did I hate the Greek classics, which have the like tales? For Homer also curiously wove the like fictions, and is most sweetly vain, yet was he bitter to my boyish taste. And so I suppose would Virgil be to Grecian children, when forced to learn him as I was Homer. Difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of a foreign tongue, dashed, as it were, with gall all the sweetness of Grecian fable. For not one word of it did I understand, and to make me understand I was urged vehemently with cruel threats and punishments. Time was also (as an infant) I knew no Latin; but this I learned without fear or suffering, by mere observation, amid the caresses of my nursery and jests of friends, smiling and sportively encouraging me. This I learned without any pressure of punishment to urge me on, for my heart urged me to give birth to its conceptions, which I could only do by learning words not of those who taught, but of those who talked with me; in whose ears also I gave birth to the thoughts, whatever I conceived. No doubt, then, that a free curiosity has more force in our learning these things, than a frightful enforcement. Only this enforcement restrains the roving of that freedom, through Thy laws, O my God, Thy laws, from the master’s cane to the martyr’s trials, being able to temper for us a wholesome bitter, recalling us to Thyself from that deadly pleasure which lures us from Thee.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: “*The Confessions*, Book 1 (excerpt).” Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. “*The Confessions*, Book 1 (excerpt).” In *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Translated by E. B. Pusey, London: Chatto and Windus, 1909.

Yoruba Creation Myth

Date: Unknown

The Yoruba are a people and a culture in West Africa and represent one of the largest language groups in Africa. Historically, the Yoruba have occupied the region of southwestern Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. It is believed that people migrated to this area around 900 and that the kingdom of Ile-Ife came into being around 1100. The golden age of the Yoruba civilization between 1100 and 1700 occurred due to the expansion of the kingdom's influence, power, and economic wealth.

The cultural and societal identity of the Yoruba people is based on their creation myths, or cosmogony—they believe they are in direct lineage to the Creator. The Yoruba Creation Myth states that in the beginning, there was nothing but an enormous ocean that reached the heavens. The Gods and their sons consulted and decided to build a city on dry land for all living creatures. It is taught that in later years the children of these gods became the kings and queens of Yorubaland.

In the beginning was only the sky above, water and marshland below. The chief god Olorun ruled the sky, and the goddess Olokun ruled what was below. Obatala, another god, reflected upon this situation, then went to Olorun for permission to create dry land for all kinds of living creatures to inhabit. He was given permission, so he sought advice from Orunmila, oldest son of Olorun and the god of prophecy. He was told he would need a gold chain long enough to reach below, a snail's shell filled with sand, a white hen, a black cat, and a palm nut, all of which he was to carry in a bag. All the gods contributed what gold they had, and Orunmila supplied the articles for the bag.

When all was ready, Obatala hung the chain from a corner of the sky, placed the bag over his shoulder, and started the downward climb. When he reached the end of the chain he saw he still had some distance to go. From above he heard Orunmila instruct him to pour the sand from the snail's shell, and to immediately release the white hen. He did as he was told, whereupon the hen landing on the sand began scratching and scattering it about. Wherever the sand landed it formed dry land, the bigger piles becoming hills and the smaller piles valleys. Obatala jumped to a hill and named the place Ife. The dry land now extended as far as he could see. He dug a hole, planted the palm nut, and saw it grow to maturity in a flash. The mature palm tree dropped more palm nuts on the ground, each of which grew immediately to maturity and repeated the process. Obatala settled down with the cat for company. Many months passed, and he grew bored with his routine. He decided to create beings like himself to keep him company. He dug into the sand and soon found clay with which to mold figures like himself and started on his task, but he soon grew tired and decided to take a break. He made wine from a nearby palm tree, and drank bowl after bowl. Not realizing he was drunk, Obatala returned to his task of fashioning the new beings; because of his condition he fashioned many imperfect figures. Without realizing this, he called out to Olorun to breathe life into his creatures. The next day he realized what he had done and swore never to drink again, and to take care of those who were deformed, thus becoming Protector of the Deformed.

The new people built huts as Obatala had done and soon Ife prospered and became a city. All the other gods were happy with what Obatala had done, and visited the land often, except for Olokun, the ruler of all below the sky. She had not been consulted by Obatala and grew angry that he had usurped so much of her kingdom. When Obatala returned to his home in the sky for a visit, Olokun summoned the great waves of her vast oceans and sent them surging across the land. Wave after wave she unleashed, until much of the land was underwater and many of the people were drowned. Those that had fled to the highest land beseeched the god Eshu who had been visiting, to return to the sky and report what was happening to them. Eshu demanded sacrifice be made to Obatala and himself before he would deliver the message. The people sacrificed some goats, and Eshu returned to the sky. When Orunmila heard the news he climbed down the golden chain to the earth, and cast many spells which caused the flood waters to retreat and the dry land reappear. So ended the great flood.

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The Qur'an

Also known as: Quran; Koran.

Date: c. 610–632

The Qur'an is the sacred book of Islam. According to Islamic belief, the Qur'an (Koran) was revealed by God to the prophet Muhammad. Its tenets are strictly followed by devout Muslims around the world. The Qur'an is sacred in the same way to Muslims as the Bible is to Christians and Jews.

Allah is the Arabic name for the Supreme Being, or God. Qur'an, in Arabic, means "recitation." Muslims, or followers of Islam, believe that Muhammad received the word of Allah through the mediacy of the angel Gabriel and then recited it to the faithful. Islam, which means "submission to the word of God," is one of the world's great monotheistic religions, along with Judaism and Christianity. Devout Muslims believe that Allah sent several prophets, including Moses, Jesus, and, last but not most important, Muhammad, to save humankind from its sins. The teachings of Muhammad were passed orally among believers until they were recorded in book form after his death in 632. Devout Muslims regard the written text of the Qur'an to be an earthly copy of a book that exists as an eternal entity of the universe.

According to tradition, Muhammad, while in a heavenly trance, received the Qur'an from the angel Gabriel, a few verses at a time over the years 610 through 632, the year Muhammad died. Thus the teachings of the Qur'an follow the events of his life. Each time Muhammad awoke from his trance, he repeated Allah's revelations in Arabic to his followers. Legend states that scribes recorded the revelations on paper, palm-leaves, stone, or other objects that were on hand. Muhammad's followers then memorized the passages and recited them to other Arabs.

Surah 1

- 1: 1. In the name of ALLAH, the Gracious, the Merciful.
- 1: 2. All praise is due to ALLAH alone, Lord of all the worlds.
- 1: 3. The Gracious, the Merciful.
- 1: 4. Master of the Day of Judgment.
- 1: 5. THEE alone do we worship and THEE alone do we implore for help.
- 1: 6. Guide us in the straight path,
- 1: 7. The path of those on whom THOU hast bestowed THY favours, those who have not incurred THY displeasure and those who have not gone astray.

Surah 47

- 47: 1. In the name of ALLAH, the Gracious, the Merciful.
- 47: 2. Those who disbelieve and hinder men from the way of ALLAH—HE renders their works vain.
- 47: 3. But as for those who believe and do righteous deeds and believe in that which has been revealed to Muhammad—and it is the truth from their Lord—HE removes from them their sins and sets right their affairs.
- 47: 4. That is because those who disbelieve follow falsehood while those who believe follow the truth from their Lord. Thus does ALLAH set forth for men their lessons by similitudes.
- 47: 5. And when you meet in regular battle those who disbelieve, smite their necks; and, when you have overcome them, by causing great slaughter among them, bind fast the fetters—then afterwards either release them as a favour or by taking ransom—until the war lays down its burdens. That is the ordinance. And if ALLAH had so pleased, HE could have punished them Himself, but HE has willed that HE may try some of you by others. And those who are killed in the way of ALLAH—HE will never render their works vain.
- 47: 6. HE will guide them to success and will improve their condition.
- 47: 7. And will admit them into the Garden which HE has made known to them.
- 47: 8. O ye who believe! if you help the cause of ALLAH, HE will help you and will make your steps firm.
- 47: 9. But those who disbelieve, perdition is their lot; and HE will make their works vain.
- 47: 10. That is because they hate what ALLAH has revealed; so HE has made their works vain.
- 47: 11. Have they not traveled in the earth and seen what was the end of those who were before them? ALLAH utterly destroyed them, and for the disbelievers there will be the like thereof.
- 47: 12. That is because ALLAH is the Protector of those who believe, and the disbelievers have no protector.
- 47: 13. Verily, ALLAH will cause those who believe and do good works to enter the Gardens underneath which streams flow; While those who disbelieve enjoy themselves and eat even as the cattle eat, and the Fire will be their last resort.
- 47: 14. And how many a township, mightier than thy town which has driven thee out, have WE destroyed, and they had no helper.
- 47: 15. Then, is he who takes his stand upon a clear proof from his Lord like those to whom the evil of their deeds is made to look attractive and who follow their low desires?

47: 16. A description of the Garden promised to the righteous: Therein are streams of water which corrupts not; and streams of milk of which the taste changes not; and streams of wine, a delight to those who drink; and streams of clarified honey. And in it they will have all kinds of fruit, and forgiveness from their Lord. Can those who enjoy such bliss be like those who abide in the Fire and who are given boiling water to drink so that it tears their bowels?

47: 17. And among them are some who seems to listen to thee till, when they go forth from thy presence, they say to those who have been given knowledge, 'What has he been talking about just now?' These are they upon whose hearts ALLAH has set a seal, and who follow their own evil desires.

47: 18. But as for those who follow guidance, HE adds to their guidance, and bestows on them righteousness suited to their condition.

47: 19. The disbelievers wait not but for the Hour, that it should come upon them suddenly. The Signs thereof have already come. But of what avail will their admonition be to them when it has actually come upon them.

47: 20. Know, therefore, that there is no god other than ALLAH, and ask protection for thy human frailties, and for believing men and believing women. And ALLAH knows the place where you move about and the place where you stay.

47: 21. And those who believe say, 'Why is not a Surah revealed?' But when a decisive Surah is revealed and fighting is mentioned therein, thou seest those in whose hearts is a disease, looking towards thee like the look of one who is fainting on account of approaching death. So woe to them!

47: 22. Their attitude should have been one of obedience and of calling people to good. And when the matter was determined upon, it was good for them if they were true to ALLAH.

47: 23. Would you not then, if you are placed in authority, create disorder in the land and sever your ties of kinship?

47: 24. It is these whom ALLAH has cursed, so that HE has made them deaf and has made their eyes blind.

47: 25. Will they not, then, ponder over the Qur'an, or, is it that there are locks on their hearts?

47: 26. Surely, those who turn their backs after guidance has become manifest to them, Satan has seduced them and holds out false hopes to them.

47: 27. That is because they said to those who hate what ALLAH has revealed, 'We will obey you in some matters, and ALLAH knows their secrets.

47: 28. But how will they fare when the angels will cause them to die, smiting their faces and their backs?

47: 29. That is because they followed that which displeased ALLAH, and disliked the seeking of HIS pleasure. So HE rendered their works vain.

47: 30. Do those in whose hearts is a disease suppose that ALLAH will not bring to light their malice?

47: 31. And if WE pleased, WE could show them to thee so that thou shouldst know them by their marks. And thou shalt, surely, recognize them by the tone of their speech. And ALLAH knows your deeds.

47: 32. And WE will, surely, try you, until WE make manifest those among you who strive for the cause of ALLAH and those who are steadfast. And WE will make known the true facts about you.

47: 33. Those, who disbelieve and hinder men from the way of ALLAH and oppose the Messenger after guidance has become manifest to them, shall not harm ALLAH in the least; and HE will make their works fruitless.

47: 34. O ye who believe! obey ALLAH and obey the Messenger and make not your works vain.

47: 35. Verily, those who disbelieve and hinder people from the way of ALLAH, and then die while they are disbelievers—ALLAH certainly, will not forgive them.

47: 36. So be not slack and sue not for peace, for you will, certainly, have the upper hand. And ALLAH is with you, and HE will not deprive you of the reward of your actions.

47: 37. The life of this world is but a sport and a pastime, and if you believe and be righteous, HE will give you your rewards, and will not ask of you your wealth.

47: 38. Were HE to ask it of you and press you, you would be niggardly, and HE would bring to light your malice.

47: 39. Behold! You are those who are called upon to spend in the way of ALLAH; but of you there are some who are niggardly. And whoso is niggardly, is niggardly only against his own soul. And ALLAH is Self-Sufficient, and it is you who are needy. And if you turn your backs, HE will bring in your place another people; then they will not be like you.

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introduction and explanatory notes (from Sale and other writers), by J. Murdock (*Sacred Books of the East*), 2d ed., 1902. *The Religion of the Koran*, selections with an introduction by A. N. Wollaston (*The Wisdom of the East*), 1904. Sir W. Muir: *The Koran, its Composition and Teaching*, 1878.

Antiochus Strategos: Account of the Sack of Jerusalem

Date: 614

Byzantine law was tolerant to Jews [Theodosian Code 16.8.21], but there remained a general prejudice against Jews. The following is an account of the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614, by the monk Antiochus Strategos, who lived in the monastery (lavra) of St. Sabas in Jerusalem and expresses that prejudice. It provides a Byzantine version of what transpired and may also, of course, reflect Jewish resistance to Byzantine restrictions and oppression.

Finally, despite Antiochus's account, the Persians of this period seem to have been significantly more tolerant of religious diversity than almost any other contemporary government. They began the system, long continued and later known (under the Turks) as the millet system, by which each religious group governed itself in religious and family matters.

The beginning of the struggle of the Persians with the Christians of Jerusalem was on the 15th April, in the second indiction, in the fourth year of the Emperor Heraclius. They spent twenty days in the struggle. And they shot from their ballistas with such violence, that on the twenty-first day they broke down the city wall. Thereupon the evil; foemen entered the city in great fury, like infuriated wild beasts and irritated serpents. The men however, who defended the city wall fled, and hid themselves in caverns, fosses and cisterns in order to save themselves; and the people in crowds fled into churches and altars; and there they destroyed them. For the enemy entered in a mighty wrath, gnashing their teeth in violent fury; like evil beasts they roared, bellowed like lions, hissed like ferocious serpents, and slew all whom they found. [Like] mad dogs they tore with their teeth the flesh of the faithful, and respected non at all, neither male nor female, neither young nor old, neither child nor baby, neither priest no monk, neither virgin nor widow. . . .

Meanwhile the evil Persians, who had no pity in their hearts, raced to every place in the city and with one accord extirpated all the people. Anyone who ran away in terror they caught hold of; and if any cried out from fear, they roared at them with gashing teeth, and by breaking their teeth on the ground forced them to close their mouths. They slaughtered tender infants on the ground, and then with loud yelps called their parents. The parents bewailed the children with vociferations and sobbings, but were promptly despatched along with them. Any that were caught armed were massacred with their own weapons. Those who ran swiftly were pierced with arrows, the unresisting and quiet they slew without mercy. They listened not to the appeals of supplicants, nor pitied youthful [beauty] nor had compassion on old men's age, nor blushed before the humility of the clergy. On the contrary they destroyed persons of every age, massacred them like animals, cut them into pieces, mowed sundry of them down like cabbages, so that all alike had severally to drain the cup full of bitterness. Lamentation and terror might be seen in Jerusalem. Holy churches were burned with fire, other were demolished, majestic altars fell prone, sacred crosses were trampled underfoot, life-giving icons were spat upon by the unclean. Then their wrath fell upon priests and deacons; they slew them in their churches like dumb animals.

Thereupon the vile Jews, enemies of the truth and haters of Christ, when they perceived that the Christians were given over into the hands of the enemy, rejoiced exceedingly, because they detested the Christians; and they conceived an evil plan in keeping with their vileness about the people. For in the eyes of the Persians their importance was great, because they were the betrayers of the Christians. And in this season then the Jews approached the edge of the reservoir and called out to the children of God, while they were shut up therein, and said to them: "If ye would escape from death, become Jews and deny Christ; and then ye shall step up from your place and join us. We will ransom you with our money, and ye shall be benefited by us." But their plot and desire were not fulfilled, their labours proved to be in vain; because the children of the Holy Church chose death for Christ's sake rather than to live in godlessness: and they reckoned it better for their flesh to be punished, rather than their souls ruined, so that their portion were not with the Jews. And when the unclean Jews saw the steadfast uprightness of the Christians and their immovable faith, then they were agitated with lively ire, like evil beasts, and thereupon imagined an other plot. As of old they bought the Lord from the Jews with silver, so they purchased Christians out of the reservoir; for they gave the Persians silver, and they bought a Christian and slew him like a sheep. The Christians however rejoiced because they were being slain for Christ's sake and shed their blood for His blood, and took on themselves death in return for His death. . . .

When the people were carried into Persia, and the Jews were left in Jerusalem, they began with their own hands to demolish and burn such of the holy churches as were left standing. . . .

How many souls were slain in the reservoir of Mamel! How many perished of hunger and thirst! How many priests and monks were massacred by the sword! How many infants were crushed under foot, or perished

by hunger and thirst, or languished through fear and horror of the foe! How many maidens, refusing their abominable outrages, were given over to death by the enemy! How many parents perished on top of their own children! How many of the people were bought up by the Jews and butchered, and became confessors of Christ! How many persons, fathers, mothers, and tender infants, having concealed themselves in fosses and cisterns, perished of darkness and hunger! How many fled into the Church of the Anastasis, into that of Sion and other churches, and were therein massacred and consumed with fire! Who can count the multitude of the corpses of those who were massacred in Jerusalem?

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Ordinance of Louis the Pious

Date: 817

Louis I was the son and successor of Charlemagne and, as his name suggests, a deeply devout man. In 817 he divided the Frankish Empire among his three sons, as detailed in this ordinance. This act would have far-reaching consequences, for when Louis awarded land to a fourth son from a different marriage in 829, his three other sons went to war against him, deposing him in 833. Although he eventually regained the throne and made peace with his sons, Louis left a much weaker and more vulnerable empire than the one he had inherited.

Original spellings have been retained in this document

In the name of the Lord God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Louis, the divine power ordaining, august emperor. While we in the name of God, in the year 817 of the incarnation of the Lord, in the tenth indiction, and in the fourth year of our reign, in the month of July, had assembled in our palace at Aix in our accustomed manner a sacred synod and the generality of our people to treat of ecclesiastical needs and the needs of our whole empire, and were intent upon these, suddenly, by divine inspiration, it came about that our faithful ones warned us that, while we still remained safe and peace on all sides was granted by God, we should, after the manner of our forefathers, treat of the condition of the whole kingdom and of the case of our sons. But although this admonition was devoutly and faithfully given, nevertheless it seems good neither to us nor to those who know what is salutary' that for the love or for the sake of our sons the unity of the empire preserved to us by God should be rent by human division; lest by chance from this cause a scandal should arise in the holy church and we should incur the offending of Him in whose power are the laws of all kingdoms. Therefore we thought it necessary that by fastings and prayers and the giving of alms we should obtain from Him that which our infirmity did not presume. Which being duly performed for three days, by the will of Almighty God, as we believe, it was brought about that both our own wishes and those of our whole people concurred in the election of our beloved first-born Lothar. And so it pleased both us and all our people that he, thus manifested by the divine dispensation, being crowned in solemn manner with the imperial diadem, should, by common wish, be made our consort and successor to the empire if God should so wish. But as to his other brothers, Pippin, namely, and Louis our namesake, it seemed good by common counsel to distinguish them by the name of kings, and to fix upon the places named below, in which after our decease they may hold sway with regal power under their elder brother according to the clauses mentioned below, in which are contained the conditions which we have established among them. Which clauses, on account of the advantage of the empire, and of preserving perpetual peace among them, and for the safety of the whole church, it pleased us to deliberate upon with all our faithful ones; and having deliberated, to write down; and having written down, to confirm with our own hands: so that, God lending His aid, as they had been passed by all with common consent, so by common devotion they should be inviolably observed by all, to the perpetual peace of themselves and of the whole Christian people; saving in all things our imperial power over our sons and our people, with all the subjection which is exhibited by a father to his sons and to an emperor and king by his people.

1. We will that Pippin shall have Aquitania and Gascony, and all the March of Toulouse, and moreover four counties: namely, in Septimania Carcassone, and in Burgundy Autun, l'Avalonnais and Nevers.

2. Likewise we will that Louis shall have Bavaria and Carinthia, and the Bohemians, Avars, and Slavs, who are on the eastern side of Bavaria; and furthermore, two demesne towns to do service to him, in the county of Nortgau, Lauterburg and Ingolstadt.

3. We will that these two brothers, who are called by the name of king, shall possess power of themselves to distribute all honours within the range of their jurisdiction; provided that in the bishoprics and abbeys the ecclesiastical order shall be held to, and in giving other honours, honesty and utility shall be observed.

4. Likewise we will, that once a year, at a fitting times either together or individually, according as the condition of things allows, they shall come to their elder brother with their gifts, for the sake of visiting him, and seeing him, and treating with mutual fraternal love of those things which are necessary, and which pertain to the common utility and to perpetual peace. And if by chance one of them, impeded by some inevitable necessity, is unable to come at the accustomed and fitting time, he shall signify this to his elder brother by sending legates and gifts; so, nevertheless, that at whatever suitable time it may be possible for him, he shall not avoid coming through any feigned excuse.

5. We will and order that the elder brother, when one or both of his brothers shall come to him, as has been said, with gifts, shall, according as to him, by God's will, greater power has been attributed, likewise himself remunerate them with pious and fraternal love, and a more ample gift.

6. We will and order that the elder brother shall, either in person, or through his faithful envoys and his armies, according as reason dictates and time and occasion permits send help to his younger brothers when they shall reasonably ask him to come to their aid against external nations.

7. We likewise will that without the counsel and consent of the elder brother they by no means presume to make peace with, or engage in war against, foreign nations, and those that are hostile to this empire, which is in the care of God.

8. But as to envoys, if such are sent by external nations either for the sake of making peace, or engaging in war, or surrendering castles, or of arranging any other important matters, they, the younger brothers, shall by no means give them an answer without the knowledge of the elder brother, nor shall they send them away. But if envoys shall be sent to him from any place, he of the younger brothers to whom they shall first come, shall receive them with honour, and shall cause them, accompanied by faithful envoys, to come into his (the older brother's) presence. But in minor matters, according to the nature of the embassy, they may answer of themselves. But we add this warning, that in whatever condition affairs within their confines may be, they shall not neglect to keep their elder brother always informed, that he may be found always interested and ready to give his attention to whatever things the necessity and utility of the kingdom shall demand.

9. It seems best for us also to require that after our decease the vassal of each one of the brothers, for the sake of avoiding discord, shall have a benefice only in the domain of his ruler, and not in that of one of the others. But his own property and heritage, wherever it be, each one may possess according to his law, and without unjust interference, justice being observed, with honour and security; and each free man who has not a lord shall be allowed to commend himself to whichever of the three brothers he may wish.

10. But if, what God avert and what we least of all wish, it should happen that any one of the brothers, on account of desire for earthly goods, which is the root of all evils, shall be either a divider or oppressor of the churches or the poor, or shall exercise tyranny, in which all cruelty consists: first, in secret, according to the precept of God, he shall be warned once, twice, and thrice, through faithful envoys, to amend; and if he refuse them, being summoned by one brother before the other he shall be admonished and punished with fraternal and paternal love. And if he shall altogether spurn this healthful admonition, by the common sentence of all it shall be decreed what is to be done concerning him; so that him whom a healthful admonition could not recall from his wicked ways, the imperial power and the common sentence of all may coerce.

11. But the rulers of the churches of Francia shall have such power over the possessions of the same, whether in Aquitania or in Italy, or in other regions and provinces subject to this empire, as they had in the time of our father, or are known to have in our own.

12. Whatever of tribute, moreover, and rents and precious metals can be exacted or obtained within their confines, they shall possess; so that from these they may provide for their necessities, and may the better be able to prepare the gifts to be brought to their elder brother.

13. We will, also, that if to any one of them, after our decease, the time for marrying shall come, he shall take a wife with the counsel and consent of his elder brother. This, moreover, we decree shall be guarded against, for the sake of avoiding discords and removing harmful opportunities: that any one of them shall presume to take a wife from external nations. But the vassals of all of them, in order that the bonds of peace may be drawn more closely, may take their wives from whatever places they wish.

14. But if any one of them, dying, shall leave lawful children, his power shall not be divided among them; but rather the people, coming together in common, shall elect one of them who shall be pleasing to God; and this one the elder brother shall receive as a brother and a son, and, himself being treated with paternal honour, shall observe this constitution towards him in every way. But in the matter of the other children they shall, with pious love, discuss how they may keep them and give them advice, after the manner of our parents.

15. But if any one of them shall die without lawful children, his power shall revert to the elder brother. And if he shall happen to have children from concubines we exhort the elder brother to act mercifully towards them.

16. But if at our death either of them shall happen not yet to be of lawful age according to Ripuarian law, we will that, until he arrive at the established term of years, just as now by us, so by his elder brother, both himself and his kingdom shall be cared for and governed. And when he shall come to be of lawful age, he shall in all things possess his power according to the manner laid down.

17. But to our son, if God will that he be our successor the kingdom of Italy shall in the aforesaid manner be subject in all things, just as it was subject to our father, and remains subject in the present time to us, by the will of God.

18. We exhort also the devotion of our whole people and that firmness of a most sincere faith, the fame of which has spread among almost all nations, that if our son, who by the divine ale shall succeed to us, shall depart from this life without legitimate heirs, they shall, for the sake of the salvation of all, and the tranquillity of the church and the unity of the empire, follow the conditions that we have made in the matter of his election, and elect one of our sons, if they shall survive their brother; so that in choosing him they shall seek to fulfil, not a human will, but the will of God.

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Genji Monogatari, or The Tale of Genji

Date: c. 1000

Murasaki Shikibu, also known as Lady Murasaki, (c. 973–1030) wrote what is widely considered to be the world's first novel, the Genji Monogatari (The Tale of Genji). The daughter of a Japanese provincial governor, Murasaki wrote her novel during Japan's cultural renaissance, the Heian period (794–1192). The Tale of Genji reflects the aristocratic culture that marked this era. It is also the cultural flower of a distinctively Japanese literary tradition, removed from the influence of Chinese hegemony.

The Tale of Genji represents a zenith in Heian writing during the 10th and 11th centuries. Because Murasaki Shikibu wrote it in Japanese and not Chinese, its popularity signaled a new appreciation for the Japanese language and for the women who utilized it.

CHAPTER I: THE CHAMBER OF KIRI

Some time had now elapsed since the death of the Emperor's favorite, but he was still often haunted by her image. Ladies were introduced into his presence, in order, if possible, to divert his attention, but without success.

There was, however, living at this time a young Princess, the fourth child of a late Emperor. She had great promise of beauty, and was guarded with jealous care by her mother, the Empress-Dowager. The Naishi-no-Ske, who had been at the Court from the time of the said Emperor, was intimately acquainted with the Empress and familiar with the Princess, her daughter, from her very childhood. This person now recommended the Emperor to see the Princess, because her features closely resembled those of Kiri-Tsubo.

"I have now fulfilled," she said, "the duties of my office under three reigns, and, as yet, I have seen but one person who resembles the departed. The daughter of the Empress-Dowager does resemble her, and she is singularly beautiful."

"There may be some truth in this," thought the Emperor, and he began to regard her with awakening interest.

This was related to the Empress-Dowager. She, however, gave no encouragement whatever to the idea, "How terrible!" she said. "Do we not remember the cruel harshness of the mother of the Heir-apparent, which hastened the fate of Kiri-Tsubo!"

While thus discountenancing any intimacy between her daughter and the Emperor, she too died, and the princess was left parentless. The Emperor acted with great kindness, and intimated his wish to regard her as his own daughter. In consequence of this her guardian, and her brother, Prince Hiub-Ku, considering that life at Court would be better for her and more attractive for her than the quiet of her own home, obtained for her an introduction there.

She was styled the Princess Fuji-Tsubo (of the Chamber of Wistaria), from the name of the chamber which was assigned to her.

There was, indeed, both in features and manners a strange resemblance between her and Kiri-Tsubo. The rivals of the latter constantly caused pain both to herself and to the Emperor; but the illustrious birth of the Princess prevented any one from ever daring to humiliate her, and she uniformly maintained the dignity of her position. And to her alas! the Emperor's thoughts were now gradually drawn, though he could not yet be said to have forgotten Kiri-Tsubo.

The young Prince, whom we now style Genji (the Gen), was still with the Emperor, and passed his time pleasantly enough in visiting the various apartments where the inmates of the palace resided. He found the companionship of all of them sufficiently agreeable; but beside the many who were now of maturer years, there was one who was still in the bloom of her youthful beauty, and who more particularly caught his fancy, the Princess Wistaria. He had no recollection of his mother, but he had been told by Naishi-no-Ske that this lady was exceedingly like her; and for this reason he often yearned to see her and to be with her.

The Emperor showed equal affection to both of them, and he sometimes told her that he hoped she would not treat the boy with coldness or think him forward. He said that his affection for the one made him feel the same for the other too, and that the mutual resemblance of her own and of his mother's face easily accounted for Genji's partiality to her. And thus as a result of this generous feeling on the part of the Emperor, a warmer tinge was gradually imparted both to the boyish humor and to the awakening sentiment of the young Prince.

The mother of the Heir-apparent was not unnaturally averse to the Princess, and this revived her old antipathy to Genji also. The beauty of her son, the Heir-apparent, though remarkable, could not be compared to his, and so bright and radiant was his face that Genji was called by the public Hikal-Genji-no-Kimi (the shining Prince Gen).

When he attained the age of twelve the ceremony of Gembuk¹ (or crowning) took place. This was also performed with all possible magnificence. ...The Royal chair was placed in the Eastern wing of the Seiriu-Den, where the Emperor dwells, and in front of it were the seats of the hero of the ceremony and of the Sadaijin, who was to crown him and to regulate the ceremonial.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon Genji appeared on the scene. The boyish style of his hair and dress excellently became his features; and it almost seemed matter for regret that it should be altered. The Okura-Kiu-Kurahito, whose office it was to rearrange the hair of Genji, faltered as he did so. As to the Emperor, a sudden thought stole into his mind. "Ah! could his mother but have lived to have seen him now!" This thought, however, he at once suppressed. After he had been crowned the Prince withdrew to a dressing-room, where he attired himself in the full robes of manhood. Then descending to the Court-yard he performed a measured dance in grateful acknowledgment. This he did with so much grace and skill that all present were filled with admiration; and his beauty, which some feared might be lessened, seemed only more remarkable from the change. And the Emperor, who had before tried to resist them, now found old memories irresistible.

Sadaijin had by his wife, who was a Royal Princess, an only daughter. The Heir-apparent had taken some notice of her, but her father did not encourage him. He had, on the other hand, some idea of Genji, and had sounded the Emperor on the subject. He regarded the idea with favor, and especially on the ground that such a union would be of advantage to Genji, who had not yet any influential supporters.

Now all the Court and the distinguished visitors were assembled in the palace, where a great festival was held; Genji occupied a seat next to that of the Royal Princess. During the entertainment Sadaijin whispered something several times into his ear, but he was too young and diffident to make any answer.

Sadaijin was now summoned before the daos of the Emperor, and, according to custom, an Imperial gift, a white 'Uchiki (grand robe), and a suit of silk vestments were presented to him by a lady. Then proffering his own wine-cup, the Emperor addressed him thus:

"In the first hair-knot² of youth,
Let love that lasts for age be bound!"
This evidently implied an idea of matrimony. Sadaijin feigned surprise and responded:
"Aye! if the purple³ of the cord,
I bound so anxiously, endure!"

He then descended into the Court-yard, and gave expression to his thanks in the same manner in which Genji had previously done. A horse from the Imperial stables and a falcon from the Kurand-Dokoro⁴ were on view in the yard, and were now presented to him. The princes and nobles were all gathered together in front of the grand staircase, and appropriate gifts were also presented to each one of them. Among the crowd baskets and trays of fruits and delicacies were distributed by the Emperor's order, under the direction of Udaiben; and more rice-cakes and other things were given away now than at the Gembuk of the Heir-apparent.

In the evening the young Prince went to the mansion of the Sadaijin, where the espousal with the young daughter of the latter was celebrated with much splendor. The youthfulness of the beautiful boy was well pleasing to Sadaijin; but the bride, who was some years older than he was, and who considered the disparity in their age to be unsuitable, blushed when she thought of it.

Not only was this Sadaijin himself a distinguished personage in the State, but his wife was also the sister of the Emperor by the same mother, the late Empress; and her rank therefore was unequivocal. When to this we add the union of their daughter with Genji, it was easy to understand that the influence of Udaiben, the

grandfather of the Heir-apparent, and who therefore seemed likely to attain great power, was not after all of very much moment.

Sadaijin had several children. One of them, who was the issue of his Royal wife, was the Kurand Shiushiu.

Udaijin was not, for political reasons, on good terms with this family; but nevertheless he did not wish to estrange the youthful Kurand. On the contrary, he endeavored to establish friendly relations with him, as was indeed desirable, and he went so far as to introduce him to his fourth daughter, the younger sister of the Koki-Den.

Genji still resided in the palace, where his society was a source of much pleasure to the Emperor, and he did not take up his abode in a private house. Indeed, his bride, Lady Aoi (Lady Hollyhock), though her position insured her every attention from others, had few charms for him, and the Princess Wistaria much more frequently occupied his thoughts. "How pleasant her society, and how few like her!" he was always thinking; and a hidden bitterness blended with his constant reveries.

The years rolled on, and Genji being now older was no longer allowed to continue his visits to the private rooms of the Princess as before. But the pleasure of overhearing her sweet voice, as its strains flowed occasionally through the curtained casement . . . made him still glad to reside in the Palace. Under these circumstances he seldom visited the home of his bride, sometimes only for a day or two after an absence of five or six at Court.

His father-in-law, however, did not attach much importance to this, on account of his youth; and whenever they did receive a visit from him, pleasant companions were invited to meet him, and various games likely to suit his taste were provided for his entertainment.

In the Palace, Shigeisa, his late mother's quarters, was allotted to him, and those who had waited on her waited on him. The private house, where his grandmother had resided, was beautifully repaired for him by the Shuri Takmi—the Imperial Repairing Committee—in obedience to the wishes of the Emperor. In addition to the original loveliness of the landscape and the noble forest ranges, the basin of the lake was now enlarged, and similar improvements were effected throughout with the greatest pains. "Oh, how delightful would it not be to be in a place like that which such an one as one might choose!" thought Genji within himself.

FOOTNOTES:

- 1: The ceremony of placing a crown or coronet upon the head of a boy. This was an ancient custom observed by the upper and middle classes both in Japan and China, to mark the transition from boyhood to youth.
- 2: Before the crown was placed upon the head at the Gembuk, the hair was gathered up in a conical form from all sides of the head, and then fastened securely in that form with a knot of silken cords of which the color was always purple.
- 3: The color of purple typifies, and is emblematical of, love.
- 4: A body of men who resembled "Gentlemen-at-arms," and a part of whose duty it was to attend to the falcons.

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Al Biruni's *Chronology*

Also known as: *The Existing Monuments* or *Chronology*.

Date: c. 1030

Al Biruni, also known as Abu ar-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni; Abu Raihan Muhammad al-Biruni; al-Ustadh (973–1048)

Al Biruni was one of the earliest Arab writers to be regarded as a true historian. He was a leading scientist of his day and also a geographer. He composed more than 138 treatises. These include treatises on the subjects of astronomy, weather, mineralogy, pharmacology, and trigonometry. He wrote extensive works on India, covering the philosophical and cosmological theories of Hinduism. His Al-Kanun al-Masudi is an encyclopedia of astronomy. Al Biruni's most important work is considered to be his Chronology, which is his Chronology of the Ancient Peoples.

The following is an excerpt.

Praise be to God who is high above all things, and blessings be on Muhammed, the elected, the best of all created beings, and on his family, the guides of righteousness and truth.

One of the exquisite plans in God's management of the affairs of his creation, one of the glorious benefits which he has bestowed upon the entirety of his creatures, is that categorical decree of his, not to leave in his world any period without a just guide, whom he constitutes as a protector for his creatures, with whom to take refuge in unfortunate and sorrowful cases and accidents, and upon whom to devolve their affairs, when they seem indissolubly perplexed, so that the order of the world should rest upon—and its existence be supported by—his genius. And this decree (that the affairs of mankind should be governed by a prophet) has been settled upon them as a religious duty, and has been linked together with the obedience toward God, and the obedience toward his prophet, through which alone a reward in future life may be obtained—in accordance with the word of him, who is truth and justice—and his word is judgment and decree, "O ye believers, obey God, and obey the prophets, and those among yourselves who are invested with the command."

ERA OF THE CREATION.

The first and most famous of the beginnings of antiquity is the fact of the creation of mankind. But among those who have a book of divine revelation, such as the Jews, Christians, Magians, and their various sects, there exists such a difference of opinion as to the nature of this fact, and as to the question how to date from it, the like of which is not allowable for eras. Everything, the knowledge of which is connected with creation and with the history of bygone generations, is mixed up with falsifications and myths, because it belongs to a far remote age; because a long interval separates us therefrom, and because the student is incapable of keeping it in memory, and of fixing it (so as to preserve it from confusion). God says: "Have they not got the stories about those who were before them? None but God knows them." (Surahix, 71.) Therefore it is becoming not to admit any account of a similar subject, if it is not attested by a book, the correctness of which is relied upon, or by a tradition, for which the conditions of authenticity, according to the prevalent opinion, furnish grounds of proof.

If we now first consider this era, we find a considerable divergence of opinion regarding; it among these nations. For the Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12,000 years, corresponding to the number of signs in the zodiac and of the months; and that Zarathustra, the founder of their law, thought that of those there had passed, till the time of his appearance, 3,000 years, intercalated with the day-quarters, for he himself had made their computation, and had taken into account that defect, which had accrued to them on account of the day-quarters, 'till the time when they were intercalated and made to agree with real time. From his appearance to the beginning of the Era of Alexander, they count 258 years; therefore they count from the beginning of the world to Alexander 3,258 years. However, if we compute the years from the creation of Gayomard, whom they hold to be the first man, and sum up the years of the reign of each of his successors—for the rule of Iran remained with his descendants without interruption—this number is, for the time 'till Alexander, the sum total of 3,354 years. So the specification of the single items of the addition does not agree with the sum total.

A section of the Persians is of the opinion that those past 3,000 years which we have mentioned are to be counted from the creation of Gayomard; because, before that, already six thousand years had elapsed—a time during which the celestial globe stood motionless, the natures (of created beings) did not interchange, the elements did not mix—during which there was no growth, and no decay, and the earth was not cultivated. Thereupon, when the celestial globe was set a-going, the first man came into existence on the equator, so that part of him in longitudinal direction was on the north, and part south of the line. The animals were reproduced, and mankind commenced to reproduce their own species and to multiply; the atoms of the elements mixed, so as to give rise to growth and decay; the earth was cultivated, and the world was arranged in conformity with fixed forms.

The Jews and Christians differ widely on this subject; for, according to the doctrine of the Jews, the time between Adam and Alexander is 3,448 years, whilst, according to the Christian doctrine it is 5,180 years. The Christians reproach the Jews with having diminished the number of years with the view of making the appearance of Jesus fall into the fourth millennium in the middle of the seven millennia, which are, according to their view, the time of the duration of the world, so as not to coincide with that time at which, as the prophets after Moses had prophesied, the birth of Jesus from a pure virgin at the end of time, was to take place.

ERA OF THE DELUGE.

The next following era is the era of the great deluge, in which everything perished at the time of Noah. Here, too, there is such a difference of opinions, and such a confusion, that you have no chance of deciding as to the correctness of the matter, and do not even feel inclined to investigate thoroughly its historical truth. The reason is, in the first instance, the difference regarding the period between the Era of Adam and the Deluge, which we have mentioned already; and secondly, that difference, which we shall have to mention, regarding the period between the Deluge and the Era of Alexander. For the Jews derive from the Torah, and the following books, for this latter period 1,792 years, whilst the Christians derive from their Torah for the same period 2,938 years.

The Persians, and the great mass of the Magians, deny the Deluge altogether; they believe that the rule of the world has remained with them without any interruption ever since Gayomard Gilshah, who was,

according to them, the first man. In denying the Deluge, the Indians, Chinese, and the various nations of the East, concur with them. Some, however, of the Persians admit the fact of the Deluge, but they describe it in a different way from what it is described in the books of the prophets. They say, a partial deluge occurred in Syria and the West at the time of Tahmurath, but it did not extend over the whole of the then civilized world and only a few nations were drowned in it; it did not extend beyond the peak of Hulwan, and did not reach the empires of the East. Further, they relate, that the inhabitants of the West, when they were warned by their sages, constructed buildings of the kind of the two pyramids that have been built in Egypt, saying: "If the disaster comes from heaven we shall go into them; if it comes from the earth, we shall ascend above them." People are of opinion that the traces of the water of the Deluge, and the efforts of the waves, are still visible on these two pyramids half-way up, above which the water did not rise. Another report says, that Joseph had made them a magazine where he deposited the bread and victuals for the years of drought.

It is related that Tahmurath on receiving the warning of the Deluge—231 years before the Deluge—ordered his people to select a place of good air and soil in his realm. Now they did not find a place that answered better to this description than Ispahan. Thereupon, he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity and to be buried in a part of that place least exposed to obnoxious influences. In favor of this report we may state that in our time in Jay, the city of Ispahan, there have been discovered hills, which, on being excavated, disclosed houses, filled with many loads of that tree-bark with which arrows and shields are covered and which is called Tuz, bearing inscriptions, of which no one was able to say what they are and what they mean.

These discrepancies in their reports inspire doubts in the student, and make him inclined to believe what is related in some books, that Gayomard was not the first man, but that he was Gomer ben Yaphet ben Noah, that he was a prince to whom a long life was given, that he settled on the Mount Dumbawand, where he founded an empire, and that finally his power became very great, whilst mankind was still living in elementary conditions, similar to those at the time of creation and of the first stage of the development of the world. Then he, and some of his children, took control of the guidance of the world. Toward the end of his life, he became tyrannical, and called himself Adam, saying: "If anybody calls me by another name than this, I shall cut off his head."

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Concordat of Worms

Date: 1122

The Concordat of Worms was a compromise between Pope Calixtus II and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V regarding the control of church offices. A conflict had erupted between the emperor and pope over which man had the authority to appoint bishops and abbots, who in turn controlled substantial amounts of land and wealth. The agreement allowed the Vatican the spiritual authority to direct the appointments, with the emperor overseeing the process and mediating possible disputes. It also granted secular (land) titles to the bishops. In return, the bishops paid homage to the Crown, recognizing the emperor as the final secular authority.

Original spellings have been retained in this document.

(a.) Privilege of Pope Calixtus II.

I, bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee beloved son, Henry-by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans-that the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, who belong to the kingdom, shall take place in thy presence, without simony and without any violence; so that if any discord shall arise between the parties concerned, thou, by the counsel or judgment of the metropolitan and the co-provincials, may'st give consent and aid to the party which has the more right. The one elected, moreover, without any exaction may receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. But he who is consecrated in the other parts of thy empire (i.e. Burgundy and Italy) shall, within six months, and without any exaction, receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. Excepting all things which are known to belong to the Roman church. Concerning matters, however, in which thou dost make complaint to me, and dost demand aid, I, according to the duty of my office, will furnish aid to thee. I give unto thee true peace, and to all who are or have been on thy side in the time of this discord.

(b.) Edict of the Emperor Henry IV.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God and of the holy Roman church and of our master pope Calixtus, and for the healing of my soul, do remit to God, and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and to the holy catholic church, all investiture through ring and staff; and do grant that in all the churches that are in my kingdom or empire there may be canonical election and free consecration. All the possessions and regalia of St. Peter which, from the beginning of this discord unto this day, whether in the time of my father or also in mine, have been abstracted, and which I hold: I restore to that same holy Roman church. As to those things, moreover, which I do not hold, I will faithfully aid in their restoration. As to the possessions also of all other churches and princes, and of all others lay and clerical persons which have been lost in that war: according to the counsel of the princes, or according to justice, I will restore the things that I hold; and of those things which I do not hold I will faithfully aid in the restoration. And I grant true peace to our master pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. And in matters where the holy Roman church shall demand aid I will grant it; and in matters concerning which it shall make complaint to me I will duly grant to it justice. All these things have been done by the consent and counsel of the princes. Whose names are here adjoined: Adalbert archbishop of Mainz; F. archbishop of Cologne; H. bishop of Ratisbon; O. bishop of Bamberg; B. bishop of Spire; H. of Augsburg; G. of Utrecht; Ou. Of Constance; E. abbot of Fulda; Henry, duke; Frederick, duke; S. duke; Pertolf, duke; Margrave Teipold; Margrave Engelbert; Godfrey, count Palatine; Otto, count Palatine; Berengar, count.

I, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne and archchancellor, have given my recognizances.

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The Great Fair at Thessalonica

Date: c. 1150

Thessalonica was the site of the most well-known fair in the Byzantine world, and in later centuries was almost as important a city as the capital at Byzantium. Merchants came to Thessalonica from all over the East as well as the West. This fair was probably larger in size than the famous contemporary fair at Champagne in France. The following description is taken from the Timarion, a satirical work in the style of the ancient writer Lucian. It describes the fair of Thessalonica as it was in the mid-12th century (about 1150 C.E.), a period in which that city not only was of economic importance but was becoming significant culturally as well.

The Demetria is a festival, like the Panathenaea at Athens and the Panionia among the Milesians, and it is at the same time the most important fair held in Macedon'ia. Not only do the natives of the country flock together to it in great numbers, but multitudes also come from all lands and of every race—Greeks, wherever they are found, the various tribes of Mysians [i.e. people of Moesia] who dwell on our borders as far as the Ister and Scythia, Campanians and other Italians, Lusitanians, and Transalpine Celts [this is Byzantine way of describing the Bulgarians, Neapolitans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and French]; and, to make a long story short, the shores of the ocean send pilgrims and suppliants to visit the martyr, so widely extended is his fame throughout Europe. For myself, being a Cappadocian from beyond the boundaries of the empire, [this country was now under the Seljuk sultans of Iconium] and having never before been present on the occasion, but having only heard it described, I was anxious to get a bird's eye view of the whole scene, that I might pass over nothing unnoticed. With this object I made my way up to a height close by the scene of the fair, where I sat down and surveyed everything at my leisure. What I saw there was a number of merchants' booths, set up in parallel rows opposite one another; and these rows extended to a great length, and were sufficiently wide apart to leave a broad space in the middle, so as to give free passage for the stream of the people. Looking at the closeness of the booths to one another and the regularity of their position, one might take them for lines drawn lengthwise from two opposite points. At right angles to these, other booths were set up, also forming rows, though of no great length, so that they resembled the tiny feet that grow outside the bodies of certain reptiles. Curious indeed it was, that while in reality there were two rows, they presented the appearance of a single animal, owing to the booths being so near and so straight; for lines suggested a long body, while the crossrows at the sides looked like the feet that supported it. I declare than when I looked down from the heights above on the ground plan of the fair, I could not help comparing it to a centipede, a very long insect with innumerable small feet under Its belly.

And if you are anxious to know what it contained, my inquisitive friend, as I saw it afterwards when I came down from the hills—well, there was every kind of material woven or spun by men or women, all those that come from Boeotia and the Peloponnese, and all that are brought in trading ships from Italy to Greece. Besides this, Phoencia furnishes numerous articles, and Egypt, and Spain, and the pillars of Hercules, where the finest coverlets are manufactured. These things the merchants bring direct from their respective countries to old Macedonia and Thessalonica; but the Euxine also contributes to the splendour of the fair by sending across its products to Constantinople, whence the cargoes are brought by numerous horses and mules. All this I went through and carefully examined afterwards when I came down; but even while I was still seated on the height above I was struck with wonder at the number and variety of the animals, and the extraordinary confusion of their noises which assailed my ears—horses neighing, oxen lowing, sheep bleating, pigs grunting, and dogs barking, for these also accompany their masters as a defence against wolves and thieves.

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Averroës on Free Will and Predestination

Also known as: *On the Harmony of Religions and Philosophy*, in Arabic as *Kitab fasl al-maqal*, with its appendix (*Damina*).

Date: c. 1190

Ibn Rushd, commonly known as Averroës (1126–1198)

The Islamic philosopher Ibn Rushd, known as Averroës or Averroës of Córdoba, is also known as Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd and Abu l-Walid Muhammad Ibn Rushd.

Ibn Rushd has been considered one of the greatest thinkers and scientists of the 12th century. He was studied in theology, mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, and philosophy and wrote extensively in these areas. He wrote major works on Aristotle and Plato. In medicine he wrote on prevention of diseases, diagnoses, and on cures. He also wrote a treatise on astronomy and the motion of the spheres.

Averroës's writings on philosophy and religion included works on questions of theology; in them he applied his knowledge of philosophy and logic. Averroës's books were translated into Hebrew and Latin—his Latin translations were the most important source of Greek philosophy for the Christian religious and secular scholars of the Middle Ages.

The following is an excerpt.

PROBLEM THIRD: OF FATE AND PREDESTINATION

This is one of the most intricate problems of religion. For if you look into the traditional arguments (Hadith) about this problem you will find them contradictory; such also being the case with arguments of reason. The contradiction in the arguments of the first kind is found in the Qur'an and the Hadith. There are many verses of the Qur'an, which by their universal nature teach that all the things are predestined and that man is compelled to do his acts; then there are verses which say that man is free in his acts and not compelled in performing them. The following verses tell us that all the things are by compulsion, and are predestined, "Everything have We created bound by a fixed degree" [Qur'an 56.49]; again, "With Him everything is regulated according to a determined measure" [Qur'an 13.9]. Further, He says, "No accident happened in the earth, nor in your persons, but the same was entered in the Book verily it is easy with God" [Qur'an 57.22]. There may be quoted many other verses on this subject.

Now, as to the verses which say that man can acquire deeds by free will, and that things are only possible and not necessary, the following may be quoted: "Or He destroys them (by ship-wreck), because of that which their crew have merited; though He pardons many things" [Qur'an 42.32]. And again, "Whatever misfortune befalls you is sent you by God, for that which your hands have deserved" [Qur'an 42.32]. Further, He says, "But they who commit evil, equal thereunto" [Qur'an 10.28]. Again, He says, "It shall have the good which it gains, and it shall have the evil which it gains" [Qur'an 2.278]. And, "And as to Thamud, We directed them, but they loved blindness better than the true directions" [Qur'an 41.16].

Sometimes contradiction appears even in a single verse of the Qur'an. For instance, He says, "After a misfortune has befallen you (you had already attained two equal advantages), do you say, whence comes this? Answer, This is from yourselves" [Qur'an 3.159]. In the next verse, He says, "And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by permission of the Lord" [Qur'an 3.160]. Of this kind also is the verse, "Whatever good befalls you, O man, it is from God; and whatever

evil befalls you, it is from yourself" [Qur'an 4.81]; while the preceding verse says, "All is from God" [Qur'an 4.80].

Such is also the case with the hadith. The Prophet says, "Every child is born in the true religion; his parents afterwards turn him into a Jew or a Christian." On another occasion he said, "The following people have been created for hell, and do the deeds of those who are fit for it. These have been created for heaven, and do deeds fit for it." The first hadith says that the cause of disbelief is one's own environments; while faith and belief are natural to man. The other hadith says that wickedness and disbelief are created by God, and man is compelled to follow them.

This condition of things has led Muslims to be divided into two groups. The one believed that man's wickedness or virtue is his own acquirement, and that according to these he will be either punished or rewarded. These are the Mutazilites. The belief of the other party is quite opposed to this. They say that man is compelled to do his deeds. They are the Jabarites. The Asharites have tried to adopt a mean between these two extreme views. They say that man can do action, but the deeds done, and the power of doing it, are both created by God. But this is quite meaningless. For if the deed and the power of doing it be both created by God, then man is necessarily compelled to do the act. This is one of the reasons of the difference of opinion about this problem.

As we have said there is another cause of difference of opinion about this problem, than the traditional one. This consists of the contradictory arguments advanced. For if we say that man is the creator of his own deeds, it would be necessary to admit that there are things which are not done according to the will of God, or His authority. So there would be another creator besides God, while the Muslims are agreed that there is no creator but He. If, on the other hand, we were to suppose that man cannot act freely, we admit thus he is compelled to do certain acts, for there is no mean between compulsion and freedom. Again, if man is compelled to do certain deeds, then on him has been imposed a task which he cannot bear; and when he is made to bear a burden, there is no difference between his work and the work of inorganic matter. For inorganic matter has no power, neither has the man the power for that which he cannot bear. Hence all people have made capability one of the conditions for the imposition of a task, such as wisdom. We find Abul Maali, saying in his *Nizamiyyah*, that man is free in his own deeds and has the capability of doing them. He has established it upon the impossibility of imposing a task which one cannot bear, in order to avoid the principle formerly disproved by the Mutazilites, on account of its being unfit by reason. The succeeding Asharites have opposed them. Moreover, if man had no power in doing a deed, then it will be only by chance that he may escape from evil, and that is meaningless. Such also would be the case with acquiring goodness. In this way all those arts which lead to happiness, as agriculture, etc., would become useless. So also would become useless all those arts the purpose of which is protection from, and repulsion of danger, as the sciences of war, navigation, medicine, etc. Such a condition is quite contrary to all that is intelligible to man.

Now it may be asked that if the case is so, how is this contradiction which is to be found both in hadith and reason to be reconciled we would say, that apparently the purpose of religion in this problem is not to divide it into two separate beliefs, but to reconcile them by means of a middle course, which is the right method. It is evident that God has created in us power by which we can perform deeds which are contradictory in their nature. But as this cannot be complete except by the cause which God has furnished for us, from outside, and the removal of difficulties from them, the deeds done are only completed by the conjunction of both these things at the same time. This being so, the deeds attributed to use are done by our intention, and by the fitness of the causes which are called the Predestination of God, which He has furnished for us from outside. They neither complete the works which we intend nor hinder them, but certainly become the cause of our intending them -- one of the two things. For intention is produced in us by our imagination, or for the verification of a thing, which in itself is not in our power, but comes into being by causes outside us. For instance, if we see a good thing, we like it, without intention, and move towards acquiring it. So also, if we happen to come to a thing which it is better to shun, we leave it without intention. Hence our intentions are bound and attached to causes lying outside ourselves.

To this the following words of God refer: "Each of them have angels, mutually succeeding each other, before him and behind him; they watch him by the command of God" [Qur'an 13.12]. As these outside causes take this course according to a well-defined order and arrangement, and never go astray from the path which their Creator has appointed for them, and our own intentions can neither be compelled, nor ever found, on the whole, but by their fitness, so it is necessary that actions too should also be within well-defined limits, that is, they be found in a given period of time and in a given quantity. This is necessary because our deeds are only the effects of causes, lying outside us; and all the effects which result from limited and prearranged causes are themselves limited, and are found in a given quantity only. This relation does not exist only between our actions and outside causes, but also between them and the causes which God has created in our body, and the well-defined order existing between the inner and outer causes. This is what is meant by Fate and predestination, which is found mentioned in the Qur'an and is incumbent upon man. This is also the "Preserved Tablet" [Qur'an 85.22]. God's knowledge of these causes, and that which pertains to them, is the cause of their existence. So no one can have a full knowledge of these things except God, and hence He is the only Knower of

secrets, which is quite true; as God has said, "Say, None either in heaven or earth, know that which is hidden besides God" [Qur'an 27.67].

A knowledge of causes is a knowledge of secret things, because the secret is a knowledge of the existence of a thing, before it comes into being, and as the arrangement and order of causes bring a thing into existence or not at a certain time, there must be a knowledge of the existence or non-existence of a thing at a certain time. A knowledge of the causes as a whole is the knowledge of what things would be found or not found at a certain moment of time. Praised be He, Who has a complete knowledge of creation and all of its causes. This is what is meant by the "keys of the secret," "in the following words of God, "with Him are the keys of secret things; none know them besides Himself" [Qur'an 6.59].

All that we have said being true, it must have become evident how we can acquire our deeds, and how far they are governed by predestination and fate. This very reconciliation is the real purpose of religion by those verses and hadith which are apparently contradictory. When their universal nature be limited in this manner, those contradictions should vanish by themselves, and all the doubts which were raised before, about the contradictory nature of reason, would disappear. The existent things from our volition are completed by two things, our intention and the other causes. But when the deeds are referred to only by one of these agencies, doubts would rise. It may be said [this] is a good answer, and here reason is in perfect agreement with religion, but it is based upon the principles that these are agreed that there are creative causes bringing into existence other things; while the Muslims are agreed that there is no Creator but God. We would say that whatever they have agreed upon is quite right, but the objection can be answered in two ways. One of them is that this objection itself can be understood in two ways; one of them being that there is no Creator but God, and all those causes which He has created, cannot be called creators, except speaking figuratively.

Their existence also depends upon Him. He alone has made them to be causes, nay, He only preserves their existence as creative agents, and protects their effects after their actions. He, again, produces their essences at the moment when causes come together. He alone preserves them as a whole. Had there been no divine protection they could not have existed for the least moment of time. Abu Hamid (Al-Ghazzali) has said that a man who makes any of the causes to be co-existent with God is like a man who makes the pen share the work of a scribe in writing; that is, he says that the pen is a scribe and the man is a scribe too. He means that "writing" is a word which may be applied to both, but in reality they have no resemblance in anything but word, for otherwise there is no difference between them. Such is also the case with the word Creator, when applied to God and the Causes. We say that in this illustration there are doubts. It should have been clearly shown, whether the scribe was the Creator of the essence (Jawhar) of pen, a preserver of it, as long as it remains a pen, and again a preserver of the writing after it is written, a Creator of it after it has come in touch with the pen, as we have just explained that God is the Creator of the essences (Jawahir) of everything which comes into contact with its causes, which are so called only by the usage. This is the reason why there is no creator but God -- a reason which agrees with our feelings, reason and religion. Our feelings and reason see that there are things which produce others.

The order found in the universe is of two kinds: that which God has put in the nature and disposition of things; and that which surround the universe from outside. This is quite clear in the movement of the heavenly bodies. For it is evident that the sun and the moon, the day and night, and all other stars are obedient to us; and it is on this arrangement and order which God has put in their movements that our existence and that of all other things depends. So even if we imagine the least possible confusion in them, with them in any other position, size and rapidity of movement which God has made for them, all the existent things upon the earth would be destroyed. This is so because of the nature in which God has made them and the nature of the things which are effected by them. This is very clear in the effects of the sun and the moon upon things of this world; such also being the case with the rains, winds, seas and other tangible things. But the greater effect is produced upon plants, and upon a greater number, or all, on the animals. Moreover, it is apparent that had there not been those faculties which God has put in our bodies, as regulating them that could not exist even for a single moment after birth. But, we say, had there not been the faculties found in all the bodies of the animals, and plants and those found in the world by the movement of the heavenly bodies, then they would not have existed at all, not even for a twinkling of the eye.

So praised be the "Sagacious, the Knowing" [Qur'an 67.14]. God has called our attention to this fact in His book, "And He has subjected the night and the day to your service; and the sun and the moon and the stars, which are compelled to serve by His Command" [Qur'an 77.14]; again, "Say, what think you, if God should cover you with perpetual night, until the day of Resurrection" [Qur'an 16.12]; and again, "Of His mercy, He has made you night and the day, that you may rest in the one, and may seek to obtain provision for yourselves of His abundance, by your industry; in the other" [Qur'an 28.71]; and, "And He obliges whatever is in heaven or on earth to serve you" [Qur'an 18.73]. Further He says, "He likewise compels the sun and the moon, which diligently perform their courses, to serve you; and have subjected the day and night to your service" [Qur'an 45.12]. There may be quoted many other verses on the subject. Had there been any wisdom in their existence by which God has favored us, and there would not have been those blessings for which we are to be grateful to Him.

The second answer to the objection is that we say that the things produced out of it are of two kinds: essences and substances; and movements, hardness, coldness and all other accidents. The essences and substances are not created by any but God. Their causes effect the accidents of those essences, and not the essences themselves. For instance, man and woman are only the agents, while God is the real creator of the child, and the life in it. Such is also the case with agriculture. The earth is prepared and made ready for it, and the seed scattered in it. But it is God who produces the ear of the grain. So there is no creator but God, while created things are but essences. To this refer the words of God. "O men, a parable is propounded unto you, therefore, hearken unto it. Verily the idols which you invoke, besides God, can never create a single fly, although they may all assemble for the purpose; and if the fly snatch anything from them they cannot turn the same from it. Weak is the petitioner and the petitioned" [Qur'an 22.72]. This is where the unbeliever wanted to mislead Abraham, when he said, "I give life and kill" [Qur'an 22.260]. When Abraham saw that he could understand it, he at once turned to the conclusive argument and said, "Verily, God brings the sun from the east; do you bring it from the west."

On the whole, if the matter about the creator and the doer be understood on this wise, there would be no contradiction, either in Hadith or in reason. So we say that the word "Creator" does not apply to the created things by any near or far-fetched metaphor, for the meaning of the creator is the inventor of the essences. So God has said, "God created you, and that which you know" [Qur'an 2.260]. It should be known that one who denies the effect of the causes on the results of them, also denies philosophy and all the sciences. For science is the knowledge of the things by their causes, and philosophy is the knowledge of hidden causes. To deny the causes altogether is a thing which is unintelligible to human reason. It is to deny the Creator, not seen by us. For the unseen in this matter must always be understood by a reference to the seen.

So those men can have no knowledge of God, when they admit that for every action there is an actor. It being so, the agreement of the Muslims on the fact that there is no Creator but God cannot be perfect, if we understand by it the denial of the existence of an agent in the visible world. For from the existence of the agent in it, we have brought an argument for the Creator in the invisible world. But when we have once admitted the existence of the Creator in the invisible world, it becomes clear that there is no Creative agent except one by His command and will. It is also evident that we can perform our own deeds, and that one who takes up only one side of the question is wrong, as is the case with the Mutazilites and the Jabarites. Those who adopt the middle course, like the Asharites, for discovering the truth cannot find it. For they make no difference for a man between the trembling and the movement of his hand by intention. There is no meaning in their admitting that both the movements are not by ourselves. Because if they are not by ourselves we have no power to check them, so we are compelled to do them. Hence there is no difference between trembling of hand and voluntary movement, which they could call acquired. So their is no difference between them, except in their names, which never effect the things themselves. This is all clear by itself.

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Magna Carta

Also known as: Magna Charta, or Great Charter.

Date: 1215

The Magna Carta became the foundation of the English constitution and the basis of modern constitutional government. The document restricted the absolute power of the monarch.

Prior to this time, kings had honored the practices of the feudal order, deferring certain rights and powers to their nobles. Certain privileges, freedoms, and representation had been established under the practices of feudal common-law custom. Henry II, who ruled from 1154 to 1189, had implemented numerous legal reforms. His son, King John Lackland (1199–1216), had lost Normandy and most of the holdings on the continent at the Battle of the Bouvines in 1214. This led to his greater assertion of royal rights of power of the king and greater taxation, due to the cost of war. In 1213 he imposed a new tax on knights, after which the barons led an open rebellion against the king. Those rebellious against the monarch included the clergy, the nobility, and the citizens of London—a free city.

The feudal barons had a list of grievances and rights. The initial document was drawn up and with the help of Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, in November 1214.

The rebellion between the nobles and the king ended with the king's loss at the Battle of Runnymede, a meadow near Windsor in Surrey County, England. There the king was forced by the barons to sign a newly

redrafted document, which included more rights and demands, on June 15, 1215. This document was called the Great Charter, or, as it was written in Latin, the Magna Carta.

The Magna Carta asserted the authorities and rights of the English aristocracy and the independence of the church. It reestablished feudal common-law custom and the privileges of free cities, such as London. To a lesser extent it implied the rights of subject people. Rights were granted, such as the right not to be jailed without charges, or habeas corpus, and the right to a trial by jury. It reestablished other rights that were formally recognized.

To enforce the charter a tribunal of 25 barons was established to hear complaints of the king breaking any of the rules of the charter. This tribunal had the legal power to use any means necessary against the king. King John immediately appealed to Pope Innocent III to annul the Magna Carta, which he said was signed under duress and force of arms. It was annulled by the pope on August 24, 1215.

The Magna Carta was reinstated with changes in 1216, 1217, and 1225 and became the framework on which modern constitutional government was founded.

PREAMBLE

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishop, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his bailiffs and liege subjects, greetings. Know that, having regard to God and for the salvation of our soul, and those of all our ancestors and heirs, and unto the honor of God and the advancement of his holy Church and for the rectifying of our realm, we have granted as underwritten by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Henry, archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, bishops; of Master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of our lord the Pope, of brother Aymeric (master of the Knights of the Temple in England), and of the illustrious men William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Warenne, William, earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway (constable of Scotland), Waren Fitz Gerold, Peter Fitz Herbert, Hubert De Burgh (seneschal of Poitou), Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip d'Aubigny, Robert of Roppesley, John Marshal, John Fitz Hugh, and others, our liegemen.

1. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs forever that the English Church shall be free, and shall have her rights entire, and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed; which is apparent from this that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English Church, we, of our pure and unconstrained will, did grant, and did by our charter confirm and did obtain the ratification of the same from our lord, Pope Innocent III, before the quarrel arose between us and our barons: and this we will observe, and our will is that it be observed in good faith by our heirs forever. We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs forever.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service shall have died, and at the time of his death his heir shall be full of age and owe "relief", he shall have his inheritance by the old relief, to wit, the heir or heirs of an earl, for the whole barony of an earl by £100; the heir or heirs of a baron, £100 for a whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight, 100s, at most, and whoever owes less let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

3. If, however, the heir of any one of the aforesaid has been under age and in wardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age.

4. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age, shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we have committed the wardship of the lands of any such minor to the sheriff, or to any other who is responsible to us for its issues, and he has made destruction or waste of what he holds in wardship, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be responsible for the issues to us or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we have given or sold the wardship of any such land to anyone and he has therein made destruction or waste, he shall lose that wardship, and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be responsible to us in like manner as aforesaid.

5. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, fishponds, tanks, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, stocked with ploughs and wainage, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonable bear.

6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice.

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forth-with and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage portion, or for the inheritance which her husband and she held on the day of the death of that husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she prefers to live without a husband; provided always that she gives security not to marry without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

9. Neither we nor our bailiffs will seize any land or rent for any debt, as long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to repay the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained so long as the principal debtor is able to satisfy the debt; and if the principal debtor shall fail to pay the debt, having nothing wherewith to pay it, then the sureties shall answer for the debt; and let them have the lands and rents of the debtor, if they desire them, until they are indemnified for the debt which they have paid for him, unless the principal debtor can show proof that he is discharged thereof as against the said sureties.

10. If one who has borrowed from the Jews any sum, great or small, die before that loan be repaid, the debt shall not bear interest while the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt fall into our hands, we will not take anything except the principal sum contained in the bond.

11. And if anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessities shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

12. No scutage nor aid shall be imposed on our kingdom, unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the city of London.

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we decree and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And for obtaining the common counsel of the kingdom anent the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, severally by our letters; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs and bailiffs, and others who hold of us in chief, for a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days, and at a fixed place; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason of the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of such as are present, although not all who were summoned have come.

15. We will not for the future grant to anyone license to take an aid from his own free tenants, except to ransom his person, to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and on each of these occasions there shall be levied only a reasonable aid.

16. No one shall be distrained for performance of greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some fixed place.

18. Inquests of novel disseisin, of mort d'ancestor, and of darrein presentment shall not be held elsewhere than in their own county courts, and that in manner following; We, or, if we should be out of the realm, our chief justiciar, will send two justiciaries through every county four times a year, who shall alone with four knights of the county chosen by the county, hold the said assizes in the county court, on the day and in the place of meeting of that court.

19. And if any of the said assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county court, let there remain of the knights and freeholders, who were present at the county court on that day, as many as may be required for the efficient making of judgments, according as the business be more or less.

20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a slight offense, except in accordance with the degree of the offense; and for a grave offense he shall be amerced in accordance with the gravity of the offense, yet saving always his "contentment"; and a merchant in the same way, saving his "merchandise"; and a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his "wainage" if they have fallen into our mercy; and none of the aforesaid ameracements shall be imposed except by the oath of honest men of the neighborhood.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except through their peers, and only in accordance with the degree of the offense.

22. A clerk shall not be amerced in respect of his lay holding except after the manner of the others aforesaid; further, he shall not be amerced in accordance with the extent of his ecclesiastical benefice.

23. No village or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from old were legally bound to do so.

24. No sheriff, constable, coroners, or others of our bailiffs, shall hold pleas of our Crown.

25. All counties, hundred, wapentakes, and trithings (except our demesne manors) shall remain at the old rents, and without any additional payment.

26. If anyone holding of us a lay fief shall die, and our sheriff or bailiff shall exhibit our letters patent of summons for a debt which the deceased owed us, it shall be lawful for our sheriff or bailiff to attach and enroll the chattels of the deceased, found upon the lay fief, to the value of that debt, at the sight of law worthy men, provided always that nothing whatever be thence removed until the debt which is evident shall be fully paid to us; and the residue shall be left to the executors to fulfill the will of the deceased; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall go to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under supervision of the Church, saving to every one the debts which the deceased owed to him.

28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provisions from anyone without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

29. No constable shall compel any knight to give money in lieu of castle-guard, when he is willing to perform it in his own person, or (if he himself cannot do it from any reasonable cause) then by another responsible man. Further, if we have led or sent him upon military service, he shall be relieved from guard in proportion to the time during which he has been on service because of us.

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or other person, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

31. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall take, for our castles or for any other work of ours, wood which is not ours, against the will of the owner of that wood.

32. We will not retain beyond one year and one day, the lands those who have been convicted of felony, and the lands shall thereafter be handed over to the lords of the fiefs.

33. All kydells for the future shall be removed altogether from Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the seashore.

34. The writ which is called praecipe shall not for the future be issued to anyone, regarding any tenement whereby a freeman may lose his court.

35. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit, "the London quarter"; and one width of cloth (whether dyed, or russet, or "halberget"), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

36. Nothing in future shall be given or taken for awrit of inquisition of life or limbs, but freely it shall be granted, and never denied.

37. If anyone holds of us by fee-farm, either by socage or by burage, or of any other land by knight's service, we will not (by reason of that fee-farm, socage, or burage), have the wardship of the heir, or of such land of his as if of the fief of that other; nor shall we have wardship of that fee-farm, socage, or burage, unless such fee-farm owes knight's service. We will not by reason of any small serjeancy which anyone may hold of us by the service of rendering to us knives, arrows, or the like, have wardship of his heir or of the land which he holds of another lord by knight's service.

38. No bailiff for the future shall, upon his own unsupported complaint, put anyone to his "law", without credible witnesses brought for this purpose.

39. No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

41. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if such are found in our land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justiciar, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

42. It shall be lawful in future for anyone (excepting always those imprisoned or outlawed in accordance with the law of the kingdom, and natives of any country at war with us, and merchants, who shall be treated as if above provided) to leave our kingdom and to return, safe and secure by land and water, except for a short period in time of war, on grounds of public policy—reserving always the allegiance due to us.

43. If anyone holding of some escheat (such as the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hands and are baronies) shall die, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us than he would have done to the baron if that barony had been in the baron's hand; and we shall hold it in the same manner in which the baron held it.

44. Men who dwell without the forest need not henceforth come before our justiciaries of the forest upon a general summons, unless they are in plea, or sureties of one or more, who are attached for the forest.

45. We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs only such as know the law of the realm and mean to observe it well.

46. All barons who have founded abbeys, concerning which they hold charters from the kings of England, or of which they have long continued possession, shall have the wardship of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All forests that have been made such in our time shall forthwith be disafforsted; and a similar course shall be followed with regard to river banks that have been placed "in defense" by us in our time.

48. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river banks and their wardens, shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall, within forty days of the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have intimation thereof, or our justiciar, if we should not be in England.

49. We will immediately restore all hostages and charters delivered to us by Englishmen, as sureties of the peace of faithful service.

50. We will entirely remove from their bailiwicks, the relations of Gerard of Athee (so that in future they shall have no bailiwick in England); namely, Engelard of Cigogne, Peter, Guy, and Andrew of Chanceaux, Guy of Cigogne, Geoffrey of Martigny with his brothers, Philip Mark with his brothers and his nephew Geoffrey, and the whole brood of the same.

51. As soon as peace is restored, we will banish from the kingdom all foreign born knights, crossbowmen, sergeants, and mercenary soldiers who have come with horses and arms to the kingdom's hurt.

52. If anyone has been dispossessed or removed by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or from his right, we will immediately restore them to him; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided by the five and twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace. Moreover, for all those possessions, from which anyone has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed, by our father, King Henry, or by our brother, King Richard, and which we retain in our hand (or which as possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them) we shall have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised, or an inquest made by our order, before our taking of the cross; but as soon as we return from the expedition, we will immediately grant full justice therein.

53. We shall have, moreover, the same respite and in the same manner in rendering justice concerning the disafforestation or retention of those forests which Henry our father and Richard our brother afforsted, and concerning the wardship of lands which are of the fief of another (namely, such wardships as we have hitherto had by reason of a fief which anyone held of us by knight's service), and concerning abbeys founded on other fiefs than our own, in which the lord of the fee claims to have right; and when we have returned, or if we desist from our expedition, we will immediately grant full justice to all who complain of such things.

54. No one shall be arrested or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.

55. All fines made with us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all amercements, imposed unjustly and against the law of the land, shall be entirely remitted, or else it shall be done concerning them according to the decision of the five and twenty barons whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace, or according to the judgment of the majority of the same, along with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he may wish to bring with him for this purpose, and if he cannot be present the business shall nevertheless proceed without him, provided always that if any one or more of the aforesaid five and twenty barons are in a similar suit, they shall be removed as far as concerns this particular judgment, others being substituted in their places after having been selected by the rest of the same five and twenty for this purpose only, and after having been sworn.

56. If we have disseised or removed Welshmen from lands or liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided in the marches by the judgment of their peers; for the tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, and for tenements in the marches according to the law of the marches. Welshmen shall do the same to us and ours.

57. Further, for all those possessions from which any Welshman has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, and which we ought to warrant), we will have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised or an inquest made by our order before we took the cross; but as soon as we return (or if perchance we desist from our expedition), we will immediately grant full justice in accordance with the laws of the Welsh and in relation to the foresaid regions.

58. We will immediately give up the son of Llywelyn and all the hostages of Wales, and the charters delivered to us as security for the peace.

59. We will do towards Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the return of his sisters and his hostages, and concerning his franchises, and his right, in the same manner as we shall do towards our other barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise according to the charters which we hold from William his father, formerly king of Scots; and this shall be according to the judgment of his peers in our court.

60. Moreover, all these aforesaid customs and liberties, the observances of which we have granted in our kingdom as far as pertains to us towards our men, shall be observed by all of our kingdom, as well clergy as laymen, as far as pertains to them towards their men.

61. Since, moreover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them in complete and firm endurance forever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter, so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything be at fault towards anyone, or shall have broken any one of the articles of this peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five and twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five and twenty barons, and those five and twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole realm, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations towards us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five and twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to everyone who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid anyone to swear. All those, moreover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty five to help them in constraining and molesting us, we shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect foresaid. And if any one of the five and twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is entrusted to these twenty five barons, if perchance these twenty five are present and disagree about anything, or if some of them, after being summoned, are unwilling or unable to be present, that which the majority of those present ordain or command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty five had concurred in this; and the said twenty five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from anyone, directly or indirectly, whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such things has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.

62. And all the will, hatreds, and bitterness that have arisen between us and our men, clergy and lay, from the date of the quarrel, we have completely remitted and pardoned to everyone. Moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said quarrel, from Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign till the restoration of peace, we have fully remitted to all, both clergy and laymen, and completely forgiven, as far as pertains to us. And on this head, we have caused to be made for them letters testimonial patent of the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, of the lord Henry, archbishop of Dublin, of the bishops aforesaid, and of Master Pandulf as touching this security and the concessions aforesaid.

63. Wherefore we will and firmly order that the English Church be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, for themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all respects and in all places forever, as is aforesaid. An oath, moreover, has been taken, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these conditions aforesaid shall be kept in good faith and without evil intent. Given under our hand—the above named and many others being witnesses—in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

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Saint Thomas Aquinas: *Summa theologiae*

Also known as: *Summa theologiae*

Date: 1265–1274

A philosophical treatise written by Roman Catholic theologian and philosopher Saint Thomas Aquinas from approximately 1265 to 1274, it summarized Christian theology in its entirety. The work was divided into three parts, with the first treating the existence and nature of God; the second, ethical and moral questions; and the third, Christ, the Sacraments, and the salvation of man's soul. Throughout the work Aquinas's arguments were aided by the methodology of Aristotelian logic, whereby ultimate causes were deduced from facts based on experience. At the same time, Aquinas relied on divine revelation, or the Holy Scriptures, for his ultimate conclusions about the Christian faith. The work has been the basis, up to the present day, for the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

The following entry contains an excerpt from the original document.

QUESTION 27 OF THE CAUSE OF LOVE (In Four Articles)

We must now consider the cause of love: and under this head there are four points of inquiry:

- (1) Whether good is the only cause of love?
- (2) Whether knowledge is a cause of love?
- (3) Whether likeness is a cause of love?
- (4) Whether any other passion of the soul is a cause of love?

FIRST ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 1]

Whether Good Is the Only Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that good is not the only cause of love. For good does not cause love, except because it is loved. But it happens that evil also is loved, according to Ps. 10:6: “He that loveth iniquity, hateth his own soul”: else, every love would be good. Therefore good is not the only cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, the Philosopher says (Rhet. ii, 4) that “we love those who acknowledge their evils.” Therefore it seems that evil is the cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv) that not “the good” only but also “the beautiful is beloved by all.”

On the contrary, Augustine says (De Trin. viii, 3): “Assuredly the good alone is beloved.” Therefore good alone is the cause of love.

I answer that, As stated above (Q. 26, A. 1), Love belongs to the appetitive power which is a passive faculty. Wherefore its object stands in relation to it as the cause of its movement or act. Therefore the cause of love must needs be love's object. Now the proper object of love is the good; because, as stated above (Q. 26, AA. 1, 2), love implies a certain connaturalness or complacency of the lover for the thing beloved, and to everything, that thing is a good, which is akin and proportionate to it. It follows, therefore, that good is the proper cause of love.

Reply Obj. 1: Evil is never loved except under the aspect of good, that is to say, in so far as it is good in some respect, and is considered as being good simply. And thus a certain love is evil, in so far as it tends to that which is not simply a true good. It is in this way that man “loves iniquity,” inasmuch as, by means of iniquity, some good is gained; pleasure, for instance, or money, or such like.

Reply Obj. 2: Those who acknowledge their evils, are beloved, not for their evils, but because they acknowledge them, for it is a good thing to acknowledge one's faults, in so far as it excludes insincerity or hypocrisy.

Reply Obj. 3: The beautiful is the same as the good, and they differ in aspect only. For since good is what all seek, the notion of good is that which calms the desire; while the notion of the beautiful is that which calms the desire, by being seen or known. Consequently those senses chiefly regard the beautiful, which are the most cognitive, viz. sight and hearing, as ministering to reason; for we speak of beautiful sights and beautiful sounds. But in reference to the other objects of the other senses, we do not use the expression “beautiful,” for we do not speak of beautiful tastes, and beautiful odors. Thus it is evident that beauty adds to goodness a relation to the cognitive faculty: so that “good” means that which simply pleases the appetite; while the “beautiful” is something pleasant to apprehend.

SECOND ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 2]

Whether Knowledge Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that knowledge is not a cause of love. For it is due to love that a thing is sought. But some things are sought without being known, for instance, the sciences; for since “to have them is the same as to know them,” as Augustine says (QQ. 83, qu. 35), if we knew them we should have them, and should not seek them. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, to love what we know not seems like loving something more than we know it. But some things are loved more than they are known: thus in this life God can be loved in Himself, but cannot be known in Himself. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, if knowledge were the cause of love, there would be no love, where there is no knowledge. But in all things there is love, as Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv); whereas there is not knowledge in all things. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

On the contrary, Augustine proves (De Trin. x, 1, 2) that “none can love what he does not know.”

I answer that, As stated above (A. 1), good is the cause of love, as being its object. But good is not the object of the appetite, except as apprehended. And therefore love demands some apprehension of the good that is loved. For this reason the Philosopher (Ethic. ix, 5, 12) says that bodily sight is the beginning of sensitive love: and in like manner the contemplation of spiritual beauty or goodness is the beginning of spiritual love. Accordingly knowledge is the cause of love for the same reason as good is, which can be loved only if known.

Reply Obj. 1: He who seeks science, is not entirely without knowledge thereof: but knows something about it already in some respect, either in a general way, or in some one of its effects, or from having heard it commended, as Augustine says (De Trin. x, 1, 2). But to have it is not to know it thus, but to know it perfectly.

Reply Obj. 2: Something is required for the perfection of knowledge, that is not requisite for the perfection of love. For knowledge belongs to the reason, whose function it is to distinguish things which in reality are united, and to unite together, after a fashion, things that are distinct, by comparing one with another. Consequently the perfection of knowledge requires that man should know distinctly all that is in a thing, such as its parts, powers, and properties. On the other hand, love is in the appetitive power, which regards a thing as it is in itself: wherefore it suffices, for the perfection of love, that a thing be loved according as it is known in itself. Hence it is, therefore, that a thing is loved more than it is known; since it can be loved perfectly, even without being perfectly known. This is most evident in regard to the sciences, which some love through having a certain general knowledge of them: for instance, they know that rhetoric is a science that enables man to persuade others; and this is what they love in rhetoric. The same applies to the love of God.

Reply Obj. 3: Even natural love, which is in all things, is caused by a kind of knowledge, not indeed existing in natural things themselves, but in Him Who created their nature, as stated above (Q. 26, A. 1; cf. I, Q. 6, A. 1, ad 2).

THIRD ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 3]

Whether Likeness Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that likeness is not a cause of love. For the same thing is not the cause of contraries. But likeness is the cause of hatred; for it is written (Prov. 13:10) that “among the proud there are always contentions”; and the Philosopher says (Ethic. viii, 1) that “potters quarrel with one another.” Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, Augustine says (Confess. iv, 14) that “a man loves in another that which he would not be himself: thus he loves an actor, but would not himself be an actor.” But it would not be so, if likeness were the proper cause of love; for in that case a man would love in another, that which he possesses himself, or would like to possess. Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, everyone loves that which he needs, even if he have it not: thus a sick man loves health, and a poor man loves riches. But in so far as he needs them and lacks them, he is unlike them. Therefore not only likeness but also unlikeness is a cause of love.

Obj. 4: Further, the Philosopher says (Rhet. ii, 4) that “we love those who bestow money and health on us; and also those who retain their friendship for the dead.” But all are not such. Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

On the contrary, It is written (Ecclus. 13:19): “Every beast loveth its like.”

I answer that, Likeness, properly speaking, is a cause of love. But it must be observed that likeness between things is twofold. One kind of likeness arises from each thing having the same quality actually: for example, two things possessing the quality of whiteness are said to be alike. Another kind of likeness arises from one thing having potentially and by way of inclination, a quality which the other has actually: thus we may say that a heavy body existing outside its proper place is like another heavy body that exists in its proper place: or again, according as potentiality bears a resemblance to its act; since act is contained, in a manner, in the potentiality itself.

Accordingly the first kind of likeness causes love of friendship or well-being. For the very fact that two men are alike, having, as it were, one form, makes them to be, in a manner, one in that form: thus two men

are one thing in the species of humanity, and two white men are one thing in whiteness. Hence the affections of one tend to the other, as being one with him; and he wishes good to him as to himself. But the second kind of likeness causes love of concupiscence, or friendship founded on usefulness or pleasure: because whatever is in potentiality, as such, has the desire for its act; and it takes pleasure in its realization, if it be a sentient and cognitive being.

Now it has been stated above (Q. 26, A. 4), that in the love of concupiscence, the lover, properly speaking, loves himself, in willing the good that he desires. But a man loves himself more than another: because he is one with himself substantially, whereas with another he is one only in the likeness of some form. Consequently, if this other's likeness to him arising from the participation of a form, hinders him from gaining the good that he loves, he becomes hateful to him, not for being like him, but for hindering him from gaining his own good. This is why "potters quarrel among themselves," because they hinder one another's gain: and why "there are contentions among the proud," because they hinder one another in attaining the position they covet.

Hence the Reply to the First Objection is evident.

Reply Obj. 2: Even when a man loves in another what he loves not in himself, there is a certain likeness of proportion: because as the latter is to that which is loved in him, so is the former to that which he loves in himself: for instance, if a good singer love a good writer, we can see a likeness of proportion, inasmuch as each one has that which is becoming to him in respect of his art.

Reply Obj. 3: He that loves what he needs, bears a likeness to what he loves, as potentiality bears a likeness to its act, as stated above.

Reply Obj. 4: According to the same likeness of potentiality to its act, the illiberal man loves the man who is liberal, in so far as he expects from him something which he desires. The same applies to the man who is constant in his friendship as compared to one who is inconstant. For in either case friendship seems to be based on usefulness. We might also say that although not all men have these virtues in the complete habit, yet they have them according to certain seminal principles in the reason, in force of which principles the man who is not virtuous loves the virtuous man, as being in conformity with his own natural reason.

FOURTH ARTICLE [I-II, Q. 27, ART. 4]

Whether Any Other Passion of the Soul Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that some other passion can be the cause of love. For the Philosopher (Ethic. viii, 3) says that some are loved for the sake of the pleasure they give. But pleasure is a passion. Therefore another passion is a cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, desire is a passion. But we love some because we desire to receive something from them: as happens in every friendship based on usefulness. Therefore another passion is a cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, Augustine says (De Trin. x, 1): "When we have no hope of getting a thing, we love it but half-heartedly or not at all, even if we see how beautiful it is." Therefore hope too is a cause of love.

On the contrary, All the other emotions of the soul are caused by love, as Augustine says (De Civ. Dei xiv, 7, 9).

I answer that, There is no other passion of the soul that does not presuppose love of some kind. The reason is that every other passion of the soul implies either movement towards something, or rest in something. Now every movement towards something, or rest in something, arises from some kinship or aptness to that thing; and in this does love consist. Therefore it is not possible for any other passion of the soul to be universally the cause of every love. But it may happen that some other passion is the cause of some particular love: just as one good is the cause of another.

Reply Obj. 1: When a man loves a thing for the pleasure it affords, his love is indeed caused by pleasure; but that very pleasure is caused, in its turn, by another preceding love; for none takes pleasure save in that which is loved in some way.

Reply Obj. 2: Desire for a thing always presupposes love for that thing. But desire of one thing can be the cause of another thing's being loved; thus he that desires money, for this reason loves him from whom he receives it.

Reply Obj. 3: Hope causes or increases love; both by reason of pleasure, because it causes pleasure; and by reason of desire, because hope strengthens desire, since we do not desire so intensely that which we have no hope of receiving. Nevertheless hope itself is of a good that is loved.

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The Travels of Marco Polo

Date: c. 1271–1298

With the influence of the Golden Horde in eastern Europe, Europeans became more aware of and concerned with Asian issues. Papal and political diplomatic missions were sent out, such as that of the Italian Giovanni da Pian del Carpine in 1245–47 and the Flemish William of Rubrouck in 1253–55. European traders followed. In 1271–75, Italian merchants Maffeo Polo, Niccolò Polo, and Marco Polo traveled across Central Asia to Cambaluc (present-day Beijing), the new Mongol capital founded by Genghis's successor Kubilai Khan. Marco Polo, in 1275–92, explored on behalf of the khan, visiting other parts of China, Tibet, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Mongolia, and possibly Siberia. His book, The Travels of Marco Polo, with descriptions of Mongol customs, was influential in Europe over the next two centuries and influenced Christopher Columbus in his 1492 attempt to reach the Orient by way of the Atlantic Ocean.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

BOOK I: CHAPTER LX.

CONCERNING THE KAAAN'S PALACE OF CHAGANNOR.

At the end of those three days you find a city called CHAGAN NOR [which is as much as to say White Pool], at which there is a great Palace of the Grand Kaan's; and he likes much to reside there on account of the Lakes and Rivers in the neighbourhood, which are the haunt of swans and of a great variety of other birds. The adjoining plains too abound with cranes, partridges, pheasants, and other game birds, so that the Emperor takes all the more delight in staying there, in order to go a-hawking with his gerfalcons and other falcons, a sport of which he is very fond.

There are five different kinds of cranes found in those tracts, as I shall tell you. First, there is one which is very big, and all over as black as a crow; the second kind again is all white, and is the biggest of all; its wings are really beautiful, for they are adorned with round eyes like those of a peacock, but of a resplendent golden colour, whilst the head is red and black on a white ground. The third kind is the same as ours. The fourth is a small kind, having at the ears beautiful long pendent feathers of red and black. The fifth kind is grey all over and of great size, with a handsome head, red and black.

Near this city there is a valley in which the Emperor has had several little houses erected in which he keeps in mew a huge number of _cators_ which are what we call the Great Partridge. You would be astonished to see what a quantity there are, with men to take charge of them. So whenever the Kaan visits the place he is furnished with as many as he wants.

CHAPTER LXI.

OF THE CITY OF CHANDU, AND THE KAAAN'S PALACE THERE.

And when you have ridden three days from the city last mentioned, between north-east and north, you come to a city called CHANDU, which was built by the Kaan now reigning. There is at this place a very fine marble Palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men and beasts and birds, and with a variety of trees and flowers, all executed with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment.

Round this Palace a wall is built, inclosing a compass of 16 miles, and inside the Park there are fountains and rivers and brooks, and beautiful meadows, with all kinds of wild animals (excluding such as are of ferocious nature), which the Emperor has procured and placed there to supply food for his gerfalcons and hawks, which he keeps there in mew. Of these there are more than 200 gerfalcons alone, without reckoning the other hawks. The Kaan himself goes every week to see his birds sitting in mew, and sometimes he rides through the park with a leopard behind him on his horse's croup; and then if he sees any animal that takes his fancy, he slips his leopard at it, and the game when taken is made over to feed the hawks in mew. This he does for diversion.

Moreover [at a spot in the Park where there is a charming wood] he has another Palace built of cane, of which I must give you a description. It is gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. [It is stayed on gilt and lackered columns, on each of which is a dragon all gilt, the tail of which is attached to the column whilst the head supports the architrave, and the claws likewise are stretched out right and left to support the architrave.] The roof, like the rest, is formed of canes, covered with a varnish so strong and excellent that no amount of rain will rot them. These canes are a good 3 palms in girth, and from 10 to 15 paces in length. [They are cut across at each knot, and then the pieces are split so as to form from each two hollow tiles, and with these the house is roofed; only every such tile of cane has to be nailed down to prevent the wind from lifting it.] In short, the whole Palace is built of these canes, which (I may mention) serve also for a great variety of other useful purposes. The construction of the Palace is so devised that it can be taken down and put up again with great celerity; and it can all be taken to pieces and removed whithersoever the Emperor may command. When erected, it is braced [against mishaps from the wind] by more than 200 cords of silk.

The Lord abides at this Park of his, dwelling sometimes in the Marble Palace and sometimes in the Cane Palace for three months of the year, to wit, June, July, and August; preferring this residence because it is by no means hot; in fact it is a very cool place. When the 28th day of [the Moon of] August arrives he takes his departure, and the Cane Palace is taken to pieces. But I must tell you what happens when he goes away from this Palace every year on the 28th of the August [Moon].

You must know that the Kaan keeps an immense stud of white horses and mares; in fact more than 10,000 of them, and all pure white without a speck. The milk of these mares is drunk by himself and his family, and by none else, except by those of one great tribe that have also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by Chinghis Kaan, on account of a certain victory that they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe is HORIAD.

Now when these mares are passing across the country, and any one falls in with them, be he the greatest lord in the land, he must not presume to pass until the mares have gone by; he must either tarry where he is, or go a half-day's journey round if need so be, so as not to come nigh them; for they are to be treated with the greatest respect. Well, when the Lord sets out from the Park on the 28th of August, as I told you, the milk of all those mares is taken and sprinkled on the ground. And this is done on the injunction of the Idolaters and Idol-priests, who say that it is an excellent thing to sprinkle that milk on the ground every 28th of August, so that the Earth and the Air and the False Gods shall have their share of it, and the Spirits likewise that inhabit the Air and the Earth. And thus those beings will protect and bless the Kaan and his children and his wives and his folk and his gear, and his cattle and his horses, his corn and all that is his. After this is done, the Emperor is off and away.

But I must now tell you a strange thing that hitherto I have forgotten to mention. During the three months of every year that the Lord resides at that place, if it should happen to be bad weather, there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who are such adepts in necromancy and the diabolic arts, that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm from passing over the spot on which the Emperor's Palace stands. The sorcerers who do this are called TEBET and KESIMUR, which are the names of two nations of Idolaters. Whatever they do in this way is by the help of the Devil, but they make those people believe that it is compassed by dint of their own sanctity and the help of God. [They always go in a state of dirt and uncleanness, devoid of respect for themselves, or for those who see them, unwashed, unkempt, and sordidly attired.]

These people also have a custom which I must tell you. If a man is condemned to death and executed by the lawful authority, they take his body and cook and eat it. But if any one die a natural death then they will not eat the body.

There is another marvel performed by those BACSI, of whom I have been speaking as knowing so many enchantments. For when the Great Kaan is at his capital and in his great Palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him [on a great buffet] in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance of some ten paces from his table, and filled with wine, or other good spiced liquor such as they use. Now when the Lord desires to drink, these enchanters by the power of their enchantments cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody, and to present themselves to the Emperor! This every one present may witness, and there are oftentimes more than 10,000 persons thus present. 'Tis a truth and no lie! and so will tell you the sages of our own country who understand necromancy, for they also can perform it.

And when the Idol Festivals come round, these Bacsi go to the Prince and say: "Sire, the Feast of such a god is come" (naming him). "My Lord, you know," the enchanter will say, "that this god, when he gets no offerings, always sends bad weather and spoils our seasons. So we pray you to give us such and such a number of black-faced sheep," naming whatever number they please. "And we beg also, good my lord, that we may have such a quantity of incense, and such a quantity of signaloos, and" so much of this, so much of that, and so much of t'other, according to their fancy "that we may perform a solemn service and a great sacrifice to our Idols, and that so they may be induced to protect us and all that is ours."

The Bacsi say these things to the Barons entrusted with the Stewardship, who stand round the Great Kaan, and these repeat them to the Kaan, and he then orders the Barons to give everything that the Bacsi have asked for. And when they have got the articles they go and make a great feast in honour of their god, and hold great ceremonies of worship with grand illuminations and quantities of incense of a variety of odours, which they make up from different aromatic spices. And then they cook the meat, and set it before the idols, and sprinkle the broth hither and thither, saying that in this way the idols get their bellyful. Thus it is that they keep their festivals. You must know that each of the idols has a name of his own, and a feast-day, just as our Saints have their anniversaries. They have also immense Minsters and Abbeys, some of them as big as a small town, with more than two thousand monks (i.e. after their fashion) in a single abbey. These monks dress more decently than the rest of the people, and have the head and beard shaven. There are some among these Bacsi who are allowed by their rule to take wives, and who have plenty of children.

Then there is another kind of devotees called SENSIN, who are men of extraordinary abstinence after their fashion, and lead a life of such hardship as I will describe. All their life long they eat nothing but bran, which they take mixt with hot water. That is their food: bran, and nothing but bran; and water for their drink. 'Tis a lifelong

fast! so that I may well say their life is one of extraordinary asceticism. They have great idols, and plenty of them; but they sometimes also worship fire. The other Idolaters who are not of this sect call these people heretics . . . because they do not worship their idols in their own fashion. Those of whom I am speaking would not take a wife on any consideration. They wear dresses of hempen stuff, black and blue, and sleep upon mats; in fact their asceticism is something astonishing. Their idols are all feminine, that is to say, they have women's names.

Now let us have done with this subject, and let me tell you of the great state and wonderful magnificence of the Great Lord of Lords; I mean that great Prince who is the Sovereign of the Tartars, CUBLAY by name, that most noble and puissant Lord.

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Boccaccio Describing the Black Death

Date: 1348

Giovanni Boccaccio was an Italian author and poet (1313–75) who wrote The Decameron. It is believed that the Black Death entered Europe as a result of Italian trade with the Orient. At that time, merchants and traders from Genoa owned the major trading port of Caffa on the north coast of the Black Sea. The Genoese traders fled the city and arrived dead and dying in their ships on the Italian coast. From 1347 to 1348 the Black Death spread rapidly from Messina to Genoa and Venice, and through the rest of Italy and Europe. Prior to the plague hitting Europe, there was a massive plague in China and Central Asia.

The description of the Black Death is from Giovanni Boccaccio's famous work The Decameron, which is a collection of 100 short tales. The opening tale in the book is about the Black Death and its horror, with people of means fleeing the city to live in the country.

Giovanni Boccaccio grew up in Florence and studied at the University of Naples. He returned to Florence in 1341. In 1350 he met and became friends with Petrarch, or Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), the Italian poet and humanist, who had an enormous impact on his intellectual life.

The onset of the Black Death as described by Giovanni Boccaccio.

I say, then, that the years of the beatific incarnation of the Son of God had reached the tale of one thousand three hundred and forty eight, when in the illustrious city of Florence, the fairest of all the cities of Italy, there made its appearance that deadly pestilence, which, whether disseminated by the influence of the celestial bodies, or sent upon us mortals by God in His just wrath by way of retribution for our iniquities, had had its origin some years before in the East, whence, after destroying an innumerable multitude of living beings, it had propagated itself without respite from place to place, and so calamitously, had spread into the West.

In Florence, despite all that human wisdom and forethought could devise to avert it, as the cleansing of the city from many impurities by officials appointed for the purpose, the refusal of entrance to all sick folk, and the adoption of many precautions for the preservation of health; despite also humble supplications addressed to God, and often repeated both in public procession and otherwise by the devout; towards the beginning of the spring of the said year the doleful effects of the pestilence began to be horribly apparent by symptoms that shewed as if miraculous.

Not such were they as in the East, where an issue of blood from the nose was a manifest sign of inevitable death; but in men a women alike it first betrayed itself by the emergence of certain tumors in the groin or the armpits, some of which grew as large as a common apple, others as an egg, some more, some less, which the common folk called gavoccioli. From the two said parts of the body this deadly gavocciolo soon began to propagate and spread itself in all directions indifferently; after which the form of the malady began to change, black spots or livid making their appearance in many cases on the arm or the thigh or elsewhere, now few and large, then minute and numerous. And as the gavocciolo had been and still were an infallible token of approaching death, such also were these spots on whomsoever they shewed themselves. Which maladies seemed set entirely at naught both the art of the physician and the virtue of physic; indeed, whether it was that the disorder was of a nature to defy such treatment, or that the physicians were at fault—besides the qualified there was now a multitude both of men and of women who practiced without having received the slightest tincture of medical science—and, being in ignorance of its source, failed to apply the proper remedies; in either case, not merely were those that covered few, but almost all within three

days from the appearance of the said symptoms, sooner or later, died, and in most cases without any fever or other attendant malady.

Moreover, the virulence of the pest was the greater by reason the intercourse was apt to convey it from the sick to the whole, just as fire devours things dry or greasy when they are brought close to it, the evil went yet further, for not merely by speech or association with the sick was the malady communicated to the healthy with consequent peril of common death; but any that touched the clothes the sick or aught else that had been touched, or used by these seemed thereby to contract the disease.

So marvelous sounds that which I have now to relate, that, had not many, and I among them, observed it with their own eyes, I had hardly dared to credit it, much less to set it down in writing, though I had had it from the lips of a credible witness.

I say, then, that such was the energy of the contagion of the said pestilence, that it was not merely propagated from man to man, but, what is much more startling, it was frequently observed, that things which had belonged to one sick or dead of the disease, if touched by some other living creature, not of the human species, were the occasion, not merely of sickening, but of an almost instantaneous death. Whereof my own eyes (as I said a little before) had cognisance, one day among others, by the following experience. The rags of a poor man who had died of the disease being strewn about the open street, two hogs came thither, and after, as is their wont, no little trifling with their snouts, took the rags between their teeth and tossed them to and fro about their chaps; whereupon, almost immediately, they gave a few turns, and fell down dead, as if by poison, upon the rags which in an evil hour they had disturbed.

In which circumstances, not to speak of many others of a similar or even graver complexion, divers apprehensions and imaginations were engendered in the minds of such as were left alive, inclining almost all of them to the same harsh resolution, to wit, to shun and abhor all contact with the sick and all that belonged to them, thinking thereby to make each his own health secure. Among whom there were those who thought that to live temperately and avoid all excess would count for much as a preservative against seizures of this kind. Wherefore they banded together, and dissociating themselves from all others, formed communities in houses where there were no sick, and lived a separate and secluded life, which they regulated with the utmost care, avoiding every kind of luxury, but eating and drinking moderately of the most delicate viands and the finest wines, holding converse with none but one another, lest tidings of sickness or death should reach them, and diverting their minds with music and such other delights as they could devise. Others, the bias of whose minds was in the opposite direction, maintained, that to drink freely, frequent places of public resort, and take their pleasure with song and revel, sparing to satisfy no appetite, and to laugh and mock at no event, was the sovereign remedy for so great an evil: and that which they affirmed they also put in practice, so far as they were able, resorting day and night, now to this tavern, now to that, drinking with an entire disregard of rule or measure, and by preference making the houses of others, as it were, their inns, if they but saw in them aught that was particularly to their taste or liking; which they, were readily able to do, because the owners, seeing death imminent, had become as reckless of their property as of their lives; so that most of the houses were open to all comers, and no distinction was observed between the stranger who presented himself and the rightful lord. Thus, adhering ever to their inhuman determination to shun the sick, as far as possible, they ordered their life. In this extremity of our city's suffering and tribulation the venerable authority of laws, human and divine, was abased and all but totally dissolved for lack of those who should have administered and enforced them, most of whom, like the rest of the citizens, were either dead or sick or so hard bested for servants that they were unable to execute any office; whereby every man was free to do what was right in his own eyes.

Not a few there were who belonged to neither of the two said parties, but kept a middle course between them, neither laying the same restraint upon their diet as the former, nor allowing themselves the same license in drinking and other dissipations as the latter, but living with a degree of freedom sufficient to satisfy their appetite and not as recluses. They therefore walked abroad, carrying in the hands flowers or fragrant herbs or divers sorts of spices, which they frequently raised to their noses, deeming it an excellent thing thus to comfort the brain with such perfumes, because the air seemed to be everywhere laden and reeking with the stench emitted by the dead and the dying, and the odours of drugs.

Some again, the most sound, perhaps, in judgment, as they were also the most harsh in temper, of all, affirmed that there was no medicine for the disease superior or equal in efficacy to flight; following which prescription a multitude of men and women, negligent of all but themselves, deserted their city, their houses, their estates, their kinsfolk, their goods, and went into voluntary exile, or migrated to the country parts, as if God in visiting men with this pestilence in requital of their iniquities would not pursue them with His wrath wherever they might be, but intended the destruction of such alone as remained within the circuit of the walls of the city; or deeming perchance, that it was now time for all to flee from it, and that its last hour was come.

Of the adherents of these divers opinions not all died, neither did all escape; but rather there were, of each sort and in every place many that sickened, and by those who retained their health were treated after the example which they themselves, while whole, had set, being everywhere left to languish in almost total neglect. Tedious were it to recount, how citizen avoided citizen, how among neighbors was scarce found

any that shewed fellow-feeling for another, how kinsfolk held aloof, and never met, or but rarely; enough that this sore affliction entered so deep into the minds of men and women, that in the horror thereof brother was forsaken by brother nephew by uncle, brother by sister, and oftentimes husband by wife: nay, what is more, and scarcely to be believed, fathers and mothers were found to abandon their own children, untended, unvisited, to their fate, as if they had been strangers. Wherefore the sick of both sexes, whose number could not be estimated, were left without resource but in the charity of friends (and few such there were), or the interest of servants, who were hardly to be had at high rates and on unseemly terms, and being, moreover, one and all, men and women of gross understanding, and for the most part unused to such offices, concerned themselves no further than to supply the immediate and expressed wants of the sick, and to watch them die; in which service they themselves not seldom perished with their gains. In consequence of which dearth of servants and dereliction of the sick by neighbors, kinsfolk and friends, it came to pass—a thing, perhaps, never before heard of—that no woman, however dainty, fair or well-born she might be, shrank, when stricken with the disease, from the ministrations of a man, no matter whether he were young or no, or scrupled to expose to him every part of her body, with no more shame than if he had been a woman, submitting of necessity to that which her malady required; wherefrom, perchance, there resulted in after time some loss of modesty in such as recovered. Besides which many succumbed, who with proper attendance, would, perhaps, have escaped death; so that, what with the virulence of the plague and the lack of due attendance of the sick, the multitude of the deaths, that daily and nightly took place in the city, was such that those who heard the tale—not to say witnessed the fact—were struck dumb with amazement. Whereby, practices contrary to the former habits of the citizens could hardly fail to grow up among the survivors.

It had been, as to-day it still is, the custom for the women that were neighbors and of kin to the deceased to gather in his house with the women that were most closely connected with him, to wail with them in common, while on the other hand his male kinsfolk and neighbors, with not a few of the other citizens, and a due proportion of the clergy according to his quality, assembled without, in front of the house, to receive the corpse; and so the dead man was borne on the shoulders of his peers, with funeral pomp of taper and dirge, to the church selected by him before his death. Which rites, as the pestilence waxed in fury, were either in whole or in great part disused, and gave way to others of a novel order. For not only did no crowd of women surround the bed of the dying, but many passed from this life unregarded, and few indeed were they to whom were accorded the lamentations and bitter tears of sorrowing relations; nay, for the most part, their place was taken by the laugh, the jest, the festal gathering; observances which the women, domestic piety in large measure set aside, had adopted with very great advantage to their health. Few also there were whose bodies were attended to the church by more than ten or twelve of their neighbors, and those not the honorable and respected citizens; but a sort of corpse-carriers drawn from the baser ranks, who called themselves *becchini* and performed such offices for hire, would shoulder the bier, and with hurried steps carry it, not to the church of the dead man's choice, but to that which was nearest at hand, with four or six priests in front and a candle or two, or, perhaps, none; nor did the priests distress themselves with too long and solemn an office, but with the aid of the *becchini* hastily consigned the corpse to the first tomb which they found untenanted. The condition of the lower, and, perhaps, in great measure of the middle ranks, of the people shewed even worse and more deplorable; for, deluded by hope or constrained by poverty, they stayed in their quarters, in their houses where they sickened by thousands a day, and, being without service or help of any kind, were, so to speak, irredeemably devoted to the death which overtook them. Many died daily or nightly in the public streets; of many others, who died at home, the departure was hardly observed by their neighbors, until the stench of their putrefying bodies carried the tidings; and what with their corpses and the corpses of others who died on every hand the whole place was a sepulchre.

It was the common practice of most of the neighbors, moved no less by fear of contamination by the putrefying bodies than by charity towards the deceased, to drag the corpses out of the houses with their own hands, aided, perhaps, by a porter, if a porter was to be had, and to lay them in front of the doors, where any one who made the round might have seen, especially in the morning, more of them than he could count; afterwards they would have biers brought up or in default, planks, whereon they laid them. Nor was it once twice only that one and the same bier carried two or three corpses at once; but quite a considerable number of such cases occurred, one bier sufficing for husband and wife, two or three brothers, father and son, and so forth. And times without number it happened, that as two priests, bearing the cross, were on their way to perform the last office for some one, three or four biers were brought up by the porters in rear of them, so that, whereas the priests supposed that they had but one corpse to bury, they discovered that there were six or eight, or sometimes more. Nor, for all their number, were their obsequies honored by either tears or lights or crowds of mourners rather, it was come to this, that a dead man was then of no more account than a dead goat would be to-day.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Excerpts from the Journal of Christopher Columbus

Date: 1492

Columbus's journal no longer exists in its original form. The available text was abridged and edited by the Spanish priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, an early missionary in the New World and a noted champion of Native peoples. The revisions by Las Casas account for the variant use of first and third person in reference to Columbus throughout the manuscript. In the following section, Columbus recounts his departure from the city of Granada in May, the discovery of land the following October, and describes the indigenous people he mistakenly named Indians. Columbus assumed the people were simple because they were naked and did not have metal weapons. He also assumed that they would be readily converted to Christianity "as they appear to have no religion." He may have been attempting to construct an idea of the Natives as future Christians in order to please his sponsors, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, the Catholic monarchs who instituted the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 to create a homogenous Christian population in Spain. Columbus would undertake three more journeys across the Atlantic in his lifetime, exploring Trinidad, Venezuela, the Orinoco River delta, Cape Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Veragua, and Panama, but never reaching the spice-rich Orient he set out to find. He died in Spain in 1506, still believing he had reached "the Indies."

The following are excerpts from the journal Christopher Columbus kept during his first voyage to the Americas in 1492.

Hereupon I left the city of Granada, on Saturday, the twelfth day of May, 1492, and proceeded to Palos, a seaport, where I armed three vessels, very fit for such an enterprise, and having provided myself with abundance of stores and seamen, I set sail from the port, on Friday, the third of August, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for the Canary Islands of your Highnesses which are in the said ocean, thence to take my departure and proceed till I arrived at the Indies, and perform the embassy of your Highnesses to the Princes there, and discharge the orders given me. For this purpose I determined to keep an account of the voyage, and to write down punctually every thing we performed or saw from day to day, as will hereafter appear. Moreover, Sovereign Princes, besides describing every night the occurrences of the day, and every day those of the preceding night, I intend to draw up a nautical chart, which shall contain the several parts of the ocean and land in their proper situations; and also to compose a book to represent the whole by picture with latitudes and longitudes, on all which accounts it behooves me to abstain from my sleep, and make many trials in navigation, which things will demand much labor.

Friday, 12 October. At two o'clock in the morning the land was discovered, at two leagues' distance; they took in sail and remained under the square-sail lying to till day, which was Friday, when they found themselves near a small island, one of the Lucayos, called in the Indian language Guanahani. Presently they descried people, naked, and the Admiral landed in the boat, which was armed, along with Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, captain of the Nina. The Admiral bore the royal standard, and the two captains each a banner of the Green Cross, which all the ships had carried; this contained the initials of the names of the King and Queen each side of the cross, and a crown over each letter. Arrived on shore, they saw trees very green many streams of water, and diverse sorts of fruits. The Admiral called upon the two Captains, and the rest of the crew who landed, as also to Rodrigo de Escovedo notary of the fleet, and Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, to bear witness that he before all others took possession (as in fact he did) of that island for the King and Queen his sovereigns, making the requisite declarations, which are more at large set down here in writing. Numbers of the people of the island straightway collected together. Here follow the precise words of the Admiral: "As I saw that they were very friendly to us, and perceived that they could be much more easily converted to our holy faith by gentle means than by force, I presented them with some red caps, and strings of beads to wear upon the neck, and many other trifles of small value, wherewith they were much delighted, and became wonderfully attached to us. Afterwards they came swimming to the boats, bringing parrots, balls of cotton thread, javelins, and many other things which they exchanged for articles we gave them, such as glass beads, and hawk's bells; which trade was carried on with the utmost good will. But they seemed on the whole to me, to be a very poor people. They all go completely naked, even the women, though I saw but one girl. All whom I saw were young, not above thirty years of age, well made, with fine shapes and faces; their hair short, and coarse like that of a horse's tail, combed toward the forehead, except a small portion which they suffer to hang down behind, and never cut. Some paint themselves with black, which makes them appear like those of the Canaries, neither black nor white; others with white, others with red, and others with such

colors as they can find. Some paint the face, and some the whole body; others only the eyes, and others the nose. Weapons they have none, nor are acquainted with them, for I showed them swords which they grasped by the blades, and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their javelins being without it, and nothing more than sticks, though some have fish-bones or other things at the ends. They are all of a good size and stature, and handsomely formed. I saw some with scars of wounds upon their bodies, and demanded by signs the of them; they answered me in the same way, that there came people from the other islands in the neighborhood who endeavored to make prisoners of them, and they defended themselves. I thought then, and still believe, that these were from the continent. It appears to me, that the people are ingenious, and would be good servants and I am of opinion that they would very readily become Christians, as they appear to have no religion. They very quickly learn such words as are spoken to them. If it please our Lord, I intend at my return to carry home six of them to your Highnesses, that they may learn our language. I saw no beasts in the island, nor any sort of animals except parrots." These are the words of the Admiral.

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The Praise of Folly

Date: 1511

This prose satire was written in Latin by Erasmus (Encomium Moriae) in 1509 and first published in 1511. It was composed in its earliest form at the Chelsea home of Sir Thomas More, and its original title is a pun on More's name, as Erasmus's dedication to him makes plain. In it the goddess Folly, in a formal oration, addresses the multitude of her disciples and congratulates herself on how all mankind is enrolled in her train: princes, courtiers, statesmen, scholars, poets, lawyers, philosophers, and, most pointedly, theologians. The satire on the follies of churchmen was the heart of the work and provoked much fury from its victims. The work was an extraordinary best seller: 42 Latin editions appeared in Erasmus's lifetime and it was soon translated into French (1520), German (1520), and English (1549).

The following entry is an excerpt from the original.

The Praise of Folly
An oration, of feigned matter,
spoken by Folly in her own person.

At what rate soever the world talks of me (for I am not ignorant what an ill report Folly has got, even among the most foolish), yet that I am that she, that only she, whose deity recreates both gods and men, even this is a sufficient argument, that I no sooner stepped up to speak to this full assembly than all your faces put on a kind of new and unwonted pleasantness. So suddenly have you cleared your brows, and with so frolic and hearty a laughter given me your applause, that in truth as many of you as I behold on every side of me seem to me no less than Homer's gods drunk with nectar and nepenthe; whereas before, you sat as lumpish and pensive as if you had come from consulting an oracle. And as it usually happens when the sun begins to show his beams, or when after a sharp winter the spring breathes afresh on the earth, all things immediately get a new face, new color, and recover as it were a certain kind of youth again: in like manner, by but beholding me you have in an instant gotten another kind of countenance; and so what the otherwise great rhetoricians with their tedious and long-studied orations can hardly effect, to wit, to remove the trouble of the mind, I have done it at once with my single look.

But if you ask me why I appear before you in this strange dress, be pleased to lend me your ears, and I'll tell you; not those ears, I mean, you carry to church, but abroad with you, such as you are wont to prick up to jugglers, fools, and buffoons, and such as our friend Midas once gave to Pan. For I am disposed awhile to play the sophist with you; not of their sort who nowadays boozle young men's heads with certain empty notions and curious trifles, yet teach them nothing but a more than womanish obstinacy of scolding; but I'll imitate those ancients who, that they might the better avoid that infamous appellation of "sophi" or "wise", chose rather to be called sophists. Their business was to celebrate the praises of the gods and valiant men. And the like encomium shall you hear from me, but neither of Hercules nor Solon, but my own dear self, that is to say, Folly. Nor do I esteem a rush that call it a foolish and insolent thing to praise one's self. Be it as foolish as they would make it, so they confess it proper: and what can be more than that Folly be her own

trumpet? For who can set me out better than myself, unless perhaps I could be better known to another than to myself? Though yet I think it somewhat more modest than the general practice of our nobles and wise men who, throwing away all shame, hire some flattering orator or lying poet from whose mouth they may hear their praises, that is to say, mere lies; and yet, composing themselves with a seeming modesty, spread out their peacock's plumes and erect their crests, while this impudent flatterer equals a man of nothing to the gods and proposes him as an absolute pattern of all virtue that's wholly a stranger to it, sets out a pitiful jay in other's feathers, washes the blackamoor white, and lastly swells a gnat to an elephant. In short, I will follow that old proverb that says, "He may lawfully praise himself that lives far from neighbors." Though, by the way, I cannot but wonder at the ingratitude, shall I say, or negligence of men who, notwithstanding they honor me in the first place and are willing enough to confess my bounty, yet not one of them for these so many ages has there been who in some thankful oration has set out the praises of Folly; when yet there has not wanted them whose elaborate endeavors have extolled tyrants, agues, flies, baldness, and such other pests of nature, to their own loss of both time and sleep. And now you shall hear from me a plain extemporaneous speech, but so much the truer. Nor would I have you think it like the rest of orators, made for the ostentation of wit; for these, as you know, when they have been beating their heads some thirty years about an oration and at last perhaps produce somewhat that was never their own, shall yet swear they composed it in three days, and that too for diversion: whereas I ever liked it best to speak whatever came first out.

But let none of you expect from me that after the manner of rhetoricians I should go about to define what I am, much less use any division; for I hold it equally unlucky to circumscribe her whose deity is universal, or make the least division in that worship about which everything is so generally agreed. Or to what purpose, think you, should I describe myself when I am here present before you, and you behold me speaking? For I am, as you see, that true and only giver of wealth whom the Greeks call "Moria", the Latins "Stultitia", and our plain English "Folly". Or what need was there to have said so much, as if my very looks were not sufficient to inform you who I am? Or as if any man, mistaking me for wisdom, could not at first sight convince himself by my face the true index of my mind? I am no counterfeit, nor do I carry one thing in my looks and another in my breast. No, I am in every respect so like myself that neither can they dissemble me who arrogate to themselves the appearance and title of wise men and walk like asses in scarlet hoods, though after all their hypocrisy Midas' ears will discover their master. A most ungrateful generation of men that, when they are wholly given up to my party, are yet publicly ashamed of the name, as taking it for a reproach; for which cause, since in truth they are "morotatoi", fools, and yet would appear to the world to be wise men and Thales, we'll even call them "morosophous", wise fools.

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The Prince

Also known as: *Il Principe*

Date: 1513

A political treatise in 25 chapters by Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince also contains a conclusion urging the redemption of Italy from barbarian forces. It was originally written in 1513 and dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici but was revised in 1516 and dedicated to Giuliano's nephew Lorenzo before he became duke of Urbino. Machiavelli's ideas had developed during his active career (1498–1512) in the Florentine republic, when he had become familiar with all manner of political problems and conflicts and had, as a member of important missions, directly dealt with such powerful figures as Cesare Borgia.

The Prince concerns what is necessary for the successful seizure and exercise of political power and considers the means available to achieve this end, without reference to individual morality or ultimate religious truths. The secular point of view and the ambiguous tone arising from Machiavelli's procedure of presenting his firmly held opinions in a purely descriptive guise were largely responsible for the work's unjustified reputation in the later 16th century as an epitome of atheism and wickedness. It and its author were frequently alluded to in Elizabethan writings. *Il Principe* was the subject of an anonymous Tudor translation of about 1560, which was edited by Hardin Craig and first published at Chapel Hill in 1944. The first printed English translation (1640), by E. Dacres and entitled *Nicholas Machiavel's Prince*, was reprinted in the *Tudor Translations series* (1905). The Prince is included in A. H. Gilbert's *The Chief Works of Machiavelli* (Durham, N.C., 1965). George Bull's translation was first issued in the *Penguin Classics series* in 1961, and there is also an *Oxford World's Classics* edition by Peter Bondanella, with the translation by Bondanella and Mark Musa

(Oxford, 1984). *Parallel Italian and English texts feature in Musa's earlier edition of the work* (New York, 1964).

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

THE PRINCE, by Niccolò Machiavelli

CHAPTER I
HOW MANY KINDS OF PRINCIPALITIES THERE ARE, AND BY WHAT MEANS THEY ARE ACQUIRED

ALL STATES, all powers, that have held and hold rule over men have been and are either republics or principalities. Principalities are either hereditary, in which the family has been long established; or they are new.

The new are either entirely new, as was Milan to Francesco Sforza, or they are, as it were, members annexed to the hereditary state of the prince who has acquired them, as was the kingdom of Naples to that of the King of Spain.

Such dominions thus acquired are either accustomed to live under a prince, or to live in freedom; and are acquired either by the arms of the prince himself, or of others, or else by fortune or by ability.

CHAPTER II
CONCERNING HEREDITARY PRINCIPALITIES

I WILL leave out all discussion on republics, inasmuch as in another place I have written of them at length, [1] and will address myself only to principalities. In doing so I will keep to the order indicated above, and discuss how such principalities are to be ruled and preserved.

I say at once there are fewer difficulties in holding hereditary states, and those long accustomed to the family of their prince, than new ones; for it is sufficient only not to transgress the customs of his ancestors, and to deal prudently with circumstances as they arise, for a prince of average powers to maintain himself in his state, unless he be deprived of it by some extraordinary and excessive force; and if he should be so deprived of it, whenever anything sinister happens to the usurper, he will regain it.

We have in Italy, for example, the Duke of Ferrara, who could not have withstood the attacks of the Venetians in '84, nor those of Pope Julius in '10, unless he had been long established in his dominions. For the hereditary prince has less cause and less necessity to offend; hence it happens that he will be more loved; and unless extraordinary vices cause him to be hated, it is reasonable to expect that his subjects will be naturally well disposed towards him; and in the antiquity and duration of his rule the memories and motives that make for change are lost, for one change always leaves the tooting for another.

1. Discourses.

CHAPTER III
CONCERNING MIXED PRINCIPALITIES

BUT the difficulties occur in a new principality. And firstly, if it be not entirely new, but is, as it were, a member of a state which, taken collectively, may be called composite, the changes arise chiefly from an inherent difficulty which there is in all new principalities; for men change their rulers willingly, hoping to better themselves, and this hope induces them to take up arms against him who rules: wherein they are deceived, because they afterwards find by experience they have gone from bad to worse. This follows also on another natural and common necessity, which always causes a new prince to burden those who have submitted to him with his soldiery and with infinite other hardships which he must put upon his new acquisition.

In this way you have enemies in all those whom you have injured in seizing that principality, and you are not able to keep those friends who put you there because of your not being able to satisfy them in the way they expected, and you cannot take strong measures against them, feeling bound to them. For, although one may be very strong in armed forces, yet in entering a province one has always need of the goodwill of the natives.

For these reasons Louis XII, King of France, quickly occupied Milan, and as quickly lost it; and to turn him out the first time it only needed Lodovico's own forces; because those who had opened the gates to him, finding themselves deceived in their hopes of future benefit, would not endure the ill-treatment of the new prince. It is very true that, after acquiring rebellious provinces a second time, they are not so lightly lost afterwards, because the prince, with little reluctance, takes the opportunity of the rebellion to punish the delinquents, to clear out the suspects, and to strengthen himself in the weakest places. Thus to cause France to lose Milan the first time it was enough for the Duke Lodovico to raise insurrections on the borders; but to cause him to lose it a second time it was necessary to bring the whole world against him, and that his armies should be defeated and driven out of Italy; which followed from the causes above mentioned.

Nevertheless Milan was taken from France both the first and the second time. The general reasons for the first have been discussed; it remains to name those for the second, and to see what resources he had, and

what any one in his situation would have had for maintaining himself more securely in his acquisition than did the King of France.

Now I say that those dominions which, when acquired, are added to an ancient state by him who acquires them, are either of the same country and language, or they are not. When they are, it is easier to hold them, especially when they have not been accustomed to self-government; and to hold them securely it is enough to have destroyed the family of the prince who was ruling them; because the two peoples, preserving in other things the old conditions, and not being unlike in customs, will live quietly together, as one has seen in Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Normandy, which have been bound to France for so long a time: and, although there may be some difference in language, nevertheless the customs are alike, and the people will easily be able to get on amongst themselves. He who has annexed them, if he wishes to hold them, has only to bear in mind two considerations: the one, that the family of their former lord is extinguished; the other, that neither their laws nor their taxes are altered, so that in a very short time they will become entirely one body with the old principality.

But when states are acquired in a country differing in language, customs, or laws, there are difficulties, and good fortune and great energy are needed to hold them, and one of the greatest and most real helps would be that he who has acquired them should go and reside there. This would make his position more secure and durable, as it has made that of the Turk in Greece, who, notwithstanding all the other measures taken by him for holding that state, if he had not settled there, would not have been able to keep it. Because, if one is on the spot, disorders are seen as they spring up, and one can quickly remedy them; but if one is not at hand, they heard of only when they are one can no longer remedy them. Besides this, the country is not pillaged by your officials; the subjects are satisfied by prompt recourse to the prince; thus, wishing to be good, they have more cause to love him, and wishing to be otherwise, to fear him. He who would attack that state from the outside must have the utmost caution; as long as the prince resides there it can only be wrested from him with the greatest difficulty.

The other and better course is to send colonies to one or two places, which may be as keys to that state, for it necessary either to do this or else to keep there a great number of cavalry and infantry. A prince does not spend much on colonies, for with little or no expense he can send them out and keep them there, and he offends a minority only of the citizens from whom he takes lands and houses to give them to the new inhabitants; and those whom he offends, remaining poor and scattered, are never able to injure him; whilst the rest being uninjured are easily kept quiet, and at the same time are anxious not to err for fear it should happen to them as it has to those who have been despoiled. In conclusion, I say that these colonies are not costly, they are more faithful, they injure less, and the injured, as has been said, being poor and scattered, cannot hurt. Upon this, one has to remark that men ought either to be well treated or crushed, because they can avenge themselves of lighter injuries, of more serious ones they cannot; therefore the injury that is to be done to a man ought to be of such a kind that one does not stand in fear of revenge.

But in maintaining armed men there in place of colonies one spends much more, having to consume on the garrison all income from the state, so that the acquisition turns into a loss, and many more are exasperated, because the whole state is injured; through the shifting of the garrison up and down all become acquainted with hardship, and all become hostile, and they are enemies who, whilst beaten on their own ground, are yet able to do hurt. For every reason, therefore, such guards are as useless as a colony is useful.

Again, the prince who holds a country differing in the above respects ought to make himself the head and defender of his powerful neighbours, and to weaken the more powerful amongst them, taking care that no foreigner as powerful as himself shall, by any accident, get a footing there; for it will always happen that such a one will be introduced by those who are discontented, either through excess of ambition or through fear, as one has seen already. The Romans were brought into Greece by the Aetolians; and in every other country where they obtained a footing they were brought in by the inhabitants. And the usual course of affairs is that, as soon as a powerful foreigner enters a country, all the subject states are drawn to him, moved by the hatred which they feel against the ruling power. So that in respect to these subject states he has not to take any trouble to gain them over to himself, for the whole of them quickly rally to the state which he has acquired there. He has only to take care that they do not get hold of too much power and too much authority, and then with his own forces, and with their goodwill, he can easily keep down the more powerful of them, so as to remain entirely master in the country. And he who does not properly manage this business will soon lose what he has acquired, and whilst he does hold it he will have endless difficulties and troubles.

The Romans, in the countries which they annexed, observed closely these measures; they sent colonies and maintained friendly relations with the minor powers, without increasing their strength; they kept down the greater, and did not allow any strong foreign powers to gain authority. Greece appears to me sufficient for an example. The Achaeans and Aetolians were kept friendly by them, the kingdom of Macedonia was humbled, Antiochus was driven out; yet the merits of the Achaeans and Aetolians never secured for them permission to increase their power, nor did the persuasions of Philip ever induce the Romans to be his friends without first humbling him, nor did the influence of Antiochus make them agree that he should retain any lordship over the country. Because the Romans did in these instances what all prudent princes ought to do, who have to regard not only present troubles, but also future ones, for which they must prepare with every

energy, because, when foreseen, it is easy to remedy them; but if you wait until they approach, the medicine is no longer in time because the malady has become incurable; for it happens in this, as the physicians say it happens in hectic fever, that in the beginning of the malady it is easy to cure but difficult to detect, but in the course of time, not having been either detected or treated in the beginning, it becomes easy to detect but difficult to cure. Thus it happens in affairs of state, for when the evils that arise have been foreseen (which it is only given to a wise man to see), they can be quickly redressed, but when, through not having been foreseen, they have been permitted to grow in a way that every one can see them, there is no longer a remedy. Therefore, the Romans, foreseeing troubles, dealt with them at once, and, even to avoid a war, would not let them come to a head, for they knew that war is not to be avoided, but is only put off to the advantage of others; moreover they wished to fight with Philip and Antiochus in Greece so as not to have to do it in Italy; they could have avoided both, but this they did not wish; nor did that ever please them which is for ever in the mouths of the wise ones of our time:— Let us enjoy the benefits of the time—but rather the benefits of their own valour and prudence, for time drives everything before it, and is able to bring with it good as well as evil, and evil as well as good.

But let us turn to France and inquire whether she has done any of the things mentioned. I will speak of Louis [XII] (and not of Charles [VIII]) as the one whose conduct is the better to be observed, he having held possession of Italy for the longest period; and you will see that he has done the opposite to those things which ought to be done to retain a state composed of divers elements.

King Louis was brought into Italy by the ambition of the Venetians, who desired to obtain half the state of Lombardy by his intervention. I will not blame the course taken by the king, because, wishing to get a foothold in Italy, and having no friends there—seeing rather that every door was shut to him owing to the conduct of Charles—he was forced to accept those friendships which he could get, and he would have succeeded very quickly in his design if in other matters he had not made some mistakes. The king, however, having acquired Lombardy, regained at once the authority which Charles had lost: Genoa yielded; the Florentines became his friends; the Marquess of Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivoglio, my lady of Forli, the Lords of Faenza, of Pesaro, of Rimini, of Camerino, of Piombino, the Lucchesi, the Pisans, the Sienese—everybody made advances to him to become his friend. Then could the Venetians realize the rashness of the course taken by them, which, in order that they might secure two towns in Lombardy, had made the king master of two-thirds of Italy.

Let any one now consider with what little difficulty the king could have maintained his position in Italy had he observed the rules above laid down, and kept all his friends secure and protected; for although they were numerous they were both weak and timid, some afraid of the Church, some of the Venetians, and thus they would always have been forced to stand in with him, and by their means he could easily have made himself secure against those who remained powerful. But he was no sooner in Milan than he did the contrary by assisting Pope Alexander to occupy the Romagna. It never occurred to him that by this action he was weakening himself, depriving himself of friends and those who had thrown themselves into his lap, whilst he aggrandized the Church by adding much temporal power to the spiritual, thus giving it great authority. And having committed this prime error, he was obliged to follow it up, so much so that, to put an end to the ambition of Alexander, and to prevent his becoming the master of Tuscany, he was himself forced to come into Italy.

And as if it were not enough to have aggrandized the Church, and deprived himself friends, he, wishing to have the kingdom of Naples, divides it with the King of Spain, and where he was the prime arbiter of Italy he takes an associate, so that the ambitious of that country and the malcontents of his own should have where to shelter; and whereas he could have left in the kingdom his own pensioner as king, he drove him out, to put one there who was able to drive him, Louis, out in turn.

The wish to acquire is in truth very natural and common, and men always do so when they can, and for this they will be praised not blamed; but when they cannot do so, yet wish to do so by any means, then there is folly and blame. Therefore, if France could have attacked Naples with her own forces she ought to have done so; if she could not, then she ought not to have divided it. And if the partition which she made with the Venetians in Lombardy was justified by the excuse that by it she got a foothold in Italy, this other partition merited blame, for it had not the excuse of that necessity.

Therefore Louis made these five errors: he destroyed the minor powers, he increased the strength of one of the greater powers in Italy, he brought in a foreign power, he did not settle in the country, he did not send colonies. Which errors, if he had lived, were not enough to injure him had he not made a sixth by taking away their dominions from the Venetians; because, had he not aggrandized the Church, nor brought Spain into Italy, it would have been very reasonable and necessary to humble them; but having first taken these steps, he ought never to have consented to their ruin, for they, being powerful, would always have kept off others from designs on Lombardy, to which the Venetians would never have consented except to become masters themselves there; also because the others would not wish to take Lombardy from France in order to give it to the Venetians, and to run counter to both they would not have had the courage.

And if any one should say: King Louis yielded the Romagna to Alexander and the kingdom to Spain to avoid war, I answer for the reasons given above that a blunder ought never be perpetrated to avoid war,

because it is not to be avoided, but is only deferred to your disadvantage. And if another should allege the pledge which the king had given to the Pope that he would assist him in the enterprise, in exchange for the dissolution of his marriage and for the hat to Rouen, to that I reply what I shall write later on concerning the faith of princes, and how it ought to be kept.

Thus King Louis lost Lombardy by not having followed any of the conditions observed by those who have taken possession of countries and wished to retain them. Nor is there any miracle in this, but much that is reasonable and quite natural. And on these matters I spoke at Nantes with Rouen, when Valentino, [1] as Cesare Borgia, the son of Pope Alexander, was usually called, occupied the Romagna, and on Cardinal Rouen observing to me that the Italians did not understand war, I replied to him that the French did not understand statecraft, meaning that otherwise they would not have allowed the Church to reach such greatness. And in fact it has been seen that the greatness of the Church and of Spain in Italy has been caused by France, and her ruin may be attributed to them. From this a general rule is drawn which never or rarely fails: that he who is the cause of another becoming powerful is ruined; because that predominancy has been brought about either by astuteness or else by force, and both are distrusted by him who has been raised to power.

1. So called—in Italian—from the duchy of Valentinois, conferred on him by Louis XII.

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Martin Luther: The Ninety-five Theses

Date: October 31, 1517

At this time in history, there was only one church in Europe, which amounted to a monopoly. Over the centuries, popes and theologians had developed a broad range of actions that were considered sins. Those who committed any type of sin and wished to be forgiven for their sins had to be absolved by the church. This act of forgiveness of a sin committed, or the remission of punishments because a sin was committed, is referred to as an indulgence. The sinner confessed to a priest and received absolution. Anyone wishing an indulgence would in turn make a donation to the church. Over time, selling indulgences became quite profitable for the church. While St. Peter's Basilica in Rome was being rebuilt, the pope dispatched priests charged with selling indulgences to raise money for the project.

Martin Luther was a German monk of the Roman Catholic Church and a doctor of theology. Being a theologian and scholar, Luther reasoned that only God can forgive mankind, and that man cannot forgive man. Luther made a protest over the sale of indulgences by the church in a letter to Albert, the archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, on October 31, 1517. This protest letter was titled "Disputation of Dr. Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences." This letter has become known as the Ninety-five Theses, and is a list of 95 items.

It is said that Martin Luther nailed his protest letter on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenburg, Germany, and many viewed this as an act of defiance against the Roman Catholic Church; however, in Luther's time, any announcement, event, or public posting would be posted on a church door. This was the age of the printing press, and Luther's letter was translated from Latin into German and into other languages, and within a few months it was being read throughout Europe. This event and Martin Luther's writings started the Reformation movement.

Disputation of Dr. Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences, also known as: The 95 Theses.

Out of love for the truth and the desire to bring it to light, the following propositions will be discussed at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and Lecturer in Ordinary on the same at that place. Wherefore he requests that those who are unable to be present and debate orally with us, may do so by letter.

In the Name our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, when He said *Poenitentiam agite*, willed that the whole life of believers should be repentance.

2. This word cannot be understood to mean sacramental penance, i.e., confession and satisfaction, which is administered by the priests.

3. Yet it means not inward repentance only; nay, there is no inward repentance which does not outwardly work divers mortifications of the flesh.

4. The penalty [of sin], therefore, continues so long as hatred of self continues; for this is the true inward repentance, and continues until our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The pope does not intend to remit, and cannot remit any penalties other than those which he has imposed either by his own authority or by that of the Canons.

6. The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring that it has been remitted by God and by assenting to God's remission; though, to be sure, he may grant remission in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in such cases were despised, the guilt would remain entirely unforgiven.

7. God remits guilt to no one whom He does not, at the same time, humble in all things and bring into subjection to His vicar, the priest.

8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and, according to them, nothing should be imposed on the dying.

9. Therefore the Holy Spirit in the pope is kind to us, because in his decrees he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Ignorant and wicked are the doings of those priests who, in the case of the dying, reserve canonical penances for purgatory.

11. This changing of the canonical penalty to the penalty of purgatory is quite evidently one of the tares that were sown while the bishops slept.

12. In former times the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13. The dying are freed by death from all penalties; they are already dead to canonical rules, and have a right to be released from them.

14. The imperfect health [of soul], that is to say, the imperfect love, of the dying brings with it, of necessity, great fear; and the smaller the love, the greater is the fear.

15. This fear and horror is sufficient of itself alone (to say nothing of other things) to constitute the penalty of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16. Hell, purgatory, and heaven seem to differ as do despair, almost-despair, and the assurance of safety.

17. With souls in purgatory it seems necessary that horror should grow less and love increase.

18. It seems unproved, either by reason or Scripture, that they are outside the state of merit, that is to say, of increasing love.

19. Again, it seems unproved that they, or at least that all of them, are certain or assured of their own blessedness, though we may be quite certain of it.

20. Therefore by "full remission of all penalties" the pope means not actually "of all," but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Therefore those preachers of indulgences are in error, who say that by the pope's indulgences a man is freed from every penalty, and saved;

22. Whereas he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which, according to the canons, they would have had to pay in this life.

23. If it is at all possible to grant to any one the remission of all penalties whatsoever, it is certain that this remission can be granted only to the most perfect, that is, to the very fewest.

24. It must needs be, therefore, that the greater part of the people are deceived by that indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalty.

25. The power which the pope has, in a general way, over purgatory, is just like the power which any bishop or curate has, in a special way, within his own diocese or parish.

26. The pope does well when he grants remission to souls [in purgatory], not by the power of the keys (which he does not possess), but by way of intercession.

27. They preach man who say that so soon as the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out [of purgatory].

28. It is certain that when the penny jingles into the money-box, gain and avarice can be increased, but the result of the intercession of the Church is in the power of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory wish to be bought out of it, as in the legend of Sts. Severinus and Paschal.

30. No one is sure that his own contrition is sincere; much less that he has attained full remission.

31. Rare as is the man that is truly penitent, so rare is also the man who truly buys indulgences, i.e., such men are most rare.

32. They will be condemned eternally, together with their teachers, who believe themselves sure of their salvation because they have letters of pardon.

33. Men must be on their guard against those who say that the pope's pardons are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to Him;

34. For these “graces of pardon” concern only the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, and these are appointed by man.

35. They preach no Christian doctrine who teach that contrition is not necessary in those who intend to buy souls out of purgatory or to buy confessionalia.

36. Every truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has part in all the blessings of Christ and the Church; and this is granted him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38. Nevertheless, the remission and participation [in the blessings of the Church] which are granted by the pope are in no way to be despised, for they are, as I have said, the declaration of divine remission.

39. It is most difficult, even for the very keenest theologians, at one and the same time to commend to the people the abundance of pardons and [the need of] true contrition.

40. True contrition seeks and loves penalties, but liberal pardons only relax penalties and cause them to be hated, or at least, furnish an occasion [for hating them].

41. Apostolic pardons are to be preached with caution, lest the people may falsely think them preferable to other good works of love.

42. Christians are to be taught that the pope does not intend the buying of pardons to be compared in any way to works of mercy.

43. Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better work than buying pardons;

44. Because love grows by works of love, and man becomes better; but by pardons man does not grow better, only more free from penalty.

45. Christians are to be taught that he who sees a man in need, and passes him by, and gives [his money] for pardons, purchases not the indulgences of the pope, but the indignation of God.

46. Christians are to be taught that unless they have more than they need, they are bound to keep back what is necessary for their own families, and by no means to squander it on pardons.

47. Christians are to be taught that the buying of pardons is a matter of free will, and not of commandment.

48. Christians are to be taught that the pope, in granting pardons, needs, and therefore desires, their devout prayer for him more than the money they bring.

49. Christians are to be taught that the pope’s pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them; but altogether harmful, if through them they lose their fear of God.

50. Christians are to be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the pardon-preachers, he would rather that St. Peter’s church should go to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians are to be taught that it would be the pope’s wish, as it is his duty, to give of his own money to very many of those from whom certain hawkers of pardons cajole money, even though the church of St. Peter might have to be sold.

52. The assurance of salvation by letters of pardon is vain, even though the commissary, nay, even though the pope himself, were to stake his soul upon it.

53. They are enemies of Christ and of the pope, who bid the Word of God be altogether silent in some Churches, in order that pardons may be preached in others.

54. Injury is done the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or a longer time is spent on pardons than on this Word.

55. It must be the intention of the pope that if pardons, which are a very small thing, are celebrated with one bell, with single processions and ceremonies, then the Gospel, which is the very greatest thing, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.

56. The “treasures of the Church,” out of which the pope grants indulgences, are not sufficiently named or known among the people of Christ.

57. That they are not temporal treasures is certainly evident, for many of the vendors do not pour out such treasures so easily, but only gather them.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and the Saints, for even without the pope, these always work grace for the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell for the outward man.

59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church were the Church’s poor, but he spoke according to the usage of the word in his own time.

60. Without rashness we say that the keys of the Church, given by Christ’s merit, are that treasure;

61. For it is clear that for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases, the power of the pope is of itself sufficient.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Most Holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God.

63. But this treasure is naturally most odious, for it makes the first to be last.

64. On the other hand, the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, for it makes the last to be first.

65. Therefore the treasures of the Gospel are nets with which they formerly were wont to fish for men of riches.

66. The treasures of the indulgences are nets with which they now fish for the riches of men.

67. The indulgences which the preachers cry as the “greatest graces” are known to be truly such, in so far as they promote gain.

68. Yet they are in truth the very smallest graces compared with the grace of God and the piety of the Cross.

69. Bishops and curates are bound to admit the commissaries of apostolic pardons, with all reverence.

70. But still more are they bound to strain all their eyes and attend with all their ears, lest these men preach their own dreams instead of the commission of the pope.

71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed!

72. But he who guards against the lust and license of the pardon-preachers, let him be blessed!

73. The pope justly thunders against those who, by any art, contrive the injury of the traffic in pardons.

74. But much more does he intend to thunder against those who use the pretext of pardons to contrive the injury of holy love and truth.

75. To think the papal pardons so great that they could absolve a man even if he had committed an impossible sin and violated the Mother of God -- this is madness.

76. We say, on the contrary, that the papal pardons are not able to remove the very least of venial sins, so far as its guilt is concerned.

77. It is said that even St. Peter, if he were now Pope, could not bestow greater graces; this is blasphemy against St. Peter and against the pope.

78. We say, on the contrary, that even the present pope, and any pope at all, has greater graces at his disposal; to wit, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc., as it is written in I. Corinthians xii.

79. To say that the cross, emblazoned with the papal arms, which is set up [by the preachers of indulgences], is of equal worth with the Cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80. The bishops, curates and theologians who allow such talk to be spread among the people, will have an account to render.

81. This unbridled preaching of pardons makes it no easy matter, even for learned men, to rescue the reverence due to the pope from slander, or even from the shrewd questionings of the laity.

82. To wit: -- “Why does not the pope empty purgatory, for the sake of holy love and of the dire need of the souls that are there, if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a Church? The former reasons would be most just; the latter is most trivial.”

83. Again: “Why are mortuary and anniversary masses for the dead continued, and why does he not return or permit the withdrawal of the endowments founded on their behalf, since it is wrong to pray for the redeemed?”

84. Again: “What is this new piety of God and the pope, that for money they allow a man who is impious and their enemy to buy out of purgatory the pious soul of a friend of God, and do not rather, because of that pious and beloved soul’s own need, free it for pure love’s sake?”

85. Again: “Why are the penitential canons long since in actual fact and through disuse abrogated and dead, now satisfied by the granting of indulgences, as though they were still alive and in force?”

86. Again: “Why does not the pope, whose wealth is to-day greater than the riches of the richest, build just this one church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with the money of poor believers?”

87. Again: “What is it that the pope remits, and what participation does he grant to those who, by perfect contrition, have a right to full remission and participation?”

88. Again: “What greater blessing could come to the Church than if the pope were to do a hundred times a day what he now does once, and bestow on every believer these remissions and participations?”

89. “Since the pope, by his pardons, seeks the salvation of souls rather than money, why does he suspend the indulgences and pardons granted heretofore, since these have equal efficacy?”

90. To repress these arguments and scruples of the laity by force alone, and not to resolve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christians unhappy.

91. If, therefore, pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope, all these doubts would be readily resolved; nay, they would not exist.

92. Away, then, with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, “Peace, peace,” and there is no peace!

93. Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, “Cross, cross,” and there is no cross!

94. Christians are to be exhorted that they be diligent in following Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths, and hell;

95. And thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations, than through the assurance of peace.

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Aztec Account of Cortés

Date: 1519

In 1519 Hernán Cortés sailed from Cuba, landed in Mexico and made his way to the Aztec capital. Miguel León Portilla, a Mexican anthropologist, gathered accounts by the Aztecs, some of which were written shortly after the conquest. It is said that the Aztecs had a tradition and belief that one day a god would descend from the heavens and return to them, and that this return of a deity had been prophesied by the Aztec priests. It has been written that when Cortés arrived, he was showered with gifts and greeted by Moctezuma (Montezuma) II as an incarnation of the deity Quetzalcóatl, the god of learning, or the Feathered Serpent.

Yet other historians believe that history is written by the victor and not by the vanquished. It is known that before the arrival of the Spaniards in his lands, Moctezuma had his people and spies watching the Spaniards conquer the cities of other coastal peoples and that he had runners keeping him informed of all of the actions of this newly arriving army.

Some posit that Moctezuma, knowing that Cortés had already destroyed so many other cities, strategically chose to welcome Cortés as an honored guest and to bestow gifts upon him rather than risk going to war against him. They propose that this approach would have allowed Moctezuma to study this potential enemy.

The following dialogue is an excerpt.

SPEECHES OF MOTECUHZOMA AND CORTÉS

When Motecuhzoma [Montezuma] had given necklaces to each one, Cortés asked him: "Are you Motecuhzoma? Are you the king? Is it true that you are the king Motecuhzoma?"

And the king said: "Yes, I am Motecuhzoma." Then he stood up to welcome Cortés; he came forward, bowed his head low and addressed him in these words: "Our lord, you are weary. The journey has tired you, but now you have arrived on the earth. You have come to your city, Mexico. You have come here to sit on your throne, to sit under its canopy.

"The kings who have gone before, your representatives, guarded it and preserved it for your coming. The kings Itzcoatl, Motecuhzoma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tizoc and Ahuitzol ruled for you in the City of Mexico. The people were protected by their swords and sheltered by their shields.

"Do the kings know the destiny of those they left behind, their posterity? If only they are watching! If only they can see what I see!

"No, it is not a dream. I am not walking in my sleep. I am not seeing you in my dreams. I have seen you at last! I have met you face to face! I was in agony for five days, for ten days, with my eyes fixed on the Region of the Mystery. And now you have come out of the clouds and mists to sit on your throne again.

"This was foretold by the kings who governed your city, and now it has taken place. You have come back to us; you have come down from the sky. Rest now, and take possession of your royal houses. Welcome to your land, my lords! "

When Motecuhzoma had finished, La Malinche translated his address into Spanish so that the Captain could understand it. Cortés replied in his strange and savage tongue, speaking first to La Malinche: "Tell Motecuhzoma that we are his friends. There is nothing to fear. We have wanted to see him for a long time, and now we have seen his face and heard his words. Tell him that we love him well and that our hearts are contented." Then he said to Motecuhzoma: "We have come to your house in Mexico as friends. There is nothing to fear." La Malinche translated this speech and the Spaniards grasped Motecuhzoma's hands and patted his back to show their affection for him.

The account continues regarding a later incident.

Cuba's governor Pánfilo de Narváez was said to be jealous of Hernán Cortés. Narváez conducted an expedition from Cuba to Mexico, intending to arrest his rival conquistador for overstepping the authority granted to him. Cortés set out from Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, to meet the governor's forces, leaving

the imperial city in the hands of one Pedro de Alvarado. Overcoming Narváez's army proved no great task; Cortés suborned 900 of his opponent's men and employed them in defeating the balance of the expeditionary army. Narváez lost an eye in the battle, and it was he, and not Cortés, who was placed under arrest.

While Spaniard fought Spaniard in the Mexican countryside, Pedro de Alvarado, back in Tenochtitlán, initiated an action that was to typify white-Indian relations for the next four centuries. He turned his soldiers loose on the people, giving them leave to slaughter all men, women, and children. This provoked the people, who had so far meekly submitted to conquest, to rise up in heated rebellion. They laid siege to the palace where the Spaniards had taken refuge and where soldiers now held Moctezuma captive. Returning in the midst of this rebellion, Cortés took charge of his men and fought his way into and then out of the palace and city, plundering what he could as he went. During the evacuation—on June 30, 1520, called by the Spanish the Noche Triste (Sad Night)—Moctezuma was murdered. Spanish accounts claimed he had been assassinated by his own people; the Aztecs attributed his death to the Spanish.

The following entry is an excerpt.

MASSACRE IN THE MAIN TEMPLE

During this time, the people asked Motecuhzoma how they should celebrate their god's fiesta. He said: "Dress him in all his finery, in all his sacred ornaments."

During this same time, The Sun commanded that Motecuhzoma and Itzcohuatzin, the military chief of Tlatelolco, be made prisoners. The Spaniards hanged a chief from Acolhuacan named Nezahualquenzin. They also murdered the king of Nauhtla, Cohualpopocatzin, by wounding him with arrows and then burning him alive. For this reason, our warriors were on guard at the Eagle Gate. The sentries from Tenochtitlan stood at one side of the gate, and the sentries from Tlatelolco at the other. But messengers came to tell them to dress the figure of Huitzilopochtli. They left their posts and went to dress him in his sacred finery: his ornaments and his paper clothing. When this had been done, the celebrants began to sing their songs. That is how they celebrated the first day of the fiesta. On the second day they began to sing again, but without warning they were all put to death. The dancers and singers were completely unarmed. They brought only their embroidered cloaks, their turquoises, their lip plugs, their necklaces, their clusters of heron feathers, their trinkets made of deer hooves. Those who played the drums, the old men, had brought their gourds of snuff and their timbrels.

The Spaniards attacked the musicians first, slashing at their hands and faces until they had killed all of them. The singers—and even the spectators—were also killed. This slaughter in the Sacred Patio went on for three hours. Then the Spaniards burst into the rooms of the temple to kill the others: those who were carrying water, or bringing fodder for the horses, or grinding meal, or sweeping, or standing watch over this work.

The king Motecuhzoma, who was accompanied by Itzcohuatzin and by those who had brought food for the Spaniards, protested: "Our lords, that is enough! What are you doing? These people are not carrying shields or macanas. Our lords, they are completely unarmed!"

The Sun had treacherously murdered our people on the twentieth day after the captain left for the coast. We allowed the Captain to return to the city in peace. But on the following day we attacked him with all our might, and that was the beginning of the war

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Second Letter of Cortés to Charles V

Date: 1520

Hernán Cortés (c. 1485–1547) wrote five letters to Charles V of Spain to provide him with an accounting of his actions in present-day Mexico. The second letter (Segunda Carta de Relación), dated October 30, 1520, was published at Seville in 1522. In this section, Cortés gives a detailed description of the city of Tenochtitlán (here called Temixtitán) in addition to the type and extent of power wielded by its ruler, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin II the Younger (fl.1502–d. 1520; here spelled Muteczuma). The passage is of further interest because, in addition to providing an account of the buildings and other physical aspects of the city, Cortés comments on the city's social, cultural, and religious aspects. Moreover, his descriptions of the temples, and of his own actions in some of them, reveals Cortés's intention to convert the Aztecs to Christianity.

Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, was founded in 1235. Over the course of nearly three centuries the city grew both in size and grandeur, particularly during the reign of Motecuhzoma I (1440–1469). When Cortés

arrived there in November 1519, he was amazed at what he saw. In this passage, he describes a city of great sophistication and beauty, with a system of bridges and canals, thriving outdoor markets, shops, restaurants, and grand temples. The palaces of Motechuzoma II, he writes, were so beautiful as to be nearly indescribable: "I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them." After Tenochtitlán fell in 1521, Cortés razed the buildings that he had so highly praised, and built his own city on top of the ruins.

The passage also offers an outsider's view of Motechuzoma II that supplements the Aztec ruler's self-description in chapter 4 of the same letter. In the earlier passage, Motecuhzoma tells Cortés that despite what his subjects may believe, he is no god, but flesh and blood. While Motecuhzoma may not have considered himself a god, he was treated like one. Cortés writes that the ruler had 600 nobles in attendance upon him and that he never ate off of the same plate twice. When he summoned any of the local chieftains (caciques) to his presence, they would bow their heads and avert their gaze "from excessive modesty and reverence." When Motecuhzoma appeared in public, some "turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed."

Chapter 5 (excerpt)

In order, most potent, Sire, to convey to your Majesty a just conception of the great extent of this noble city of Temixtitan, and of the many rare and wonderful objects it contains; of the government and dominions of Mutezuma, the sovereign, of the religious rites and customs that prevail, and the order that exists in this as well as other cities appertaining to his realm: it would require the labor of many accomplished writers, and much time for the completion of the task. I shall not be able to relate an hundredth part of what could be told respecting these matters; but I will endeavor to describe, in the best manner in my power, what I have myself seen; and imperfectly as I may succeed in the attempt, I am fully aware that the account will appear so wonderful as to be deemed scarcely worthy of credit; since even we who have seen these things with our own eyes, are yet so amazed as to be unable to comprehend their reality. But your Majesty may be assured that if there is any fault in my relation, either in regard to the present subject, or to any other matters of which I shall give your Majesty an account, it will arise from too great brevity rather than extravagance or prolixity in the details; and it seems to me but just to my Prince and Sovereign to declare the truth in the clearest manner, without saying any thing that would detract from it, or add to it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well for the better understanding of the subject to say something of the configuration of Mexico, in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Mutezuma's power. This Province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains; its level surface comprises an area of about seventy leagues in circumference, including two lakes, that overspread nearly the whole valley, being navigated by boats more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes contains fresh, and the other, which is the larger of the two, salt water. On one side of the lakes, in the middle of the valley, a range of highlands divides them from one another, with the exception of a narrow strait which lies between the highlands and the lofty sierras. This strait is a bow-shot wide, and connects the two lakes; and by this means a trade is carried on between the cities and other settlements on the lakes in canoes without the necessity of travelling by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides like the sea, during the time of high water it pours into and on the other lake with the rapidity of a powerful stream; and on the other hand, when the tide has ebbed, the water runs from the fresh into the salt lake.

This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. They are as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges, composed of large pieces of timber, of great strength and well put together; on many of these bridges ten horses can go abreast. Foreseeing that if the inhabitants of this city should prove treacherous, they would possess great advantages from the manner in which the city is constructed, since by removing the bridges at the entrances, and abandoning the place, they could leave us to perish by famine without our being able to reach the main land—as soon as I entered it, I made great haste to build four brigantines, which were soon finished, and were large enough to take ashore three hundred men and the horses, whenever it should become necessary.

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessities of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. There is a street for game, where every variety of birds found in the country are

sold, as fowls, partridges, quails, wild ducks, fly-catchers, widgeons, turtle-doves, pigeons, reedbirds, parrots, sparrows, eagles, hawks, owls, and kestrels; they sell likewise the skins of some birds of prey, with their feathers, head, beak, and claws. There are also sold rabbits, hares, deer, and little dogs, which are raised for eating and castrated. There is also an herb street, where may be obtained all sorts of roots and medicinal herbs that the country affords. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restauranters, that furnish food and drink at a certain price. There is also a class of men like those called in Castile porters, for carrying burthens. Wood and coals are seen in abundance, and brasiers of earthenware for burning coals; mats of various kinds for beds, others of a lighter sort for seats, and for halls and bedrooms. There are all kinds of green vegetables, especially onions, leeks, garlic, watercresses, nasturtium, borage, sorrel, artichokes, and golden thistle; fruits also of numerous descriptions, amongst which are cherries and plums, similar to those in Spain; honey and wax from bees, and from the stalks of maize, which are as sweet as the sugar-cane; honey is also extracted from the plant called maguey, which is superior to sweet or new wine; from the same plant they extract sugar and wine, which they also sell. Different kinds of cotton thread of all colors in skeins are exposed for sale in one quarter of the market, which has the appearance of the silk-market at Granada, although the former is supplied more abundantly. Painters' colors, as numerous as can be found in Spain, and as fine shades; deer-skins dressed and undressed, dyed different colors, earthenware of a large size and excellent quality; large and small jars, jugs, pots, bricks, and an endless variety of vessels, all made of fine clay, and all or most of them glazed and painted; maize, or Indian corn, in the grain and in the form of bread, preferred in the grain for its flavor to that of the other islands and terra-firma; patés of birds and fish; great quantities of fish, fresh, salt, cooked and uncooked; the eggs of hens, geese, and of all other birds I have mentioned in great abundance, and cakes made of eggs; finally, every thing that can be found throughout the whole country is sold in the markets, comprising articles so numerous that to avoid prolixity, and because their names are not retained in my memory, or are unknown to me, I shall not attempt to enumerate them. Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell every thing by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell any thing by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true.

This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use beside the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than at others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions.

There are three halls in this grand temple, which contain the principal idols; these are of wonderful extent and height, and admirable workmanship, adorned with figures sculptured in stone and wood; leading from the halls are chapels with very small doors, to which the light is not admitted, nor are any persons except the priests, and not all of them. In these chapels are the images or idols, although, as I have before said, many of them are also found on the outside; the principal ones, in which the people have the greatest faith and confidence, I precipitated from their pedestals, and cast them down the steps of the temple, purifying the chapels in which they had stood, as they were all polluted with human blood, shed in the sacrifices. In the place of these I put images of Our Lady and the Saints, which excited not a little feeling in Mutezuma and the inhabitants, who at first remonstrated, declaring that if my proceedings were known throughout the country, the people would rise against me; for they believed that their idols bestowed on them all temporal good, and if they permitted them to be ill-treated, they would be angry and withhold their gifts, and by this means the people would be deprived of the fruits of the earth and perish with famine. I answered, through the interpreters, that

they were deceived in expecting any favors from idols, the work of their own hands, formed of unclean things; and that they must learn there was but one God, the universal Lord of all, who had created the heavens and the earth, and all things else, and had made them and us; that he was without beginning and immortal, and they were bound to adore and believe him, and no other creature or thing. I said every thing to them I could to divert them from their idolatries, and draw them to a knowledge of God our Lord. Mutezuma replied, the others assenting to what he said, "That they had already informed me they were not the aborigines of the country, but that their ancestors had emigrated to it many years ago; and they fully believed that after so long an absence from their native land, they might have fallen into some errors; that I having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best." Afterwards, Mutezuma and many of the principal citizens remained with me until I had removed the idols, purified the chapels, and placed the images in them, manifesting apparent pleasure; and I forbade them sacrificing human beings to their idols, as they had been accustomed to do; because, besides being abhorrent in the sight of God, your sacred Majesty had prohibited it by law, and commanded to put to death whoever should take the life of another. Thus, from that time, they refrained from the practice, and during the whole period of my abode in that city, they were never seen to kill or sacrifice a human being.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe surpass in stature a person more than ordinary size; some of them are composed of a mass of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in a sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed they make them offerings of the hearts of other victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For every thing they have an idol, consecrated by the use of the nations that in ancient times honored the same gods. Thus they have an idol that they petition for victory in war; another for success in their labors; and so for every things in which they seek or desire prosperity, they have their idols, which they honor and serve.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses; which may be accounted for from the fact, that all the nobility of the country, who are the vassals of Mutezuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have others, both upper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of the causeways that lead into the city are laid two pipes, constructed of masonry, each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. An abundant supply of excellent water, forming a volume equal in bulk to the human body, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drinking and other purposes. The other pipe, in the mean time, is kept empty until the former requires to be cleansed, when the water is let into it and continues to be used till the cleansing is finished. As the water is necessarily carried over bridges on account of the salt water crossing its route, reservoirs resembling canals are constructed on the bridges through which the fresh water is conveyed. These reservoirs are of the breadth of the body of an ox, and of the same length as the bridges. The whole city is thus served with water, which they carry in canoes through all the streets for sale, taking it from the aqueduct in the following manner: the canoes pass under the bridges on which the reservoirs are placed, when men stationed above fill them with water, for which service they are paid. At all the entrances of the city, and in those parts where the canoes are discharged, that is, where the greatest quantity of provisions is brought in, huts are erected, and persons stationed as guards, who receive a certum quid of every thing that enters. I know not whether the sovereign receives this duty or the city, as I have not yet been informed; but I believe that it appertains to the sovereign, as in the markets of other provinces a tax is collected for the benefit of their cacique. In all the markets and public places of this city are seen daily many laborers and persons of various employments waiting for some one to hire them. The inhabitants of this city pay a greater regard to style in their mode of living, and are more attentive to elegance of dress and politeness of manners, than those of the other provinces and cities; since, as the Cacique Mutezuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in the constant habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor necessarily prevails. But not to be prolix in describing what relates to the affairs of this great city, although it is with difficulty I refrain from proceeding, I will say no more than that the manners of the people, as shown in their intercourse with one another, are marked by as great an attention to properties of life as in Spain, and good order is equally well observed; and considering that they are a barbarous people, without the knowledge of God, having no intercourse with civilized nations, these traits of character are worthy of admiration.

In regard to the domestic appointments of Mutezuma, and the wonderful grandeur and state that he maintains, there is so much to be told, that I assure your Highness, I know not where to begin my relation, so as to be able to finish any part of it. For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful, than that a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers; the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used; and the feather work superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery. The extent of

Muteczuma's dominions has not been ascertained, since to whatever point he despatched his messengers, even two hundred leagues from his capital, his commands were obeyed, although some of his provinces were in the midst of countries with which he was at war. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, his territories are equal in extent to Spain itself, for he sent messengers to the inhabitants of a city called Cumatan, (requiring them to become subjects of your Majesty,) which is sixty leagues beyond that part of Putunchán watered by the river Grijalva, and two hundred and thirty leagues distant from the great city; and I sent some of our people a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues in the same direction. All the principal chiefs of these provinces, especially those in the vicinity of the capital, reside, as I have already stated, the greater part of the year in that great city, and all or most of them have their oldest sons in the service of Muteczuma. There are fortified places in all the provinces, garrisoned with his own men, where are also stationed his governors and collectors of the rents and tribute, rendered him by every province; and an account is kept of what each is obliged to pay, as they have characters and figures made on paper that are used for this purpose. Each province renders a tribute of its own peculiar productions, so that the sovereign receives a great variety of articles from different quarters. No prince was ever more feared by his subjects, both in his presence and absence. He possessed out of the city as well as within, numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince and lord. Within the city his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent; I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them.

There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. There were likewise belonging to it ten pools of water, in which were kept the different species of water birds found in this country, of which there is a great variety, all of which are domesticated; for the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for the river birds, of fresh water. The water is let off at certain times to keep it pure, and is replenished by means of pipes. Each species of bird is supplied with the food natural to it, which it feeds upon when wild. Thus fish is given to birds that usually eat it; worms, maize, and the finer seeds, to such as prefer them. And I assure your Highness, that to the birds accustomed to eat fish there is given the enormous quantity of arrobas every day, taken in the salt lake. The emperor has three hundred men whose sole employment is to take care of these birds; and there are others whose only business is to attend to the birds that are in bad health.

Over the pools for the birds there are corridors and galleries, to which Muteczuma resorts, and from which he can look out and amuse himself with the sight of them. There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes are white from their birth. The emperor has another very beautiful palace, with a large court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board. There were also cages, about nine feet in height and six paces square, each of which was half covered with a roof of tiles, and the other half had over it a wooden grate, skillfully made. Every cage contained a bird of prey, of all the species found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many unknown there. There was a great number of each kind; and in the covered part of the cages there was a perch, and another on the outside of the grating, the former of which the birds used in the night time, and when it rained; and the other enabled them to enjoy the sun and air. To all these birds fowls were daily given for food, and nothing else. There were in the same palace several large halls on the ground floor, filled with immense cages built of heavy pieces of timber, well put together, in all or most of which were kept loins, tigers, wolves, foxes, and a variety of animals of the cat kind, in great numbers, which were also fed on fowls. The care of these animals and birds was assigned to three hundred men. There was another palace that contained a number of men and women of monstrous size, and also dwarfs, and crooked and ill-formed persons, each of which had their separate apartments. These also had their respective keepers. As to the other remarkable things that the emperor had in his city for his amusement, I can only say that they were numerous and of various kinds.

He was served in the following manner. Every day as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat, or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartment where his person was. The servants and attendants of these nobles remained in the court-yards, of which there were two or three of great extent, and in the adjoining street, which was also very spacious. They all remained in attendance from morning till night; and when his meals were served, the nobles were likewise served with equal profusion, and their servants and secretaries also had their allowance. Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat and drink. The meals were served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, fruits, and vegetables, that the country produced. As the climate is cold, they put a chafing-dish with live coals under every plate and dish to keep them warm. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Muteczuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. During the meals there were present, at a little distance from him, five or six elderly caciques, to whom he presented some of the food. and there was constantly in attendance one

of the servants, who arranged and handed the dishes, and who received from others whatever was wanted for the supply of the table. Both at the beginning and end of every meal, they furnished water for the hands; and the napkins used on these occasions were never used a second time; it was the same also with the chafing-dishes. He is also dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enter his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. I am satisfied that it proceeds from respect, since certain caciques reproved the Spaniards for their boldness in addressing me, saying that it showed a want of becoming deference. Whenever Mutezcuma appeared in public, which was seldom the case, all those who accompanied him, or whom he accidentally met in the streets, turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of the nobles always preceded him on these occasions, carrying three slender rods erect, which I suppose was to give notice of the approach of his person. And when they descended from the litters, he took one of them in his hand, and held it until he reached the place where he was going. So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Mutezcuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a better memory than I have to recollect them; since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in their courts.

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Pedro de Cieza de León: *Chronicles of the Incas*

Also known as: *Chronica del Perú*

Date: 1540

Pedro de Cieza de León (c. 1520–1554) was a Spanish conquistador who wrote journals about Colombia, Peru, and the Incas. It is known that Pedro de Cieza de León was in the New World at least as early as 1536 and that he returned to Seville, Spain, in 1551. His Chronicles of the Incas was published in three parts. He published the first part of the chronicles in Seville in 1553. He died in 1554, and long after his death the second part of his chronicles was edited and published in 1871. The third part of his chronicles was published in 1909. In his Chronicles of the Incas he wrote of the history of Peru, the Incan gentry and the government and economy, Incan civil wars, and the Spanish conquest of the Incas. He also described native Peruvian animal species and vegetables, ethnography, and geography.

The following is a view of the Incas by Pedro de Cieza de León providing information about the redistributive aspects of the Incan economy.

It is told for a fact of the rulers of this kingdom that in the days of their rule they had their representatives in the capitals of all the provinces, for in all these places there were larger and finer lodgings than in most of the other cities of this great kingdom, and many storehouses. They served as the head of the provinces or regions, and from every so many leagues around the tributes were brought to one of these capitals, and from so many others, to another. This was so well-organized that there was not a village that did not know where it was to send its tribute. In all these capitals the Incas had temples of the Sun, mints, and many silversmiths who did nothing but work rich pieces of gold or fair vessels of silver; large garrisons were stationed there, and a steward who was in command of them all, to whom an accounting of everything that was brought in was made, and who, in turn, had to give one of all that was issued. . . . The tribute paid by each of these provinces, whether gold, silver, clothing, arms and all else they gave, was entered in the accounts of those who kept the quipus and did everything ordered by the governor in the matter of finding the soldiers or supplying whom-ever the Inca ordered, or making delivery to Cuzco; but when they came from the city of Cuzco to go over the accounts, or they were ordered to go to Cuzco to give an accounting, the accountants themselves gave it by the quipus, or went to give it where there could be no fraud, but everything had to come out right. Few years went by in which an accounting was not made . . .

At the beginning of the new year the rulers of each village came to Cuzco, bringing their quipus, which told how many births there had been during the year, and how many deaths. In this way the Inca and the governors knew which of the Indians were poor, the women who had been widowed, whether they were able

to pay their taxes, and how many men they could count on in the event of war, and many other things they considered highly important. The Incas took care to see that justice was meted out, so much so that nobody ventured to commit a felony or theft. This was to deal with thieves, rapists, or conspirators against the Inca.

As this kingdom was so vast, in each of the many provinces there were many storehouses filled with supplies and other needful things; thus, in times of war, wherever the armies went they drew upon the contents of these storehouses, without ever touching the supplies of their confederates or laying a finger on what they had in their settlements . . . Then the storehouses were filled up once more with the tributes paid the Inca. If there came a lean year, the storehouses were opened and the provinces were lent what they needed in the way of supplies; then, in a year of abundance, they paid back all they had received. No one who was lazy or tried to live by the work of others was tolerated; everyone had to work. Thus on certain days each lord went to his lands and took the plow in hand and cultivated the earth, and did other things. Even the Incas themselves did this to set an example. And under their system there was none such in all the kingdom, for, if he had his health, he worked and lacked for nothing; and if he was ill, he received what he needed from the storehouses. And no rich man could deck himself out in more finery than the poor, or wear different clothing, except the rulers and the headmen, who, to maintain their dignity, were allowed great freedom and privilege.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Pedro de Cieza de León. *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*. Markham, Clements R., trans. and ed. London: Hakluyt Society, 1883, pp. 36–50, *passim*.

New Laws of the Indies

Date: 1542

The “Laws and ordinances newly made by His Majesty for the government of the Indies and good treatment and preservation of the Indians” created a set of pro-Indian laws. They were so pro-Indian that some had to be revoked in Mexico and in Peru due to settler opposition. One viceroy was killed when he attempted to enforce them. The conflict was between “feudalists,” who favored the encomienda system because it maintained society as in the Old World, and the more centralizing “regalists,” who wanted to preserve royal power in Spain’s new empire. Eventually the encomienda was allowed to continue.

Charles by the divine clemency Emperor ever august, King of Germany. . . . To the Most Illustrious Prince Don Philip our very dear and very beloved grandson and son, and to the Infantes our grandsons and sons, and to the President, and those of our Council of the Indies, and to our Viceroys, Presidents and Auditors of our Audiencias and royal Chanceries of our said Indies, Islands and Continent of the Ocean Sea; to our Governors, Alcaldes mayores and our other Authorities thereof, and to all the Councils, magistrates, regidores, knights, esquires, officers, and commoners of all the cities, towns, and villages of our said Indies, Islands, and Tierra-firme of the Ocean Sea, discovered and to be discovered; and to any other persons, captains, discoverers, settlers, and inhabitants dwelling in and being natives thereof, of whatever state, quality, condition and pre-eminence they may be. . . .

Know ye, That having for many years had will and intention as leisure to occupy ourselves with the affairs of the Indies, on account of their great importance, as well in that touching the service of God our Lord and increase of his holy Catholic faith, as in the preservation of the natives of those parts, and the good government and preservation of their persons; and although we have endeavoured to disengage ourselves to this effect, it has not been possible through the many and continual affairs that have occurred from which we were not able to excuse ourselves, and through the absences from these kingdoms which 1 the King have made for most necessary causes, as is known to all: and although this incessant occupation has not ceased this present year, nevertheless we commanded persons to assemble of all ranks, both prelates and knights and the clergy with some of our Council to discuss and treat of the things of most importance, of which we had information that they ought to be provided for: the which having been maturely debated and consulted upon, and in presence of me the King divers times argued and discussed: and finally having taken the opinion of all, we resolved on commanding to enact and ordain the things contained below: which besides the other Ordinances and Provisions that at different times we have commanded to be made, as by them shall appear, we command to be from henceforwards kept inviolably as laws. . . .

Whereas one of the most important things in which the Audiencias are to serve us is in taking very especial care of the good treatment of the Indians and preservation of them, We command that the said Audiencias enquire continually into the excesses or ill treatment which are or shall be done to them by governors or private persons; and how the ordinances and instructions which have been given to them, and are made for the good treatment of the said Indians have been observed. And if there had been any excesses, on the part of the said Governors, or should any be committed hereafter, to take care that such excesses are properly corrected,

chastizing the guilty parties with all rigour conformably to justice. The Audiencias must not allow that in the suits between Indians, or with them, there be ordinary proceedings at law, nor dilatory expedients, as is wont to happen through the malice of some advocates and solicitors, but that they be determined summarily, observing their usages and customs, unless they be manifestly unjust; and that the said Audiencias take care that this be so observed by the other, inferior judges.

Item, We ordain and command that from henceforward for no cause of war nor any other whatsoever, though it be under title of rebellion, nor by ransom nor in other manner can an Indian be made a slave, and we will that they be treated as our vassals of the Crown of Castile since such they are.

No person can make use of the Indians by way of Naboria or Tapia or in any other manner against their will.

As We have ordered provision to be made that from henceforward the Indians in no way be made slaves, including those who until now have been enslaved against all reason and right and contrary to the provisions and instructions thereupon, We ordain and command that the Audiencias having first summoned the parties to their presence, without any further judicial form, but in a summary way, so that the truth may be ascertained, speedily set the said Indians at liberty unless the persons who hold them for slaves show title why they should hold and possess them legitimately. And in order that in default of persons to solicit the aforesaid, the Indians may not remain in slavery unjustly, We command that the Audiencias appoint persons who may pursue this cause for the Indians and be paid out of the Exchequer fines, provided they be men of trust and diligence.

Also, We command that with regard to the lading of the said Indians the Audiencias take especial care that they be not laden, or in case that in some parts this cannot be avoided that it be in such a manner that no risk of life, health and preservation of the said Indians may ensue from an immoderate burthen; and that against their own will and without their being paid, in no case be it permitted that they be laden, punishing very severely him who shall act contrary to this. In this there is to be no remission out of respect to any person.

Because report has been made to us that owing to the pearl fisheries not having been conducted in a proper manner deaths of many Indians and Negroes have ensued, We command that no free Indian be taken to the said fishery under pain of death, and that the bishop and the judge who shall be at Veneçuela direct what shall seem to them most fit for the preservation of the slaves working in the said fishery, both Indians and Negroes, and that the deaths may cease. If, however, it should appear to them that the risk of death cannot be avoided by the said Indians and Negroes, let the fishery of the said pearls cease, since we value much more highly (as is right) the preservation of their lives than the gain which may come to us from the pearls.

Whereas in consequence of the allotments of Indians made to the Viceroy, Governors, and their lieutenants, to our officials, and prelates, monasteries, hospitals, houses of religion and mints, offices of our Hazienda and treasury thereof, and other persons favoured by reason of their offices, disorders have occurred in the treatment of the said Indians, it is our will, and we command that forthwith there be placed under our Royal Crown all the Indians whom they hold and possess by any title and cause whatever, whoever the said parties are, or may be, whether Viceroy, Governor, or their lieutenants, or any of our officers, as well of Justice as of our Hazienda, prelates, houses of religion, or of our Hazienda, hospitals, confraternities, or other similar institutions, although the Indians may not have been allotted to them by reason of the said offices; and although such functionaries or governors may say that they wish to resign the offices or governments and keep the Indians, let this not avail them nor be an excuse for them not to fulfill what we command.

Moreover, We command that from all those persons who hold Indians without proper title, having entered into possession of them by their own authority, such Indians be taken away and be placed under our Royal Crown.

And because we are informed that other persons, although possessing a sufficient title, have had an excessive number of Indians allotted to them, We order that the Audiencias, each in its jurisdiction diligently inform themselves of this, and with all speed, and reduce the allotments made to the said persons to a fair and moderate quantity, and then place the rest under our Royal Crown notwithstanding any appeal or application which may be interposed by such persons: and send us a report with all speed of what the said Audiencias have thus done, that we may know how our command is fulfilled. And in New Spain let it be especially provided as to the Indians held by Joan Infante, Diego de Ordas, the Maestro Roa, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Francisco Maldonado, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia, Joan Xaramillo, Martin Vazquez, Gil Gongales de Venavides, and many other persons who are said to hold Indians in very excessive quantity, according to the report made to us. And, whereas we are informed that there are some persons in the said New Spain who are of the original Conquistadores and have no repartimiento of Indians, We ordain that the President and Auditors of the said New Spain do inform themselves if there be any persons of this kind, and if any, to give them out of the tribute which the Indians thus taken away have to pay, what to them may seem fit for the moderate support and honourable maintenance of the said original Conquistadores who had no Indians allotted to them.

So also, The said Audiencias are to inform themselves how the Indians have been treated by the persons who have held them in encomienda, and if it be clear that in justice they ought to be deprived of the said Indians for their excesses and the ill-usage to which they have subjected them, We ordain that they take away and place such Indians under our Royal Crown. And in Peru, besides the aforesaid, let the Viceroy and Audiencia

inform themselves of the excesses committed during the occurrences between Governors Pizarro and Almagro in order to report to us thereon, and from the principal persons whom they find notoriously blameable in those feuds they then take away the Indians they have, and place them under our Royal Crown.

Moreover, We ordain and command that from henceforward no Viceroy, Governor, Audiencia, discoverer, or any other person have power to allot Indians in encomienda by new provision, or by means of resignation, donation, sale, or any other form or manner, neither by vacancy nor inheritance, but that the person dying who held the said Indians, they revert to our Royal Crown. And let the Audiencias take care to inform themselves then particularly of the person who died, of his quality, his merits and services, of how he treated the said Indians whom he held, if he left wife and children or what other heirs, and send us a report thereof with the condition of the Indians and of the land, in order that we may give directions to provide what may be best for our service, and may do such favour as may seem suitable to the wife and children of the defunct. If in the meantime it should appear to the Audiencia that there is a necessity to provide some support for such wife and children, they can do it out of the tribute which the said Indians will have to pay, or allowing them a moderate pension, if the said Indians are under our Crown, as aforesaid.

Item, We ordain and command that our said Presidents and Auditors take great care that the Indians who in any of the ways above mentioned are taken away, and those who may become vacant be very well treated and instructed in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and as our free vassals. This is to be their chief care, that on which we principally desire them to report, and in which they can best serve us. They are also to provide that they be governed with justice in the way and manner that the Indians who are under our Royal Crown are at present governed in New Spain. . . .

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Copernicus: *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*

Date: 1543

Nicolaus Copernicus was born February 19, 1473, in Poland. He entered the University of Kraków in 1491 and went to Padua in 1495 to study medicine. In 1500 he was called to Rome and took the chair of mathematics there. In about 1507 he began to believe that Earth traveled around the Sun and, from that time until his death, worked more or less intermittently on his exposition of this theory. He delayed the publication of this exposition because of the fear of being accused of heresy. Copernicus died May 24, 1543, just as his book was published. The knowledge of that time was not sufficient to prove his theory; his great argument for it was from its simplicity, as compared to the epicycle hypothesis.

Nicolaus Copernicus: An excerpt from *The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies*, 1543

That the universe is spherical. FIRST WE must remark that the universe is spherical in form, partly because this form being a perfect whole requiring no joints, is the most complete of all, partly because it makes the most capacious form, which is best suited to contain and preserve everything; or again because all the constituent parts of the universe, that is the sun, moon and the planets appear in this form; or because everything strives to attain this form, as appears in the case of drops of water and other fluid bodies if they attempt to define themselves. So no one will doubt that this form belongs to the heavenly bodies.

That the earth is also spherical. That the earth is also spherical is therefore beyond question, because it presses from all sides upon its center. Although by reason of the elevations of the mountains and the depressions of the valleys a perfect circle cannot be understood, yet this does not affect the general spherical nature of the earth. This appears in the following manner. To those who journey towards the North the North pole of the daily revolution of the heavenly sphere seems gradually to rise, while the opposite seems to sink. Most of the stars in the region of the Bear seem not to set, while some of the Southern stars seem not to rise at all. So Italy does not see Canopus which is visible to the Egyptians. And Italy sees the outermost star of the Stream, which our region of a colder zone does not know. On the other hand to those who go towards the South the others seem to rise and those to sink which are high in our region. Moreover, the inclination of the poles to the diameter of the earth bears always the same relation, which could happen only in the case of a sphere. So it is evident that the earth is included between the two poles, and is therefore spherical in form. Let us add that the inhabitants of the East do not observe the eclipse of the sun or of the moon which occurs in the evening, and the inhabitants of the West those which occur in the morning, while those who dwell between see those later and these earlier. That the water also has the same form can be

observed from the ships, in that the land which cannot be seen from the deck, is visible from the mast-tree. And conversely if a light be placed at the masthead it seems to those who remain on the shores gradually to sink and at last still sinking to disappear. It is clear that the water also according to its nature continually presses like the earth downward, and does not rise above its banks higher than its convexity permits. So the land extends above the ocean as much as the land happens to be higher.

Whether the earth has a circular motion, and concerning the location of the earth. As it has been already shown that the earth has the form of a sphere, we must consider whether a movement also coincides with this form, and what place the earth holds in the universe. Without this there will be no secure results to be obtained in regard to the heavenly phenomena. The great majority of authors of course agree that the earth stands still in the center of the universe, and consider it inconceivable and ridiculous to suppose the opposite. But if the matter is carefully weighed it will be seen that the question is not yet settled and therefore by no means to be regarded lightly. Every change of place which is observed is due, namely, to a movement of the observed object or of the observer, or to movements of both, naturally in different directions, for if the observed object and the observer move in the same manner and in the same direction no movement will be seen. Now it is from the earth that the revolution of the heavens is observed and it is produced for our eyes. Therefore if the earth undergoes no movement this movement must take place in everything outside of the earth, but in the opposite direction than if everything on the earth moved, and of this kind is the daily revolution. So this appears to affect the whole universe, that is, everything outside the earth with the single exception of the earth itself. If, however, one should admit that this movement was not peculiar to the heavens, but that the earth revolved from west to east, and if this was carefully considered in regard to the apparent rising and setting of the sun, the moon and the stars, it would be discovered that this was the real situation. Since the sky, which contains and shelters all things, is the common seat of all things, it is not easy to understand why motion should not be ascribed rather to the thing contained than to the containing, to the located rather than to the location. From this supposition follows another question of no less importance, concerning the place of the earth, although it has been accepted and believed by almost all, that the earth occupies the middle of the universe. But if one should suppose that the earth is not at the center of the universe, that, however, the distance between the two is not great enough to be measured on the orbits of the fixed stars, but would be noticeable and perceptible on the orbit of the sun or of the planets: and if one was further of the opinion that the movements of the planets appeared to be irregular as if they were governed by a center other than the earth, then such an one could perhaps have given the true reasons for the apparently irregular movement. For since the planets appear now nearer and now farther from the earth, this shows necessarily that the center of their revolutions is not the center of the earth: although it does not settle whether the earth increases and decreases the distance from them or they their distance from the earth.

Refutation of the arguments of the ancients that the earth remains still in the middle of the universe, as if it were its center. From this and similar reasons it is supposed that the earth rests at the center of the universe and that there is no doubt of the fact. But if one believed that the earth revolved, he would certainly be of the opinion that this movement was natural and not arbitrary. For whatever is in accord with nature produces results which are the opposite of those produced by force. Things upon which force or an outside power has acted, must be injured and cannot long endure: what happens by nature, however, preserves itself well and exists in the best condition. So Ptolemy feared without good reason that the earth and all earthly objects subject to the revolution would be destroyed by the act of nature, since this latter is opposed to artificial acts, or to what is produced by the human spirit. But why did he not fear the same, and in a much higher degree, of the universe, whose motion must be as much more rapid as the heavens are greater than the earth? Or has the heaven become so immense because it has been driven outward from the center by the inconceivable power of the revolution; while if it stood still, on the contrary, it would collapse and fall together? But surely if this is the case the extent of the heavens would increase infinitely. For the more it is driven higher by the outward force of the movement, so much the more rapid will the movement become, because of the ever increasing circle which must be traversed in twenty-four hours; and conversely if the movement grows the immensity of the heavens grows. So the velocity would increase the size and the size would increase the velocity unendingly. According to the physical law that the endless cannot wear away nor in any way move, the heavens must necessarily stand still. But it is said that beyond the sky no body, no place, no vacant space, in fact nothing at all exists; then it is strange that some thing should be enclosed by nothing. But if the heaven is endless and is bounded only by the inner hollow, perhaps this establishes all the more clearly the fact that there is nothing outside the heavens, because everything is within it, but the heaven must then remain unmoved. The highest proof on which one supports the finite character of the universe is its movement. But whether the universe is endless or limited we will leave to the physiologues; this remains sure for us that the earth enclosed between the poles is bounded by a spherical surface. Why therefore should we not take the position of ascribing to a movement conformable to its nature and corresponding to its form, rather than suppose that the whole universe whose limits are not and cannot be known moves? And why will we not

recognize that the appearance of a daily revolution belongs to the heavens, but the actuality to the earth; and that the relation is similar to that of which one says: "We run out of the harbor, the lands and cities retreat from us." Because if a ship sails along quietly, everything outside of it appears to those on board as if it moved with the motion of the boat, and the boatman thinks that the boat with all on board is standing still, this same thing may hold without doubt of the motion of the earth, and it may seem as if the whole universe revolved.

What shall we say, however, of the clouds and other things floating, falling or rising in the air—except that not only does the earth move with the watery elements belonging with it, but also a large part of the atmosphere, and whatever else is in any way connected with the earth; whether it is because the air immediately touching the earth has the same nature as the earth, or that the motion has become imparted to the atmosphere. A like astonishment must be felt if that highest region of the air be supposed to follow the heavenly motion, as shown by those suddenly appearing stars which the Greeks call comets or bearded stars, which belong to that region and which rise and set like other stars. We may suppose that part of the atmosphere, because of its great distance from the earth, has become free from the earthly motion. So the atmosphere which lies close to the earth and all things floating in it would appear to remain still, unless driven here and there by the wind or some other outside force, which chance may bring into play; for how is the wind in the air different from the current in the sea? We must admit that the motion of things rising and falling in the air is in relation to the universe a double one, being always made up of a rectilinear and a circular movement. Since that which seeks of its own weight to fall is essentially earthy, so there is no doubt that these follow the same natural law as their whole; and it results from the same principle that those things which pertain to fire are forcibly driven on high. Earthly fire is nourished with earthly stuff, and it is said that the flame is only burning smoke. But the peculiarity of the fire consists in this that it expands whatever it seizes upon, and it carries this out so consistently that it can in no way and by no machinery be prevented from breaking its bonds and completing its work.

The expanding motion, however, is directed from the center outward; therefore if any earthly material is ignited it moves upward. So to each single body belongs a single motion, and this is evinced preferably in a circular direction as long as the single body remains in its natural place and its entirety. In this position the movement is the circular movement which as far as the body itself is concerned is as if it did not occur. The rectilinear motion, however, seizes upon those bodies which have wandered or have been driven from their natural position or have been in any way disturbed. Nothing is so much opposed to the order and form of the world as the displacement of one of its parts. Rectilinear motion takes place only when objects are not properly related, and are not complete according to their nature because they have separated from their whole and have lost their unity. Moreover, objects which have been driven outward or away, leaving out of consideration the circular motion, do not obey a single, simple and regular motion, since they cannot be controlled simply by their lightness or by the force of their weight, and if in falling they have at first a slow movement the rapidity of the motion increases as they fall, while in the case of earthly fire which is forced upwards—and we have no means of knowing any other kind of fire—we will see that its motion is slow as if its earthly origin thereby showed itself.

The circular motion, on the other hand, is always regular, because it is not subject to an intermittent cause. Those other objects, however, would cease to be either light or heavy in respect to their natural movement if they reached their own place, and thus they would fit into that movement. Therefore if the circular movement is to be ascribed to the universe as a whole and the rectilinear to the parts, we might say that the revolution is to the straight line as the natural state is to sickness. That Aristotle divided motion into three sorts, that from the center out, that inward toward center, and that around about the center, appears to be merely a logical convenience, just as we distinguish point, line and surface, although one cannot exist without the others, and none of them are found apart from bodies. This fact is also to be considered, that the condition of immovability is held to be more noble and divine than that of change and inconstancy, which latter therefore should be ascribed rather to the earth than to the universe, and I would add also that it seems inconsistent to attribute motion to the containing and locating element rather than to the contained and located object, which the earth is. Finally since the planets plainly are at one time nearer and at another time farther from the earth, it would follow, on the theory that the universe revolves, that the movement of the one and same body which is known to take place about a center, that is the center of the earth, must also be directed toward the center from without and from the center outward. The movement about the center must therefore be made more general, and it suffices if that single movement be about its own center. So it appears from all these considerations that the movement of the earth is more probable than its fixity, especially in regard to the daily revolution, which is most peculiar to the earth.

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Nahuatl History

Date: c. 1550

This long and complex Nahuatl poem is an exhortation to the Huexotzincos to go to war. The Huexotzincos, who lived in the Puebla valley, were defeated by the Tlaxcalans in the 15th century. The poem is from a collection of Nahuatl poetry recorded by the Spanish after the conquest in the 16th century. The poem's title may be slightly misleading in that Tezozomoc, or Tezozomoc, the Tepanec king who ruled in the mid-14th century, is mentioned only briefly here, and even though the speaker addresses Tezozomoc directly in the 10th verse, it is uncertain whether the poem's events took place during his reign. Nor is it easy to distinguish who is allied with whom. Another difficulty is that the poem refers to both the Colhuacan and the Acolhuacan, but according to the translator, the term Colhuacan can also be understood to refer to the Acolhuacan.

The poem has 29 verses. It begins by alluding to Nahuatl origins in Chicomoxtoc and proceeds with a brief history of Nahuatl leaders (1–3). The next verses suggest that some of the present-day leaders gathered to hold a war council (4–7). The tone changes in the eighth verse when the narrator addresses the men of Huexotzinco, indicating that they have suffered losses among the Acolhuacan, and in the 10th verse, he asks Tezozomoc why he has not gone to war with the Acolhuacan. The next part includes the opinion of the narrator concerning the need to go to war (11–17). According to the translator, the manuscript is corrupt at verse 18, and, therefore, his translation is tentative. As it stands, this and the following verse call for the Huexotzinco to go to war against the men of Tlaxcala (here spelled Tlaxcalla) (18–19). The next two verses describe the destruction in Huexotzinco (20–21); in verse 23, the Tlaxcalans themselves are addressed. In the following two verses the speaker indicates that preparations have been made, and he asks when this meeting in war will occur (24–25); verse 26 is another exhortation. The three last verses return to the theme of the destruction of the land. The final verse begins and ends with the same question, whose answer seems to the narrator to be only too clear. Mictlan is the Aztec underworld.

Reign of Tezozomoc (c. 16th century)

1. From the land of the tzihuac bushes, from the land of the mezquite bushes, where was ancient Chicomoxtoc, thence came all your rulers hither.
2. Here unrolled itself the royal line of Colhuacan, here our nobles of Colhuacan, united with the Chichimecs.
3. Sing for a little while concerning these, O children, the sovereign Huitziluhuitl, the judge Quauhxilol, of our bold leader Tlalnahuatl, of the proud bird Ixtlilxochitl, those who went forth, and conquered and ruled before God, and bewail Tezozomoc.
4. A second time they left the mezquite bushes in Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of God.
5. They go where are the flowers, where they may gain grandeur and power, dividing asunder they leave the mountain Atloyan and Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of the Giver of Life.
6. It is cause of rejoicing, that I am enabled to see our rulers from all parts gathering together, arranging in order the words of the Giver of Life, and that their souls are caused to see and to know that God is precious, wonderful, a sweet ointment, and that they are known as flowers of wise counsel in the affairs of war.
7. There were Tochih, with many boats, the noble Acolmiztlan, the noble Catocih, Yohuallatonoc, and Cuetzpaltzin, and Iztaccoyotl, bold leaders from Tlaxcalla, and Coatziteuctli, and Huitlalotzin, famed as flowers on the field of battle.
8. For what purpose do you make your rulers, men of Huexotzinco? Look at Acolhuacan where the men of Huexotzinco are broken with toil, are trod upon like paving stones, and wander around the mountain Atloyan.
9. There is a ceiba tree, a cypress tree, there stands a mezquite bush, strong as a cavern of stone, known as the Giver of Life.
10. Ruler of men, Nopiltzin, Chicimec, o Tezozomoc, why hast thou made us sick, why brought us to death, through not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan?
11. But we lift up our voice and rejoice in the Giver of life; the men of Colhuacan and the Mexican leader have ruined us, through not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan.
12. The only joy on earth will be again to send the shield-flower again to rejoice the Giver of Life; already are discontented the faces of the workers in filth.
13. Therefore you rejoice in the shield-flowers, the flowers of night, the flowers of battle; already are ye clothed, ye children of Quetzalmamatzin and Huitznahuatl.
14. Your shield and your wall of safety are where dwells the sweet joy of war, where it comes, and sings and lifts its voice, where dwell the nobles, the precious stones, making known their faces; thus you give joy to the Giver of Life.
15. Let your dancing, and banqueting be in the battle, there be your place of gain, your scene of action, where the noble youths perish.

16. Dressed in their feathers they go rejoicing the Giver of Life to the excellent place, the place of shards.

17. He lifted up his voice in our houses like a bird, that man of Huexotzinco, Iztaccoyotl.

18. Whoever is aggrieved let him come forth with us against the men of Tlaxcallan, let him follow where the city of Huexotzinco lets drive its arrows.

19. Our leaders will lay waste, they will destroy the land, and your children, O Huexotzincos, will have peace of mind.

20. the mezquite was there, the tzihuac was there, the Giver of Life has set up the cypress; be sad that evil has befallen Huexotzinco, that it stands alone in the land.

21. In all parts there are destruction and desolation, no longer are there protection and safety, nor has the one only God heard the song; therefore speak it again, you children;

22. That the words may be repeated, you children, and give joy to the Giver of Life at Tepeyacan.

23. And since you are going, you Tlaxcallans, call upon Tlacomihuatzin that he may yet go to this divine war.

24. The Chichimecs and the leaders and Iztaccoyatl have with difficulty and vain labor arranged and set in order their jewels and feathers.

25. At Huexotzinco the ruler Quiauhhtzin hates the Mexicans, hates the Acolhuacans; when shall we go to mix with them, to meet them?

26. Set to work and speak, you fathers, to your rulers, to your lords that they may make a blazing fire of the smoking tzihuac wood.

27. the Acolhuacans were at Chalco, the Otomies were in your cornfields at Quauhquechollan, they laid them waste by the permission of God.

28. The fields and hills are ravaged, the whole land has been laid waste.

29. What remedy can they turn to? Water and smoke have spoiled the land of the rulers; they have gone back to Mictlan attaching themselves to the ruler Cacamatl. What remedy can they turn to?

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St. Francis Xavier: Letter from Japan to the Society of Jesus at Goa

Date: 1551

Francis Xavier was born in the Navarre province of Spain and studied in Paris. Years later he met Ignatius of Loyola, and they and several others founded the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit order. He was ordained a priest in Venice in 1537. He spent years in service to his Jesuit order in Rome. In 1540, he was named papal nuncio to the Indies. King João III of Portugal sponsored him in a missionary expedition to the Portuguese colony of Goa, India. From 1542 he spent next three years traveling through India, winning many converts and establishing missions. From 1545 through 1546 he carried on missionary work in the Malay Peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago, and the Spice Islands, or Moluccas. Returning to India, Francis Xavier supervised the assignment of additional Jesuit missionaries to posts in India.

In 1549 he led a group of missionaries to Japan, landing at Kagoshima on southernmost Kyushu Island, he met up with the Portuguese traveler Fernão Mendes Pinto. Francis Xavier and his Jesuit brothers spent two years traveling in Japan, during which time he was permitted to open a number of missions and Christian settlements. After Fernão Mendes Pinto, he was one of the first Europeans to visit Japan, providing early descriptions of that land and its people in his many letters to his fellow Jesuits in India and in Europe.

Here is a descriptive from one of his letters.

Last year, dearest brethren, I wrote to you from Cagoxima concerning our voyage, our arrival in Japan, and what had been done in the interests of Christianity up to that time. Now I will relate what God had done by our means since last year. On our arrival at the native place of our good Paul, we were received very kindly indeed by his relations and friends. They all of them became Christians, being led by what Paul told them; and that they might be thoroughly confirmed in the truth of our religion, we remained in that place a whole year and more. In that time more than a hundred were gathered into the fold of Christ. The rest might have done so

if they had been willing, without giving any offence to their kinsfolk or relations. But the bonzes admonished the prince (who is very powerful, the lord of several towns), that if he allowed his people to embrace the Christian religion, his whole dominion would be destroyed, and the ancestral gods of the country, which they call pagodas, would come to be despised by the natives. For the law of God was contrary to the law of Japan, and it would therefore result that any who embraced that law would repudiate the holy founders of the ancient law of their forefathers, which could not be done without great ruin to the town and realm. Let him look, therefore, with reverence on those most holy men who had been the legislators of Japan, and, considering that the law of God was opposed and hostile to the law of his fathers, let him issue an edict forbidding, under penalty of death, that any one in future should become a Christian. The prince was moved by this discourse of the bonzes, and issued the edict as they had requested.

The interval after this was spent in instructing our converts, in learning Japanese, and in translating into that tongue the chief heads of the Christian faith. We used to dwell shortly on the history of the creation of the world, as seemed useful for the men we had to deal with, as, for instance, that God was the Maker and Creator of the universe, a truth which they were entirely ignorant of, and the other truths necessary for salvation, but principally the truth that God had taken on Himself the nature of man. On this account we translated diligently all the great mysteries of the life of Christ until His Ascension into heaven, and also the account of the last Judgment. We have now translated this book, for such it was, into Japanese with great labor, and have written it in our own characters. Out of this we read what I have mentioned to those who came to the faith of Christ, that the converts might know how to worship God and Jesus Christ with piety and to their souls' health. And when we went on to expound these things in our discourses, the Christians delighted in them very much, as seeing how true the things were which we had taught them. The Japanese are certainly of remarkably good dispositions, and follow reason wonderfully. They see clearly that their ancestral law is false and the law of God true, but they are deterred by fear of their prince from submitting to the Christian religion.

When the year came to an end, seeing the lord of the town to be opposed to all extension of our religion, we determined to pass to another place. We therefore bade farewell to our converts; they loved us so much that they shed many tears, and giving us great thanks for having shown them the way of eternal salvation at the cost of so much labour of our own, were very sorrowful at our departure. We left with them Paul, their own townsman, who is an excellent Christian, to finish their instruction in the precepts of religion. We then went to another town, where the lord of the place received us very kindly; there we remained a few days, and made about a hundred Christians. None of us knew Japanese; nevertheless, by reading the semi-Japanese volume mentioned, and talking to the people, we brought many of them to the worship of Christ.

I charged Cosmo Torres with the care of these converts, and went on with Joan Fernandez to Yamaguchi, the seat of a very wealthy daimyo, as he is thought among the Japanese. The city contains more than ten thousand households; all the houses are of wood. We found many here, both of the common people and of the nobility, very desirous to become acquainted with the Christian law. We thought it best to preach twice a day in the streets and cross roads, reading out parts of our book, and then speaking to the people about the Christian religion. Some of the noblemen also invited us to their houses, that they might hear about our religion with more convenience. They promised of their own accord, that if they came to think it better than their own, they would unhesitatingly embrace it. Many of them heard what we had to say about the law of God very willingly; some, on the other hand, were angry at it, and even went so far as to laugh at what we said. So, wherever we went through the streets of the city, we were followed by a small crowd of boys of the lowest dregs of the populace, laughing at us and mocking us with some such words as these: "There go the men who tell us that we must embrace the law of God in order to be saved, because we cannot be rescued from destruction except by the Maker of all things and by His Son! There go the men who declare that it is wicked to have more than one wife!" In the same way they made a joke and play of the other articles of our religion.

We had spent some days in this office of preaching, when the king, who was then in the city, sent for us and we went to him. He asked us wherever did we come from? why had we come to Japan? And we answered that we were Europeans sent thither for the sake of preaching the law of God, since no one could be safe and secure unless he purely and piously worship God and His Son Jesus Christ, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations. Then the king commanded us to explain to him the law of God. So we read to him a good part of our volume; and although we went on reading for an hour or more, he listened to us diligently and attentively as long as we were reading, and then he sent us away. We remained many days in that city, and preached to the people in the streets and at the cross roads. Many of them listened to the wonderful deeds of Christ with avidity, and when we came to His most bitter death, they were unable to restrain their tears. Nevertheless, very few actually became Christians.

Finding, therefore, that the fruit of our labours was small, we went on to Kyoto, the most famous city in all Japan. We spent two months on the road, and passed through many dangers, because we had to go through countries in which war was raging. I say nothing of the cold of those parts, nor of the roads so

infested by frequent robberies. When we arrived at Kyoto, we waited for some days that we might obtain leave to approach the king, and ask of him to give us permission to publish the divine law in his kingdom. But we found all ways of access to him altogether closed. And as we discovered that the edicts of the king were generally thought little of among the princes and rulers, we laid aside our design of obtaining from him any such licence, and I determined to sound and try the minds and dispositions of the people themselves, so as to find out how disposed that city was to receive the worship of Christ. But as the people were under arms, and under the pressure of a severe war, I judged that the time was most inopportune for the preaching of the Gospel. Kyoto was formerly a very large city; but now, on account of the perpetual calamities it has undergone in war, it is a great part in ruins and waste. At one time, as they say, it contained one hundred and eighty thousand dwellings. It seems to me very likely that it was so, for the wall which encircles it shows that the city was very extensive indeed. Now, although a great part of it is in ruins, it yet contains more than a hundred thousand houses.

When we found that the city of Kyoto was neither at peace nor prepared to receive the Gospel, we returned to Yamaguchi, and we presented to the king there the letters and presents which had been sent as signs of friendship by the Governor of India and the Bishop of Goa. The king was very much delighted both with the letters and with the presents, and that he might reward us, he offered us a great amount of gold and silver. These gifts we sent back, and then asked him that, if he desired to make some acceptable present to the strangers who had come to his city, he would give us leave to announce the law of God to his people, saying that nothing could possibly be more pleasing to us than such a gift. This he granted us with the greatest goodwill.

He accordingly affixed edicts in the most crowded places of the city, declaring that it was pleasing to him that the law of heaven should be announced in his dominions; and that it was lawful for any, who desired, to embrace it. At the same time, he assigned an empty monastery for us to inhabit. A great many used to come to us to this place for the sake of hearing about the new religion. We used to preach twice a day, and after the sermon there was always a good long dispute concerning religion.

Thus we were continually occupied either in preaching or in answering questions. Many bonzes were often present at the sermons, and a great number of others, both of the common people and of the nobility. The house was always full of men—so full, that at times some were shut out for want of space. Those who asked us questions pressed them so well home, that the answers we gave enabled them thoroughly to understand the falsehood of their own laws and founders, and the truth of the Christian law. After disputes and questionings for many days, they at last began to give in and betake themselves to the faith of Christ.

The first of all to do this were those who in the discussions and questions had shown themselves our most strenuous adversaries. Many of these were persons of good birth, and, when they had embraced Christianity, they became our friends with an amount of warmth which I can find no words to describe. And these new Christians told us with the greatest faithfulness the mysteries, or rather the absurdities, of the Japanese religion. As I said at first, there are as many as nine sects in Japan, and they are very different one from another in their teaching and ordinances. When we got to know the opinions of these sects, we began to look up arguments by which to refute them. So we used to press hard by daily questions and arguments the sorcerer bonzes and other enemies of the Christian law, and we did this so effectually, that at last they did not venture to open their mouths against us when we attacked and refuted them.

When the Christians saw the bonzes convicted and silenced they were of course full of joy, and were daily more and more confirmed in the faith of our Lord. On the other hand, the heathen, who were present at these discussions, were greatly shaken in their own religion, seeing the systems of their fore-fathers giving way. The bonzes were much displeased at this, and when they were present at the sermons and saw that a great number became Christians daily, they began to accuse them severely for leaving their ancestral religion to follow a new faith. But the others answered that they embraced the Christian law because they had made up their minds that it was more in accordance with nature than their own, and because they found that we satisfied their questions while the bonzes did not.

The Japanese are very curious by nature, and as desirous of learning as any people ever were. So they go on perpetually telling other people about their questions and our answers. They desire very much to hear novelties, especially about religion. Even before our arrival, as we are told, they were perpetually disputing among themselves, each one contending that his own sect was the best. But after they had heard what we had to say, they left off their disputes about their own rules of life and religion, and all began to contend about the Christian faith. It is really very wonderful that in so large a city as Yamaguchi in every house and in every place men should be talking constantly about the law of God. But if I were to go into the history of all their questionings, I should have to write on for ever.

The Japanese have a very high opinion of the wisdom of the Chinese, whether as to the mysteries of religion or as to manners and civil institutions. They used to make that a principal point against us, that if things were as we preached, how was it that the Chinese knew nothing about them? After many disputations and questions, the people of Yamaguchi began to join the Church of Christ, some from the lower orders and some from the nobility. In the space of two months quite as many as five hundred have become

Christians. Their number is daily being added to; so that there is great cause for joy, and for thanking God that there are so many who embrace the Christian faith, and who tell us all the deceptions of the bonzes, and the mysteries contained in their books and taught by their sects. For those who have become Christians used to belong, one to one sect, another to another; the most learned of each of them explained to us the institutions and rules of his own way of belief. If I had not had the work of these converts to help me, I should not have been able to become sufficiently acquainted with, and so attack, these abominable religions of Japan. It is quite incredible how much the Christians love us. They are always coming to our house to ask whether we have anything at all which we wish them to do for us. All the Japanese appear naturally very obliging; certainly the Christians among them are so very good to us that it would be impossible to exceed their extreme kindness and attentiveness.

May God in His mercy repay them with His favor, and give us all His heavenly bliss! Amen.

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Sidi Ali Reis: *Mirat ul Memalik*

Also known as: *The Mirror of Countries*

Date: 1557

The book of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis, entitled Mirat ul Memalik (The Mirror of Countries), is interesting in many ways. It reveals the personality of the author, a man of varied accomplishments—a genuine type of the Islamic culture of his time and a representative of that class of officials and military dignitaries under whose influence it is chiefly due that the Ottoman Empire, extending over three continents, attained the height of culture it occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Great. Sidi Ali was the descendant of an illustrious family, connected with the arsenal at Galata, in whom love for the sea seems to have been hereditary, and, hence, as the Turkish publisher points out in his preface, Sidi Ali, being thoroughly acquainted with the nautical science of his day, excels as author on maritime subjects.

As a man of general culture, he was, in harmony with the prevailing notions of his time, a mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, as well as a poet and theologian. Adept in all branches of general literature, he sometimes wielded his pen to write lyrical or occasional verses, at other times entering into keen controversial disputes upon certain Qur'anic theses or burning schismatic questions.

Besides all this, he was a warrior, proving himself as undaunted in fighting the elements as in close combat with the Portuguese, who in point of accoutrement had far the advantage over him. But what stands out above all these accomplishments is his patriotism and his unwavering faith in the power and the greatness of the Ottoman Empire. He boasts that he never ceases to hope to see Gujarat and Ormuz joined to the Ottoman realm; his one desire is to see his Padishah ruler of the world, and wherever he goes and whatever he sees, Rum (Turkey) always remains in his eyes the most beautiful, the richest, and the most cultured land of the whole world. The Turkish admiral has, moreover, a singularly happy way of expressing himself on this subject of his preference for his own Padishah and his native land, and this required no small amount of courage and tact where he had to face proud Humayun or Thamasp, no less conceited than the former.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

When Sultan Suleiman had taken up his winter residence in Aleppo, I, the author of these pages, was appointed to the Admiralty of the Egyptian fleet, and received instructions to fetch back to Egypt the ships (15 galleys), which some time ago had been sent to Basrah on the Persian Gulf. But, "Man proposes, God disposes." I was unable to carry out my mission, and as I realized the impossibility of returning by water, I resolved to go back to Turkey by the overland route, accompanied by a few tried and faithful Egyptian soldiers. I traveled through Gujarat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Bedakhshan, Khotlan, Turan, and Iran, i.e., through Trans-oxania, Khorassan, Kharezm, and Deshti-Kiptchak; and as I could not proceed any farther in that direction, I went by Meshed and the two Iraqs, Kazwin and Hamadan, on to Baghdad.

Our travels ended, my companions and fellow-adventurers persuaded me to write down our experiences, and the dangers through which we had passed, an accurate account of which it is almost impossible to give; also to tell of the cities and the many wonderful sights we had seen, and of the holy shrines we had visited. And so this little book sees the light; in it I have tried to relate, in simple and plain language, the troubles and difficulties, the suffering and the distress which beset our path, up to the time that we reached Constantinople. Considering the

matter it contains this book ought to have been entitled, "A tale of woe," but with a view to the scene of action I have called it "Mirror of Countries," and as such I commend it to the reader's kind attention.

THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY

When the illustrious Padishah was holding his court at Aleppo, in Ramazan of the year 960 (1552), I was commanded to join the army. I celebrated Ramzan-Bairam in attendance on his Majesty, later on, however, I went to Sidi-Ghazi, made a pilgrimage in Konia to the tomb of Molla-i-Rumi, and visited the shrines of the Sultan ul-Ulema, and Shemsî Tebrîzi, and of the Sheik Sadr-ed-din-Koniavi; at Kassarie I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the Sheiks Awhad-ed-din Kirmani, Burham-ed-din, Baha-ed-din Zade, Ibrahim Akserayi, and Davud Kaissari. Returned to Haleb (Aleppo), I visited the graves of Daud, Zakeriah, and Balkiah, as also those of Saad and Said, companions of the Prophet. The Kurban-Bairam I spent again in attendance on the Sultan.

I must here mention that Piri Bey, the late Admiral of the Egyptian fleet, had, some time previous to this, been dispatched with about 30 ships (galleys and galleons) from Suez, through the Red Sea, touching Jedda and Yemen, and through the straits of Bab-i-Mandeb, past Aden and along the coast of Shahar. Through fogs and foul weather his fleet became dispersed, some ships were lost, and with the remainder he proceeded from Oman to Muscat, took the fortress and made all the inhabitants prisoners; he also made an incursion into the islands of Ormuz and Barkhat, after which he returned to Muscat. There he learned from the captive infidel captain that the Christian [Portuguese] fleet was on its way, that therefore any further delay was inadvisable, as in case it arrived he would not be able to leave the harbor at all. As a matter of fact it was already too late to save all the ships; he therefore took only three, and with these just managed to make his escape before the arrival of the Portuguese. One of his galleys was wrecked near Bahrein, so he brought only two vessels back to Egypt. As for the remainder of the fleet at Basrah, Kubad Pasha had offered the command of it to the Chief Officer, but he had declined, and returned to Egypt by land.

When this became known in Constantinople the command of the fleet had been given to Murad Bey, formerly Sanjakbey of Catif, then residing in Basrah. He was ordered to leave two ships, five galleys, and one galleon at Basrah, and with the rest, i.e., 15 galleys (one galley had been burned in Basrah) and two boats, he was to return to Egypt. Murad Bey did start as arranged, but opposite Ormuz he came upon the Portuguese fleet, a terrible battle followed in which Suleiman Reis, Rejeb Reis, and several of the men, died a martyr's death. Many more were wounded and the ships terribly battered by the cannon-balls. At last, night put a stop to the fight. One boat was wrecked off the Persian coast, part of the crew escaped, the rest were taken prisoners by the infidels, and the boat itself captured.

When all this sad news reached the capital, toward the end of Zilhija of the said year 960 (1552), the author of these pages was appointed Admiral of the Egyptian fleet.

I, humble Sidi Ali bin Husein, also known as Kiatibi-Rumi [the writer of the West, i.e., of Turkey], most gladly accepted the post. I had always been very fond of the sea, had taken part in the expedition against Rhodes under the Sultan Suleiman, and had since had a share in almost all engagements, both by land and by sea. I had fought under Khairaddin Pasha, Sinan Pasha, and other captains, and had cruised about on the Western [Mediterranean] sea, so that I knew every nook and corner of it. I had written several books on astronomy, nautical science, and other matters bearing upon navigation. My father and grandfather, since the conquest of Constantinople, had had charge of the arsenal at Galata; they had both been eminent in their profession, and their skill had come down to me as an heirloom.

The post now entrusted to me was much to my taste, and I started from Aleppo for Basrah, on the first of Moharram of the year 961 (7 Dec. 1553). I crossed the Euphrates at Biredjik and when in Reka (i.e., Orfah), I undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of Abraham, having visited on the way between Nisebin and Mossul the holy graves of the prophets Yunis and Djerdjis and of the sheiks Mohammed Garabili, Feth Mosuli, and Sazib-elban-Mosuli. On the way to Baghdad I made a little detour from Tekrit to Samira, and visited the graves of Iman Ali-el-Hadi and Iman Haman Askeri, after which I came past the towns of Ashik and Maas-huk, and through Harbi, past the castle of Semke, on to Baghdad. We crossed the Tigris near Djisr and, after visiting the graves of the saints there, I continued my journey past the fortress of Teir, to Bire, and crossing the Euphrates near the little town of Wasib, I reached Kerbela (Azwie), where I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the martyrs Hasan and Husein.

Turning into the steppe near Shefata, I reached Nedjef (Haira) on the second day, and visited the graves of Adam, Noah, Shimun, and Ali, and from there proceeded to Kufa, where I saw the mosque with the pulpit under which the prophets of the house of Ali are buried, and the tombs of Samber and Duldul. Arrived at the fortress of Hasinia, I visited the grave of the prophet Zilkefl, the son of Aaron, and in Hilla I made pilgrimages to the graves of Iman Mohammed Mehdi and Iman Akil, brother of Ali, and also visited there the mosque of Shem. Again crossing the Euphrates (this time by a bridge), I resumed my journey to Bagdad and went from there by ship to Basrah. On the way we touched Medain, saw the grave of Selmas Faris, admired Tak Resri and the castle of Shah Zenan, and went past Imare Bugazi, on the road of Vasit to Zekya, past the strongholds of Adjul and Misra to Sadi-es Sueiba and on to Basrah, where I arrived toward the end of Safar of the said year (beginning of February, 1554).

ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN BASRA

On the day after my arrival I had an interview with Mustafa Pasha, who, after seeing my credentials, made over to me the 15 galleys which were needing a great deal of repair. As far as could be, they were put in order, calked and provided with guns, which, however, were not to be had in sufficient quantity either from the stores there or from Ormuz. A water-supply had also to be arranged for, and as it was yet five months before the time of the monsoon, I had plenty of leisure to visit the mosque of Ali and the graves of Hasan Basri, Talha, Zobeir, Uns-bin-Malik, Abdurrahman-bin-Anf, and several martyrs and companions of the Prophet. One night I dreamed that I lost my sword, and as I remembered that a similar thing had happened to Sheik Muhieddin and had resulted in a defeat, I became greatly alarmed, and, just as I was about to pray to the Almighty for the victory of the Islam arms, I awoke. I kept this dream a secret, but it troubled me for a long time, and when later on Mustafa Pasha sent a detachment of soldiers to take the island of Huweiza (in which expedition I took part with five of my galleys), and the undertaking resulted in our losing about a hundred men all through the fickleness of the Egyptian troops, I fully believed this to be the fulfilment of my dream. But alas! there was more to follow—for “What is decreed must come to pass, No matter, whether you are joyful or anxious.”

When at last the time of the monsoon came, the Pasha sent a trusty sailor with a frigate to Ormuz, to explore the neighborhood. After cruising about for a month he returned with the news that, except for four boats, there was no sign of any ships of the infidels in those waters. The troops therefore embarked and we started for Egypt.

WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE SEA OF ORMUZ

On the first of Shavval we left the harbor of Basrah, accompanied, as far as Ormuz, by the frigate of Sherifi Pasha. We visited on the way from Mehzari the grave of Khidr, and proceeding along the coast of Duspul (Dizful), and Shushter in Charik, I made pilgrimages to the graves of Imam Mohammed, Hanifi, and other saints. From the harbor in the province of Shiraz we visited Rishehr (Bushir) and after reconnoitering the coasts and unable to get any clue as to the whereabouts of the enemy by means of the Tshekleva, I proceeded to Katif, situated near Lahsa and Hadjar on the Arabian coast. Unable to learn anything there, I went on to Bahrein, where I interviewed the commander of the place, Reis Murad. But neither could he give me any information about the fleet of the infidels. There is a curious custom at Bahrein. The sailors, provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Reis Murad's use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in the spring time, and Reis Murad gave me some. God's power is boundless! This custom is the origin of the proverb: Maradj ul bahreia jaltakian and hence also the name “Bahrein.”

Next we came to Kis, i.e., old Ormuz, and Barhata, and several other small islands in the Green Sea, i.e., the waters of Ormuz, but nowhere could we get any news of the fleet. So we dismissed the vessel, which Mustafa Pasha had sent as an escort, with the message that Ormuz was safely passed. We proceeded by the coasts of Djilgar and Djadi, past the towns of Keizzar or Leime, and forty days after our departure, i.e., on the tenth of Ramazan, in the forenoon, we suddenly saw coming toward us the Christian fleet, consisting of four large ships, three galleons, six Portuguese guard ships, and twelve galleys, 25 vessels in all. I immediately ordered the canopy to be taken down, the anchor weighed, the guns put in readiness, and then, trusting to the help of the Almighty, we fastened the lilandra to the mainmast, the flags were unfurled, and, full of courage and calling upon Allah, we commenced to fight. The volley from the guns and cannon was tremendous, and with God's help we sank and utterly destroyed one of the enemy's galleons. Never before within the annals of history has such a battle been fought, and words fail me to describe it.

The battle continued till sunset, and only then the Admiral of the infidel fleet began to show some signs of fear. He ordered the signal-gun to fire a retreat, and the fleet turned in the direction of Ormuz. With the help of Allah, and under the lucky star of the Padishah, the enemies of Islam had been defeated. Night came at last; we were becalmed for awhile, then the wind rose, the sails were set and as the shore was near . . . until daybreak. The next day we continued our previous course. On the day after we passed Khorfakan, where we took in water, and soon after reached Oman, or rather Sohar. Thus we cruised about for nearly 17 days. When on the sixth of Ramazan, i.e., the day of Kadr-Ghedjesi, a night in the month of Ramazan, we arrived in the vicinity of Maskat and Kalhat, we saw in the morning, issuing from the harbor of Maskat, 12 large boats and 22 gurabs, 32 vessels in all, commanded by Captain Kuya, the son of the Governor. They carried a large number of troops.

The boats and galleons obscured the horizon with their mizzen sails and Peneta all set; the guard-ships spread their round sails (Chember-yelken), and, gay with bunting, they advanced toward us. Full of confidence in God's protection we awaited them. Their boats attacked our galleys; the battle raged, cannon and guns, arrows and swords made terrible slaughter on both sides. The Badjoalushka penetrated the boats and the Shai-kas and tore large holes in their hulls, while our galleys were riddled through by the Darda thrown down upon us from the enemy's turrets, which gave them the appearance of bristling porcupines; and they showered down upon us. . . . The stones which they threw at us created quite a whirlpool as they fell into the sea.

One of our galleys was set on fire by a bomb, but strange to say the boat from which it issued shared the like fate. God is merciful! Five of our galleys and as many of the enemy's boats were sunk and utterly wrecked, one of theirs went to the bottom with all sails set. In a word, there was great loss on both sides; our rowers were now insufficient in number to manage the oars, while running against the current, and to fire the cannon. We were compelled to drop anchor (at the stern) and to continue to fight as best we might. The boats had also to be abandoned.

Alemshah Reis, Rara Mustafa, and Kalfat Memi, captains of some of the foundered ships, and Derzi Mustafa Bey, the Serdar of the volunteers, with the remainder of the Egyptian soldiers and 200 carpenters, had landed on the Arabian shore, and as the rowers were Arabs they had been hospitably treated by the Arabs of Nedjd. The ships (gurabs) of the infidel fleet had likewise taken on board the crews of their sunken vessels, and as there were Arabs amongst them, they also had found shelter on the Arabian coast. God is our witness. Even in the war between Khaiveddin Pasha and Andreas Doria no such naval action as this has ever taken place.

When night came, and we were approaching the bay of Ormuz, the wind began to rise. The boats had already cast two Lenguurta, i.e., large anchors, the Lushtas were tightly secured, and, towing the conquered gurabs along, we neared the shore while the galleys, dragging their anchors, followed. However, we were not allowed to touch the shore, and had to set sail again. During that night we drifted away from the Arabian coast into the open sea, and finally reached the coasts of Djash, in the province of Kerman. This is a long coast, but we could find no harbor, and we roamed about for two days before we came to Kichi Mekran. As the evening was far advanced we could not land immediately, but had to spend another night at sea. In the morning a dry wind carried off many of the crew, and at last, after unheard-of troubles and difficulties, we approached the harbor of Sheba.

Here we came upon a Notak, i.e., a brigantine, laden with spoils, and when the watchman sighted us they hailed us. We told them that we were Muslims, whereupon their captain came on board our vessel; he kindly supplied us with water, for we had not a drop left, and thus our exhausted soldiers were invigorated. This was on Bairam day, and for us, as we had now got water, a double feast-day.

Escorted by the said captain we entered the harbor of Guador. The people there were Beluchistanis and their chief was Malik Djaleddin, the son of Malik Dinar. The Governor of Guador came on board our ship and assured us of his unalterable devotion to our glorious Padishah. He promised that henceforth, if at any time our fleet should come to Ormuz, he would undertake to send 50 or 60 boats to supply us with provisions, and in every possible way to be of service to us. We wrote a letter to the native Prince Djaleddin to ask for a pilot, upon which a first-class pilot was sent us, with the assurance that he was thoroughly trustworthy and entirely devoted to the interests of our Padishah.

WHAT WE SUFFERED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

God is merciful! With a favorable wind we left the port of Guador and again steered for Yemen. We had been at sea for several days, and had arrived nearly opposite to Zofar and Shar, when suddenly from the west arose a great storm known as fil Tofani. We were driven back, but were unable to set the sails, not even the trinquetla (stormsail). The tempest raged with increasing fury. As compared to these awful tempests the foul weather in the western seas is mere child's play, and their towering billows are as drops of water compared to those of the Indian sea. Night and day were both alike, and because of the frailty of our craft all ballast had to be thrown overboard. In this frightful predicament our only consolation was our unwavering trust in the power of the Almighty. For ten days the storm raged continuously and the rain came down in torrents. We never once saw the blue sky.

I did all I could to encourage and cheer my companions, and advised them above all things to be brave, and never to doubt but that all would end well. A welcome diversion occurred in the appearance of a fish about the size of two galley lengths, or more perhaps, which the pilot declared to be a good omen. The tide being very strong here and the ebb slow, we had an opportunity of seeing many sea-monsters in the neighborhood of the bay of Djugd, sea-horses, large sea-serpents, turtles in great quantities, and eels.

The color of the water suddenly changed to pure white, and at sight of it the pilot broke forth into loud lamentations; he declared we were approaching whirlpools and eddies. These are no myth here; it is generally believed that they are only found on the coasts of Abyssinia and in the neighborhood of Sind in the bay of Djugd, and hardly ever a ship has been known to escape their fury. So, at least, we are told in nautical books. We took frequent soundings, and when we struck a depth of five Kuladj (arm-lengths) the mizzen-sails (Orta Yelken) were set, the bowsprits . . . and . . . heeling over to the left side, and flying the commander's flag, we drifted about all night and all day until at last, in God's mercy, the water rose, the storm somewhat abated, and the ship veered right round.

The next morning we slackened speed and drew in the sails. A stalwart cabin boy (or sailor) was tied to the Djondu, whereby the post at the foot of the mizzenmast was weighted down, and the sailrope slightly raised. Taking a survey of our surroundings we caught sight of an idol-temple on the coast of Djamher. The sails were drawn in a little more; we passed Formyan and Menglir, and directing our course toward Somenat,

we passed by that place also. Finally we came to Div, but for fear of the unbelievers which dwell there we further drew in our sails and continued on our course with serderma.

Meanwhile, the wind had risen again, and as the men had no control over the rudder, large handles had to be affixed with long double ropes fastened to them. Each rope was taken hold of by four men, and so with great exertion they managed to control the rudder. No one could keep on his feet on deck, so of course it was impossible to walk across. The noise of the . . . and the . . . was deafening; we could not hear our own voices. The only means of communication with the sailors was by inarticulate words, and neither captain nor boatswain could for a single instant leave his post. The ammunition was secured in the storeroom, and after cutting the . . . from the . . . we continued our way.

It was truly a terrible day, but at last we reached Gujarat in India, which part of it, however, we knew not, when the pilot suddenly exclaimed: "On your guard! a whirlpool in front!" Quickly the anchors were lowered, but the ship was dragged down with great force and nearly submerged. The rowers had left their seats, the panic-stricken crew threw off their clothes, and, clinging some to casks and some to jacks, had taken leave of one another. I also stripped entirely, gave my slaves their liberty, and vowed to give 100 florins to the poor of Mecca. Presently one of the anchors broke from its crook and another at the podjuz; two more were lost, the ship gave a terrible jerk—and in another instant we were clear of the breakers. The pilot declared that had we been wrecked off Fisht-Kidsur, a place between Diu and Daman; nothing could have saved us. Once more the sails were set, and we decided to make for the infidel coast; but after duly taking note of tide and current, and having made a careful study of the chart, I came to the conclusion that we could not be very far off the mainland. I consulted the horoscope in the Qur'an, and this also counseled patience. So we commenced to examine the hold of the ship and found that the storeroom was submerged, in some places up to the walls, in some places higher still. We had shipped much water, and all hands set to work at once to bale it out. In one or two places the bottom had to be ripped up to find the outlet so as to reduce the water.

Toward afternoon the weather had cleared a little, and we found ourselves about two miles off the port of Daman, in Gujarat in India. The other ships had already arrived, but some of the galleys were waterlogged not far from the shore, and they had thrown overboard oars, boats, and casks, all of which wreckage eventually was borne ashore by the rapidly rising tide. We were obliged to lie to for another five days and five nights, exposed to a strong spring-tide, accompanied by floods of rain; for we were now in the Badzad, or rainy season of India, and there was nothing for it but to submit to our fate. During all this time we never once saw the sun by day, nor the stars by night; we could neither use our clock nor our compass, and all on board anticipated the worst. It seems a miracle that of the three ships lying there, thrown on their sides, the whole crew eventually got safely to land.

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Will Adams on Japan

Date: 1611

Will Adams was the first Englishman to make his home in Japan. His knowledge of shipbuilding made him so useful to the emperor that, although he was treated with honors and liberality, he was not allowed to leave the country. The Japanese of the street in Yedo that was named for him still hold an annual celebration in his memory. The letter from which the following excerpts are taken was written in 1611. It begins with his departure from the coast of Peru.

My Coming to Japan, 1611. Will Adams.

It was agreed that we should leave the coast of Peru and direct our course for Japan, having understood that cloth was good merchandise there and also how upon that coast of Peru the king's ships were out seeking us, having knowledge of our being there, understanding that we were weak of men, which was certain, for one of our fleet for hunger was forced to seek relief at the enemies' hands in Saint Ago. So we stood away directly for Japan, and passed the equinoctial line together, until we came in twenty-eight degrees to the northward of the line, in which latitude we were about the twenty-third of February, 1600. We had a wondrous storm of wind as ever I was in, with much rain, in which storm we lost our consort, whereof we were very sorry. Nevertheless with hope that in Japan we should meet the one the other, we proceeded on our former intention for Japan, and in the height of thirty degrees sought the northernmost cape of the fore-named island, but found it not by reason that it lay false in all cards and maps and globes; for the cape lies in thirty-five degrees and one

half, which is a great difference. In the end, in thirty-two degrees and one half we came in sight of the land, being the nineteenth day of April. So that between the Cape of St. Maria and Japan we were four months and twenty-two days; at which time there were no more than six besides myself that could stand upon his feet.

So we in safety let fall our anchor about a league from a place called Bungo. At which time came to us many boats and we suffered them to come aboard, being not able to resist them, which people did us no harm, neither of us understanding the one the other. The king of Bungo showed us great friendship, for he gave us a house and land, where we landed our sick men, and had all refreshing that was needful. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo, sick and whole, four and twenty men, of which number the next day three died. The rest for the most part recovered, saving three, which lay a long time sick, and in the end also died.

In the which time of our being here, the emperor hearing of us sent presently five galleys, or frigates, to us to bring me to the court where His Highness was, which was distant from Bungo about eighty English leagues. So that as soon as I came before him, he demanded of me of what country we were. So I answered him in all points, for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning war and peace between country and country; so that the particulars here to write would be too tedious. And for that time I was commanded to prison, being well used, with one of our mariners that came with me to serve me.

A two days after, the emperor called me again, demanding the reason of our coming so far. I answered: We are a people that sought all friendship with all nations, and to have trade in all countries, bringing such merchandise as our country did afford into strange lands in the way of traffic. He demanded also as concerning the wars between the Spaniards or Portugal and our country and the reasons; the which I gave him to understand of all things, which he was glad to hear, as it seemed to me.

In the end I was commanded to prison again, but my lodging was bettered in another place. So that thirty-nine days I was in prison, hearing no more news, neither of our ship nor captain, whether he were recovered of his sickness or not, nor of the rest of the company; in which time I looked every day to die, to be crossed [crucified] as the custom of justice is in Japan, as hanging in our land. In which long time of imprisonment, the Jesuits and the Portuguese gave many evidences against me and the rest to the emperor that we were thieves and robbers of all nations, and, were we suffered to live, it should be against the profit of His Highness and the land; for no nation should come there without robbing; His Highness's justice being executed, the rest of our nation without doubt should fear and not come here any more: thus daily making access to the emperor and procuring friends to hasten my death. But God, that is always merciful at need, showed mercy unto us and would not suffer them to have their wills of us. In the end, the emperor gave them answer that we as yet had not done to him nor to none of his land any harm or damage; therefore against reason and justice to put us to death. If our countries had war the one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death; with which they were out of heart that their cruel pretense failed them. For which God be forever-more praised.

Now in this time that I was in prison the ship was commanded to be brought so near to the city where the emperor was as she might be (for grounding her); the which was done. Forty-one days being expired, the emperor caused me to be brought before him again, demanding of me many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion he asked me whether I were desirous to go to the ship to see my countrymen. I answered very gladly, the which he bade me do. So I departed and was free from imprisonment. And this was the first news that I had that the ship and company were come to the city. So that with a rejoicing heart I took a boat and went to our ship, where I found the captain and the rest recovered of their sickness; and when I came aboard with weeping eyes was received, for it was given them to understand that I was executed long since. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left alive came together again.

From the ship all things were taken out, so that the clothes which I took with me on my back I only had. All my instruments and books were taken. Not only I lost what I had in the ship, but from the captain and the company generally what was good or worth the taking was carried away; all which was done unknown to the emperor. So in process of time having knowledge of it, he commanded that they which had taken our goods should restore it to us back again; but it was here and there so taken that we could not get it again, saving 50,000 R in ready money was commanded to be given us and in his presence brought and delivered in the hands of one that was made our governor, who kept them in his hands to distribute them unto us as we had need for the buying of victuals for our men with other particular charges. In the end the money was divided according to every man's place; but this was about two years that we had been in Japan, and when we had a denial that we should not have our ship, but to abide in Japan. So that the part of every one being divided, every one took his way where he thought best. In the end, the emperor gave every man, much as was worth eleven or twelve ducats a year, namely, myself, the captain, and mariners all alike.

So in process of four or five years the emperor called me, as divers times he had done before. So one time above the rest he would have me to make him a small ship. I answered that I was no carpenter and had no knowledge thereof. "Well, do your endeavor," said he; "if it be not good, it is no matter." Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burden of eighty tons or thereabout; which ship being made in all respects as our manner is, he coming aboard to see it, liked it very well; by which means I came in favor with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yearly stipend

to live upon, much about seventy ducats by the year with two pounds of rice a day daily. Now being in such grace and favor by reason I learned him some points of geometry and understanding of the art of mathematics with other things, I pleased him so that what I said he would not contrary. At which my former enemies did wonder, and at this time must entreat me to do them a friendship, which to both Spaniards and Portuguese have I done, recompensing them good for evil. So to pass my time to get my living, it hath cost me great labor and trouble at the first; but God hath blessed my labor.

In the end of five years I made supplication to the king to go out of this land, desiring to see my poor wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request the emperor was not well pleased, and would not let me go any more for my country, but to bide in his land. Yet in process of time, being in great favor with the emperor, I made supplication again, by reason we had news that the Hollanders were in Shian and Patania; which rejoiced us much with hope that God should bring us to our country again by one means or other. So I made supplication again, and boldly spoke myself with him, at which he gave me no answer. I told him if he would permit me to depart, I would be a means that both the English and Hollanders should come and traffic there. But by no means he would let me go. I asked him leave for the captain, the which he presently granted me. So by that means my captain got leave, and in a Japan junk sailed to Pattan; and in a year's space came to Hollanders. In the end, he went from Patane to Ior, where he found a fleet of nine sail, of which fleet Matleef was general, and in this fleet he was made master again, which fleet sailed to Malacca and fought with an armado of Portugal; in which battle he was shot and presently died; so that, as I think, no certain news is known whether I be living or dead. Therefore I do pray and entreat you in the name of Jesus Christ to do so much as to make my being here in Japan known to my poor wife, in a manner a widow and my two children fatherless; which thing only is my greatest grief of heart and conscience. I am a man not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse, by name to my good Master Nicholas Diggines and M. Thomas Best and M. Nicholas Isaac and William Isaac, brothers, with many others; also to M. William Jones and M. Becket. Therefore may this letter come to any of their hands or the copy, I do know that compassion and mercy is so that my friends and kindred shall have news that I do as yet live in this vale of my sorrowful pilgrimage; the which thing again and again I do desire for Jesus Christ his sake.

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Mayflower Compact

Date: November 11, 1620

Often regarded as the first constitutional document of the colonies, the Mayflower Compact was an agreement signed by settlers aboard the ship Mayflower off Cape Cod, on November 11, 1620, prior to their settlement at Plymouth in what became the colony and later the state of Massachusetts.

The central core group of the 102 English colonists who sailed to North America on the Mayflower in 1620 was a group of 41 Puritan Separatist Congregationalists. We refer to them as the Pilgrims.

The Anglican Church had been established and had been the church authority in England after the split with the Catholic Church. These Puritan Separatists believed that the Anglican Church was still too close to the Catholic Church in organization and in traditions of ceremonies. They rejected the ideas of hierarchical authority within the church and favored the concept of local authority within each church congregation. By establishing their own separatist congregations, they were pursued by the authorities of the established church and fined and imprisoned. Many fled in mass to Holland in 1608, where the Dutch churches had much greater independence and reform.

A minority of these Puritan Separatist English exiles in Holland believed that the New World would offer them even greater independence and religious freedoms. Their representatives, Deacon John Carver and Robert Cushman, negotiated with Thomas Weston and with Weston's merchant investors to form a joint-stock company in 1619. This new company was similar in concept to the Virginia Company and other English venture groups. Their company contract deemed that all property and profits of the new settlement become the communal property of the company for profit for a period of seven years. Their ship was bound for Jamestown and the Virginia Colony.

The Virginia Colony had already established governance and law. Their ship, the Mayflower, arrived off the coast of Cape Cod on November 11, 1620. These new settlers were to be put ashore in an area outside of the bounds of the Virginia Colony. This created two new issues: first, that there was no existing establishment of governance and of the king's law there, and, second, that the Pilgrims were outside of the domain of the original company charter and contract.

Owing to these new circumstances, the Puritan leaders created a compact—or agreement—by which all Puritan and non-Puritan settlers would unite together as one colony rather than splitting up and creating separate settlements. All 41 adult men on board the Mayflower agreed to sign the Mayflower Compact, in which they agreed to accept a democratically elected communal government and to establish a rule of law. The Mayflower anchored in Plymouth Bay on December 16, 1620 and the Plymouth Colony was established.

Agreement Between the Settlers at New Plymouth : 1620

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.

Mr. John Carver,
Mr. William Bradford,
Mr Edward Winslow,
Mr. William Brewster.
Isaac Allerton,
Myles Standish,
John Alden,
John Turner,
Francis Eaton,
James Chilton,
John Craxton,
John Billington,
Josias Fletcher,
John Goodman,
Mr. Samuel Fuller,
Mr. Christopher Martin,
Mr. William Mullins,
Mr. William White,
Mr. Richard Warren,
John Howland,
Mr. Steven Hopkins,
Digery Priest,
Thomas Williams,
Gilbert Winslow,
Edmund Margesson,
Peter Brown,
Richard Britteridge
George Soule,
Edward Tilly,
John Tilly,

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Primary Source Citation: *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America*. Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909.

René Descartes: *Discourse on Method*

Also known as: *Discours de la méthode*

Date: 1637

Metaphysical essay written by French philosopher René Descartes and published anonymously in 1637 containing his "method," through which, Descartes held, one could attain certainty with regard to the truth of ideas. His method stipulated that one could not accept anything as true unless all doubt as to its truth could be dispelled, and that all opinions that were not understood with perfect clarity had to be analyzed systematically and in detail. Descartes also acknowledged the possibility that all man's beliefs could be false and, consequently, that truth might never be known definitively by man. This possibility Descartes dismissed with his dictum "Cogito, ergo sum" ("I think, therefore I am"), a dictum that, according to Descartes, was indubitable and therefore proof that absolute certainty could be attained. The famous essay served as a preface to a book containing his works, Geometry, Dioptrics and Meteors.

PART 1

Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for every one thinks himself so abundantly provided with it, that those even who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else, do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging aright and of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly what is called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not arise from some being endowed with a larger share of reason than others, but solely from this, that we conduct our thoughts along different ways, and do not fix our attention on the same objects.

For myself, I have never fancied my mind to be in any respect more perfect than those of the generality; on the contrary, I have often wished that I were equal to some others in promptitude of thought, or in clearness and distinctness of imagination, or in fullness and readiness of memory. And besides these, I know of no other qualities that contribute to the perfection of the mind; for as to the reason or sense, inasmuch as it is that alone which constitutes us men, and distinguishes us from the brutes, I am disposed to believe that it is to be found complete in each individual; and on this point to adopt the common opinion of philosophers, who say that the difference of greater and less holds only among the accidents, and not among the forms or natures of individuals of the same species.

From my childhood, I have been familiar with letters; and as I was given to believe that by their help a clear and certain knowledge of all that is useful in life might be acquired, I was ardently desirous of instruction. But as soon as I had finished the entire course of study, at the close of which it is customary to be admitted into the order of the learned, I completely changed my opinion. For I found myself involved in so many doubts and errors, that I was convinced I had advanced no farther in all my attempts at learning, than the discovery at every turn of my own ignorance. And yet I was studying in one of the most celebrated schools in Europe, in which I thought there must be learned men, if such were anywhere to be found. I had been taught all that others learned there; and not contented with the sciences actually taught us, I had, in addition, read all the books that had fallen into my hands, treating of such branches as are esteemed the most curious and rare. I knew the judgment which others had formed of me; and I did not find that I was considered inferior to my fellows, although there were among them some who were already marked out to fill the places of our instructors. And, in fine, our age appeared to me as flourishing, and as fertile in powerful minds as any preceding one. I was thus led to take the liberty of judging of all other men by myself, and of concluding that there was no science in existence that was of such a nature as I had previously been given to believe.

I was especially delighted with the mathematics, on account of the certitude and evidence of their reasonings; but I had not as yet a precise knowledge of their true use; and thinking that they but contributed to the advancement of the mechanical arts, I was astonished that foundations, so strong and solid, should have had no loftier superstructure reared on them. On the other hand, I compared the disquisitions of the ancient moralists to very towering and magnificent palaces with no better foundation than sand and mud: they laud the virtues very highly, and exhibit them as estimable far above anything on earth; but they give us no adequate criterion of virtue, and frequently that which they designate with so fine a name is but apathy, or pride, or despair, or parricide.

I revered our theology, and aspired as much as any one to reach heaven: but being given assuredly to understand that the way is not less open to the most ignorant than to the most learned, and that the revealed truths which lead to heaven are above our comprehension, I did not presume to subject them to the impotency of my reason; and I thought that in order competently to undertake their examination, there was need of some special help from heaven, and of being more than man.

Of philosophy I will say nothing, except that when I saw that it had been cultivated for many ages by the most distinguished men, and that yet there is not a single matter within its sphere which is not still in dispute,

and nothing, therefore, which is above doubt, I did not presume to anticipate that my success would be greater in it than that of others; and further, when I considered the number of conflicting opinions touching a single matter that may be upheld by learned men, while there can be but one true, I reckoned as well-nigh false all that was only probable.

It is true that, while busied only in considering the manners of other men, I found here, too, scarce any ground for settled conviction, and remarked hardly less contradiction among them than in the opinions of the philosophers. So that the greatest advantage I derived from the study consisted in this, that, observing many things which, however extravagant and ridiculous to our apprehension, are yet by common consent received and approved by other great nations, I learned to entertain too decided a belief in regard to nothing of the truth of which I had been persuaded merely by example and custom; and thus I gradually extricated myself from many errors powerful enough to darken our natural intelligence, and incapacitate us in great measure from listening to reason. But after I had been occupied several years in thus studying the book of the world, and in essaying to gather some experience, I at length resolved to make myself an object of study, and to employ all the powers of my mind in choosing the paths I ought to follow, an undertaking which was accompanied with greater success than it would have been had I never quitted my country or my books.

PART 2

... Among the branches of philosophy, I had, at an earlier period, given some attention to logic, and among those of the mathematics to geometrical analysis and algebra,—three arts or sciences which ought, as I conceived, to contribute something to my design. But, on examination, I found that, as for logic, its syllogisms and the majority of its other precepts are of avail—rather in the communication of what we already know, or even as the art of Lully, in speaking without judgment of things of which we are ignorant, than in the investigation of the unknown; and although this science contains indeed a number of correct and very excellent precepts, there are, nevertheless, so many others, and these either injurious or superfluous, mingled with the former, that it is almost quite as difficult to effect a severance of the true from the false as it is to extract a Diana or a Minerva from a rough block of marble. Then as to the analysis of the ancients and the algebra of the moderns, besides that they embrace only matters highly abstract, and, to appearance, of no use, the former is so exclusively restricted to the consideration of figures, that it can exercise the understanding only on condition of greatly fatiguing the imagination; and, in the latter, there is so complete a subjection to certain rules and formulas, that there results an art full of confusion and obscurity calculated to embarrass, instead of a science fitted to cultivate the mind. By these considerations I was induced to seek some other method which would comprise the advantages of the three and be exempt from their defects. And as a multitude of laws often only hampers justice, so that a state is best governed when, with few laws, these are rigidly administered; in like manner, instead of the great number of precepts of which logic is composed, I believed that the four following would prove perfectly sufficient for me, provided I took the firm and unwavering resolution never in a single instance to fail in observing them.

The first was never to accept anything for true which I did not clearly know to be such; that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to comprise nothing more in my judgement than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all ground of doubt.

The second, to divide each of the difficulties under examination into as many parts as possible, and as might be necessary for its adequate solution.

The third, to conduct my thoughts in such order that, by commencing with objects the simplest and easiest to know, I might ascend by little and little, and, as it were, step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex; assigning in thought a certain order even to those objects which in their own nature do not stand in a relation of antecedence and sequence.

And the last, in every case to make enumerations so complete, and reviews so general, that I might be assured that nothing was omitted.

The long chains of simple and easy reasonings by means of which geometers are accustomed to reach the conclusions of their most difficult demonstrations, had led me to imagine that all things, to the knowledge of which man is competent, are mutually connected in the same way, and that there is nothing so far removed from us as to be beyond our reach, or so hidden that we cannot discover it, provided only we abstain from accepting the false for the true, and always preserve in our thoughts the order necessary for the deduction of one truth from another. And I had little difficulty in determining the objects with which it was necessary to commence, for I was already persuaded that it must be with the simplest and easiest to know, . . .

In this way I believed that I could borrow all that was best both in geometrical analysis and in algebra, and correct all the defects of the one by help of the other.

PART 4

I am in doubt as to the propriety of making my first meditations in the place above mentioned matter of discourse; for these are so metaphysical, and so uncommon, as not, perhaps, to be acceptable to every one. And yet, that it may be determined whether the foundations that I have laid are sufficiently secure, I find myself in

a measure constrained to advert to them. I had long before remarked that, in relation to practice, it is sometimes necessary to adopt, as if above doubt, opinions which we discern to be highly uncertain, as has been already said; but as I then desired to give my attention solely to the search after truth, I thought that a procedure exactly the opposite was called for, and that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable. Accordingly, seeing that our senses sometimes deceive us, I was willing to suppose that there existed nothing really such as they presented to us; and because some men err in reasoning, and fall into paralogisms, even on the simplest matters of geometry, I, convinced that I was as open to error as any other, rejected as false all the reasonings I had hitherto taken for demonstrations; and finally, when I considered that the very same thoughts (presentations) which we experience when awake may also be experienced when we are asleep, while there is at that time not one of them true, I supposed that all the objects (presentations) that had ever entered into my mind when awake, had in them no more truth than the illusions of my dreams. But immediately upon this I observed that, whilst I thus wished to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I, who thus thought, should be somewhat; and as I observed that this truth, I think, therefore I am (COGITO ERGO SUM), was so certain and of such evidence that no ground of doubt, however extravagant, could be alleged by the sceptics capable of shaking it, I concluded that I might, without scruple, accept it as the first principle of the philosophy of which I was in search.

In the next place, I attentively examined what I was and as I observed that I could suppose that I had no body, and that there was no world nor any place in which I might be; but that I could not therefore suppose that I was not; and that, on the contrary, from the very circumstance that I thought to doubt of the truth of other things, it most clearly and certainly followed that I was; while, on the other hand, if I had only ceased to think, although all the other objects which I had ever imagined had been in reality existent, I would have had no reason to believe that I existed; I thence concluded that I was a substance whose whole essence or nature consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that “I,” that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am, is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter, and is such, that although the latter were not, it would still continue to be all that it is.

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British Bill of Rights

Date: 1689

Following the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688, which overthrew King James II and installed Mary and William of Orange on the English throne, Parliament secured a bill of rights. Many of the provisions of this document were later emulated in colonial charters in the English colonies in the New World, and, later, in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the United States of America. The following text is drawn from the official Revised Statutes, 1871.

Whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and diverse principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January, in this year 1689, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said lords spiritual and temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being new assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindication and assertion of their ancient rights and liberties, declare:

1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with the laws, or the execution of law by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties. . . .

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempt upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

The said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland. . . .

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said lords and commons contained in the said declaration.

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Act to Settle the Trade to Africa

Date: 1698

The act of Parliament ending the Royal African Company's monopoly on the British slave trade. Under a 1672 charter from the British parliament, the Royal African Company's shareholders held exclusive rights to trade in slaves from Africa. In 1698, Parliament yielded to the mounting demands of rival English merchants and opened the slave trade to all. However, the 1698 act declared the forts maintained by the RAC on Gold Coast "undoubtedly necessary" for the success of the trade. Newcomers to the trade were given permission to practice as "separate traders," but expected—as were all merchants who traded to Africa—to contribute to the maintenance of the forts.

These independent traders were required to pay a 10 percent tax to the Royal African Company on all exports to Africa, as well as an additional 10 percent on all direct imports to Britain from Northwest Africa between Capes Blanco and Monte. Exports to the Americas, including slaves, were not taxed. In return for their support, traders were granted rights at the company's forts. Despite the alleged benefits, the "Ten-Per-centers," as these independent merchants came to be known, complained about the imposed taxes and often paid them late or not at all. The taxes were finally remitted altogether in 1712. With the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly, the number of slaves transported on English ships would increase dramatically, to an average of over 20,000 a year. By the end of the 17th century, England led the world in the trafficking of slaves.

The original spellings have been retained in this excerpt.

I. Whereas the Trade to Africa is highly beneficial and advantageous to this kingdom, and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: and whereas Forts and Castles are undoubtedly necessary for the preservation and well carrying on the said Trade. . . . Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June in the Year One thousand six hundred ninety and eight the said Royal African Company their Successors and Assigns by and with their Stock, and Duties herein after appointed to be paid, shall maintain, support and defend all such Forts and Castles as the said African Company now have in their Possession or shall hereafter purchase or erect . . . and at all times hereafter as occasion shall require shall supply with Men Artillery, Ammunition and Provision, and all other Necessaries and incident Charges whatsoever.

II. And the better to enable the said Royal African Company, their Successors and Assigns, to maintain the said Castles and Forts and for the Preservation and well carrying on the said Trade to and for the Advantage of England and the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: Be it further enacted That it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of His Majesties Realm of England as well as for the said Company from and after the said Four and Twentieth Day of June to trade from England, and from and after the First of August One thousand six hundred ninety and eight from any of His Majesties Plantations and Colonies in America, to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, the said Company and all other the said Subjects answering and paying for the Uses aforesaid a Duty of Ten Pounds per Centum ad Valorem for [of the value of] the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value in Manner and Forme as herein after expressed. . . .

XIV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Persons being the natural born Subjects of England trading to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid and paying the Duties by this Act imposed, shall have the same Protection Security and Defence for their Persons Ships and Goods by from and in all the said Forts and Castles and the like Freedom and Security for their Negotiations and Trade to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever as the said Company their Agents Factors and Assigns and their Ships and Goods have, may or shall have, and that all and every person and Persons trading to Africa and paying the Duties as aforesaid may and are hereby impowered at their own Charge to Settle Factories [establishments for traders carrying on business in a foreign country] on any part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid according as they shall judge necessary and convenient for the carrying on their Trade without any Lett Hindrance or Molestation from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, and that all Persons not Members of the said Company so trading and paying the said Duties as aforesaid shall, together with their Shippes and Goods, be free from all Molestations Hindrances Restraints Arrests Seizures Penalties or other Impositions whatso[e]ver from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, for or by reason of their so trading, Any Charter Usage or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. . . .

XX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Governor or Deputy Governor of any of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America or His Majesties Judges in any Courts there for the time being nor any other Person or Persons for the use or on behalf of such Governor or Deputy Governor or Judges from and after the Nine and twentieth Day of September One thousand six hundred ninety eight shall be a Factor or Factors, Agent or Agents for the said Company, or any other Person or Persons for the Sale or disposal of any Negroes and that every Person offending herein shall Forfeit Five hundred pounds . . .

Provided that this Act shall continue and be in Force Thirteen Years and thence to the end of the next Sessions of Parliament and no longer.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "British Act to Settle the Trade to Africa (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *African-American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

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Treaty of Utrecht

Date: 1713

The Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession as well as its North American phase, Queen Anne's War. Not only did the treaty bring about a basic equilibrium in Europe until about 1740, it established the foundation of the English hegemony in North America, giving to Great Britain the Hudson Bay region, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. By the Anglo-Spanish agreement that is part of the Treaty of Utrecht (signed

July 13, 1713), Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain and the asientio (privilege) of exclusively introducing African slaves into its American possessions, a right that was subsequently extended to general trading privileges. The Utrecht documents and an additional agreement, the Treaty of Rastadt (March 16, 1714), marked the end of French aggrandizement under the ancien régime and the dramatic diminution of Spain as a power among the European states.

All Offenses, Injurys, and Damages, which the aforesaid Queen of Great Britain, and her subjects, or the aforesaid most Christian King, and his Subjects, have suffered the one from the other, during the War, shall be buried in Oblivion; so that neither on account, or under pretence thereof, or of any other thing, shall either hereafter, of the Subjects of either, do or give, cause or suffer to be done or given to the other, any Hostility, Enmity, Molestation, or Hindrance, by themselves, or by others, secretly or openly, directly or indirectly, under color of Right, or by any way of fact.

More specifically, the treaty acknowledged that “the most destructive Flame of War . . . arose chiefly from hence, that the Security and Libertys of Europe could by no means bear the Union of the Kingdoms of France and Spain under one and the same King” and made its principal thrust clear: “that this Evil”—the union of France and Spain under one crown—“should in all times to come be obviated, by means of Renunciations drawn in the most effectual Form, and executed in the most solemn Manner.”

TREATY OF UTRECHT

Whereas the most destructive Flame of War which is to be extinguished by this Peace, arose chiefly from hence, that the Security and Libertys of Europe could by no means bear the Union of the Kingdoms of France and Spain under one and the same King; And whereas it has at length been brought to pass by the Assistance of the Divine Power, upon the most earnest Instances of her Sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and with the Consent both of the most Christian and of the Catholick King, that this Evil should in all times to come be obviated, by means of Renunciations drawn in the most effectual Form, and executed in the most solemn Manner, the Tenor whereof is as follows.

LETTERS PATENT BY THE KING, WHICH ADMIT THE RENUNCIATION OF THE KING OF SPAIN TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE, AND THOSE OF MONSIEUR THE DUKE OF BERRY AND OF MONSIEUR THE DUKE OF ORLÉANS, TO THE CROWN OF SPAIN.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre: To all People present and to come, Greeting. During the various Revolutions of a War, wherein we have fought only to maintain the Justice of the Rights of the King, our most dear and most beloved Grandson to the Monarchy of Spain, we have never ceased to desire Peace. The greatest Successes did not at all dazzle us, and the contrary Events, which the Hand of God made use of to try us rather than to destroy us, did not give birth to that Desire in us, but found it there. But the Time marked out by Divine Providence for the Repose of Europe was not yet come; the distant Fear of seeing one Day our Crown and that of Spain upon the Head of one and the same Prince, did always make an equal Impression on the Powers which were united against us; and this Fear, which had been the principal Cause of the War, seemed also to lay an insuperable Obstacle in the way to Peace. At last, after many fruitless Negotiations, God being moved with the Sufferings and Groans of so many People, was pleased to open a surer way to come at so difficult a Peace. But the same Alarms still subsisting, the first and principal Condition, which was proposed to us by our most dear and most beloved Sister the Queen of Great Britain, as the essential and necessary Foundation of Treating, was, That the King of Spain, our said Brother and Grandson, keeping the Monarchy of Spain and of the Indies, should renounce for himself and his Descendants for ever, the Rights which his Birth might at any time give him and them to our Crown; that on the other hand, our most dear and most beloved Grandson the Duke of Berry, and our most dear and most beloved Nephew the Duke of Orleans, should likewise renounce for themselves, and for their Descendants, Male and Female for ever, their Rights to the Monarchy of Spain and the Indies. Our said Sister caused it to be represented to us, that without a formal and positive Assurance upon this Point, which alone could be the Bond of Peace, Europe would never be at rest; all the Powers which share the same being equally persuaded, That it was for their general Interest, and for their common Security, to continue a War, whereof no one could foresee the End, rather than to be exposed to behold the same Prince become one day Master of two Monarchys, so powerful as those of France and Spain. But as this Princess (whose indefatigable Zeal for re-establishing the general Tranquillity we cannot sufficiently praise) was sensible of all the Reluctancy we had to consent that one of our Children, so worthy to inherit the Succession of our Forefathers, should necessarily be excluded from it, if the Misfortunes wherewith it has pleased God to afflict us in our Family, should moreover take from us, in the Person of the Dauphin, our most dear and most beloved great Grandson, the only Remainder of those Princes which our Kingdom has so justly lamented with us; she entered into our Pain, and after having jointly sought out gentler means of securing the Peace, we agreed with our said Sister to propose the King of Spain other Dominions, inferior indeed to those which he possesses, yet the Value thereof would so much the more

increase under his Reign, in as much as in that case he would preserve his Rights, and annex to our Crown a part of the said Dominions, if he came one time or other to succeed us. We employed therefore the strongest Reasons to persuade him to accept this Alternative. We gave him to understand, that the Duty of his Birth was the first which he ought to consult; that he owed himself to his House, and to his Country, before he was obliged to Spain; that if he were wanting to his first Engagements, he would perhaps one day in vain regret his having abandoned those Rights, which he would be no more able to maintain. We added to these Reasons the personal motives of Friendship and of tender Love, which we thought likely to move him; the Pleasure we should have in seeing him from time to time near us, and in passing some part of our days with him, which we might promise ourselves from the Neighborhood of the Dominions that were offered him; the Satisfaction of instructing him ourselves concerning the State of our Affairs, and of relying upon him for the future; so that, if God should preserve to us the Dauphin, we could give our Kingdom, in the Person of the King our Brother and Grandson, a Regent instructed in the Art of Government; and that, if this Child so precious to us and to our Subjects, were also taken from us, we shou'd at least have the Consolation of leaving to our People a virtuous King, fit to govern them, and who would likewise annex to our Crown very considerable Dominions. Our Instances, reiterated with all the force, and with all the tender affection necessary to persuade a Son who so justly deserves those Efforts which we made for preserving him to France, produced nothing but reiterated Refusals on his part, ever to abandon such brave and faithful Subjects, whose Zeal for him had been distinguished in those Conjunctions, when his Throne seemed to be the most shaken. So that persisting with an invincible Firmness in his first Resolution, asserting likewise, that it was more glorious and more advantageous for our House, and for our Kingdom, than that which we pressed him to take, he declared in the Meeting of the States of the Kingdom of Spain, assembled at Madrid for that purpose, that for obtaining a general Peace, and securing the Tranquillity of Europe by a Ballance of Power, he of his own proper Motion, of his own free Will, and without any Constraint, renounced for himself, for his Heirs and Successors for ever and ever, all Pretensions, Rights and Titles, which he, or any of his Descendants, have at present, or may have at any time to come whatsoever, to the Succession of our Crown: That he held for excluded therefrom himself, his Children, Heirs, and Descendants for ever: That he consented for himself and for them, that now, as well as then, his Right, and that of his Descendants, should pass over and be transferred to him among the Princes, whom the Law of Succession, and the Order of Birth calls, or shall call to inherit our Crown, in default of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, and of his Descendants, as it is more amply specified in the Act of Renunciation, approved by the States of his Kingdom; and consequently he declared, that he desisted particularly from the Right which hath been added to that of his Birth, by our Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, whereby we declared, that it was our Will, that the King of Spain and his Descendants should always preserve the Rights of their Birth and Original, in the same manner as if they resided actually in our Kingdom; and from the Registry which was made of our said Letters Patent, both in our Court of Parliament, and in our Chamber of Accounts at Paris, we are sensible as King and as Father, how much it were to be desired that the general Peace could have been concluded without a Renunciation, which makes so great a Change in our Royal House, and in the ancient Order of succeeding to our Crown: but we are yet more sensible how much it is our Duty to secure speedily to our Subjects a Peace which is so necessary for them. We shall never forget the Efforts which they made for us, during the long continuance of a War, which we could not have supported, if their Zeal had not been much more extensive than their Power. The Welfare of a People so faithful, is to us a supreme Law, which ought to be preferred to any other Consideration. It is to this Law that We this day sacrifice the Right of a Grandson, who is so dear to us; and by the Price which the general Peace will cost our tender Love, we shall at least have the Comfort of shewing our Subjects, that even at the Expence of our Blood, they will always keep the first place in our Heart.

For these Causes, and other important Considerations us thereunto moving, after having seen in our Council the said Act of Renunciation of the King of Spain our said Brother and Grandson, of the fifth of November last, as also the Acts of Renunciations, which our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, made reciprocally of their Rights to the Crown of Spain, as well for themselves as for their Descendants Male and Female, in consequence of the Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, the whole hereunto annexed, with a Copy collated of the said Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, under the Counter-Seal of our Chancery; of our special Grace, full Power, and Royal Authority, we have declared, decreed and ordained, and by these Presents signed with our Hand, we do declare, decree and ordain, we will, and it is our Pleasure, That the said Act of Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, and those of our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and of our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, which we have admitted, and do admit, be registered in all our Courts of Parliament, and Chambers of our Accounts in our Kingdom, and other Places where it shall be necessary, in order to their being executed according to their Form and Tenor. And consequently, we will and intend, that our said Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, be and remain null, and as if they had never been made; that they be brought back to us, and that in the Margin of the Registers of our said Court of Parliament, and of our said Chamber of Accounts, where the Enrolment of the said Letters Patent is, the Extract of these Presents be placed and inserted, the better to signify our Intention as to the Revocation, and Nullity of the said

Letters. We will that in conformity to the said Act of Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, he be from henceforth looked upon and considered as excluded from our Succession; that his Heirs, Successors, and Descendants be likewise excluded for ever, and looked upon as incapable of enjoying the same. We understand that in failure of them, all Rights to our said Crown, and succession to our Dominions, which might at any time whatsoever belong and appertain to them, be and remain transferred to our most dear, and most beloved Grandson the Duke of Berry, and to his Children and Descendants, being Males born in lawful Marriage; and successively in failure of them, to those of the Princes of our Royal House, and their Descendants, who in Right of their Birth, or by the Order established since the Foundation of our Monarchy, ought to succeed to our Crown. And so we command our beloved and trusty Counsellors, the Members of our Court of Parliament at Paris, that they do cause these Presents, together with the Acts of Renunciation made by our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, by our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and by our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, to be read, publish'd and registered, and the Contents thereof to be kept, peaceably, and perpetually; ceasing, and causing to cease all Molestations and Hindrances, notwithstanding any Laws, Statutes, Usages, Customs, Decrees, Regulations, and other matters contrary thereunto: whereto, and to the Derogations of the Derogations therein contained, we have derogated, and do derogate by these Presents, for this purpose only and without being brought into Precedent. For such is our Pleasure.

And to the end that this may be a matter firm and lasting for ever, we have caused our Seal to be affixed to these Presents. Given at Versailles, in the Month of March in the Year of our Lord 1713, and of our Reign the 70th. Sign'd Lewis, and underneath, by the King, Phelypeaux. Vise, Phelypeaux. And sealed with the Great Seal on green Wax, with strings of red and green Silk.

Read and published, the Court being assembled, and registered among the Rolls of the Court, the King's Attorney General being heard and moving for the same, to the end that they may be executed according to their Form and Tenor, in pursuance of, and in conformity to, the Acts of this Day. At Paris, in Parliament the 15th of March, 1713.

Sign'd
DONGOIS

For his part, King Philip V of Spain reciprocally renounced any claim to the French throne for himself or his heirs. By the July 13, 1713, agreement, Spain pledged "free Use of Navigation and Commerce" between itself and England, ceded Minorca and Gibraltar, and, through the Pacto de el Assiento de Negros, granted Great Britain an exclusive right to introduce African slaves into her American possessions.

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PRIMARY DOCUMENTS: AGE OF REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE—1750 TO 1900

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *The Social Contract*

Also known as: *Du contrat social*

Date: 1762

Rousseau's *Du contrat social; ou principes du droit politique* was first published in Amsterdam in 1762. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau stated the concept of a social contract as the basis of society. Unlike John Locke, who saw such a contract between the governed and the governors, Rousseau perceived the contract as being between all people of a society. He grounded his idea of liberties on the basis of a natural law, and those he influenced began to speak of natural rights.

In Rousseau's view, all members of society were equal and therefore shared equal obligations to the society at large. The will of society at large became the general will, and each individual was therefore obligated to surrender his rights to the general will. The general will would be represented by the state, and the state should be headed by a responsible monarch. An arrangement such as this was considered ideal, as all citizens would retain equality with respect to one another. Citizens would retain ultimate power as they had the right to remove the king from power at will.

ORIGIN AND TERMS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains. This man believes that he is the master of others, and still he is more of a slave than they are. How did that transformation take place? I don't know. How may the restraints on man become legitimate? I do believe I can answer that question. . . .

At a point in the state of nature when the obstacles to human preservation have become greater than each individual with his own strength can cope with. . . . , an adequate combination of forces must be the result of men coming together. Still, each man's power and freedom are his main means of selfpreservation. How is he to put them under the control of others without damaging himself . . . ?

This question might be rephrased: "How is a method of associating to be found which will defend and protect—using the power of all—the person and property of each member and still enable each member of the group to obey only himself and to remain as free as before?" This is the fundamental problem; the social contract offers a solution to it.

The very scope of the action dictates the terms of this contract and renders the least modification of them inadmissible, something making them null and void. Thus, although perhaps they have never been stated in so many words, they are the same everywhere and tacitly conceded and recognized everywhere. And so it follows that each individual immediately recovers his primitive rights and natural liberties whenever any violation of the social contract occurs and thereby loses the contractual freedom for which he renounced them.

The social contract's terms, when they are well understood, can be reduced to a single stipulation: the individual member alienates himself totally to the whole community together with all his rights. This is first because conditions will be the same for everyone when each individual gives himself totally, and secondly, because no one will be tempted to make that condition of shared equality worse for other men. . . .

Once this multitude is united this way into a body, an offense against one of its members is an offense against the body politic. It would be even less possible to injure the body without its members feeling it. Duty and interest thus equally require the two contracting parties to aid each other mutually. The individual people should be motivated from their double roles as individuals and members of the body, to combine all the advantages which mutual aid offers them. . . .

INDIVIDUAL WILLS AND THE GENERAL WILL

In reality, each individual may have one particular will as a man that is different from—or contrary to—the general will which he has as a citizen. His own particular interest may suggest other things to him than the common interest does. His separate, naturally independent existence may make him imagine that what he owes to the common cause is an incidental contribution—a contribution which will cost him more to give than their failure to receive it would harm the others. He may also regard the moral person of the State as an imaginary being since it is not a man, and wish to enjoy the rights of a citizen without performing the duties of a subject. This unjust attitude could cause the ruin of the body politic if it became widespread enough.

So that the social pact will not become meaningless words, it tacitly includes this commitment, which alone gives power to the others: Whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be forced to obey it by the whole body politic, which means nothing else but that he will be forced to be free. This condition is indeed the one which by dedicating each citizen to the fatherland gives him a guarantee against being personally

dependent on other individuals. It is the condition which all political machinery depends on and which alone makes political undertakings legitimate. Without it, political actions become absurd, tyrannical, and subject to the most outrageous abuses.

Whatever benefits he had in the state of nature but lost in the civil state, a man gains more than enough new ones to make up for them. His capabilities are put to good use and developed; his ideas are enriched, his sentiments made more noble, and his soul elevated to the extent that-if the abuses in this new condition did not often degrade him to a condition lower than the one he left behind-he would have to keep blessing this happy moment which snatched him away from his previous state and which made an intelligent being and a man out of a stupid and very limited animal. . . .

PROPERTY RIGHTS

In dealing with its members, the State controls all their goods under the social contract, which serves as the basis for all rights within the State, but it controls them only through the right of first holder which individuals convey to the State. . . .

A strange aspect of this act of alienating property rights to the state is that when the community takes on the goods of its members, it does not take these goods away from them. The community does nothing but assure its members of legitimate possession of goods, changing mere claims of possession into real rights and customary use into property. . . . Through an act of transfer having advantages for the public but far more for themselves they have, so to speak, really acquired everything they gave up. . . .

INDIVISIBLE, INALIENABLE SOVEREIGNTY

The first and most important conclusion from the principles we have established thus far is that the general will alone may direct the forces of the State to achieve the goal for which it was founded, the common good. . . . Sovereignty is indivisible . . . and is inalienable. . . . A will is general or it is not: it is that of the whole body of the people or only of one faction. In the first instance, putting the will into words and force is an act of sovereignty: the will becomes law. In the second instance, it is only a particular will or an administrative action; at the very most it is a decree.

Our political theorists, however, unable to divide the source of sovereignty, divide sovereignty into the ways it is applied. They divide it into force and will; into legislative power and executive power; into the power to tax, the judicial power, and the power to wage war; into internal administration and the power to negotiate with foreign countries. Now we see them running these powers together. Now they will proceed to separate them. They make the sovereign a being of fantasy, composed of separate pieces, which would be like putting a man together from several bodies, one having eyes, another arms, another feet-nothing more. Japanese magicians are said to cut up a child before the eyes of spectators, then throw the pieces into the air one after the other, and then cause the child to drop down reassembled and alive again. That is the sort of magic trick our political theorists perform. After having dismembered the social body with a trick worthy of a travelling show, they reassemble the pieces without anybody knowing how. . . .

If we follow up in the same way on the other divisions mentioned, we find that we are deceived every time we believe we see sovereignty divided. We find that the jurisdictions we have thought to be exercised as parts of sovereignty in reality are subordinate to the [one] sovereign power. They presuppose supreme wills, which they merely carry out in their jurisdictions. . . .

NEED FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, NOT REPRESENTATION

It follows from the above that the general will is always in the right and inclines toward the public good, but it does not follow that the deliberations of the people always have the same rectitude. People always desire what is good, but they do not always see what is good. You can never corrupt the people, but you can often fool them, and that is the only time that the people appear to will something bad. . . .

If, assuming that the people were sufficiently informed as they made decisions and that the citizens did not communicate with each other, the general will would always be resolved from a great number of small differences, and the deliberation would always be good. But when blocs are formed, associations of parts at the expense of the whole, the will of each of these associations will be general as far as its members are concerned but particular as far as the State is concerned. Then we may say that there are no longer so many voters as there are men present but as many as there are associations. The differences will become less numerous and will yield less general results. Finally, when one of these associations becomes so strong that it dominates the others, you no longer have the sum of minor differences as a result but rather one single [unresolved] difference, with the result that there no longer is a general will, and the view that prevails is nothing but one particular view. . . .

But we must also consider the private persons who make up the public, apart from the public personified, who each have a life and liberty independent of it. It is very necessary for us to distinguish between the respective rights of the citizens and the sovereign and between the duties which men must fulfill in their role as subjects from the natural rights they should enjoy in their role as men.

It is agreed that everything which each individual gives up of his power, his goods, and his liberty under the social contract is only that part of all those things which is of use to the community, but it is also necessary to agree that the sovereign alone is the judge of what that useful part is.

All the obligations which a citizen owes to the State he must fulfill as soon as the sovereign asks for them, but the sovereign in turn cannot impose any obligation on subjects which is not of use to the community. If fact, the sovereign cannot even wish to do so, for nothing can take place without a cause according to the laws of reason, any more than according to the laws of nature [and the sovereign community will have no cause to require anything beyond what is of communal use. . . .

Government . . . is wrongly confused with the sovereign, whose agent it is. What then is government? It is an intermediary body established between the subjects and the sovereign to keep them in touch with each other. It is charged with executing the laws and maintaining both civil and political liberty. . . . The only will dominating government . . . should be the general will or the law. The government's power is only the public power vested in it. As soon as [government] attempts to let any act come from itself completely independently, it starts to lose its intermediary role. If the time should ever come when the [government] has a particular will of its own stronger than that of the sovereign and makes use of the public power which is in its hands to carry out its own particular will-when there are thus two sovereigns, one in law and one in fact-at that moment the social union will disappear and the body politic will be dissolved.

Once the public interest has ceased to be the principal concern of citizens, once they prefer to serve State with money rather than with their persons, the State will be approaching ruin. Is it necessary to march into combat? They will pay some troops and stay at home. Is it necessary to go to meetings? They will name some deputies and stay at home. Laziness and money finally leave them with soldiers to enslave their fatherland and representatives to sell it. . . .

Sovereignty cannot be represented. . . . Essentially, it consists of the general will, and a will is not represented: either we have it itself, or it is something else; there is no other possibility. The deputies of the people thus are not and cannot be its representatives. They are only the people's agents and are not able to come to final decisions at all. Any law that the people have not ratified in person is void, it is not a law at all.

SOVEREIGNTY AND CIVIL RELIGION

Now then, it is of importance to the State that each citizen should have a religion requiring his devotion to duty; however, the dogmas of that religion are of no interest to the State except as they relate to morality and to the duties which each believer is required to perform for others. For the rest of it, each person may have whatever opinions he pleases. . . .

It follows that it is up to the sovereign to establish the articles of a purely civil faith, not exactly as dogmas of religion but as sentiments of social commitment without which it would be impossible to be either a good citizen or a faithful subject. . . . While the State has no power to oblige anyone to believe these articles, it may banish anyone who does not believe them. This banishment is not for impiety but for lack of social commitment, that is, for being incapable of sincerely loving the laws and justice or of sacrificing his life to duty in time of need. As for the person who conducts himself as if he does not believe them after having publicly stated his belief in these same dogmas, he deserves the death penalty. He has lied in the presence of the laws.

The dogmas of civil religion should be simple, few in number, and stated in precise words without interpretations or commentaries. These are the required dogmas: the existence of a powerful, intelligent Divinity, who does good, has foreknowledge of all, and provides for all; the life to come; the happy rewards of the just; the punishment of the wicked; and the sanctity of the social contract and the laws. As for prohibited articles of faith, I limit myself to one: intolerance. Intolerance characterizes the religious persuasions we have excluded.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Proclamation of 1763

Date: October 7, 1763

The French and Indian War (1754–63) was brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (1763). About six months later King George III issued the Proclamation of 1763, which set a western boundary beyond which British colonials would not be allowed to settle. This was in part to acknowledge the debts that the British government owed to its Indian allies for their support in the war against the French. The British officials also wanted to end the continued frontier fighting caused by colonial settlers and the Native Americans over land rights west of the Appalachians. In addition to this, the fighting and raiding were interfering with the lucrative commerce in fur

trading and tobacco, and the royal taxes upon this commerce. By the king's royal proclamation and decree, the Native Americans were given the use of his lands as a hunting ground, without the incursion of the colonists. The king's colonials were not allowed to trespass on these lands.

The enforcement of the proclamation by British authorities was another matter. By the time that the proclamation had been issued, there were already many small towns and villages west of the Appalachians in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and some settlements in what is now Ohio and Kentucky. Many more settlers were continuing to travel west to the land of free farmland for the taking. Another problem was that many of the original charters of the colonies themselves had granted them land as far west as each colony chose to claim.

Many Native American tribes respected the proclamation from the British king. The frontier fighting did subside, and life returned to normal by 1764. Over time, however, they saw that the colonists were not honoring the proclamation, and so the raiding and fighting continued.

Whereas we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America secured to our Crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris on the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdom as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; we have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to us by said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz . . .

First, the Government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. John, to the south end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea . . .

Secondly, the Government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Chatahoochee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of the St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean . . .

Thirdly, the Government of West Florida, bounded to the . . . westward, by the Lake Pontchartrain, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Chatahoochee; and to the eastward, by the said river . . .

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's . . .

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no Governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the Governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a license for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade. And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever who, standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 7th day of October 1763, in the third year of our reign.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Declaration of Independence

Date: July 4, 1776

The Declaration of Independence was penned by Thomas Jefferson and made public on July 4, 1776. It opened with the theoretical explanation for America's separation from Great Britain, justifying the split with an appeal to the doctrine of natural rights. Arguing that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," Jefferson went on to assert the right to revolt against an unjust government. The abuses of King George III against the colonists were then listed to legitimize the renunciation of all ties with Great Britain. Though edited by members of the Second Continental Congress (notably Benjamin Franklin and John Adams), Jefferson's ideas remained basically intact. Revisions were completed on July 4 and sent immediately to a printer in Philadelphia who printed it under that date. The official signing of the document by all the delegates to the Congress took place on August 2, 1776; most of the 56 names on the document were signed before August 6, but at least six signatures were attached later.

The original spellings have been retained in this document.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes. And accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, begun at a distinguished period and pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has neglected utterly to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right in-estimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly and continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made our judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices by a self-assumed power, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies and ships of war, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein in arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these states;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves to be invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions of existence.

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of property.

He has constrained others, taken captives on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. Future ages will scarce believe that the hardness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation, so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a jurisdiction over these our states. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were affected at the expence of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to interrupt our condition and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection; and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must therefore endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a great and free people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation!

We therefore the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these states, reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

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Joseph Priestley: *Discovery of Oxygen*

Date: 1776

Oxygen was discovered nearly simultaneously and independently by three researchers. In 1771 or 1772, Carl Wilhelm Scheele first isolated oxygen, but he delayed publication of his findings until 1777. Joseph Priestley was the first to publish his experiments with oxygen in 1774. In 1778 Antoine Lavoisier gave oxygen its name, on the assumption that oxides when dissolved in water always generated acids. Thus the word oxygen, meaning “acid-generator,” derived from two Greek words, took hold. In this second edition of Priestley’s work, published in 1776, Priestley describes how he discovered oxygen. Together, the work of the three researchers overthrew the prevailing theory of combustion, based on the concept of “phlogiston,” a mysterious substance supposedly given off during combustion. The simultaneous discovery of oxygen demonstrated a recurrent phenomenon during the scientific revolution, when independent researchers, confronted with the same existing scientific problems or anomalies, and working with similar technical devices, reached similar conclusions within months or even days of each other.

An excerpt from *The Discovery of Oxygen. Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air*.

The contents of this section will furnish a very striking illustration of the truth of a remark which I have more than once made in my philosophical writings, and which can hardly be too often repeated, as it tends greatly to encourage philosophical investigations: viz. that more is owing to what we call chance, that is, philosophically speaking, to the observation of events, arising from unknown causes, than to any proper design, or preconceived theory in this business. . . .

I wish my reader be not quite tired with the frequent repetition of the word surprise, and other of similar import; but I must go on in that style a little longer. For the next day I was more surprised than ever I had been before, with finding that, after the above mentioned mixture of nitrous air and the air from mercurius calcinatus, had stood all night, (in which time the whole diminution must have taken place; and, consequently had it been common air, it must have been made perfectly noxious, and entirely unfit for respiration or inflammation) a candle burned in it, and even better than in common air.

I cannot, at this distance of time, recollect what it was that I had in view in making this experiment; but I know I had no expectation of the real issue of it. Having acquired a considerable degree of readiness in making experiments of this kind, a very slight and evanescent motive would be sufficient to induce me to do it. If, however, I had not happened, for some other purpose, to have had a lighted candle before me, I should probably never have made the trial; and the whole train of my future experiments relating to this kind of air might have been prevented. Still, however, having no conception of the real cause of this phenomenon, I considered it as something very extraordinary; but as a property that was peculiar to air that was extracted from these substances, and adventitious; and I always spoke of the air to my acquaintance as being substantially the same with common air. I particularly remember my telling Dr. Price, that I was myself perfectly satisfied of its being common air, as it appeared to be so by the test of nitrous air; though, for the satisfaction of others, I wanted a mouse to make the proof quite complete.

On the 8th of this month I procured a mouse, and put it into a glass vessel, containing two ounce-measures of the air from mercurius calcinatus. Had it been common air, a full-grown mouse, as this was, would have lived in it about a quarter of an hour. In this air, however, my mouse lived a full hour; and though it was taken out seemingly dead, it appeared to have been only exceedingly chilled; for, upon being held to the fire, it presently revived, and appeared not to have received any harm from the experiment.

CITATION INFORMATION:

From Priestley, Joseph. *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air*. 2d ed. 1776. Vol. 2, sec 3 [*The Discovery of Oxygen*].

Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*

Date: 1776

In this extract from The Wealth of Nations, the “founder” of economics, Adam Smith, analyzes the mercantile system. In this passage, he criticizes those who believe that a nation’s wealth can be measured by its surplus in gold derived from control of international and colonial trade. Instead he argues that wealth derives from efficiencies of production and consumption, and that mercantile barriers to protect the industries of a country can in fact diminish its wealth. His logic led, in later years, to the concept of international free trade.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM, 1776

Some of the best English writers upon commerce set out with observing, that the wealth of a country consists, not in its gold and silver only, but in its lands, houses, and consumable goods of all different kinds. In the course of their reasoning, however, the lands, houses, and consumable goods seem to slip out of their memory, and the strain of their argument frequently supposes that all wealth consists in gold and silver, and that to multiply those metals is the great object of national industry and commerce. The two principles being established, however, that wealth consisted in gold and silver, and that those metals could be brought into a country which had no mines only by the balance of trade, or by exporting to a greater value than it imported; it necessarily became the great object of political economy to diminish as much as possible the importation of foreign goods for home consumption, and to increase as much as possible the exportation of the produce of domestic industry. Its two great engines for enriching the country, therefore, were restraints upon importation, and encouragements to exportation. . . .

BY restraining, either by high duties, or by absolute prohibitions, the importation of such goods from foreign countries as can be produced at home, the monopoly of the home market is more or less secured to the domestic industry employed in producing them. Thus the prohibition of importing either live cattle or salt provisions from foreign countries secures to the grazers of Great Britain the monopoly of the home market for butcher's meat. The high duties upon the importation of grain, which in times of moderate plenty amount to a prohibition, give a like advantage to the growers of that commodity. The prohibition of the importation of foreign woollens is equally favorable to the woollen manufacturers. The silk manufacture, though altogether employed upon foreign materials, has lately obtained the same advantage. The linen manufacture has not yet obtained it, but is making great strides towards it. Many other sorts of manufacturers have, in the same manner, obtained in Great Britain, either altogether, or very nearly a monopoly against their countrymen. . . . That this monopoly of the home-market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular species of industry which enjoys it, and frequently turns towards that employment a greater share of both the labor and stock of the society than would otherwise have gone to it, cannot be doubted. But whether it tends either to increase the general industry of the society, or to give it the most advantageous direction, is not, perhaps, altogether so evident. . . .

THOUGH the encouragement of exportation, and the discouragement of importation, are the two great engines by which the mercantile system proposes to enrich every country, yet with regard to some particular commodities, it seems to follow an opposite plan: to discourage exportation and to encourage importation. Its ultimate object, however, it pretends, is always the same, to enrich the country by an advantageous balance of trade. It discourages the exportation of the materials of manufacture, and of the instruments of trade, in order to give our own workmen an advantage, and to enable them to undersell those of other nations in all foreign markets; and by restraining, in this manner, the exportation of a few commodities, of no great price, it proposes to occasion a much greater and more valuable exportation of others. It encourages the importation of the materials of manufacture, in order that our own people may be enabled to work them up more cheaply, and thereby prevent a greater and more valuable importation of the manufactured commodities. . . .

Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident, that it would be absurd to attempt to prove it. But in the mercantile system, the interest of the consumer is almost constantly sacrificed to that of the producer; and it seems to consider production, and not consumption, as the ultimate end and object of all industry and commerce. . . .

In the system of laws which has been established for the management of our American and West Indian colonies the interest of the home-consumer has been sacrificed to that of the producer with a more extravagant profusion than in all our other commercial regulations. A great empire has been established for the sole purpose of raising up a nation of customers who should be obliged to buy from the shops of our different producers, all the goods with which these could supply them. For the sake of that little enhancement of price which this monopoly might afford our producers, the home-consumers have been burdened with the whole expense of maintaining and defending that empire. For this purpose, and for this purpose only, in the two last wars, more than two hundred millions have been spent, and a new debt of more than a hundred and seventy millions has been contracted over and above all that had been expended for the same purpose in former wars. The interest of this debt alone is not only greater than the whole extraordinary profit, which, it ever could be pretended, was made by the monopoly of the colony trade, but than the whole value of that trade, or than the whole value of the goods, which at an average have been annually exported to the colonies. It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers, we may believe, whose interest has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whose interest has been so carefully attended to; and among this latter class our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects.

The importation of gold and silver is not the principal much less the sole benefit which a nation derives from its foreign trade. Between whatever places foreign trade is carried on, they all of them derive two distinct benefits from it. It carries out that surplus part of the produce of their land and labor for which there is no

demand among them, and brings back in return for it something else for which there is a demand. It gives a value to their superfluities by exchanging them for something else, which may satisfy a part of their wants, and increase their enjoyments. By means of it, the narrowness of the home market does not hinder the division of labor in any particular branch of art or manufacture from being carried to the highest perfection. By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labor may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society.

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Voltaire on John Locke

Date: c. 1778

From *Letters on the English* or *Lettres Philosophiques*, c. 1778

François-Marie Arouet, known by his assumed name of Voltaire, was born in Paris, November 21, 1694. His father was a well-to-do notary, and François was educated under the Jesuits at the Collège Louis-le-Grand. He began writing verse early and was noted for his freedom of speech, a tendency which led to his being twice exiled from Paris and twice imprisoned in the Bastille. In 1726 he took refuge in England, and the two years spent there had great influence on his later development. Some years after his return he became historiographer of France and gentleman of the king's bedchamber; from 1750 to 1753 he lived at the court of Frederick the Great, with whom he ultimately quarreled, and he spent the last period of his life, from 1758 to 1778, on his estate of Ferney, near Geneva, where he produced much of his best work. He died in Paris, May 30, 1778.

It will be seen that Voltaire's active life covers nearly the whole 18th century, of which he was the dominant and typical literary figure. Every department of letters then in vogue was cultivated by him; in all he showed brilliant powers, and in several he reached all but the highest rank. Apart from his *Henriade*, an epic on the classical model, and the burlesque *La Pucelle*, most of his verse belongs to the class of satire, epigram, and vers de société. Of real poetical quality it has little, but abounds in technical cleverness. For the stage he was the most prominent writer of the time, his most successful dramas including *Zaïre*, *Oedipe*, *La Mort de César*, *Alzire*, and *Mérope*. His chief contribution in this field was the development of the didactic and philosophic element. In prose fiction he wrote *Zadig*, *Candide*, and many admirable short stories; in history, his *Age of Louis XIV* is only the best known of four or five considerable works; in criticism, his commentary on *Corneille* is notable. His scientific and philosophic interests are to some extent indicated in the following letters, which also show his admiration for the tolerance and freedom of speech in Britain, which it was his greatest service to strive to introduce into his own country.

Letter XIII: On Mr. Locke

Perhaps no man ever had a more judicious or more methodical genius, or was a more acute logician than Mr. Locke, and yet he was not deeply skilled in the mathematics. This great man could never subject himself to the tedious fatigue of calculations, nor to the dry pursuit of mathematical truths, which do not at first present any sensible objects to the mind; and no one has given better proofs than he, that it is possible for a man to have a geometrical head without the assistance of geometry. Before his time, several great philosophers had declared, in the most positive terms, what the soul of man is; but as these absolutely knew nothing about it, they might very well be allowed to differ entirely in opinion from one another.

In Greece, the infant seat of arts and of errors, and where the grandeur as well as folly of the human mind went such prodigious lengths, the people used to reason about the soul in the very same manner as we do.

The divine Anaxagoras, in whose honour an altar was erected for his having taught mankind that the sun was greater than Peloponnesus, that snow was black, and that the heavens were of stone, affirmed that the soul was an aerial spirit, but at the same time immortal. Diogenes (not he who was a cynical philosopher after having coined base money) declared that the soul was a portion of the substance of God: an idea which we must confess was very sublime. Epicurus maintained that it was composed of parts in the same manner as the body.

Aristotle, who has been explained a thousand ways, because he is unintelligible, was of opinion, according to some of his disciples, that the understanding in all men is one and the same substance.

The divine Plato, master of the divine Aristotle, and the divine Socrates, master of the divine Plato, used to say that the soul was corporeal and eternal. No doubt but the demon of Socrates had instructed him in the nature of it. Some people, indeed, pretend that a man who boasted his being attended by a familiar genius must infallibly be either a knave or a madman, but this kind of people are seldom satisfied with anything but reason.

With regard to the Fathers of the Church, several in the primitive ages believed that the soul was human, and the angels and God corporeal. Men naturally improve upon every system. St. Bernard, as Father Mabillon confesses, taught that the soul after death does not see God in the celestial regions, but converses with Christ's human nature only. However, he was not believed this time on his bare word; the adventure of the crusade having a little sunk the credit of his oracles. Afterwards a thousand schoolmen arose, such as the Irrefragable Doctor, the Subtile Doctor, the Angelic Doctor, the Seraphic Doctor, and the Cherubic Doctor, who were all sure that they had a very clear and distinct idea of the soul, and yet wrote in such a manner, that one would conclude they were resolved no one should understand a word in their writings. Our Descartes, born to discover the errors of antiquity, and at the same time to substitute his own; and hurried away by that systematic spirit which throws a cloud over the minds of the greatest men, thought he had demonstrated that the soul is the same thing as thought, in the same manner as matter, in his opinion, is the same as extension. He asserted, that man thinks eternally, and that the soul, at its coming into the body, is informed with the whole series of metaphysical notions: knowing God, infinite space, possessing all abstract ideas-in a word, completely endued with the most sublime lights, which it unhappily forgets at its issuing from the womb.

Father Malebranche, in his sublime illusions, not only admitted innate ideas, but did not doubt of our living wholly in God, and that God is, as it were, our soul.

Such a multitude of reasoners having written the romance of the soul, a sage at last arose, who gave, with an air of the greatest modesty, the history of it. Mr. Locke has displayed the human soul in the same manner as an excellent anatomist explains the springs of the human body. He everywhere takes the light of physics for his guide. He sometimes presumes to speak affirmatively, but then he presumes also to doubt. Instead of concluding at once what we know not, he examines gradually what we would know. He takes an infant at the instant of his birth; he traces, step by step, the progress of his understanding; examines what things he has in common with beasts, and what he possesses above them. Above all, he consults himself; the being conscious that he himself thinks.

"I shall leave," says he, "to those who know more of this matter than myself, the examining whether the soul exists before or after the organisation of our bodies. But I confess that it is my lot to be animated with one of those heavy souls which do not think always; and I am even so unhappy as not to conceive that it is more necessary the soul should think perpetually than that bodies should be for ever in motion."

With regard to myself, I shall boast that I have the honour to be as stupid in this particular as Mr. Locke. No one shall ever make me believe that I think always: and I am as little inclined as he could be to fancy that some weeks after I was conceived I was a very learned soul; knowing at that time a thousand things which I forgot at my birth; and possessing when in the womb (though to no manner of purpose) knowledge which I lost the instant I had occasion for it; and which I have never since been able to recover perfectly.

Mr. Locke, after having destroyed innate ideas; after having fully renounced the vanity of believing that we think always; after having laid down, from the most solid principles, that ideas enter the mind through the senses; having examined our simple and complex ideas; having traced the human mind through its several operations; having shown that all the languages in the world are imperfect, and the great abuse that is made of words every moment, he at last comes to consider the extent or rather the narrow limits of human knowledge. It was in this chapter he presumed to advance, but very modestly, the following words: "We shall, perhaps, never be capable of knowing whether a being, purely material, thinks or not." This sage assertion was, by more divines than one, looked upon as a scandalous declaration that the soul is material and mortal. Some Englishmen, devout after their way, sounded an alarm. The superstitious are the same in society as cowards in an army; they themselves are seized with a panic fear, and communicate it to others. It was loudly exclaimed that Mr. Locke intended to destroy religion; nevertheless, religion had nothing to do in the affair, it being a question purely philosophical, altogether independent of faith and revelation. Mr. Locke's opponents needed but to examine, calmly and impartially, whether the declaring that matter can think, implies a contradiction; and whether God is able to communicate thought to matter. But divines are too apt to begin their declarations with saying that God is offended when people differ from them in opinion; in which they too much resemble the bad poets, who used to declare publicly that Boileau spake irreverently of Louis XIV., because he ridiculed their stupid productions. Bishop Stillingfleet got the reputation of a calm and unprejudiced divine because he did not expressly make use of injurious terms in his dispute with Mr. Locke. That divine entered the lists against him, but was defeated; for he argued as a schoolman, and Locke as a philosopher, who was perfectly acquainted with the strong as well as the weak side of the human mind, and who fought with weapons whose temper he knew. If I might presume to give my opinion on so delicate a subject after Mr. Locke, I would say, that men have long disputed on the nature and the immortality of the soul. With regard to its immortality, it is impossible to give a demonstration of it, since its nature is still the subject of controversy; which, however, must be thoroughly understood before a person can be able to

determine whether it be immortal or not. Human reason is so little able, merely by its own strength, to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, that it was absolutely necessary religion should reveal it to us. It is of advantage to society in general, that mankind should believe the soul to be immortal; faith commands us to do this; nothing more is required, and the matter is cleared up at once. But it is otherwise with respect to its nature; it is of little importance to religion, which only requires the soul to be virtuous, whatever substance it may be made of. It is a clock which is given us to regulate, but the artist has not told us of what materials the spring of this clock is composed.

I am a body, and, I think, that's all I know of the matter. Shall I ascribe to an unknown cause, what I can so easily impute to the only second cause I am acquainted with? Here all the school philosophers interrupt me with their arguments, and declare that there is only extension and solidity in bodies, and that there they can have nothing but motion and figure. Now motion, figure, extension and solidity cannot form a thought, and consequently the soul cannot be matter. All this so often repeated mighty series of reasoning, amounts to no more than this: I am absolutely ignorant what matter is; I guess, but imperfectly, some properties of it; now I absolutely cannot tell whether these properties may be joined to thought. As I therefore know nothing, I maintain positively that matter cannot think. In this manner do the schools reason.

Mr. Locke addressed these gentlemen in the candid, sincere manner following: At least confess yourselves to be as ignorant as I. Neither your imaginations nor mine are able to comprehend in what manner a body is susceptible of ideas; and do you conceive better in what manner a substance, of what kind soever, is susceptible of them? As you cannot comprehend either matter or spirit, why will you presume to assert anything?

The superstitious man comes afterwards and declares, that all those must be burnt for the good of their souls, who so much as suspect that it is possible for the body to think without any foreign assistance. But what would these people say should they themselves be proved irreligious? And indeed, what man can presume to assert, without being guilty at the same time of the greatest impiety, that it is impossible for the Creator to form matter with thought and sensation? Consider only, I beg you, what a dilemma you bring yourselves into, you who confine in this manner the power of the Creator. Beasts have the same organs, the same sensations, the same perceptions as we; they have memory, and combine certain ideas. In case it was not in the power of God to animate matter, and inform it with sensation, the consequence would be, either that beasts are mere machines, or that they have a spiritual soul.

Methinks it is clearly evident that beasts cannot be mere machines, which I prove thus. God has given to them the very same organs of sensation as to us: if therefore they have no sensation, God has created a useless thing; now according to your own confession God does nothing in vain; He therefore did not create so many organs of sensation, merely for them to be uninformed with this faculty; consequently beasts are not mere machines. Beasts, according to your assertion, cannot be animated with a spiritual soul; you will, therefore, in spite of yourself, be reduced to this only assertion, viz., that God has endued the organs of beasts, who are mere matter, with the faculties of sensation and perception, which you call instinct in them. But why may not God, if He pleases, communicate to our more delicate organs, that faculty of feeling, perceiving, and thinking, which we call human reason? To whatever side you turn, you are forced to acknowledge your own ignorance, and the boundless power of the Creator. Exclaim therefore no more against the sage, the modest philosophy of Mr. Locke, which so far from interfering with religion, would of be use to demonstrate the truth of it, in case religion wanted any such support. For what philosophy can be of a more religious nature than that, which affirming nothing but what it conceives clearly, and conscious of its own weakness, declares that we must always have recourse to God in our examining of the first principles?

Besides, we must not be apprehensive that any philosophical opinion will ever prejudice the religion of a country. Though our demonstrations clash directly with our mysteries, that is nothing to the purpose, for the latter are not less revered upon that account by our Christian philosophers, who know very well that the objects of reason and those of faith are of a very different nature. Philosophers will never form a religious sect, the reason of which is, their writings are not calculated for the vulgar, and they themselves are free from enthusiasm. If we divide mankind into twenty parts, it will be found that nineteen of these consist of persons employed in manual labour, who will never know that such a man as Mr. Locke existed. In the remaining twentieth part how few are readers? And among such as are so, twenty amuse themselves with romances to one who studies philosophy. The thinking part of mankind is confined to a very small number, and these will never disturb the peace and tranquillity of the world.

Neither Montaigne, Locke, Bayle, Spinoza, Hobbes, the Lord Shaftesbury, Collins, nor Toland lighted up the firebrand of discord in their countries; this has generally been the work of divines, who being at first puffed up with the ambition of becoming chiefs of a sect, soon grew very desirous of being at the head of a party. But what do I say? All the works of the modern philosophers put together will never make so much noise as even the dispute which arose among the Franciscans, merely about the fashion of their sleeves and of their cowls.

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The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

Also known as: La Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen

Date: August 26, 1789

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is one of the fundamental documents of the French Revolution. It was a proclamation of principles written during the first months of the revolution and was intended as a guide for the men would be charged with writing a new constitution for the new republic. Its 17 articles affirmed human liberties and served as a preface to the French constitution of 1791.

The philosophical and political principles of the Enlightenment are reflected in the document, based on the writings of philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Thomas Hobbes. These ideas are put forth with terms that express the natural rights of each man, all men being equal in rights, the general will, and the usage of the term society rather than the word government.

It is pointed out that the document directly reflects some of the rights and items in the documents of the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776), and the Virginia state legislature's 1776 Declaration of Rights. It also contains many concepts which were put forth at approximately the same time in the United States Constitution (1787) and in the United States Bill of Rights (1789).

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was drafted by Emmanuel J. Sieyès (Abbé Sieyès), with input from others. Among these was the famed general of the American Revolution the marquis de Lafayette. Before being submitted to the National Assembly, the document was reviewed by Thomas Jefferson, who was at that time the U.S. ambassador to France in Paris, as well as being the author of the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was approved by the National Assembly, or the National Constituent Assembly (Assemblée nationale constituante), in Paris on August 27, 1789, and was signed by France's King Louis XVI on October 5, 1789.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the Social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected, and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

Articles:

Article I Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

Article II The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

Article III The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

Article IV Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

Article V Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

Article VI Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public

positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

Article VI No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.

Article VIII The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

Article IX As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.

Article X No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

Article XI The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

Article XII The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military forces. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be intrusted.

Article XIII A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

Article XIV All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes.

Article XV Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.

Article XVI A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.

Article XVII Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

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Edmund Burke: *Reflections on the Revolution in France*

Date: 1790

Edmund Burke's political philosophical commentary regarding the French Revolution (1789–99) was originally written as a letter and then published as a book. The book contains Burke's harsh criticisms of the French Revolution.

Burke was supportive of social change. His political philosophy, however, was grounded in the belief that society and civilization were held together by tradition and heritage. He believed that respect for author-

ity, ancestors, and traditions preserved the good of society and that civilization was passed on from one generation to the next through education and culture, thus preserving the best of the historical past. This included the influences of art, music, architecture, traditional education, religion, the family, and the right to private property. To Burke, these formed the cultural foundations for law, stability, and order in a society. This would become known as the values of Burkean conservatism, this idea of preserving the best of the past. It is said that Edmund Burke's political philosophy marks the origin of modern conservative thought.

Edmund Burke believed that social change should be proper and gradual and not an abrupt revolution overthrowing traditional systems. Burke supported the rights of people in cases where they were defending their traditional political liberties and rights. He defended the British revolution in 1640 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, in that these did not discard the past wholesale, but preserved the valuable traditions of English law and civilization. As a member of the British parliament, Burke had supported the American colonists in their initial protests against the British government, which led to the Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution of 1776 was in the British tradition of preserving English liberties and rights, and Burke approved of it.

Burke was philosophically opposed to sudden political change without respect for past traditions and other cultural aspects. He believed that the complete overthrow of traditional institutions would produce a nightmare of violence and disorder rather than creating improvements and progress. Burke foresaw disaster in the French Revolution. One of the better known quotes from Edmund Burke is "Learning will be cast into the mire and trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude."

The concept of a social contract for Burke was something quite different than the ideas of a social contract theorized by Rousseau. To Burke, the true social contract is a long-term, cultural phenomenon between the past, the present, and the future within a society. It was not, as it is in Rousseau, something that you could define in your ideas as a new social philosophy and then apply to a society.

In Burke's view, the revolutionary French were trying to overthrow and dismantle the whole structure of their ancien régime (old regime) and to replace it with ideas or theories which were not "time tested" in tradition, rather than to restore tradition. Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* stands as an indictment of the aspects of the Enlightenment that were embodied in the French revolt.

In direct response to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Mary Wollstonecraft published her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1790 (see p. 119) and Thomas Paine published his *Rights of Man* in 1791.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Kings, in one sense, are undoubtedly the servants of the people: because their power has no other rational end than that of the general advantage; but it is not true that they are, in the ordinary sense, (by our constitution at least), anything like servants; the essence of whose situation is to obey the commands of some other, and to be removable at pleasure. But the king of Great Britain obeys no other person; all other persons are individually, and collectively too, under him, and owe to him a legal obedience. The law which knows neither to flatter nor to insult, calls this high magistrate not our servant, as this humble divine calls him, but "our sovereign Lord the king"; and we, on our parts have learned to speak only the primitive language of the law, and not the confused jargon of their Babylonian pulpits.

As he is not to obey us, but as we are to obey the law in him, our constitution has made no sort of provision towards rendering him, as a servant, in any degree responsible. Our constitution knows nothing of a magistrate like the Justicia of Aragon; nor of any court legally appointed, nor of any process legally settled, for submitting the king to the responsibility belonging to all servants. In this he is not distinguished from the Commons and the Lords; who, in their several public capacities, can never be called to an account of their conduct; although the Revolution Society chooses to assert in direct opposition to one of the wisest and most beautiful parts of our constitution, that "a king is no more than the first servant of the public, created by it, and responsible to it."

Ill would our ancestors at the Revolution [of 1688] have deserved their fame for wisdom, if they had found no security for their freedom, but in rendering their government feeble in its operations and precarious in its tenure; if they had been able to contrive no better remedy against arbitrary power than civil confusion. Let these gentlemen state who that representative public is to whom they will affirm the king, as a servant, to be responsible. It will be then time enough for me to produce to them the positive statute law which affirms that he is not.

The ceremony of cashiering kings of which these gentlemen talk so much at their ease, can rarely, if ever, be performed without force. It then becomes a case of war, and not of constitution. Laws are commanded to hold their tongues amongst arms; and tribunals fall to the ground with the peace they are no longer able to uphold. The Revolution of 1688 was obtained by a just war, in the only case in which any war, and much more a civil war, can be just. "Justa bella quibus necessaria." ["Wars are just to those to whom they are necessary."] The

question of dethroning, or, if these gentlemen like the phrase better “cashiering kings,” will always be, as it has always been, an extraordinary question of state, and wholly out of the law; a question (like all other questions of state) of dispositions, and of means, and of probable consequences, rather than of positive rights. As it was not made for common abuses, so it is not to be agitated by common minds. The speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act, or a single event, which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer in extremities this critical, ambiguous, bitter | potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable, from sensibility to oppression; the highminded, from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold, from the love of honourable danger in a generous cause; but, with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good.

The third head of right, asserted by the pulpit of the Old Jewry, namely, the “right to form a government for ourselves,” has, at least, as little countenance from anything done at the Revolution [of 1688- Ed.], either in precedent or principle, as the two first of their claims. The Revolution was made to preserve our ancient, indisputable laws and liberties, and that ancient constitution of government which is our only security for law and liberty. If you are desirous of knowing the spirit of our constitution, and the policy which predominated in that great period which has secured it to this hour, pray look for both in our histories, in our records, in our acts of parliament, and journals of parliament, and not in the sermons of the Old Jewry, and the afterdinner toasts of the Revolution Society. In the former you will find other ideas and another language. Such a claim is as ill-suited to our temper and wishes as it is unsupported by an appearance of authority. The very idea of the fabrication of a new government is enough to fill us with disgust and horror. We wished at the period of the Revolution, and do now wish, to derive all we possess as an inheritance from our forefathers. Upon that body and stock of inheritance we have taken care not to inoculate any scion alien to the nature of the original plant. All the reformation we have hitherto made have proceeded upon the principle of reverence to antiquity: and I hope, nay I am persuaded, that all those which possibly may be made hereafter, will be carefully formed upon analogical precedent, authority, and example.

Our oldest reformation is that of Magna Charta. You will see that Sir Edward Coke, that great oracle of our law, and indeed all the great men who follow him, to Blackstone, are industrious to prove the pedigree of our liberties. They endeavour to prove, that the ancient charter, the Magna Charta of King John, was connected with another positive charter from Henry 1, and that both the one and the other were nothing more than a reaffirmance of the still more ancient standing law of the kingdom. In the matter of fact, for the greater part, these authors appear to be in the right; perhaps not always; but if the lawyers mistake in some particulars, it proves my position still the more strongly; because it demonstrates the powerful prepossession towards antiquity, with which the minds of all our lawyers and legislators, and of all the people whom they wish to influence, have been always filled; and the stationary policy of this kingdom in considering their most sacred rights and franchises as an inheritance.

In the famous law of the 3rd of Charles I, called the Petition of Right, the parliament says to the king, “Your subjects have inherited this freedom,” claiming their franchises not on abstract principles “as the rights of men,” but as the rights of Englishmen, and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers. Selden, and the other profoundly learned men, who drew this Petition of Right, were as well acquainted, at least, with all the general theories concerning the “rights of men,” as any of the discourses in our pulpits, or on your tribune, full as well as Dr. Price, or as the Abbé Siéyès. But, for reasons worthy of that practical wisdom which superseded their theoretic science, they preferred this positive, recorded, hereditary title to all which can be dear to the man and the citizen, to that vague speculative right, which exposed their sure inheritance to be scrambled for and torn to pieces by every wild, litigious spirit.

The same policy pervades all the laws which have since been made for the preservation of our liberties. In the 1st of William and Mary, in the famous statute, called the Declaration of Right, the two Houses utter not a syllable of “a right to frame a government for themselves.” You will see, that their whole care was to secure the religion, laws, and liberties that had been long possessed, and had been lately endangered. “Taking into their most serious consideration the best means for making such an establishment, that their religion, laws, and liberties might not be in danger of being again subverted,” they auspicate all their proceedings, by stating as some of those best means, “in the first place” to do “as their ancestors in like cases have usually done for vindicating their ancient rights and liberties, to declare”;—and then they pray the king and queen, “that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and declared, are the true ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom.

You will observe that from Magna Charta to the Declaration of Right, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves a

unity in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an inheritable crown; an inheritable peerage; and a House of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors.

This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection; or rather the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection, and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper, and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims, are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property alad our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of providence, are handed down to us, and from us, in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve, we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearts, our sepulchres, and our altars.

Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reason, we have derived several others, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and its ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age, and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature, rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges.

You [in France-Ed.] might, if you pleased, have profited of our example, and have given to your recovered freedom a correspondent dignity. Your privileges, though discontinued, were not lost to memory. Your constitution, it is true, whilst you were out of possession, suffered waste and dilapidation; but you possessed in some parts the walls, and, in all, the foundations, of a noble and venerable castle. You might have repaired those walls; you might have built on those old foundations. Your constitution was suspended before it was perfected; but you had the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished. In your old states you possessed that variety of parts corresponding with the various descriptions of which your community was happily composed; you had all that combination, and all that opposition of interests, you had that action and counteraction, which, in the natural and in the political world, from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe. These opposed and conflicting interests, which you considered as so great a blemish in your old and in our present constitution, interpose a salutary check to all precipitate resolutions. They render deliberation a matter not of choice, but of necessity; they make all change a subject of compromise, which naturally begets moderation; they produce temperaments preventing the sore evil of harsh, crude, unqualified reformations; and rendering all the headlong exertions of arbitrary power, in the few or in the many, for ever impracticable. Through that diversity of members and interests, general liberty had as many securities as there were separate views in the several orders; whilst by pressing down the whole by the weight of a real monarchy, the separate parts would have been prevented from warping, and starting from their allotted places.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Reill, Peter Hanns, and Ellen Judy Wilson. "Reflections on the Revolution in France." In *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. Rev. ed. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Burke, Edmund. *Works*. London: 1867.

U.S. Bill of Rights

Date: 1791

The first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which enumerate the fundamental rights of citizens, were introduced in the First Congress, to overcome fears that the new federal system would not protect individual liberties. They went into effect in 1791. The First Amendment deals with freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and the press. The Second and Third Amendments protect the civilian population against military excesses by granting citizens the right to keep and bear arms and by prohibiting the quartering of troops in private homes in peacetime. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments safeguard rights in criminal cases, and the Seventh Amendment preserves the right to jury trial in civil cases. The Ninth Amendment says that no rights are abridged merely because they are not enumerated in the Constitution, and the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states or the people all powers not delegated to the federal government by the Constitution. Initially the Bill of Rights was binding only on the U.S. government, but the Fourteenth Amendment applied these guarantees to state governments as well.

AMENDMENT 1

FREEDOM OF RELIGION, SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, AND PETITION

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT 2

RIGHT TO KEEP ARMS

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT 3

RIGHTS FROM TROOPS

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT 4

SEARCH AND SEIZURE; WARRANTS

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT 5

RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT 6

AMENDMENT TO SPEEDY TRIAL

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

AMENDMENT 7

JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT 8

BAILS, FINES, PUNISHMENTS

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT 9

POWERS RESERVED TO THE PEOPLE

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT 10

POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Bill of Rights." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: U.S. Congress. "Bill of Rights." In Todd, Lewis Paul, and Merle Curti, ed. *Triumph of the American Nation*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.

Mary Wollstonecraft: *A Vindication on the Rights of Woman*

Date: 1792

A Vindication on the Rights of Woman is a seminal feminist text written by British author Mary Wollstonecraft. Although published in Britain, her book had a profound effect on feminist theory in the United States. Her treatise argues for the education and equal rights of women within the context of ideas shaped by the British Enlightenment and French Revolution. In this excerpt she announces, "Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated, or justify the authority that chains such a weak being to her duty." These words written in 1792 still resonate today in what has become a classic work of feminist literature.

The following is an excerpt from the original document. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

To render women truly useful members of society, I argue that they should be led, by having their understandings cultivated on a large scale, to acquire a rational affection for their country, founded on knowledge, because it is obvious that we are little interested about what we do not understand. And to render this general knowledge of due importance, I have endeavoured to show that private duties are never properly fulfilled unless the understanding enlarges the heart; and that public virtue is only an aggregate of private. But, the distinctions established in society undermine both, by beating out the solid gold of virtue, till it becomes only the tinsel-covering of vice; for whilst wealth renders a man more respectable than virtue, wealth will be sought before virtue; and, whilst women's persons are caressed, when a childish simper shows an absence of mind—the mind will lie fallow. Yet, true voluptuousness must proceed from the mind—for what can equal the sensations produced by mutual affection, supported by mutual respect?

What are the cold, or feverish caresses of appetite, but sin embracing death, compared with the modest overflowings of a pure heart and exalted imagination? Yes, let me tell the libertine of fancy when he despises understanding in woman—that the mind, which he disregards, gives life to the enthusiastic affection from which rapture, short-lived as it is, alone can flow! And, that, without virtue, a sexual attachment must expire like a tallow candle in the socket, creating intolerable disgust. To prove this, I need only observe, that men who have wasted great part of their lives with women, and with whom they have sought for pleasure with eager thirst, entertain the meanest opinion of the sex. Virtue, true refiner of joy!—if foolish men were to fright thee from earth, in order to give loose to all their appetites without a check—some sensual wight of taste would scale the heavens to invite thee back, to give a zest to pleasure!

That women at present are by ignorance rendered vicious, is, I think, not to be disputed; and, that salutary effects tending to improve mankind might be expected from a REVOLUTION in female manners, appears, at least, with a face of probability, to rise out of the observation. For as marriage has been termed the parent of those endearing charities which draw man from the brutal herd, the corrupting intercourse

that wealth, idleness, and folly, produce between the sexes, is more universally injurious to morality than all the other vices of mankind collectively considered. To adulterous lust the most sacred duties are sacrificed, because before marriage, men, by a promiscuous intimacy with women, learned to consider love as a selfish gratification—learned to separate it not only from esteem, but from the affection merely built on habit which mixes a little humanity with it. Justice and friendship are also set at defiance, and that purity of taste is vitiated which would naturally lead a man to relish an artless display of affection rather than affected airs. But that noble simplicity of affection, which dares to appear unadorned, has few attractions for the libertine, though it be the charm, which by cementing the matrimonial tie, secures to the pledges of a warmer passion the necessary parental attention; for children will never be properly educated till friendship subsists between parents. Virtue flies from a house divided against itself—and a whole legion of devils take up their residence there.

The affection of husbands and wives cannot be pure when they have so few sentiments in common, and when so little confidence is established at home, as must be the case when their pursuits are so different. That intimacy from which tenderness should flow, will not, cannot subsist between the vicious.

Contending, therefore, that the sexual distinction which men have so warmly insisted upon, is arbitrary, I have dwelt on an observation, that several sensible men, with whom I have conversed on the subject, allowed to be well founded; and it is simply this, that the little chastity to be found amongst men, and consequent disregard of modesty, tend to degrade both sexes; and further, that the modesty of women, characterised as such, will often be only the artful veil of wantonness instead of being the natural reflection of purity, till modesty be universally respected.

From the tyranny of man, I firmly believe, the greater number of female follies proceed; and the cunning, which I allow makes at present a part of their character, I likewise have repeatedly endeavoured to prove, is produced by oppression.

Were not dissenters, for instance, a class of people, with strict truth, characterised as cunning? And may I not lay some stress on this fact to prove, that when any power but reason curbs the free spirit of man, dissimulation is practised, and the various shifts of art are naturally called forth? Great attention to decorum, which was carried to a degree of scrupulosity, and all that puerile bustle about trifles and consequential solemnity, which Butler's caricature of a dissenter brings before the imagination, shaped their persons as well as their minds in the mould of prim littleness. I speak collectively, for I know how many ornaments in human nature have been enrolled amongst sectaries; yet, I assert, that the same narrow prejudice for their sect, which women have for their families, prevailed in the dissenting part of the community, however worthy in other respects; and also that the same timid prudence, or headstrong efforts, often disgraced the exertions of both. Oppression thus formed many of the features of their character perfectly to coincidence with that of the oppressed half of mankind; for is it not notorious that dissenters were, like women, fond of deliberating together, and asking advice of each other, till by a complication of little contrivances, some little end was brought about? A similar attention to preserve their reputation was conspicuous in the dissenting and female world, and was produced by a similar cause.

Asserting the rights which women in common with men ought to contend for, I have not attempted to extenuate their faults; but to prove them to be the natural consequence of their education and station in society. If so, it is reasonable to suppose that they will change their character, and correct their vices and follies, when they are allowed to be free in a physical, moral, and civil sense.

Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated, or justify the authority that chains such a weak being to her duty. If the latter, it will be expedient to open a fresh trade with Russia for whips: a present which a father should always make to his son-in-law on his wedding day, that a husband may keep his whole family in order by the same means; and without any violation of justice reign, wielding this sceptre, sole master of his house, because he is the only thing in it who has reason—the divine, indefeasible earthly sovereignty breathed into man by the Master of the universe. Allowing this position, women have not any inherent rights to claim; and, by the same rule, their duties vanish, for rights and duties are inseparable.

Be just then, O ye men of understanding: and mark not more severely what women do amiss than the vicious tricks of the horse or the ass for whom ye provide provender—and allow her the privileges of ignorance, to whom ye deny the rights of reason, or ye will be worse than Egyptian task-masters expecting virtue where Nature has not given understanding.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "A *Vindication on the Rights of Woman* (excerpt)." *American Women's History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com

Primary Source Citation: Wollstonecraft, Mary. "A *Vindication on the Rights of Woman* (excerpt)." Philadelphia: W. Gibbons, 1792.

Sir William Eton: *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*

Date: 1799

Published as a book, A Survey of the Turkish Empire, the writings of Sir William Eton draw a picture of the decline of the great Ottoman Empire. His observations create a historical view of this time period. It also details the lessening of power of the empire. Sir William Eton's writings are viewed as a historical account of the Turkish Empire but may also be seen as a military intelligence report. This section provides a none-too-complimentary view of the ability of the Turkish army.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

It is undeniable that the power of the Turks was once formidable to their neighbors not by their numbers only, but by their military and civil institutions, far surpassing those of their opponents. And they all trembled at the name of the Turks, who with a confidence procured by their constant successes, held the Christians in no less in contempt as warriors than they did on account of their religion. Proud and vainglorious, conquest was to them a passion, a gratification, and even a means of salvation, a sure way of immediately attaining a delicious paradise. Hence their zeal for the extension of their empire; hence their profound respect for the military profession, and their glory even in being obedient and submissive to discipline.

Besides that the Turks refuse all reform, they are seditious and mutinous; their armies are encumbered with immense baggage, and their camp has all the conveniences of a town, with shops etc. for such was their ancient custom when they wandered with their hordes. When their sudden fury is abated, which is at the least obstinate resistance, they are seized with a panic, and have no rallying as formerly. The cavalry is as much afraid of their own infantry as of the enemy; for in a defeat they fire at them to get their horses to escape more quickly. In short, it is a mob assembled rather than an army levied. None of those numerous details of a well-organized body, necessary to give quickness, strength, and regularity to its actions, to avoid confusion, to repair damages, to apply to every part to some use; no systematic attack, defense, or retreat; no accident foreseen, nor provided for . . .

The artillery they have, and which is chiefly brass, comprehends many fine pieces of cannon; but notwithstanding the reiterated instruction of so many French engineers, they are ignorant of its management. Their musket-barrels are much esteemed but they are too heavy; nor do they possess any quality superior to common iron barrels which have been much hammered, and are very soft Swedish iron. The art of tempering their sabers is now lost, and all the blades of great value are ancient. The naval force of the Turks is by no means considerable. Their grand fleet consisted of not more than seventeen or eighteen sail of the line in the last war [Russo-Turkish war of 1787-92], and those not in very good condition; at present their number is lessened.

The present reigning Sultan, Selim III, has made an attempt to introduce the European discipline into the Turkish army, and to abolish the body of the Janissaries. [He has] caused a corps to be recruited, set apart a branch of the revenue for their maintenance, and finally declared his intention of abolishing the institution of Janissaries. This step, as might be expected, produced a mutiny, which was only appeased by the sultan's consenting to continue their pay during their lifetimes; but he at the same time ordered that no recruits should be received into their corps. The new soldiers in the corps are taught their exercise with the musket and bayonet, and a few maneuvers. When they are held to be sufficiently disciplined, they are sent to garrison the fortresses on the frontiers. Their officers are all Turks and are chosen out of those who perform their exercise the best.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Eton, William, Sir. *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*. London, 1799, pp. 61–62, 68–75, 98–101.

Primary Source Citation: Eton, William, Sir. *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte: *Addresses to the German Nation*

Also known as: *Reden an die deutsche Nation*

Date: 1807

Matters of the expression of thought and the significant study of languages became a major area of study and of great intellectual debate during the Enlightenment. As a quintessential characteristic of human society, language was a target of attention for Enlightenment thinkers. Philosophers such as John Locke, who helped characterize words and ideas as relevant objects of study in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1689), discussed the nature of language and the ways in which it might be improved via rational principles.

*This linguistic research, study, and debate would develop for over a century. The trends toward categorizing languages and seeing them as formative of identity reached its fullest form at the beginning of the 19th century with Johann Gottlieb Fichte. As the Napoleonic Wars got fully under way, language theory combined with national pique to serve as the foundation for a particularistic view of languages. By 1807, French troops had occupied Berlin, and Fichte, who lived and worked there, used the opportunity to draw sharp distinctions between Germans and the French invaders. In his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation, 1807), Fichte expressly connected linguistic tradition with virtue. Language and culture made the Germans noble and profound and the French ignoble and superficial. The tendency to identify national virtues through exclusive linguistic traditions did not stop with Fichte, however, but became fundamental to public attitudes across Europe in the 19th century.*

In this selection Johann Gottlieb Fichte exhorts people of German ancestry to love their fatherland. This passage serves as an example of romantic nationalism.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Love that is truly love, and not a mere transitory lust, never clings to what is transient; only in the eternal does it awaken and become kindled, and there alone does it rest. Man is not able to love even himself unless he conceives himself as eternal; apart from that he cannot even respect, much less approve, of himself. Still less can he love anything outside himself without taking it up into the eternity of his faith and of his soul and binding it thereto. He who does not first regard himself as eternal has in him no love of any kind, and, moreover, cannot love a fatherland, a thing which for him does not exist. He who regards his invisible life as eternal, but not his visible life as similarly eternal, may perhaps have a heaven and therein a fatherland, but here below he has no fatherland, for this, too, is regarded only in the image of eternity—eternity visible and made sensuous, and for this reason also he is unable to love his fatherland. If none has been handed down to such a man, he is to be pitied. But he to whom a fatherland has been handed down, and in whose soul heaven and earth, visible and invisible meet and mingle, and thus, and only thus, create a true and enduring heaven—such a man fights to the last drop of his blood to hand on the precious possession unimpaired to his posterity.

Hence, the noble-minded man will be active and effective, and will sacrifice himself for his people. Life merely as such, the mere continuance of changing existence, has in any case never had any value for him, he has wished for it only as the source of what is permanent. But this permanence is promised to him only by the continuous and independent existence of his nation. In order to save his nation he must be ready even to die that it may live, and that he may live in it the only life for which he has ever wished.

So it has always been, although it has not always been expressed in such general terms and so clearly as we express it here. What inspired the men of noble mind among the Romans, whose frame of mind and way of thinking still live and breathe among us in their works of art, to struggles and sacrifices, to patience and endurance for the fatherland? They themselves express it often and distinctly. It was their firm belief in the eternal continuance of their Roma, and their confident expectation that they themselves would eternally continue to live in this eternity in the stream of time. In so far as this belief was well-founded, and they themselves would have comprehended it if they had been entirely clear in their own minds, it did not deceive them. To this very day there still lives in our midst what was truly eternal in their eternal Roma. . . .

In this belief in our earliest common forefathers, the original stock of the new culture, the Germans, as the Romans called them, bravely resisted the oncoming world dominion of the Romans. Did they not have before their eyes the greater brilliance of the Roman provinces next to them and the more refined enjoyments in those provinces, to say nothing of laws and judges, seats and lictors, axes and fasces in superfluity? Were not the Romans willing enough to let them share in all these blessings? In the case of several of their own princes, who did no more than intimate that war against such benefactors of mankind was rebellion, did they not experience proofs of the belauded Roman clemency? To those who submitted the Romans gave marks of distinction in the form of kingly titles, high commands in their armies, and Roman fillets; and if they were driven out by their countrymen, did not the Romans provide for them a place of refuge and a means of subsistence in their colonies? Had they no appreciation of the advantages of Roman civilization, of the superior organization of their armies, in which even Arminius did not disdain to learn the trade of war? Their descendants, as soon as they could do so without losing their freedom, even assimilated Roman culture, so far as this was possible without losing their individuality.

Freedom to them meant just this: remaining Germans and continuing to settle their own affairs, independently and in accordance with the original spirit of their race, going on with their development in accordance with the same spirit, and propagating this independence in their posterity. All those blessings which the Romans offered them meant slavery to them because then they would have to become something that was not German, they would have to become half-Roman. They assumed as a matter of course that every man would rather die than become half a Roman, and that a true German could only want to live in order to be, and to remain, just a German and to bring up his children as Germans.

They did not all die; they did not see slavery; they bequeathed freedom to their children. It is their unyielding resistance which the whole modern world has to thank for being what it now is. Had the Romans suc-

ceeded in bringing them also under the yoke and in destroying them as a nation, which the Romans did in every case, the whole development of the human race would have taken a different course, a course that one cannot think would have been more satisfactory. It is they whom we must thank—we, the immediate heirs of their soil, their language, and their way of thinking—for being Germans still, for being still borne along on the stream of original and independent life. It is they whom we must thank for everything that we have been as a nation since those days, and to them we shall be indebted for everything that we shall be in the future, unless things come to an end with us now and the last drop of blood inherited from them has dried up in our veins. To them the other branches of the race, whom we now look upon as foreigners, but who by descent from them are our brothers, are indebted for their very existence. When our ancestors triumphed over Roma the eternal, not one of all these peoples was in existence, but the possibility of their existence in the future was won for them in the same fight . . .

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Addresses to the German Nation*. Translated by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 136–138, 143–145.

Simón de Bolívar: Message to the Congress of Angostura

Date: 1819

The address was given by Simón de Bolívar at a congress called by him in Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar, Venezuela) in 1819 for the purpose of providing a temporary basis of political organization for the newly created state of Gran Colombia (comprising Venezuela, New Granada, and Quito—now Ecuador). Believing that only democracy was capable of providing absolute liberty, in his famous address Bolívar proposed a type of constitution and political organization that he maintained would ensure liberty: a strong centralized representative republic with full administrative authority, one that guaranteed "the sovereignty of the people, the division of powers, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery, [and] the abolition of monarchy and special privileges." In its combination of realism and vision, Bolívar's address is considered one of his two most outstanding social and political documents.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated. But there is more. As our role has always been strictly passive and political existence nil, we find that our quest for liberty is now even more difficult of accomplishment; for we, having been placed in a state lower than slavery, had been robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny. . . We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness: an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Ambition and intrigue abuses the credulity and experience of men lacking all political, economic, and civic knowledge; they adopt pure illusion as reality; they take license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. If a people, perverted by their training, succeed in achieving their liberty, they will soon lose it, for it would be of no avail to endeavor to explain to them that happiness consists in the practice of virtue; that the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of tyrants, because, as the laws are more inflexible, every one should submit to their beneficent austerity; that proper morals, and not force, are the bases of law; and that to practice justice is to practice liberty.

Although those people [North Americans], so lacking in many respects, are unique in the history of mankind, it is a marvel, I repeat, that so weak and complicated a government as the federal system has managed to govern them in the difficult and trying circumstances of their past. But, regardless of the effectiveness of this form of government with respect to North America, I must say that it has never for a moment entered my mind to compare the position and character of two states as dissimilar as the English-American and the Spanish-American. Would it not be most difficult to apply to Spain the English system of political, civil, and religious liberty? Hence, it would be even more difficult to adapt to Venezuela the laws of North America.

Nothing in our fundamental laws would have to be altered were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that held by the British Parliament. Like the North Americans, we have divided national representation into two chambers: that of Representatives and the Senate. The first is very wisely constituted. It enjoys all its proper functions, and it requires no essential revision, because the Constitution, in creating it, gave it the form and powers which the people deemed necessary in order that they might be legally and properly represented. If the Senate were hereditary rather than elective, it would, in my opinion, be the basis, the tie, the very soul of our republic. In political storms this body would arrest the thunderbolts of the government and would repel any violent popular reaction. Devoted to the government because of a natural interest in its own preservation, a hereditary senate would always oppose any attempt on the part of the people to infringe upon the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. . . . The creation of a hereditary senate would in no way be a violation of political equality. I do not solicit the establishment of a nobility, for as a celebrated republican has said, that would simultaneously destroy equality and liberty. What I propose is an office for which the candidates must prepare themselves, an office that demands great knowledge and the ability to acquire such knowledge. All should not be left to chance and the outcome of elections. The people are more easily deceived than is Nature perfected by art; and although these senators, it is true, would not be bred in an environment that is all virtue, it is equally true that they would be raised in an atmosphere of enlightened education. The hereditary senate will also serve as a counterweight to both government and people; and as a neutral power it will weaken the mutual attacks of these two eternally rival powers.

The British executive power possesses all the authority properly appertaining to a sovereign, but he is surrounded by a triple line of dams, barriers, and stockades. He is the head of government, but his ministers and subordinates rely more upon law than upon his authority, as they are personally responsible; and not even decrees of royal authority can exempt them from this responsibility. The executive is commander in chief of the army and navy; he makes peace and declares war; but Parliament annually determines what sums are to be paid to these military forces. While the courts and judges are dependent on the executive power, the laws originate in and are made by Parliament. Give Venezuela such an executive power in the person of a president chosen by the people or their representatives, and you will have taken a great step toward national happiness. No matter what citizen occupies this office, he will be aided by the Constitution, and therein being authorized to do good, he can do no harm, because his ministers will cooperate with him only insofar as he abides by the law. If he attempts to infringe upon the law, his own ministers will desert him, thereby isolating him from the Republic, and they will even bring charges against him in the Senate. The ministers, being responsible for any transgressions committed, will actually govern, since they must account for their actions.

A republican magistrate is an individual set apart from society, charged with checking the impulse of the people toward license and the propensity of judges and administrators toward abuse of the laws. He is directly subject to the legislative body, the senate, and the people: he is the one man who resists the combined pressure of the opinions, interests, and passions of the social state and who, as Carnot states, does little more than struggle constantly with the urge to dominate and the desire to escape domination. This weakness can only be corrected by a strongly rooted force. It should be strongly proportioned to meet the resistance which the executive must expect from the legislature, from the judiciary, and from the people of a republic. Unless the executive has easy access to all the administrative resources, fixed by a just distribution of powers, he inevitably becomes a nonentity or abuses his authority. By this I mean that the result will be the death of the government, whose heirs are anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny. . . . Therefore, let the entire system of government be strengthened, and let the balance of power be drawn up in such a manner that it will be permanent and incapable of decay because of its own tenuity. Precisely because no form of government is so weak as the democratic, its framework must be firmer, and its institutions must be studied to determine their degree of stability...unless this is done, we will have to reckon with an ungovernable, tumultuous, and anarchic society, not with a social order where happiness, peace, and justice prevail.

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Treaty of Nanking

Also known as: Treaty of Nanjing

Date: 1842

The Treaty of Nanking ended the Opium War of 1839–42 between Great Britain and China. The treaty was completed August 29, 1842, in Nanjing (Nanking), China.

By the terms of the treaty the Chinese would agree to pay an indemnity of \$20 million to Great Britain. China would cede Hong Kong to Great Britain in perpetuity. China would open the ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou (Foochow), Ningbo, and Shanghai to unrestricted British trade and residence. The Chinese agreed to extraterritoriality, by which British residents in China were not subject to Chinese legal jurisdiction and were exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of their own countries' courts.

Peace Treaty between the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of China

HER MAJESTY the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of putting an end to the misunderstandings and consequent hostilities which have arisen between the two countries, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., a Major-General in the service of the East India Company;

And His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioners Keying, a member of the Imperial House, a Guardian of the Crown Prince, and General of the garrison of Canton; and Elepoo, of the Imperial Kindred, graciously permitted to wear the insignia of the first rank, and the distinction of a peacock's feather, lately Minister and Governor-General, &c., and now Lieutenant General commanding at Chapoo;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective Full Powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

I There shall henceforward be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

II His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purposes of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., will appoint Superintendents, or Consular officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese Government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.

III It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct.

IV The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 6,000,000 of dollars, as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March, 1839, as a ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers.

V The Government of China having compelled the British merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese merchants, called Hong merchants (or Co-Hong), who had been licensed by the Chinese Government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all ports where British merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please; and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 3,000,000 of dollars, on account of debts due to British subjects by some of the said Hong merchants (or Co-Hong), who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

VI The Government of Her Britannic Majesty having been obliged to send out an expedition to demand and obtain redress for the violent and unjust proceedings of the Chinese High Authorities towards Her Britannic Majesty's officer and subjects, the Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 12,000,000 of dollars, on account of the expences incurred; and Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary voluntarily agrees, on behalf of Her Majesty, to deduct from the said amount of 12,000,000 of dollars, any sums which may have been received by Her Majesty's combined forces, as ransom for cities and towns in China, subsequent to the 1st day of August, 1841.

VII It is agreed, that the total amount of 21,000,000 of dollars, described in the 3 preceding Articles, shall be paid as follows:

6,000,000 immediately.

6,000,000 in 1843; that is, 3,000,000 on or before the 30th of the month of June, and 3,000,000 on or before the 31st of December.

5,000,000 in 1844; that is, 2,500,000 on or before the 30th of June, and 2,500,000 on or before the 31st of December.

4,000,000 in 1845; that is, 2,000,000 on or before the 30th of June, and 2,000,000 on or before the 31st of December.

And it is further stipulated, that interest, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, shall be paid by the Government of China on any portion of the above sums that are not punctually discharged at the periods fixed.

VIII The Emperor of China agrees to release, unconditionally, all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be in confinement at this moment in any part of the Chinese empire.

IX The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under his Imperial sign manual and seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity to all subjects of China, on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the service of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's officers; and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

X His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the ports which are, by the IInd Article of this Treaty, to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and the Emperor further engages, that when British merchandize shall have once paid at any of the said ports the regulated customs and dues, agreeable to the tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount as transit duties, which shall not exceed * per cent. on the tariff value of such goods.

XI It is agreed that Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese High Officers, both at the capital and in the provinces, under the term "communication"; the subordinate British Officers and Chinese High Officers in the provinces, under the terms "statement" on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, "declaration"; and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality: merchants and others not holding official situations, and therefore not included in the above, on both sides, to use the term "representation" in all papers addressed to, or intended for the notice of, the respective Governments.

XII On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received, and the discharge of the first instalment of money, Her Britannic Majesty's forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the trade of China. The military post at Chinhai will also be withdrawn; but the Islands of Koolangsoo, and that of Chusan, will continue to be held by Her Majesty's forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants, be completed.

XIII The ratification of this Treaty by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., and His Majesty the Emperor of China, shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates England from China will admit; but in the meantime, counterpart copies of it, signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on behalf of their respective Sovereigns, shall be mutually delivered, and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect.

Done at Nanking, and signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Cornwallis, this 29th day of August, 1842; corresponding with the Chinese date, 24th day of the 7th month, in the 22nd year of Taoukwang.

[L.S.] HENRY POTTINGER.

[SIGNATURES OF THE THREE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARIES]

DECLARATION RESPECTING TRANSIT DUTIES

Whereas by the Xth Article of the Treaty between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, concluded and signed on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Cornwallis, at Nanking, on the 29th day of August, 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date 24th day of the 7th month, in the 22nd year of Taoukwang, it is stipulated and agreed, that His Majesty the Emperor of China shall establish at all the ports which; by the IInd Article of the said Treaty,

are to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and further, that when British merchandize shall have once paid, at any of the said ports, the regulated customs and dues, agreeable to the tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount of duty as transit duty;

And whereas the rate of transit duty to be so levied was not fixed by the said Treaty;

Now, therefore, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty, and of His Majesty the Emperor of China, do hereby, on proceeding to the exchange of the Ratifications of the said Treaty, agree and declare, that the further amount of duty to be so levied on British merchandize, as transit duty, shall not exceed the present rates, which are upon a moderate scale; and the Ratifications of the said Treaty are exchanged subject to the express declaration and stipulation herein contained.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Hong-Kong, the 26th day of June, 1843, corresponding with the Chinese date, Taoukwang 23rd year, 5th month, and 29th day.

[L.S.] HENRY POTTINGER.

[SEAL AND SIGNATURE OF THE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARY]

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Women Miners in the English Coal Pits

Date: 1842

The following extracts from reports to the British parliament describe working conditions for women and children in the coal mines of England. The reports show that while industrial and mining conditions for the new class of laborers were terrible, reformers were beginning to investigate conditions and to consider means of regulating them.

From *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842*, Vol. XVI, pp. 24, 196.

In England, exclusive of Wales, it is only in some of the colliery districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire that female Children of tender age and young and adult women are allowed to descend into the coal mines and regularly to perform the same kinds of underground work, and to work for the same number of hours, as boys and men; but in the East of Scotland their employment in the pits is general; and in South Wales it is not uncommon.

West Riding of Yorkshire: Southern Part—In many of the collieries in this district, as far as relates to the underground employment, there is no distinction of sex, but the labour is distributed indifferently among both sexes, except that it is comparatively rare for the women to hew or get the coals, although there are numerous instances in which they regularly perform even this work. In great numbers of the coalpits in this district the men work in a state of perfect nakedness, and are in this state assisted in their labour by females of all ages, from girls of six years old to women of twenty-one, these females being themselves quite naked down to the waist.

"Girls," says the Sub-Commissioner [J. C. Symons], -regularly perform all the various offices of trapping, hurrying [Yorkshire terms for drawing the loaded coal corves], filling, riddling, tipping, and occasionally getting, just as they are performed by boys. One of the most disgusting sights I have ever seen was that of young females, dressed like boys in trousers, crawling on all fours, with belts round their waists and chains passing between their legs, at day pits at Hunshelf Bank, and in many small pits near Holmfirth and New Mills: it exists also in several other places. I visited the Hunshelf Colliery on the 18th of January: it is a day pit; that is, there is no shaft or descent; the gate or entrance is at the side of a bank, and nearly horizontal. The gate was not more than a yard high, and in some places not above 2 feet.

"When I arrived at the board or workings of the pit I found at one of the sideboards down a narrow passage a girl of fourteen years of age in boy's clothes, picking down the coal with the regular pick used by the

men. She was half sitting half lying at her work, and said she found it tired her very much, and 'of course she didn't like it.' The place where she was at work was not 2 feet high. Further on were men lying on their sides and getting. No less than six girls out of eighteen men and children are employed in this pit.

"Whilst I was in the pit the Rev Mr Bruce, of Wadsley, and the Rev Mr Nelson, of Rotherham, who accompanied me, and remained outside, saw another girl of ten years of age, also dressed in boy's clothes, who was employed in hurrying, and these gentlemen saw her at work. She was a nice-looking little child, but of course as black as a tinker, and with a little necklace round her throat.

"In two other pits in the Huddersfield Union I have seen the same sight. In one near New Mills, the chain, passing high up between the legs of two of these girls, had worn large holes in their trousers; and any sight more disgustingly indecent or revolting can scarcely be imagined than these girls at work-no brothel can beat it.

"On descending Messrs Hopwood's pit at Barnsley, I found assembled round a fire a group of men, boys, and girls, some of whom were of the age of puberty; the girls as well as the boys stark naked down to the waist, their hair bound up with a tight cap, and trousers supported by their hips. (At Silkstone and at Flockton they work in their shifts and trousers.) Their sex was recognizable only by their breasts, and some little difficulty occasionally arose in pointing out to me which were girls and which were boys, and which caused a good deal of laughing and joking. In the Flockton and Thornhill pits the system is even more indecent: for though the girls are clothed, at least three-fourths of the men for whom they "hurry" work stark naked, or with a flannel waistcoat only, and in this state they assist one another to fill the corves 18 or 20 times a day: I have seen this done myself frequently.

"When it is remembered that these girls hurry chiefly for men who are not their parents; that they go from 15 to 20 times a day into a dark chamber (the bank face), which is often 50 yards apart from any one, to a man working naked, or next to naked, it is not to be supposed but that where opportunity thus prevails sexual vices are of common occurrence. Add to this the free intercourse, and the rendezvous at the shaft or bullstake, where the corves are brought, and consider the language to which the young ear is habituated, the absence of religious instruction, and the early age at which contamination begins, and you will have before you, in the coal-pits where females are employed, the picture of a nursery for juvenile vice which you will go far and we above ground to equal."

Two Women Miners

From Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842, Vol. XV, p. 84, and ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 108.

Betty Harris, age 37: I was married at 23, and went into a colliery when I was married. I used to weave when about 12 years old; can neither read nor write. I work for Andrew Knowles, of Little Bolton (Lancs), and make sometimes 7s a week, sometimes not so much. I am a drawer, and work from 6 in the morning to 6 at night. Stop about an hour at noon to eat my dinner; have bread and butter for dinner; I get no drink. I have two children, but they are too young to work. I worked at drawing when I was in the family way. I know a woman who has gone home and washed herself, taken to her bed, delivered of a child, and gone to work again under the week.

I have a belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope; and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys and girls in the pit I work in; it is very hard work for a woman. The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; it rains in at the roof terribly. My clothes are wet through almost all day long. I never was ill in my life, but when I was lying in.

My cousin looks after my children in the day time. I am very tired when I get home at night; I fall asleep sometimes before I get washed. I am not so strong as I was, and cannot stand my work so well as I used to. I have drawn till I have bathe skin off me; the belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way. My feller (husband) has beaten me many a times for not being ready. I were not used to it at first, and he had little patience.

I have known many a man beat his drawer. I have known men take liberties with the drawers, and some of the women have bastards.

Patience Kershaw, age 17, Halifax: I go to pit at 5 o'clock in the morning and come out at 5 in the evening; I get my breakfast, porridge and milk, first; I take my dinner with me, a cake, and eat it as I go; I do not stop or rest at any time for the purpose, I get nothing else until I get home, and then have potatoes and meat, not every day meat.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Friederich Engels: *Industrial Manchester*

Date: 1844

Manchester, in southeast Lancashire, rapidly rose from obscurity to become the premier center of cotton manufacturing in England. This was largely due to geography. Its famously damp climate was better for the manufacture of cotton than the drier climate of the older eastern English cloth manufacture centers. It was close to the Atlantic port of Liverpool (and was eventually connected by one of the earliest rail tracks, as well as an ocean ship-capable canal—although 30 miles inland, it was long a major port). It was also close to power sources—first the water power of the Pennine mountain chain and, later, the coal mines of central Lancashire. As a result, Manchester became perhaps the first modern industrial city.

Friedrich Engels's father was a German manufacturer, and Engels worked as an agent in his father's Manchester factory. As a result, he combined both real experience of the city with a strong social conscience. This experience informs his The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Manchester lies at the foot of the southern slope of a range of hills, which stretch hither from Oldham, their last peak, Kersall moor, being at once the racecourse and the Mons Sacer of Manchester. Manchester proper lies on the left bank of the Irwell, between that stream and the two smaller ones, the Irk and the Medlock, which here empty into the Irwell. On the left bank of the Irwell, bounded by a sharp curve of the river, lies Salford, and farther westward Pendleton; northward from the Irwell lie Upper and Lower Broughton; northward of the Irk, Cheetham Hill; south of the Medlock lies Hulme; farther east Chorlton on Medlock; still farther, pretty well to the east of Manchester, Ardwick. The whole assemblage of buildings is commonly called Manchester, and contains about four hundred thousand inhabitants, rather more than less. The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the workingpeople's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class . . .

I may mention just here that the mills almost all adjoin the rivers or the different canals that ramify throughout the city, before I proceed at once to describe the labouring quarters. First of all, there is the old town of Manchester, which lies between the northern boundary of the commercial district and the Irk. Here the streets, even the better ones, are narrow and winding, as Todd Street, Long Millgate, Withy Grove, and Shude Hill, the houses dirty, old, and tumble-down, and the construction of the side streets utterly horrible. Going from the Old Church to Long Millgate, the stroller has at once a row of old-fashioned houses at the right, of which not one has kept its original level; these are remnants of the old pre-manufacturing Manchester, whose former inhabitants have removed with their descendants into better built districts, and have left the houses, which were not good enough for them, to a population strongly mixed with Irish blood. Here one is in an almost undisguised working-men's quarter, for even the shops and beer houses hardly take the trouble to exhibit a trifling degree of cleanliness. But all this is nothing in comparison with the courts and lanes which lie behind, to which access can be gained only through covered passages, in which no two human beings can pass at the same time. Of the irregular cramming together of dwellings in ways which defy all rational plan, of the tangle in which they are crowded literally one upon the other, it is impossible to convey an idea. And it is not the buildings surviving from the old times of Manchester which are to blame for this; the confusion has only recently reached its height when every scrap of space left by the old way of building has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied.

The south bank of the Irk is here very steep and between fifteen and thirty feet high. On this declivitous hillside there are planted three rows of houses, of which the lowest rise directly out of the river, while the front walls of the highest stand on the crest of the hill in Long Millgate. Among them are mills on the river, in short, the method of construction is as crowded and disorderly here as in the lower part of Long Millgate. Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime, the equal of which is not to be found—especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings which I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance, at the end of the covered passage, a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of the court only by passing through foul pools of stagnant urine and excrement. This is the first court on the Irk above Ducie Bridge—in case any one should care to look into it. Below it on the river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighbourhood with the stench of animal putrefaction. Below Ducie Bridge the only entrance to most of the houses is by means of narrow, dirty stairs and over heaps of refuse and filth. The first court below Ducie Bridge, known as Allen's Court, was in such a state at the time of the cholera that the sanitary police ordered it evacuated,

swept, and disinfected with chloride of lime. Dr. Kay gives a terrible description of the state of this court at that time. Since then, it seems to have been partially torn away and rebuilt; at least looking down from Ducie Bridge, the passer-by sees several ruined walls and heaps of debris with some newer houses. The view from this bridge, mercifully concealed from mortals of small stature by a parapet as high as a man, is characteristic for the whole district. At the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream, full of debris and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank.

In dry weather, a long string of the most disgusting, blackish-green, slime pools are left standing on this bank, from the depths of which bubbles of miasmatic gas constantly arise and give forth a stench unendurable even on the bridge forty or fifty feet above the surface of the stream. But besides this, the stream itself is checked every few paces by high weirs, behind which slime and refuse accumulate and rot in thick masses. Above the bridge are tanneries, bone mills, and gasworks, from which all drains and refuse find their way into the Irk, which receives further the contents of all the neighbouring sewers and privies. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what sort of residue the stream deposits. Below the bridge you look upon the piles of debris, the refuse, filth, and offal from the courts on the steep left bank; here each house is packed close behind its neighbour and a piece of each is visible, all black, smoky, crumbling, ancient, with broken panes and window frames. The background is furnished by old barrack-like factory buildings. On the lower right bank stands a long row of houses and mills; the second house being a ruin without a roof, piled with debris; the third stands so low that the lowest floor is uninhabitable, and therefore without windows or doors. Here the background embraces the pauper burial-ground, the station of the Liverpool and Leeds railway, and, in the rear of this, the Workhouse, the "Poor-Law Bastille" of Manchester, which, like a citadel, looks threateningly down from behind its high walls and parapets on the hilltop, upon the working-people's quarter below.

Above Ducie Bridge, the left bank grows more flat and the right bank steeper, but the condition of the dwellings on both banks grows worse rather than better. He who turns to the left here from the main street, Long Millgate, is lost; he wanders from one court to another, turns countless corners, passes nothing but narrow, filthy nooks and alleys, until after a few minutes he has lost all clue, and knows not whither to turn. Everywhere half or wholly ruined buildings, some of them actually uninhabited, which means a great deal here; rarely a wooden or stone floor to be seen in the houses, almost uniformly broken, ill-fitting windows and doors, and a state of filth! Everywhere heaps of debris, refuse, and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench which alone would make it impossible for a human being in any degree civilised to live in such a district. The newly-built extension of the Leeds railway, which crosses the Irk here, has swept away some of these courts and lanes, laying others completely open to view. Immediately under the railway bridge there stands a court, the filth and horrors of which surpass all the others by far, just because it was hitherto so shut off, so secluded that the way to it could not be found without a good deal of trouble. I should never have discovered it myself, without the breaks made by the railway, though I thought I knew this whole region thoroughly. Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing-lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-storied, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six broad, I found two beds—and such bedsteads and beds!—which, with a staircase and chimney-place, exactly filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open, and the inhabitants leaned against it. Everywhere before the doors refuse and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there, with the feet. This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by the river, and besides the narrow stair up the bank, a narrow doorway alone led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings. . . .

If we leave the Irk and penetrate once more on the opposite side from Long Millgate into the midst of the working-men's dwellings, we shall come into a somewhat newer quarter, which stretches from St. Michael's Church to Withy Grove and Shude Hill. Here there is somewhat better order. In place of the chaos of buildings, we find at least long straight lanes and alleys or courts, built according to a plan and usually square. But if, in the former case, every house was built according to caprice, here each lane and court is so built, without reference to the situation of the adjoining ones. . . .

. . . Here, as in most of the working-men's quarters of Manchester, the pork-raisers rent the courts and build pig-pens in them. In almost every court one or even several such pens may be found, into which the inhabitants of the court throw all refuse and offal, whence the swine grow fat; and the atmosphere, confined on all four sides, is utterly corrupted by putrefying animal and vegetable substances. . . .

Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all considerations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterise the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. If any one wishes to see in how little space a human being can move, how little air—and such air!—he can breathe, how little of civilisation he may share and yet live, it is only necessary to travel hither. True, this is the Old Town, and the people of Manchester emphasise the fact whenever any one mentions to them the frightful condition of

this Hell upon Earth; but what does that prove? Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch.

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The Communist Manifesto

Also known as: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*.

Date: February 21, 1848

This tract or pamphlet was written in 1847 for a meeting of the Communist League (in London) by the German social philosopher Karl Marx and his associate and compatriot Friedrich Engels. In the manifesto of the league, the authors attempted to explain scientifically how society had developed to a point where a classless society would begin to emerge. According to the authors, the workers of their day, who had been exposed to the vicissitudes of the capitalist market and who had been exploited by it, had grown to such numbers as to be able to unite and together abolish all ownership of property by the bourgeoisie, and to place, forcibly if necessary, the machinery that controlled the economy in the hands of the workers. Ultimately, the authors claimed, the state would be ruled by the workers, and a socialist, classless society would emerge.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party was written and published in German as a pamphlet and was printed in London in 1848. It is commonly referred to as The Communist Manifesto. The document was eventually translated into almost every language and would stir social change in many parts of the world. Its famous final line is usually rendered as “Workers of the world, unite!”

[From the English edition of 1888, edited by Friedrich Engels]

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Manifesto of the Communist Party

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as Communistic by its opponents in power? Where is the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following Manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages. . . .

The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. . . .

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes, directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. . . .

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “natural superiors,” and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment.” . . .

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piece-meal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. . . .

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is. . . .

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots. . . .

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. . . .

It has become evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. . . .

The immediate aim of the Communist is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. . . .

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property. . . .

The Communists are further with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. . . .

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. . . .

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

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Percy B. St. John: *Eyewitness to the French Revolution in 1848*

Date: February 22, 1848

During this time period in France, suffrage was restricted only to men who owned a certain amount of property. Among the disenfranchised masses, opposition parties and organized protest movements had been held for years. On February 22, 1848, a mass protest banquet was arranged to demand universal manhood suffrage. François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot (1787–1874), the French premier under King Louis-Philippe (1773–1850), was informed of the planned event and immediately issued a decree forbidding the banquet. In response to Guizot's provocative decree, Parisians gathered at the banquet hall and street fighting broke

out. The violence reached its height on February 23, when troops clashed with demonstrators. Although some of the soldiers fired into the mob, others laid down their arms and joined the Parisians. Guizot resigned immediately, and Louis-Philippe abdicated on February 24. The Chamber of Deputies created a Committee of Public Safety, headed by the renowned poet Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), which quickly created the Second French Republic. The Second Republic endured until 1852, when Louis-Napoleon-Bonaparte proclaimed himself Napoleon III.

Percy B. St. John was a journalist and author. By 1846 he was editor of The Mirror of Literature. His book is titled French Revolution in 1848: The Three Days of February 1848, by Percy B. St. John, An Eye-Witness Of The Whole Revolution, and was published by Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, London, 1848. St. John went on to become the editor of The Guide to Literature, Science, Art and General Information in 1853, and in 1861 became the editor of The London Herald.

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Tuesday, February 22. The journals of the opposition appeared with the notice, in large letters, at the head of their papers, that the banquet was given up, and an appeal to the population of Paris to keep order, formed a very prominent part of the announcement. The Left were evidently alarmed, while ministers were confident and their journals sang a triumphant song of victory. From an early hour detachments of municipal guard, troops of the line and cavalry, were seen moving toward the boulevards and the Chamber of Deputies; it became known that heavy squadrons of cavalry had entered Paris during the night, while others were concealed within the Hippodrome, or were bivouacked round the fortifications. The spies of the government reported during the night that there was a total absence of conspiracy. . . .

The weather was disagreeable, even wet. A somber and threatening sky hung over the town, but from six in the morning the boulevards presented an animated appearance. Crowds of workmen, of shopkeepers, began to move toward the Church of the Madeleine, in front of which the procession was to have met and formed. Many were not aware that the banquet was given up, and went to witness the departure of the cortege, while those who knew that the opposition had abandoned their intention of holding the meeting, went with a vague desire to see what would happen. Hundreds went with a settled determination to bring things to an issue; for early on Tuesday morning I saw swords, and daggers, and pistols concealed under the blouses of the workmen. . . .

Between nine and ten I walked to the Place de la Madeleine. It was covered with knots of men and women of all classes, talking, whispering, looking about with a vague air of uncertainty and alarm. . . .

The neighborhood of the Chamber of Deputies were then occupied militarily. A strong force was placed upon the Pont de la Concorde, and on attempting to pass, I and others were driven back by the military. No one was allowed to cross save deputies, who carried their medals, or persons bearing tickets. The other approaches to the legislature were equally well guarded. Between the Quai d'Orsay and the Invalides, two regiments of the line and six pieces of artillery were stationed.

Meanwhile, everywhere the crowd increased; all Paris seemed moving to the boulevards, to the Madeleine, to the Champs Elysees, and to the Place de la Concorde. As yet there was no menacing aspect in the masses, many artisans, with their wives on their arms, hung about looking on and listening. Not a policeman in uniform was seen, but many a mouchard face could be distinguished in the crowd.

About ten o'clock, a considerable body of workmen, and young men belonging to the different schools of Paris collected on the Place du Pantheon, and set out for the Madeleine by the Rues St. Jacques, des Gres, the Pont Neuf, the Rue St. Honore, etc., crying as they went, *Vive la Reforme*, and singing the Marseillaise and the chant of the Girondins. . . .

This procession, which had gradually swelled as it went, came out upon the boulevards by the Rue Duphot, and as they passed, it was impossible not to admire the courage of this body of young men, who, wholly unarmed, thus braved the strict orders of a government, backed by an immense army and whole parks of artillery. They were liable at every moment to be charged or fired on. . . .

Having reached the Madeleine, the procession halted before the house in which the central committee of the electors of the opposition were in the habit of assembling, and asked for Barrot, who, however, was not there. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, up to the time this procession passed before its door, had the gate open, with soldiers standing before utterly unarmed. . . .

An officer of dragoons advanced alone to a large group of spectators, who were collected in the basin of one of the fountains, and begged them to retire, which many of them at once did. A few persisted; but suddenly the water beginning to play, they jumped out amid loud laughter. In fact, with few exceptions, the crowd, amidst whom were many well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, were excessively good humored. The majority seemed persuaded that the vast display of unarmed Parisians who had turned out would induce the ministry to give way. The municipal guard, however, like the gendarmes and Swiss of the July Revolution, seemed doomed to mar all. This body, detested by the Parisians as police, kept up continued charges upon the crowd as it gradually dispersed. . . .

About twelve, passing by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I noticed, in the back court, a heavy detachment of dragoons, in addition to which, soon after, the front door was closed and guarded by numerous sentries. A powerful mob, with sticks and iron bars, strove to burst open the gate and inflict summary vengeance on Guizot. The windows were broken with stones. Loud cries of *Vive la Reforme!* were followed by a *bas Guizot!* A single municipal guard strove to get out at the front gate, as if to go for a reinforcement. He was pelted with stones and driven back within shelter of the hotel [i.e., the Ministry].

About this time a most imposing military force marched down upon the hotel, which assumed the air of a fortress. A line of soldiers, with their arms loaded and bayonets fixed, occupied the pavement. The long garden wall was guarded by a cordon of troops, and municipal guards on horseback stood before the door. These latter took up their position with so much carelessness, as to knock down and severely wound one of the crowd. Shortly after, one of these police having rushed out to seize a rioter, was unhorsed and severely handled, after which he was taken to the same doctor's shop where was the wounded man of the people. From that moment all disturbance finished on this point for the day, and Guizot was able to go to the Chamber of Deputies. The passengers were in this neighborhood compelled to turn out on to the carriage way, the whole pavement being occupied by soldiers. . . .

At this very time [about three], having returned to my residence to write a letter, I was witness to a scene, which described minutely, may give an idea of many similar events. My residence is situated in the Rue St. Honore. . . . Called to my window by a noise, I saw several persons standing at the horses' heads of an omnibus. The driver whipped, and tried to drive on. The people insisted. At length, several policemen in plain clothes interfered, and as the party of the people was small, disengaged the omnibus, ordered the passengers to get out, and sent the vehicle home amid the hootings of the mob. A few minutes later, a cart full of stones and gravel came up. A number of boys seized it, undid the harness, and it was placed instantly in the middle of the street, amid loud cheering. A brewer's dray and hackney cab were in brief space of time added, and the barricade was made. The passers-by continued to move along with the most perfect indifference. . . .

Next door to me is an armorer's. Suddenly the people perceived the words *Prelat, armourier*, over the door. A rush is made at his shutters, stones are raised at his windows, and those of the house he occupied, many of which smash the panes in neighboring houses. Every window is, however, filled by anxious spectators. Suddenly the shutters of the shop give way, they are torn down and borne to the barricade, while the windows being smashed, the people rush into the warehouse. There are no arms! The night before they have been removed or concealed. Still, a few horns of gunpowder, and some swords and pistols are taken. Though the mob was through the whole of the vast hotel, a portion of which was occupied by the armorer, nothing but arms were taken away. . . .

On Wednesday, however, it was impossible to conceal from the *liing* that the movement was general, that the people were flying to arms, that barricades were rising in every quarter, and worse than all, the colonels of the national guard reported, one after another, that their men demanded, nay, insisted on the dismissal of Guizot. The generals of the line were interrogated. Not one would answer for the troops if the national guard sided with the people. The saying of an artillery officer near the Hotel de Ville was reported "Fire on the people? No! Fire on the people who pay us? We shall do nothing of the kind. If we have to choose between massacring our brothers and abandoning the monarchy, there can be no hesitation." Louis Philippe saw the critical nature of the position, and hesitated no longer. Guizot and his colleagues were dismissed. . . .

Toward seven o'clock, the general aspect of Paris was peaceable. On the Petit Bourse, near the Opera, the funds had risen forty centimes on the arrival of the news that the ministry had been dismissed. Aides-de-camp and general officers galloped here and there, proclaiming the intelligence. Everywhere the people delivered the prisoners made during the day, and then they went away rejoicing. Nevertheless, the barricades were not abandoned. The strongest and most artistically made were guarded by some hundreds of young men, between the Rue du Temple and the Rue St. Martin, and about the Rue Transnonain. Though repeatedly told of the dismissal of Guizot, they replied that they must have guarantees, and with this they posted sentries at every issue, and prepared to bivouac for the night, many without food, many without fire. Among these were numbers of the better classes, who had placed blouses over their clothes and joined the people, to encourage and direct them.

Between eight and nine o'clock, darkness having completely set in, the streets began to present an unusual aspect—that of an illumination. With rare exceptions, at every window of the lofty houses on the quarter of the Tuileries, candles or lamps were placed, and by their light could be seen ladies and gentlemen looking down upon the dense and happy crowd who filled the streets to overflowing. Loud cheers greeted the presence of the spectators, while groans and threats of demolishing their windows were the punishment of the sulky few who refused to join in the general manifestation. They gained nothing by it but to let their ill will be seen, for the populace compelled them to follow the general example. All, however, was gayety and good humor.

After witnessing the fine coup-d'oeil presented by the Rue St. Honore, the longest street in the world, I believe, I attempted to gain the boulevards by the Place Vendome. I found it, however, occupied by a dense mass of some ten thousand men, who were striving to force the denizens of the Hotel de Justice to light up. As no attention was paid to their demand, and Hebert [minister of Justice] was peculiarly hated, they began to break his windows, and even set fire to the planks which shelved off from the door, as well as to the sentry box. A heavy body of cuirassiers however, and several detachments of national guards came down, and using vigorous, but gentle measures,

re-established order. To lessen the crowd, they drew a line across the Rue Castiglione, and allowed no one to pass. Standing in the crowd, I heard many republicans conversing. Their tone was that of bitter disappointment. They said that the people were deceived, that a Molé ministry was a farce, and that if the populace laid down their arms, it would be but to take them up again. Still, the majority rejoiced. To have carried this point was a great thing, and no greater proof of the patriotism of the workingmen can be given. They gained nothing by the change but mental satisfaction, with which a vast majority seemed amply satisfied.

But a terrible and bloody tragedy was about to change the aspect of the whole scene. . . .

Wednesday, February 23d. About a quarter past ten, while on my way, by another route, to the boulevards, I suddenly, with others, was startled by the aspect of a gentleman who, without his hat, ran madly into the middle of the street, and began to harangue the passersby. "To arms!" he cried, "we are betrayed. The soldiers have slaughtered a hundred unarmed citizens by the Hôtel des Capucines. Vengeance!" and having given the details of the affair, he hurried to carry the intelligence to other quarters. The effect was electric; each man shook his neighbor by the hand, and far and wide the word was given that the whole system must fall.

As this tragic event sealed the fate of the Orleans dynasty, I have been at some pains to collect a correct version of it, and I have every reason to believe those who were eyewitnesses will bear me out in my description. I went immediately as near to the spot as possible, I conversed to numerous parties who saw it, and myself saw many of the immediate consequences.

The boulevards were, like all the other streets, brilliantly illuminated, and everywhere immense numbers of promenaders walked up and down, men, women, and children, enjoying the scene, and rejoicing that the terrific struggle of the day had ceased. The footpaths were quite covered, while the carriage way, in part occupied by cavalry, was continually filled by processions of students, working men, and others, who sang songs of triumph at their victory. Round the Hôtel des Capucines, where Guizot resided, there was a heavy force of military, of troops of the line, dragoons, and municipal guard, who occupied the pavement and forced everyone on to the carriage way. A vast crowd, principally of accidental spectators, ladies, gentlemen, English, etc., in fact curious people in general, were stationed watching a few men and boys who tried to force the inmates to light up.

For some time all was tranquil, but presently a column of students and artisans, unarmed, but singing "Mourir pour la patrie," came down the boulevards; at the same instant a gun was heard, and the 14th Regiment of Line leveled their muskets and fired. The scene which followed was awful. Thousands of men, women, children, shrieking, bawling, raving, were seen flying in all directions, while sixty-two men, women, and lads, belonging to every class of society, lay weltering in their blood upon the pavement. Next minute an awful roar, the first breath of popular indignation was heard, and then flew the students, artisans, the shopkeepers, all, to carry the news to the most distant parts of the city, and to rouse the population to arms against a government whose satellites murdered the people in this atrocious manner.

A squadron of cuirassiers now charged, sword in hand, over dead and wounded, amid useless cries of "Mind the fallen," and drove the people before them. The sight was awful. Husbands were seen dragging their fainting wives from the scene of massacre; fathers snatching up their children, with pale faces and clenched teeth, hurried away to put their young ones in safety, and then to come out in arms against the monarchy. Women clung to railings, trees, or to the wall, or fell fainting on the stones. More than a hundred persons who saw the soldiers level, fell in time to save their lives, and then rose and hastened to quit the spot. Utter strangers shook hands and congratulated one another on their escape. In a few minutes, a deputy of the opposition, Courtais, now commanding the national guard, was on the spot and making inquiries into the cause of this fearful affair. "Sir," said he, warmly addressing the colonel in command, "you have committed an action, unworthy of a French soldier." The Colonel, overwhelmed with sorrow and shame, replied, that the order to fire was a mistake. It appeared that a ball, from a gun which went off accidentally, had struck his horse's leg, and that thinking he was attacked, he had ordered a discharge. "Monsieur le Colonel," added the honorable deputy, "you are a soldier, I believe in your good faith; but remember that an awful responsibility rests on your head." Tremendous indeed, for he had sealed the fate of the tottering monarchy!

A word before we proceed. When the proclamation was made that the Guizot ministry had been dismissed, the military were gradually withdrawn, and wherever this occurred, tranquillity followed. No serious attacks were made upon any public building; in fact, the people contented themselves with breaking a few windows; everywhere the cry "Light the lamps," was not obeyed. Guizot, however, conscious of the intense hatred which was felt toward him, kept his house guarded like a fortress. The display of military force was tremendously imposing, both within and without the hôtel. Had none been stationed outside, whatever he had in, the causes which kept crowds standing round, would have been removed, and the people would not have been irritated. It was the overcare of his own person shown by Guizot, which caused this frightful catastrophe. Like every other event of this great week, with all its momentous consequences, this is to be traced to the utter incapacity of Guizot, in politics. . . .

Meanwhile, Courtais had hurried to the National office, while a body of men, now no longer hindered by the soldiers, proceeded to remove the heaps of dead and dying, whose groans must have been plainly heard by the ex-minister in his hotel. The wounded, and those bodies which were claimed, were borne to houses in

the neighborhood, while some of the national guards in uniform were carried to their respective town halls, everywhere as the bloody banner of insurrections. Seventeen corpses, however, were retained and placed upon a cart. Ghastly was the spectacle of torch and gaslight, of that heap of dead, a few minutes before alive, merry, anxious, full of hopes, and perhaps, lofty aspirations for their country. Round about were men, no less pale and ghastly, bearing pikes and torches, while others drew the awful cartload along.

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Frederick Douglass's Speech on American Slavery

Date: 1850

This speech, given by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, was the first of a series of lectures on slavery. Opposition to slavery went back at least as far as 1688 and had become a heated topic between the northern and southern states in the first half of the 1800s. Douglass, a former slave, first gained recognition in 1841 as a speaker at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society's convention, and he soon became a living symbol against claims that blacks were inferior. His speech elicited sympathy for the millions of slaves in the South by using the oppression of Ireland for comparison: No matter how badly the Irish were treated, they were still masters of their own body and soul. Earlier that same year, Congress produced the Great Compromise, which strengthened the Fugitive Slave Law and outraged abolitionists.

I come before you this evening to deliver the first lecture of a course which I purpose to give in this city, during the present winter, on the subject of American Slavery.

I make this announcement with no feelings of self-sufficiency. If I do not mistake my own emotions, they are such as result from a profound sense of my incompetency to do justice to the task which I have just announced, and now entered upon.

If any, then, demand of me why I speak, I plead as my apology, the fact that abler and more eloquent men have failed to speak, or what, perhaps, is more true, and therefore more strong, such men have spoken only on the wrong side of the question, and have thus thrown their influence against the cause of liberty, humanity and benevolence.

There are times in the experience of almost every community, when even the humblest member thereof may properly presume to teach—when the wise and great ones, the appointed leaders of the people, exert their powers of mind to complicate, mystify, entangle and obscure the simple truth—when they exert the noblest gifts which heaven has vouchsafed to man to mislead the popular mind, and to corrupt the public heart,—then the humblest may stand forth and be excused for opposing even his weakness to the torrent of evil.

That such a state of things exists in this community, I have abundant evidence. I learn it from the Rochester press, from the Rochester pulpit, and in my intercourse with the people of Rochester. Not a day passes over me that I do not meet with apparently good men, who utter sentiments in respect to this subject which would do discredit to savages. They speak of the enslavement of their fellow-men with an indifference and coldness which might be looked for only in men hardened by the most atrocious and villainous crimes.

The fact is, we are in the midst of a great struggle. The public mind is widely and deeply agitated; and bubbling up from its perturbed waters, are many and great impurities, whose poisonous miasma demands a constant antidote.

Whether the contemplated lectures will in any degree contribute towards answering this demand, time will determine.

Of one thing, however, I can assure my hearers—that I come up to this work at the call of duty, and with an honest desire to promote the happiness and well-being of every member of this community, as well as to advance the emancipation of every slave.

The audience will pardon me if I say one word more by way of introduction. It is my purpose to give this subject a calm, candid and faithful discussion. I shall not aim to shock nor to startle my hearers; but to convince their judgment and to secure their sympathies for the enslaved. I shall aim to be as stringent as truth, and as severe as justice; and if at any time I shall fail of this, and do injustice in any respect, I shall be most happy to be set right by any gentleman who shall hear me, subject, of course to order and decorum. I shall deal, during these lectures, alike with individuals and institutions—men shall no more escape me than things. I shall

have occasion, at times, to be even personal, and to rebuke sin in high places. I shall not hesitate to arraign either priests or politicians, church or state, and to measure all by the standard of justice, and in the light of truth. I shall not forget to deal with the unrighteous spirit of caste which prevails in this community; and I shall give particular attention to the recently enacted fugitive slave bill. I shall keep my eye upon the Congress which is to commence to-morrow, and fully inform myself as to its proceedings. In a word, the whole subject of slavery, in all its bearings, shall have a full and impartial discussion.

A very slight acquaintance with the history of American slavery is sufficient to show that it is an evil of which it will be difficult to rid this country. It is not the creature of a moment, which to-day is, and to-morrow is not; it is not a pigmy, which a slight blow may demolish; it is no youthful upstart, whose impertinent pratings may be silenced by a dignified contempt. No: it is an evil of gigantic proportions, and of long standing.

Its origin in this country dates back to the landing of the pilgrims on Plymouth rock. . . . It was here more than two centuries ago. The first spot poisoned by its leprous presence, was a small plantation in Virginia. The slaves, at that time, numbered only twenty. They have now increased to the frightful number of three millions; and from that narrow plantation, they are now spread over by far the largest half of the American Union. Indeed, slavery forms an important part of the entire history of the American people. Its presence may be seen in all American affairs. It has become interwoven with all American institutions, and has anchored itself in the very soil of the American Constitution. It has thrown its paralysing arm over freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press; and has created for itself morals and manners favorable to its own continuance. It has seduced the church, corrupted the pulpit, and brought the powers of both into degrading bondage; and now, in the pride of its power, it even threatens to bring down that grand political edifice, the American Union, unless every member of this republic shall so far disregard his conscience and his God as to yield to its infernal behests.

That must be a powerful influence which can truly be said to govern a nation; and that slavery governs the American people, is indisputably true. If there were any doubt on this point, a few plain questions (it seems to me) could not fail to remove it. What power has given this nation its Presidents for more than fifty years? Slavery. What power is that to which the present aspirants to presidential honors are bowing? Slavery. We may call it "Union," "Constitution," "Harmony," or "American institutions," that to which such men as Cass, Dickinson, Webster, Clay and other distinguished men of this country, are devoting their energies, is nothing more nor less than American slavery. It is for this that they are writing letters, making speeches, and promoting the holding of great mass meetings, professedly in favor of "the Union." These men know the service most pleasing to their master, and that which is most likely to be richly rewarded. Men may "serve God for nought," as did Job; but he who serves the devil has an eye to his reward. "Patriotism," "obedience to the law," "prosperity to the country," have come to mean, in the mouths of these distinguished statesmen, a mean and servile acquiescence in the most flagitious and profligate legislation in favor of slavery. I might enlarge here on this picture of slave power, and tell of its influence upon the press in the free States, and upon the condition and rights of the free colored people of the North; but I forbear for the present. . . . Enough has been said, I trust, to convince all that the abolition of this evil will require time, energy, zeal, perseverance and patience; that it will require fidelity, a martyr-like spirit of self-sacrifice, and a firm reliance on Him who has declared Himself to be "the God of the oppressed." Having said thus much upon the power and prevalence of slavery, allow me to speak of the nature of slavery itself; and here I can speak, in part, from experience—I can speak with the authority of positive knowledge. . . .

First of all, I will state, as well as I can, the legal and social relation of master and slave. A master is one (to speak in the vocabulary of the Southern States) who claims and exercises a right of property in the person of a fellow man. This he does with the force of the law and the sanction of Southern religion. The law gives the master absolute power over the slave. He may work him, flog him, hire him out, sell him, and, in certain contingencies, kill him, with perfect impunity. The slave is a human being, divested of all rights—reduced to the level of a brute—a mere "chattel" in the eye of the law—placed beyond the circle of human brotherhood—cut off from his kind—his name, which the "recording angel" may have enrolled in heaven, among the blest, is impiously inserted in a master's ledger, with horses, sheep and swine. In law, the slave has no wife, no children, no country, and no home. He can own nothing, possess nothing, acquire nothing, but what must belong to another. To eat the fruit of his own toil, to clothe his person with the work of his own hands, is considered stealing. He toils that another may reap the fruit; he is industrious that another may live in idleness; he eats unbolted meal, that another may eat the bread of fine flour; he labors in chains at home, under a burning sun and a biting lash, that another may ride in ease and splendor abroad; he lives in ignorance, that another may be educated; he is abused, that another may be exalted; he rests his toil-worn limbs on the cold, damp ground, that another may repose on the softest pillow; he is clad in coarse and tattered raiment, that another may be arrayed in purple and fine linen; he is sheltered only by the wretched hovel, that a master may dwell in a magnificent mansion; and to this condition he is bound down as by an arm of iron.

From this monstrous relation, there springs an unceasing stream of most revolting cruelties. The very accompaniments of the slave system, stamp it as the offspring of hell itself. To ensure good behavior, the slaveholder relies on the whip; to induce proper humility, he relies on the whip; to rebuke what he is pleased to

term insolence, he relies on the whip, ; to supply the place of wages, as an incentive to toil, he relies on the whip, ; to bind down the spirit of the slave, to imbrute and to destroy his manhood, he relies on the whip, , the chain, the gag, the thumb- screw, the pillory, the bowie-knife, the pistol, and the blood-hound. These are the necessary and unvarying accompaniments of the system. . . .

Nor is slavery more adverse to the conscience than it is to the mind.

This is shown by the fact that in every State of the American Union, where slavery exists, except the State of Kentucky, there are laws, absolutely prohibitory of education among the slaves. The crime of teaching a slave to read is punishable with severe fines and imprisonment, and, in some instances, with death itself.

Nor are the laws respecting this matter, a dead letter. Cases may occur in which they are disregarded, and a few instances may be found where slaves may have learned to read; but such are isolated cases, and only prove the rule. The great mass of slaveholders look upon education among the slaves as utterly subversive of the slave system. I well remember when my mistress first announced to my master that she had discovered that I could read. His face colored at once, with surprise and chagrin. He said that "I was ruined, that my value as a slave was destroyed; that a slave should know nothing but to obey his master; that to give a Negro an inch would lead him to take an ell; that having learned how to read, I would soon want to know how to write; and that, bye and bye, I would be running away." I think my audience will bear witness to the correctness of this philosophy, and to the literal fulfilment of this prophecy.

It is perfectly well understood at the South that to educate a slave is to make him discontented with slavery, and to invest him with a power which shall open to him the treasures of freedom; and since the object of the slaveholder is to maintain complete authority over his slave, his constant vigilance is exercised to prevent everything which militates against, or endangers the stability of his authority. Education being among the menacing influences, and, perhaps, the most dangerous, is therefore, the most cautiously guarded against.

It is true that we do not often hear of the enforcement of the law, punishing as crime the teaching of slaves to read, but this is not because of a want of disposition to enforce it. The true reason, or explanation of the matter is this, there is the greatest unanimity of opinion among the white population of the South, in favor of the policy of keeping the slave in ignorance. There is, perhaps, another reason why the law against education is so seldom violated. The slave is too poor to be able to offer a temptation sufficiently strong to induce a white man to violate it; and it is not to be supposed that in a community where the moral and religious sentiment is in favor of slavery, many martyrs will be found sacrificing their liberty and lives by violating those prohibitory enactments.

As a general rule, then, darkness reigns over the abodes of the enslaved, and "how great is that darkness!"

We are sometimes told of the contentment of the slaves, and are entertained with vivid pictures of their happiness. We are told that they often dance and sing; that their masters frequently give them wherewith to make merry; in fine, that they have little of which to complain. I admit that the slave does sometimes sing, dance, and appear to be merry. But what does this prove? It only proves to my mind, that though slavery is armed with a thousand stings, it is not able entirely to kill the elastic spirit of the bondman. That spirit will rise and walk abroad, despite of whips and chains, and extract from the cup of nature, occasional drops of joy and gladness. No thanks to the slaveholder, nor to slavery, that the vivacious captive may sometimes dance in his chains, his very mirth in such circumstances, stands before God, as an accusing angel against his enslaver.

But who tell us of the extraordinary contentment and happiness of the slave? What traveller has explored the balmy regions of our Southern country and brought back "these glad tidings of joy"? Bring him on the platform, and bid him answer a few plain questions, we shall then be able to determine the weight and importance that attach to his testimony. Is he a minister? Yes. Were you ever in a slave State, sir? Yes. May I inquire the object of your mission South? To preach the gospel, sir. Of what denominations are you? A Presbyterian, sir. To whom were you introduced? To the Rev. Dr. Plummer. Is he a slaveholder, sir? Yes, sir. Has slaves about his house? Yes, sir. Were you then the guest of Dr. Plummer? Yes, sir. Waited on by slaves while there? Yes, sir. Did you preach for Dr. Plummer? Yes, sir. Did you spend your nights at the great house, or at the quarter among the slaves? At the great house. You had, then, no social intercourse with the slaves? No, sir. You fraternized, then, wholly with the white portion of the population while there? Yes, sir. This is sufficient, sir; you can leave the platform.

Nothing is more natural than that those who go into slave States, and enjoy the hospitality of slaveholders, should bring back favorable reports of the condition of the slave. If that ultra republican, the Hon. Lewis Cass could not return from the Court of France, without paying a compliment to royalty simply because King Louis Phillippe patted him on the shoulder, called him "friend," and invited him to dinner, it is not to be expected that those hungry shadows of men in the shape of ministers, that go South, can escape a contamination even more beguiling and insidious. Alas! for the weakness of poor human nature! "Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw!"

Why is it that all the reports of contentment and happiness among the slaves at the South come to us upon the authority of slaveholders, or (what is equally significant), of slaveholders' friends? Why is it that we do not hear from the slaves direct? The answer to this question furnishes the darkest features in the American slave system.

Is it often said, by the opponents of the anti-slavery cause, that the condition of the people of Ireland is more deplorable than that of the American slaves. Far be it from me to underrate the sufferings of the Irish people. They have been long oppressed; and the same heart that prompts me to plead the cause of the American bondman, makes it impossible for me not to sympathize with the oppressed of all lands. Yet I must say that there is no analogy between the two cases. The Irishman is poor, but he is not a slave. He may be in rags, but he is not a slave. He is still the master of his own body, and can say with the poet, "The hand of Douglass is his own." "The world is all before him, where to choose," and poor as may be my opinion of the British Parliament, I cannot believe that it will ever sink to such a depth of infamy as to pass a law for the recapture of Fugitive Irishmen! The shame and scandal of kidnapping will long remain wholly monopolized by the American Congress! The Irishman has not only the liberty to emigrate from his country, but he has liberty at home. He can write, and speak, and co-operate for the attainment of his rights and the redress of his wrongs.

The multitude can assemble upon all the green hills, and fertile plains of the Emerald Isle—they can pour out their grievances, and proclaim their wants without molestation; and the press, that "swiftwinged messenger," can bear the tidings of their doing to the extreme bounds of the civilized world. They have their "Conciliation Hall" on the banks of the Liffey, their reform Clubs, and the newspapers; they pass resolutions, send forth addresses, and enjoy the right of petition. But how is it with the American slave? Where may he assemble? Where is his Conciliation Hall? Where are his newspapers? Where is his right of petition? Where is his freedom of speech? his liberty of the press? and his right of locomotion? He is said to be happy; happy men can speak. But ask the slave—what is his condition?—what his state of mind?—what he thinks of this enslavement? and you had as well address your inquiries to the silent dead. There comes no voice from the enslaved, we are left to gather his feelings by imagining what ours would be, were our souls in his soul's stead.

If there were no other fact descriptive of slavery, than that the slave is dumb, this alone would be sufficient to mark the slave system as a grant aggregation of human horrors.

Most who are present will have observed that leading men, in this country, have been putting forth their skill to secure quiet to the nation. A system of measures to promote this object was adopted a few months ago in Congress.

The result of those measures is known. Instead of quiet, they have produced alarm; instead of peace, they have brought us war, and so must ever be.

While this nation is guilty of the enslavement of three millions of innocent men and women, it is as idle of think of having a sound and lasting peace, as it is to think there is no God, to take cognizance of the affairs of men. There can be no peace to the wicked while slavery continues in the land, it will be condemned, and while it is condemned there will be agitation; Nature must cease to be nature; Men must become monsters; Humanity must be transformed; Christianity must be exterminated; all ideas of justice, and the laws of eternal goodness must be utterly blotted out from the human soul, ere a system so foul and infernal can escape condemnation, or this guilty Republic can have a sound and enduring Peace.

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Giuseppe Mazzini: On Nationality

Date: 1852

Giuseppe Mazzini was a leader of the Italian unification movement. As a law student at the University of Genoa, he was exposed to literature and political thought. His goal was that Italy be united as a republic. His activities led to his imprisonment by the government. In 1830 he chose to go into exile in Marseille, France, where he founded Young Italy, a patriotic society committed to republicanism and democracy. Its members swore to proselytize and fight for democracy, national independence, and unity, and to wage relentless war on tyrants. He saw the creation of a democratic Italian state as crucial to Italy's development.

Mazzini's republicanism differentiated him from both the monarchists and the socialists. His philosophy called for cooperation across class lines. He believed that the unity of workers and employers—educated and uneducated—was an essential precondition for the triumph of democratic movements.

Eventually, Italian unification did become a reality, but not as a democratic republic. It was united as a monarchy.

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Europe no longer possesses unity of faith, of mission, or of aim. Such unity is a necessity in the world. Here, then, is the secret of the crisis. It is the duty of every one to examine and analyse calmly and carefully the probable elements of this new unity. But those who persist in perpetuating, by violence or by Jesuitical compromise, the external observance of the old unity, only perpetuate the crisis, and render its issue more violent.

There are in Europe two great questions; or, rather, the question of the transformation of authority, that is to say, of the Revolution, has assumed two forms; the question which all have agreed to call social, and the question of nationalities. The first is more exclusively agitated in France, the second in the heart of the other peoples of Europe. I say, which all have agreed to call social, because, generally speaking, every great revolution is so far social, that it cannot be accomplished either in the religious, political, or any other sphere, without affecting social relations, the sources and the distribution of wealth; but that which is only a secondary consequence in political revolutions is now the cause and the banner of the movement in France. The question there is now, above all, to establish better relations between labour and capital, between production and consumption, between the workman and the employer.

It is probable that the European initiative, that which will give a new impulse to intelligence and to events, will spring from the question of nationalities. The social question may, in effect, although with difficulty, be partly resolved by a single people; it is an internal question for each, and the French Republicans of 1848 so understood it, when, determinately abandoning the European initiative, they placed Lamartine's [Note: A French poet and politician] manifesto by the side of their aspirations towards the organisation of labour. The question of nationality can only be resolved by destroying the treaties of 1815, and changing the map of Europe and its public Law. The question of Nationalities, rightly understood, is the Alliance of the Peoples; the balance of powers based upon new foundations; the organisation of the work that Europe has to accomplish. . . .

It was not for a material interest that the people of Vienna fought in 1848; in weakening the empire they could only lose power. It was not for an increase of wealth that the people of Lombardy fought in the same year; the Austrian Government had endeavoured in the year preceding to excite the peasants against the landed proprietors, as they had done in Galicia; but everywhere they had failed. They struggled, they still struggle, as do Poland, Germany, and Hungary, for country and liberty; for a word inscribed upon a banner, proclaiming to the world that they also live, think, love, and labour for the benefit of all. They speak the same language, they bear about them the impress of consanguinity, they kneel beside the same tombs, they glory in the same tradition; and they demand to associate freely, without obstacles, without foreign domination, in order to elaborate and express their idea; to contribute their stone also to the great pyramid of history. It is something moral which they are seeking; and this moral something is in fact, even politically speaking, the most important question in the present state of things. It is the organisation of the European task. It is no longer the savage, hostile, quarrelsome nationality of two hundred years ago which is invoked by these peoples. The nationality . . . founded upon the following principle:-Whichever people, by its superiority of strength, and by its geographical position, can do us an injury, is our natural enemy; whichever cannot do us an injury, but can by the amount of its force and by its position injure our enemy, is our natural ally, -is the princely nationality of aristocracies or royal races. The nationality of the peoples has not these dangers; it can only be founded by a common effort and a common movement; sympathy and alliance will be its result. In principle, as in the ideas formerly laid down by the men influencing every national party, nationality ought only to be to humanity that which the division of labour is in a workshop-the recognised symbol of association; the assertion of the individuality of a human group called by its geographical position, its traditions, and its language, to fulfil a special function in the European work of civilisation.

The map of Europe has to be remade. This is the key to the present movement; herein lies the initiative. Before acting, the instrument for action must be organised; before building, the ground must be one's own. The social idea cannot be realised under any form whatsoever before this reorganisation of Europe is effected; before the peoples are free to interrogate themselves; to express their vocation, and to assure its accomplishment by an alliance capable of substituting itself for the absolutist league which now reigns supreme.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Mazzini, Giuseppe. "Europe: Its Condition and Prospects." In *Essays: Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political and Religious of Joseph Mazzini*. Edited by William Clark. London: Walter Scott, 1880, pp. 266, 277-278, 291-292.

The Gettysburg Address

Date: November 19, 1863

President Abraham Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address, one of his most memorable public speeches, on November 19, 1863. Lincoln's brief remarks officially dedicated the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where in July 1863 the Union Army of the Potomac had won a major victory over the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. At the conclusion of the battle, the battlefield contained the bodies of more than 7,500 soldiers.

Lincoln's opening sentences portray a new type of nation based on liberty and equality. He then portrays the events as a test as to whether this type of nation "can long endure." His summation essentially states "... that we here highly resolve that ... [this new type, or form of government of the people] shall not perish from the earth."

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as the final-resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

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One Day under the Paris Commune

Date: 1871

According to the terms of the 1871 Treaty of Versailles, which ended the Franco-Prussian War, France ceded to Germany some 4,700 square miles of territory and agreed to pay 5 billion francs for indemnification within three years. The Red Republicans, or Communists, rebelled against these humiliating terms, and the capital fell into the hands of the Commune of Paris. By order of the national government the regular army was called in, and a second siege of Paris took place, infinitely more full of horrors than the previous one by the Germans. The government at length gained control, and the Third Republic was fully organized under the presidency of Louis-Adolphe Thiers. John Leighton, the author of the following extract, was in Paris at the time of the Commune.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

THE roaring of cannon close at hand, the whizzing of shells, volleys of musketry. I hear this in my sleep, and awake with a start. I dress and go out. I am told the troops have come in. "How? Where? When?" I ask of the National Guards who come rushing down the street, crying out, "We are betrayed!" They, however, know but very little. They have come from the Trocadero, and have seen the red trousers of the soldiers in the distance. Fighting is going on near the viaduct of Auteuil, at the Champ de Mars. Did the assault take place last night or this morning? It is quite impossible to obtain any reliable information. Some talk of a civil engineer having made signals to the Versaillais; others say a captain in the navy was the first to enter Paris. Suddenly about thirty men rush into the streets, crying, "We must make a barricade." I turn back, fearing to be pressed into the service. The cannonading appears dreadfully near. A shell whistles over my head. I hear

some one say, "The batteries of Montmartre are bombarding the Arc de Triomphe"; and strangely enough, in this moment of horror and uncertainty, the thought crosses my mind that now the side of the arch on which is the bas-relief of Rudé will be exposed to the shells. On the Boulevard there is only here and there a passenger hurrying along. The shops are closed; even the cafes are shut up; the harsh screech of the mitrailleuse grows louder and nearer. The battle seems to be close at hand, all round me. A thousand contradictory suppositions rush through my brain and hurry me along, and here on the Boulevard there is no one that can tell me anything. I walk in the direction of the Madeleine, drawn there by a violent desire to know what is going on, which silences the voice of prudence. As I approach the Chaussee d'Antin, I perceive a multitude of men, women, and children running backwards and forwards, carrying paving-stones. A barricade is being thrown up; it is already more than three feet high. Suddenly I hear the offing of heavy wheels; I turn, and a strange sight is before me—a mass of women in rags, livid, horrible, and yet grand, with the Phrygian cap on their heads, and the skirts of their robes tied around their waists, were harnessed to a mitrailleuse, which they dragged along at full speed; other women pushing vigorously behind. The whole procession, in its somber colors, with dashes of red here and there, thunders past me; I follow it as fast as I can. The mitrailleuse draws up a little in front of the barricade, and is hailed with wild clamors by the insurgents. The Amazons are being unharnessed as I come up. "Now," said a young gamin, such as one used to see in the gallery of the Theatre Porte St.-Martin, "don't you be acting the spy here, or I will break your head open as if you were a Versaillais."—"Don't waste ammunition," cried an old man with a long white beard—a patriarch of civil war—"don't waste ammunition; and as for the spy, let him help to carry paving-stones. Monsieur," said he, turning to me with much politeness, "will you be so kind as to go and fetch those stones from the corner there?"

I did as I was bid, although I thought, with anything but pleasure, that if at that moment the barricade were attacked and taken, I might be shot before I had the time to say, "Allow me to explain." But the scene which surrounds me interests me in spite of myself. Those grim hags, with their red head-dresses, passing the stones I give them rapidly from hand to hand, the men who are building them up only leaving off for a moment now and then to swallow a cup of coffee, which a young girl prepares over a small tin stove; the rifles symmetrically piled; the barricade, which rises higher and higher; the solitude in which we are working—only here and there a head appears at a window, and is quickly withdrawn; the ever-increasing noise of the battle; and, over all, the brightness of a dazzling morning sun—all this has something sinister, and yet horribly fascinating about it. While we are at work they talk; I listen. The Versaillais have been coming in all night. The Porte de la Muette and the Porte Dauphine have been surrendered by the 13th and the 113th battalions of the first arrondissement. "Those two numbers 13 will bring them ill luck," says a woman. Vinoy is established at the Trocadero, and Douai at the Point du Jour: they continue to advance. The Champ de Mars has been taken from the Federals after two hours' fighting. A battery is erected at the Arc de Triomphe, which sweeps the Champs Elysees and bombards the Tuileries. A shell has fallen in the Rue du Marche Saint-Honore. In the Cours-la-Reine the 138th battalion stood bravely. The Tuileries is armed with guns, and shells the Arc de Triomphe. In the Avenue de Marigny the gendarmes have shot twelve Federals who had surrendered; their bodies are still lying on the pavement in front of the tobacconist's. Rue de Sevres, the Vengeurs de Flourens have put to flight a whole regiment of the line: the Vengeurs have sworn to resist to a man. They are fighting in the Champs Elysees, around the Ministere de la Guerre, and on the Boulevard Haussmann. Dombrowski has been killed at the Chateau de la Muette. The Versaillais have attacked the Western Saint-Lazare Station, and are marching towards the Pepiniere barracks. "We have been sold, betrayed, and surprised; but what does it matter, we will triumph. We want no more chiefs or generals; behind the barricades every man is a marshal!"

Close to Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois women are busy pulling down the wooden seats; children are rolling empty wine-barrels and carrying sacks of earth. As one nears the Hotel de Ville the barricades are higher, better armed, and better manned. All the Nationals here look ardent, resolved, and fierce. They say little, and do not shout at all. Two guards, seated on the pavement, are playing at picquet. I push on, and am allowed to pass. The barricades are terminated here, and I have nothing to fear from paving-stones. Looking up, I see that all the windows are closed, with the exception of one, where two old women are busy putting a mattress between the window and the shutter. A sentinel, mounting guard in front of the Cafe de la Compagnie du Gaz, cries out to me, "You can't pass here!"

I therefore seat myself at a table in front of the cafe, which has doubtless been left open by order, and where several officers are talking in a most animated manner.

One of them rises and advances towards me. He asks me rudely what I am doing there. I will not allow myself to be abashed by his tone, but draw out my pass from my pocket and show it to him, without saying a word. "All right," says he; and then seats himself by my side, and tells me, "I know it already, that a part of the left bank of the river is occupied by the troops of the Assembly, that fighting is going on everywhere, and that the army on this side is gradually retreating.—Street fighting is our affair, you see," he continues. "In such battles as that, the merest gamin from Belleville knows more about it than MacMahon . . . It will be terrible. The enemy shoots the prisoners." (For the last two months the Commune had been saying the same thing.) "We shall give no quarter."—I ask him, "Is it Delescluze who is determined to resist?"—"Yes,"

he answers. "Lean forward a little. Look at those three windows to the left of the trophy. That is the Salle de l'Etat-Major. Delescluze is there giving orders, signing commissions. He has not slept for three days. Just now I scarcely knew him, he was so worn out with fatigue. The Committee of Public Safety sits permanently in a room adjoining, making out proclamations and decrees."—"Ha, ha!" said I, "decrees!"—"Yes, citizen, he has just decreed heroism!" The officer gives me several other bits of information: tells me that "Lullier this very morning has had thirty réfractaires shot, and that Rigault has gone to Mazas to look after the hostages."

While he is talking, I try to see what is going on in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. Two or three thousand Federals are there, some seated, some lying on the ground. A lively discussion is going on. Several little barrels are standing about on chairs; the men are continually getting up and crowding round the barrels, some have no glasses, but drink in the palms of their hands. Women walk up and down in bands, gesticulating wildly. The men shout, the women shriek. Mounted expresses gallop out of the Hotel, some in the direction of the Bastille, some towards the Place de la Concorde. The latter fly past us crying out, "All's well!" A man comes out on the balcony of the Hotel de Ville and addresses the crowd. All the Federals start to their feet enthusiastically.—"That's Valles," says my neighbor to me. I had already recognized him. I frequently saw him in the students' quarter in a little crémérie in the Rue Serpente. He was given to making verses, rather bad ones by the bye; I remember one in particular, a panegyric on a green coat. They used to say he had a situation as a professional mourner. His face even then wore a bitter and violent expression. He left poetry for journalism, and then journalism for politics. Today he is spouting forth at a window of the Hôtel de Ville. I cannot catch a word of what he says; but as he retires he is wildly applauded. Such applause pains me sadly. I feel that these men and these women are mad for blood, and will know how to die. Alas! how many dead and dying already! Neither the cannonading nor the musketry has ceased an instant.

I now see a number of women walk out of the Hôtel, the crowd makes room for them to pass. They come our way. They are dressed in black, and have black crape tied round their arms and a red cockade in their bonnets. My friend the officer tells me that they are the governesses who have taken the places of the nuns. Then he walks up to them and says, "Have you succeeded?"—"Yes," answers one of them, "here is our commission. The school-children are to be employed in making sacks and filling them with earth, the eldest ones are to load the rifles behind the barricades. They will receive rations like National Guards, and a pension will be given to the mothers of those who die for the republic. They are mad to fight, I assure you. We have made them work hard during the last month; this will be their holiday!" The woman who says this is young and pretty, and speaks; with a sweet smile on her lips. I shudder. Suddenly two staff officers appear and ride furiously up to the Hôtel de Ville; they have come from the Place Vendôme. An instant later and the trumpets sound. The companies form in the Place, and great agitation reigns in the Hôtel. Men rush in and out. The officers who are in the cafe where I am get up instantly, and go to take their places at the head of their men. A rumor spreads that the Versaillais have taken the barricades on the Place de la Concorde.—"By Jove! I think you had better go home," says my neighbor to me, as he clasps his sword-belt; "we shall have hot work here, and that shortly." I think it prudent to follow this advice.

One glance at the Place before I go. The companies of Federals have just started off by the Rue de Rivoli and the quays at a quick march, crying, "Vive la Commune!" a ferocious joy beaming in their faces. A young man, almost a lad, lags a little behind; a woman rushes up to him, and lays hold of his collar, screaming, "Well, and you! are you not going to get yourself killed with the others?"

I reach the Rue Vieille-du-Temple, where another barricade is being built up. I place a paving-stone upon it and pass on. Soon I see open shops and passengers in the streets. This tradesmen's quarter seems to have outlived the riot of Paris. Here one might almost forget the frightful civil war which wages so near, if the conversation of those around did not betray the anguish of the speakers, and if you did not hear the cannon roaring out unceasingly, "People of Paris, listen to me! I am ruining your houses. Listen to me! I am killing your children."

On the Boulevards more barricades; some nearly finished, others scarcely commenced. One constructed near the Porte Saint-Martin looks formidable. That spot seems destined to be the theater of bloody scenes, of riot and revolution. In 1852, corpses lay piled up behind the railing, and all the pavement was tinged with blood. I return home profoundly sad; I can scarcely think—I feel in a dream, and am tired to death; my eyelids droop of themselves; I am like one of those houses there with closed shutters.

Near the Gymnase I meet a friend who I thought was at Versailles. We shake hands sadly. "When did you come back?" I ask.—"Today; I followed the troops." —Then turning back with me he tells me what he has seen. He had a pass, and walked into Paris behind the artillery and the line, as far as the Trocadero, where the soldiers halted to take up their line of battle. Not a single man was visible along the whole length of the quays. At the Champ de Mars he did not see any insurgents. The musketry seemed very violent near Vaugirard on the Pont Royal and around the Palais de l'Industrie. Shells from Montmartre repeatedly fell on the quays. He could not see much, however, only the smoke in the distance. Not a soul did he meet. Such frightful noise in such solitude was fearful. He continued his way under the shelter of the parapet. On one place he saw some gamins cutting huge pieces of flesh off the dead body of a horse that was lying in the path. There must have been fighting there. Down by the water a man fishing while two shells fell in the river, a little higher up, a yard or two from the shore. Then he thought it prudent to get nearer to the Palais de l'Industrie. The fighting was

nearly over then, but not quite. The Champs Élysées was melancholy in the extreme; not a soul was there. This was only too literally true, for several corpses lay on the ground. He saw a soldier of the line lying beneath a tree, his forehead covered with blood. The man opened his mouth as if to speak as he heard the sound of footsteps, the eyelids quivered and then there was a shiver, and all was over.

My friend walked slowly away. He saw trees thrown down and bronze lamp-posts broken; glass crackled under his feet as he passed near the ruined kiosques. Every now and then turning his head he saw shells from Montmartre fall on the Arc de Triomphe and break off large fragments of stone. Near the Tuileries was a confused mass of soldiery against a background of smoke. Suddenly he heard the whizzing of a ball and saw the branch of a tree fall. From one end of the avenue to the other, no one; the road glistened white in the sun. Many dead were to be seen lying about as he crossed the Champs Élysées. All the streets to the left were full of soldiery; there had been fighting there, but it was over now. The insurgents had retreated in the direction of the Madeleine. In many places tricolor flags were hanging from the windows, and women were smiling and waving their handkerchiefs to the troops. The presence of the soldiery seemed to reassure everybody. The concierges were seated before their doors with pipes in their mouths, recounting to attentive listeners the perils from which they had escaped; how balls pierced the mattresses put up at the windows, and how the Federals had got into the houses to hide. One said, "I found three of them in my court; I told a lieutenant they were there, and he had them shot. But I wish they would take them away; I cannot keep dead bodies in my house." Another was talking with some soldiers, and pointing out a house to them. Four men and a corporal went into the place indicated, and an instant afterwards my friend heard the cracking of rifles. The concierge rubbed his hands and winked at the bystanders, while another was saying, "They respect nothing, those Federals; during the battle they came in to steal. They wanted to take away my clothes, my linen, everything I have; but I told them to leave that, that it was not good enough for them, that they ought to go up to the first floor, where they would find clocks and plate, and I gave them the key. Well, messieurs, you would never believe what they have done, the rascals! They took the key and went and pillaged everything on the first floor!" My friend had heard enough, and passed on. The agitation everywhere was very great. The soldiers went hither and thither, rang the bells, went into the houses and brought out with them pale-faced prisoners. The inhabitants continued to smile politely but grimly. Here and there dead bodies were lying in the road. A man who was pushing a truck allowed one of the wheels to pass over a corpse that was lying with its head on the curbstone. "Bah!" said he, "it won't do him any harm." The dead and wounded were, however, being carried away as quickly as possible.

The cannon had now ceased roaring, and the fight was still going on close at hand—at the Tuileries doubtless. The townspeople were tranquil and the soldiery disdainful. A strange contrast; all these good citizens smiling and chatting, and the soldiers, who had come to save them at the peril of their lives, looking down upon them with the most careless indifference. My friend reached the Boulevard Haussmann; there the corpses were in large numbers. He counted thirty in less than a hundred yards. Some were lying under the doorways; a dead woman was seated on the bottom stair of one of the houses. Near the church of "La Trinité" were two guns, the reports from which were deafening; several of the shells fell in a bathing establishment in the Rue Taitbout opposite the Boulevard. On the Boulevard itself, not a person was to be seen. Here and there dark masses, corpses doubtless. However, the moment the noise of the report of a gun had died away, and while the gunners were reloading, heads were thrust out from doors to see what damage had been done—to count the number of trees broken, benches torn up, and kiosques overturned. From some of the windows rifles were fired. My friend then reached the street he lived in and went home. He was told during the morning they had violently bombarded the Collège Chaptal, where the Zouaves of the Commune had fortified themselves; but the engagement was not a long one, they made several prisoners and shot the rest.

My friend shut himself up at home, determined not to go out. But his impatience to see and hear what was going on forced him into the streets again. The Pépinière barracks were occupied by troops of the line; he was able to get to the New Opera without trouble, leaving the Madeleine, where dreadful fighting was going on, to the right. On the way were to be seen piled muskets, soldiers sitting and lying about, and corpses everywhere. He then managed, without incurring too much danger, to reach the Boulevards, where the insurgents, who were then very numerous, had not yet been attacked. He worked for some little time at the barricade, and then was allowed to pass on. It was thus that we had met. Just as we were about to turn up the Faubourg Montmartre a man rushed up saying that three hundred Federals had taken refuge in the church of the Madeleine, followed by gendarmes, and had gone on fighting for more than an hour. "Now," he finished up by saying, "if the curé were to return, he would find plenty of people to bury!"

I am now at home. Evening has come at last; I am jotting down these notes just as they come into my head. I am too much fatigued both in mind and body to attempt to put my thoughts into order. The cannonading is incessant, and the fusillade also. I pity those that died, and those that kill! Oh! poor Paris, when will experience make you wiser?

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Charles Darwin: *The Descent of Man*

Date: 1871

Charles Darwin, an English biologist, was one of a number of scientists considering theories of evolution. He published On the Origin of Species in 1859 and set forth his theory that animals evolved through variation and natural selection of those most fit to survive in particular environments. In The Descent of Man (1871) he applied his theory directly to the question of human beings. Far from standing aside from the social, racial and religious consequences of his theories, Darwin, as we see below, jumped right into the fray.

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

The main conclusion here arrived at, and now held by many naturalists who are well competent to form a sound judgment, is that man is descended from some less highly organised form. The grounds upon which this conclusion rests will never be shaken, for the close similarity between man and the lower animals in embryonic development, as well as in innumerable points of structure and constitution, both of high and of the most trifling importance,—the rudiments which he retains, and the abnormal revisions to which he is occasionally liable,—are facts which cannot be disputed. They have long been known, but until recently they told us nothing with respect to the origin of man. Now when viewed by the light of our knowledge of the whole organic world their meaning is unmistakable. The great principle of evolution stands up clear and firm, when these groups of facts are considered in connection with others, such as the mutual affinities of the members of the same group, their geographical distribution in past and present times, and their geological succession. It is incredible that all these facts should speak falsely. He who is not content to look, like a savage, at the phenomena of nature as disconnected, cannot any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation. He will be forced to admit that the close resemblance of the embryo of man to that, for instance, of a dog—the construction of his skull, limbs and whole frame on the same plan with that of other mammals, independently of the uses to which the parts may be put—the occasional re-appearance of various structures, for instance of several muscles, which man does not normally possess, but which are common to the Quadrumana—and a crowd of analogous facts—all point in the plainest manner to the conclusion that man is the co-descendant with other mammals of a common progenitor.

We have seen that man incessantly presents individual differences in all parts of his body and in his mental faculties. These differences or variations seem to be induced by the same general causes, and to obey the same laws as with the lower animals. In both cases similar laws of inheritance prevail. Man tends to increase at a greater rate than his means of subsistence; consequently he is occasionally subjected to a severe struggle for existence, and natural selection will have effected whatever lies within its scope. A succession of strongly-marked variations of a similar nature is by no means requisite; slight fluctuating differences in the individual suffice for the work of natural selection; not that we have any reason to suppose that in the same species, all parts of the organisation tend to vary to the same degree.

By considering the embryological structure of man,—the homologies which he presents with the lower animals,—the rudiments which he retains,—and the reversions to which he is liable, we can partly recall in imagination the former condition of our early progenitors; and can approximately place them in their proper place in the zoological series. We thus learn that man is descended from a hairy, tailed quadruped, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. This creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed amongst the Quadrumana, as surely as the still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys. The Quadrumana and all the higher mammals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this through a long line of diversified forms, from some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all the Vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiæ, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and heart) imperfectly or not at all developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvæ of the existing marine Ascidians than any other known form.

The high standard of our intellectual powers and moral disposition is the greatest difficulty which presents itself, after we have been driven to this conclusion on the origin of man. But every one who admits the principle of evolution, must see that the mental powers of the higher animals, which are the same in kind with those of man, though so different in degree, are capable of advancement. . . .

The moral nature of man has reached its present standard, partly through the advancement of his reasoning powers and consequently of a just public opinion, but especially from his sympathies having been rendered more tender and widely diffused through the effects of habit, example, instruction, and reflection. It is not improbable that after long practice virtuous tendencies may be inherited. With the more civilised races, the conviction of the existence of an all-seeing Deity has had a potent influence on the advance of morality. Ultimately man does not accept the praise or blame of his fellows as his sole guide though few escape this

influence, but his habitual convictions, controlled by reason, afford him the safest rule. His conscience then becomes the supreme judge and monitor. Nevertheless the first foundation or origin of the moral sense lies in the social instincts, including sympathy; and these instincts no doubt were primarily gained, as in the case of the lower animals, through natural selection.

The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest but the most complete of all the distinctions between man and the lower animals. It is however impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seems to be universal, and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for His existence. But this is a rash argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits, only a little more powerful than man; for the belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity. The idea of a universal and beneficent Creator does not seem to arise in the mind of man, until he has been elevated by long-continued culture. . . .

I am aware that the conclusions arrived at in this work will be denounced by some as highly irreligious; but he who denounces them is bound to shew why it is more irreligious to explain the origin of man as a distinct species by descent from some lower form, through the laws of variation and natural selection, than to explain the birth of the individual through the laws of ordinary reproduction. The birth both of the species and of the individual are equally parts of that grand sequence of events, which our minds refuse to accept as the result of blind chance. The understanding revolts at such a conclusion, whether or not we are able to believe that every slight variation of structure,—the union of each pair in marriage,—the dissemination of each seed,—and other such events, have all been ordained for some special purpose.

Sexual selection has been treated at great length in this work, for, as I have attempted to shew, it has played an important part in the history of the organic world. I am aware that much remains doubtful, but I have endeavoured to give a fair view of the whole case. In the lower divisions of the animal kingdom, sexual selection seems to have done nothing: such animals are often affixed for life to the same spot, or have the sexes combined in the same individual, or what is still more important, their perceptive and intellectual faculties are not sufficiently advanced to allow of the feelings of love and jealousy, or of the exertion of choice. When, however, we come to the Arthropoda and Vertebrata, even to the lowest classes in these two great Sub-Kingdoms, sexual selection has effected much. . . .

Sexual selection depends on the success of certain individuals over others of the same sex, in relation to the propagation of the species; whilst natural selection depends on the success of both sexes, at all ages, in relation to the general conditions of life. The sexual struggle is of two kinds; in the one it is between the individuals of the same sex, generally the males, in order to drive away or kill their rivals, the females remaining passive; whilst in the other, the struggle is likewise between the individuals of the same sex, in order to excite or charm those of the opposite sex, generally the females, which no longer remain passive, but select the more agreeable partners. . . .

The main conclusion arrived at in this work, namely that man is descended from some lowly organised form, will, I regret to think, be highly distasteful to many. But there can hardly be a doubt that we are descended from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind—such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled, and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and like wild animals lived on what they could catch; they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe. He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some humble creature flows in his veins. For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.

Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having risen, though not through his own exertions, to the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus risen, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hope for a still higher destiny in the distant future. But we are not here concerned with hopes or fears, only with the truth as far as our reason permits us to discover it; and I have given the evidence to the best of my ability. We must, however, acknowledge, as it seems to me, that man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system—with all these exalted powers—Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Kingdom of Choson (Korea) Treaty

Date: May 22, 1882

The Kingdom of Choson Treaty was unique in that it was framed not as a relationship between two governments but between two heads of state: "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen [Choson]," then secondarily between "the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments." Scholars regard the treaty as one of the more enlightened documents of 19th-century East-West relations. The treaty was signed by the United States and the kingdom of Choson, at Yin Chuen, Choson (present-day Korea).

Korea was the last of the three major Asian empires, after China and Japan, with which the United States established commercial relations. In addition to the customary articles establishing trade and diplomatic relations between the countries, there were articles specifically prohibiting the opium trade and controlling trade in foodstuffs (at critical times), arms and munitions, and an article that encouraged cultural exchange:

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

VII The Governments of the United States and of Chosen mutually agree and undertake that subjects of Chosen shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States, and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of Chosen, to transport it from one open port to another open port, or to traffic in it in Chosen. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, to foreign vessels employed by them, and to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of the United States and of Chosen, and offenders against it shall be severely punished.

VIII Whenever the Government of Chosen shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the limits of the kingdom, His Majesty may by Decree temporarily prohibit the export of all breadstuffs, and such Decree shall be binding on all citizens of the United States in Chosen upon due notice having been given them by the authorities of Chosen through the proper officers of the United States; but it is to be understood that the exportation of rice and breadstuffs of every description is prohibited from the open port of Yin-Chuen.

Chosen having of old prohibited the exportation of red ginseng, if citizens of the United States clandestinely purchase it for export, it shall be confiscated and the offenders punished.

IX Purchase of cannon, small arms, swords, gunpowder, shot, and all munitions of war is permitted only to officials of the Government of Chosen, and they may be imported by citizens of the United States only under a written permit from the authorities of Chosen. If these articles are clandestinely imported, they shall be confiscated, and the offending party shall be punished.

A provision was also included that specifically encouraged cultural exchange:

XI Students of either nationality, who may proceed to the country of the other, in order to study the language, literature, law, or arts, shall be given all possible protection and assistance in evidence of cordial goodwill.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Andrew Carnegie: "The Gospel of Wealth"

Date: 1889

Andrew Carnegie was a successful businessman, with his fortune derived from supplying iron and steel to railroads. Nevertheless, Carnegie recalled his roots as a young radical in Scotland. He developed the idea of the gospel of wealth. As a Social Darwinist, he believed wealth was a natural phenomenon, but he also

believed that it imposed a social obligation on those who gained it. He bequeathed much of his fortune to founding libraries and to supporting international efforts to establish peace.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

The problem of our age is the administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. . . . The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas [Note: a rich Roman patron of the arts]. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both-not the least so to him who serves-and would sweep away civilization with it. . . .

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises-and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal-What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that fortunes are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not wealth, but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in Europe today teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land. . . . Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

. . . As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world. . . . The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. . . .

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. . . . Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death, the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life. . . . This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people. . . . There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes: but in this way we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor-a reign of harmony-another ideal, differing, indeed from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to

agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellowcitizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

. . . This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer—doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Andrew Carnegie. “Wealth.” *North American Review* 148, no. 391 (June 1889): 653, 657–662.

Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*

Date: May 15, 1891

The Rerum Novarum (Of New Things) was an encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII. It was an open letter, passed on to all Catholic bishops, that addressed the condition of the working class. It discussed the relationships between government, business, labor, and the church.

It supported the rights of labor to form unions, and rejected socialism, pointing out that, “. . . perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity.” It spoke directly to the duties and responsibilities of the wealthy owners and masters of labor, or employers. This encyclical is generally accepted to be the founding document of Christian Democracy.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

RERUM NOVARUM

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII ON CAPITAL AND LABOR

To Our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other ordinaries of places having Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See.

Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor

That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; the increased self reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it - actually there is no question which has taken deeper hold on the public mind.

Highlights of the encyclical

Paragraph 19:

The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the working men are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human frame is the result of the suitable arrangement of the different parts of the body, so in a State is it ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony and agreement, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other: capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in the beauty of good order, while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian insti-

tutions is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice.

Paragraph 20:

Of these duties, the following bind the proletarian and the worker: fully and faithfully to perform the work which has been freely and equitably agreed upon; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises of great results, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets and grievous loss. The following duties bind the wealthy owner and the employer: not to look upon their work people as their bondsmen, but to respect in every man his dignity as a person ennobled by Christian character. They are reminded that, according to natural reason and Christian philosophy, working for gain is creditable, not shameful, to a man, since it enables him to earn an honorable livelihood; but to misuse men as though they were things in the pursuit of gain, or to value them solely for their physical powers - that is truly shameful and inhuman. Again justice demands that, in dealing with the working man, religion and the good of his soul must be kept in mind. Hence, the employer is bound to see that the worker has time for his religious duties; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family, or to squander his earnings. Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex and age. His great and principal duty is to give every one what is just. Doubtless, before deciding whether wages are fair, many things have to be considered; but wealthy owners and all masters of labor should be mindful of this - that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a great crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. "Behold, the hire of the laborers... which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (The Bible - James 5:4) Lastly, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings, whether by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with all the greater reason because the laboring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should in proportion to their scantiness be accounted sacred. Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed out, would they not be sufficient of themselves to keep under all strife and all its causes?

CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Pope Leo XIII. *Rerum Novarum*. The Vatican web site, vatican.va, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html

Theodor Herzl: On the Jewish State

Date: 1896

Jewish leaders had advocated the return of Jews to Palestine for many years before Theodor Herzl wrote, The Jewish State, a pamphlet defining the movement. Herzl's arguments led to a more defined political movement, aiming at the establishment of a homeland in Palestine. Herzl convened the first Zionist Congress in 1897, the year after the publication of his pamphlet. Herzl was willing to consider other locations than Palestine for the homeland, and investigated other possibilities, including lands in what is now the nation of Uganda.

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State. The world resounds with outcries against the Jews, and these outcries have awakened the slumbering idea.

WE ARE A PEOPLE—ONE PEOPLE.

We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities and to preserve the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellowcitizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers, and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already had experience of suffering. The majority may decide which are the strangers; for this, as indeed every point which arises in the relations between nations, is a question of might. I do not here surrender any portion of our prescriptive right, when I make this statement merely in my own name as an individual. In the world as it now is and for an

indefinite period will probably remain, might precedes right. It is useless, therefore, for us to be loyal patriots, as were the Huguenots who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace. . . .

[However,] oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. Jew-baiting has merely stripped off our weaklings; the strong among us were invariably true to their race when persecution broke out against them. . . .

However much I may worship personality—powerful individual personality in statesmen, inventors, artists, philosophers, or leaders, as well as the collective personality of a historic group of human beings, which we call a nation—however much I may worship personality, I do not regret its disappearance. Whoever can, will, and must perish, let him perish. But the distinctive nationality of Jews neither can, will, nor must be destroyed. It cannot be destroyed, because external enemies consolidate it. It will not be destroyed; this is shown during two thousand years of appalling suffering. It must not be destroyed. . . . Whole branches of Judaism may wither and fall, but the trunk will remain.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

No one can deny the gravity of the situation of the Jews. Wherever they live in perceptible numbers, they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute, has become practically a dead letter. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions, either in the army, or in any public or private capacity. And attempts are made to thrust them out of business also: "Don't buy from Jews!"

Attacks in Parliaments, in assemblies, in the press, in the pulpit, in the street, on journeys—for example, their exclusion from certain hotels—even in places of recreation, become daily more numerous. The forms of persecutions varying according to the countries and social circles in which they occur. . . .

THE PLAN

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

The creation of a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. We have in our day witnessed the process in connection with nations which were not largely members of the middle class, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves. The Governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want.

The plan, simple in design, but complicated in execution, will be carried out by two agencies: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company.

The Society of Jews will do the preparatory work in the domains of science and politics, which the Jewish Company will afterwards apply practically.

The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent of the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize commerce and trade in the new country.

We must not imagine the departure of the Jews to be a sudden one. It will be gradual, continuous, and will cover many decades. The poorest will go first to cultivate the soil. In accordance with a preconceived plan, they will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraph installations; regulate rivers; and build their own dwellings; their labor will create trade, trade will create markets and markets will attract new settlers, for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor expended on the land will enhance its value, and the Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent sphere of operation is opening here for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore met only with hatred and obloquy.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Theodor Herzl. *The Jewish State, An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*. Edited by Jacob M. Alkow. New York: American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946, pp. 69, 76–77, 79–80, 85, 92–93.

John Hay: Circular Letter

Date: 1899

A letter of September 6, 1899, written by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, that announced the Open Door policy toward China and was an attempt to protect American commercial interests at a time when European nations were establishing spheres of influence in China. Hay's letter instructed U.S. embassies in Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to seek assurances that those powers would respect the trading rights of other nations within their spheres of influence, that the Chinese treaty tariff would apply to all spheres of influence and would be collected by the Chinese government, and that discriminatory tariffs and fees would not be applied to any nation. Though the various nations gave evasive replies, on March 20, 1900, Hay announced the acceptance of the Open Door policy as "final and definitive."

Germany.
Mr. Hay to Mr. White.
Department of State, Washington, September 6, 1899.

Sir: At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of the latter country to enjoy in said leased area an the contiguous "sphere of influence or interest" certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but, as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise, not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective spheres of whatever influence. . . .

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiao-chao a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a custom-house are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany will give its acceptance and hearty support.

The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China, to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at this capital at the time, and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has, in consequence, been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith enclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britain and Japan will be so clearly served by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the Governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their cooperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected. I inclose herewith copy of the instruction which I have sent to Mr. Choate on the subject.

In view of the present favorable conditions, you are instructed to submit the above considerations to His Imperial German Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, and to request his early consideration of the subject.

Copy of this instruction is sent to our ambassadors at London and at St. Petersburg for their information.

I have, etc.,

John Hay.

(Inclosures:) To London, September 6, 1899, No. 205; to St. Petersburg, September 6, 1899, No. 82.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Circular Letter, 1899." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Hay, John. "Circular Letter, 1899." *Treaties, Conversions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreement Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909*. Vol. 1, part 1, New York: Facts On File, Inc. pp. 246-247.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS: CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT—1900 TO 1950

Lenin: “What Is to Be Done?”

Date: 1902

In this essay, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin argued for a socialist party that would be open only to dedicated revolutionaries, rather than to a broad political base of ideological supporters. The more open and democratic model characterized the socialist parties of the period in Europe and the Americas, but Lenin conceived of the party as an apparatus for revolution. When his wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party briefly dominated one meeting, they declared themselves Bolsheviks, or the majority wing, even though the more open wing of the party outnumbered them. The name stuck, and Lenin’s dedicated revolutionary wing of the Social Democrats were henceforth known internationally as Bolsheviks. In this essay, Lenin harshly criticizes other Social Democrats for believing that a middle-class style political victory would be possible in Russia, and instead he urges that the party not use political means but organize itself as a tough, centrally-controlled elite that would work to establish a socialist state in the interests of the wider proletariat.

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may itself realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labour movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia. At the time of which we are speaking, i.e., the middle of the nineties, this doctrine not only represented the completely formulated programme of the Emancipation of Labour group, but had already won the adherence of the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia.

It is only natural that a Social Democrat, who conceives the political struggle as being identical with the “economic struggle against the employers and the government,” should conceive of an “organisation of revolutionaries” as being more or less identical with an “organisation of workers.” And this, in fact, is what actually happens; so that when we talk about organisation, we literally talk in different tongues. I recall a conversation I once had with a fairly consistent Economist, with whom I had not been previously acquainted. We were discussing the pamphlet *Who Will Make the Political Revolution?* and we were very soon agreed that the principal defect in that brochure was that it ignored the question of organisation. We were beginning to think that we were in complete agreement with each other—but as the conversation proceeded, it became clear that we were talking of different things. My interlocutor accused the author of the brochure just mentioned of ignoring strike funds, mutual aid societies, etc.; whereas I had in mind an organisation of revolutionaries as an essential factor in “making” the political revolution. After that became clear, I hardly remember a single question of importance upon which I was in agreement with that Economist!

What was the source of our disagreement? The fact that on questions of organisation and politics the Economists are forever lapsing from Social Democracy into trade unionism. The political struggle carried on by the Social Democrats is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle the workers carry on against the employers and the government. Similarly (and indeed for that reason), the organisation of a revolutionary Social Democratic Party must inevitably differ from the organisations of the workers designed for the latter struggle. A workers’ organisation must in the first place be a trade organisation; secondly, it must be as wide as possible; and thirdly, it must be as public as conditions will allow (here, and further on, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people whose profession is that of a revolutionary (that is why I speak of organisations of revolutionaries, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In view of this common feature of the members of such an organisation, all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be obliterated. Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible.

I assert:

- that no movement can be durable without a stable organisation of leaders to maintain continuity;
- that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organisation, and the more stable must it be (for it is much easier for demagogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses);
- that the organisation must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession;

that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organisation to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organisation, and the wider will be the circle of men and women of the working class or of other classes of society able to join the movement and perform active work in it. . . .

The active and widespread participation of the masses will not suffer; on the contrary, it will benefit by the fact that a “dozen” experienced revolutionaries, no less professionally trained than the police, will centralise all the secret side of the work—prepare leaflets, work out approximate plans and appoint bodies of leaders for each urban district, for each factory district and to each educational institution, etc. (I know that exception will be taken to my “undemocratic” views, but I shall reply to this altogether unintelligent objection later on.) The centralisation of the more secret functions in an organisation of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and as public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers’ circles for self-education and the reading of illegal literature, and socialist and also democratic circles for all other sections of the population, etc., etc. We must have as large a number as possible of such organisations having the widest possible variety of functions, but it is absurd and dangerous to confuse those with organisations of revolutionaries, to erase the line of demarcation between them, to dim still more the masses already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to “serve” the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social Democratic activities, and that such people must train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries.

Aye, this appreciation has become incredibly dim. The most grievous sin we have committed in regard to organisation is that by our primitiveness we have lowered the prestige of revolutionaries in Russia. A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who has a narrow outlook who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground that the masses are awakening spontaneously; who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people’s tribune, who is unable to conceive of a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his opponents with respect for himself, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—such a man is not a revolutionary but a wretched amateur!

Let no active worker take offense at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself great and all-embracing tasks; and every member of that circle suffered to the point of torture from the realisation that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a wellknown epigram: “Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!”

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Lenin, V. I. “What Is to Be Done?” *Lenin: Collected Works*. Vol. 5, pp. 375–376, 451–453, 464–467. Quoted in Kohn, George Childs. *Dictionary of Historic Documents*. Rev. ed. New York: Facts On File, 2003.

The Souls of Black Folk

Date: 1903

The Souls of Black Folk was a landmark 1903 work on the African-American experience by African-American scholar and civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois. In his writings, DuBois charted the psychological and social toll of historical subjugation on black Americans. His scholarship influenced his militant activism on behalf of equal rights. *The Souls of Black Folk*, a collection of essays detailing the spiritual and psychological underpinnings of black life in turn-of-the-century segregated America, revealed the main currents of DuBois’s thought. In characterizing the aspirations of African Americans, DuBois asserted that what blacks wanted and were entitled to by birth was equal social status and economic opportunity. He spelled out his indictment of black leader Booker T. Washington, whose accommodationist strategy to win black social and economic advancement, DuBois asserted, would achieve only illusory gains while perpetuating the institutions and attitudes of segregation.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

The Souls of Black Folk (1903)

The Forethought

Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the Twentieth Century. This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader; for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colorline.

I pray you, then, receive my little book in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for sake of the faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there.

I have sought here to sketch, in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which ten thousand Americans live and strive. First, in two chapters I have tried to show what Emancipation meant to them, and what was its aftermath. In a third chapter I have pointed out the slow rise of personal leadership, and criticised candidly the leader who bears the chief burden of his race to-day. Then, in two other chapters I have sketched in swift outline the two worlds within and without the Veil, and thus have come to the central problem of training men for life. Venturing now into deeper detail, I have in two chapters studied the struggles of the massed millions of the black peasantry, and in another have sought to make clear the present relations of the sons of master and man.

Leaving, then, the world of the white man, I have stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses,—the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls. All this I have ended with a tale twice told but seldom written.

Some of these thoughts of mine have seen the light before in other guise. For kindly consenting to their republication here, in altered and extended form, I must thank the publishers of *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The World's Work*, *The Dial*, *The New World*, and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

Before each chapter, as now printed, stands a bar of the Sorrow Songs,—some echo of haunting melody from the only American music which welled up from black souls in the dark past. And, finally, need I add that I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil?

W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 1, 1903.

Herein is Written

I. OF OUR SPIRITUAL STRIVINGS

O water, voice of my heart, crying in the sand, All night long crying with a mournful cry, As I lie and listen, and cannot understand The voice of my heart in my side or the voice of the sea, O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I? All night long the water is crying to me.

Unresting water, there shall never be rest Till the last moon droop and the last tide fail, And the fire of the end begin to burn in the west; And the heart shall be weary and wonder and cry like the sea, All life long crying without avail, As the water all night long is crying to me.

Arthur Symons.

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or, Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.

And yet, being a problem is a strange experience,—peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe. It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Taghkanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said; some, all, I would wrest from them. Just how I would do it I could never decide: by reading law, by healing the sick, by telling the wonderful tales that swam in my head,—some way. With other black boys the strife was not so fiercely sunny: their youth shrunk into tasteless sycophancy, or into silent hatred of the pale world about them and mocking distrust of everything white; or wasted itself in a bitter cry, Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Throughout history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like weakness. And yet it is not weakness,—it is the contradiction of double aims. The double-aimed struggle of the black artisan—on the one hand to escape white contempt for a nation of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and on the other hand to plough and nail and dig for a poverty-stricken horde—could only result in making him a poor craftsman, for he had but half a heart in either cause. By the poverty and ignorance of his people, the Negro minister or doctor was tempted toward quackery and demagoguery; and by the criticism of the other world, toward ideals that made him ashamed of his lowly tasks. The would-be black savant was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood. The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people. This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people,—has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries. To him, so far as he thought and dreamed, slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice; Emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of wearied Israelites. In song and exhortation swelled one refrain—Liberty; in his tears and curses the God he implored had Freedom in his right hand. At last it came,—suddenly, fearfully, like a dream. With one wild carnival of blood and passion came the message in his own plaintive cadences:—

“Shout, O children! Shout, you're free! For God has bought your liberty!”

Years have passed away since then,—ten, twenty, forty; forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development, and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the Nation's feast. In vain do we cry to this our vastest social problem:—

“Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves Shall never tremble!”

The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the Negro people,—a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the simple ignorance of a lowly people.

The first decade was merely a prolongation of the vain search for freedom, the boon that seemed ever barely to elude their grasp,—like a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp, maddening and misleading the headless host. The holocaust of war, the terrors of the Ku-Klux Klan, the lies of carpet-baggers, the disorganization of industry, and the contradictory advice of friends and foes, left the bewildered serf with no new watch-word beyond the old cry for freedom. As the time flew, however, he began to grasp a new idea. The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him. And why not? Had not votes made war and

emancipated millions? Had not votes enfranchised the freedmen? Was anything impossible to a power that had done all this? A million black men started with renewed zeal to vote themselves into the kingdom. So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free serf weary, wondering, but still inspired. Slowly but steadily, in the following years, a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power,—a powerful movement, the rise of another ideal to guide the unguided, another pillar of fire by night after a clouded day. It was the ideal of “book-learning”; the curiosity, born of compulsory ignorance, to know and test the power of the cabalistic letters of the white man, the longing to know. Here at last seemed to have been discovered the mountain path to Canaan; longer than the highway of Emancipation and law, steep and rugged, but straight, leading to heights high enough to overlook life.

Up the new path the advance guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly; only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings, of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. The cold statistician wrote down the inches of progress here and there, noted also where here and there a foot had slipped or some one had fallen. To the tired climbers, the horizon was ever dark, the mists were often cold, the Canaan was always dim and far away. If, however, the vistas disclosed as yet no goal, no resting-place, little but flattery and criticism, the journey at least gave leisure for reflection and self-examination; it changed the child of Emancipation to the youth with dawning self-consciousness, self-realization, self-respect. In those sombre forests of his striving his own soul rose before him, and he saw himself,—darkly as through a veil; and yet he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power, of his mission. He began to have a dim feeling that, to attain his place in the world, he must be himself, and not another. For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back, that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named Negro problem. He felt his poverty; without a cent, without a home, without land, tools, or savings, he had entered into competition with rich, landed, skilled neighbors. To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships. He felt the weight of his ignorance,—not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanities; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and feet. Nor was his burden all poverty and ignorance. The red stain of bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race, meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity, but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers, threatening almost the obliteration of the Negro home.

A people thus handicapped ought not to be asked to race with the world, but rather allowed to give all its time and thought to its own social problems. But alas! while sociologists gleefully count his bastards and his prostitutes, the very soul of the toiling, sweating black man is darkened by the shadow of a vast despair. Men call the shadow prejudice, and learnedly explain it as the natural defence of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the “higher” against the “lower” races. To which the Negro cries Amen! and swears that to so much of this strange prejudice as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress, he humbly bows and meekly does obeisance. But before that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this he stands helpless, dismayed, and well-nigh speechless; before that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the distortion of fact and wanton license of fancy, the cynical ignoring of the better and the boisterous welcoming of the worse, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black, from Toussaint to the devil,—before this there rises a sickening despair that would disarm and discourage any nation save that black host to whom “discouragement” is an unwritten word.

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds: Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve? And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying: Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of higher culture for half-men? Away with the black man’s ballot, by force or fraud,—and behold the suicide of a race! Nevertheless, out of the evil came something of good,—the more careful adjustment of education to real life, the clearer perception of the Negroes’ social responsibilities, and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress.

So dawned the time of Sturm und Drang: storm and stress to-day rocks our little boat on the mad waters of the world-sea; there is within and without the sound of conflict, the burning of body and rending of soul; inspiration strives with doubt, and faith with vain questionings. The bright ideals of the past,—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands,—all these in turn have waxed and waned, until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong,—all false? No, not that, but each alone was over-simple and incomplete,—the dreams of a credulous race-childhood, or the fond imaginings of the other world which does not know and does not want to know our power. To be really true, all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The training of the schools we need to-day more than ever,—the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and above all the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence,—else what shall save us from a second

slavery? Freedom, too, the long-sought, we still seek,—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people, the ideal of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro, not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack. We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes; there is no true American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folk-lore are Indian and African; and, all in all, we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness. Will America be poorer if she replace her brutal dyspeptic blundering with light-hearted but determined Negro humility? or her coarse and cruel wit with loving jovial good-humor? or her vulgar music with the soul of the Sorrow Songs?

Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic is the Negro Problem, and the spiritual striving of the freedmen's sons is the travail of souls whose burden is almost beyond the measure of their strength, but who bear it in the name of an historic race, in the name of this the land of their fathers' fathers, and in the name of human opportunity.

And now what I have briefly sketched in large outline let me on coming pages tell again in many ways, with loving emphasis and deeper detail, that men may listen to the striving in the souls of black folk.

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Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles

Date: July 1905

*This declaration was a manifesto issued by the Niagara movement on its formal organization at Niagara Falls, Ontario, in July 1905. African-American intellectuals, led by the sociologist and civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois, gathered on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls (no hotel on the U.S. side would let them register) to found a black protest movement, a militant forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). DuBois's 1903 work *The Souls of Black Folk*, a complex historical and psychological examination of the African-American experience of subjugation, provided the intellectual impetus for the movement. The Niagara initiative was a reaction against both the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, which propounded the segregationist doctrine of "separate but equal," and black leader Booker T. Washington's accommodationist strategies for black social and economic advancement, as expressed in his 1895 Atlanta Compromise address. The Niagara declaration demanded an end to all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States and called for equality of economic and educational opportunity. Until such demands were met, the manifesto warned, the movement would protest publicly to dramatize racial injustice.*

PROGRESS

The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

SUFFRAGE

At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

CIVIL LIBERTY

We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment according to their behavior and deserts.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery; all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro Americans to earn a decent living.

EDUCATION

Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

COURTS

We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

PUBLIC OPINION

We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

HEALTH

We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

EMPLOYERS AND LABOR UNIONS

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

PROTEST

We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

COLOR-LINE

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency, or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color or skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

“JIM CROW” CARS

We protest against the “Jim Crow” car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

SOLDIERS

We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and navy training schools.

WAR AMENDMENTS

We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

OPPRESSION

We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

THE CHURCH

Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—on the increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men in some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

AGITATION

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the co-operation of all men of all races.

HELP

At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the abolitionist down to those who to-day still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

DUTIES

And while we are demanding, and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

- The duty to vote.
- The duty to respect the rights of others.
- The duty to work.
- The duty to obey the laws.
- The duty to be clean and orderly.
- The duty to be send our children to school.
- The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.
- This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and Almighty God.

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Treaty of Portsmouth

Date: September 5, 1905

Brokered by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, the Treaty of Portsmouth (Portsmouth, New Hampshire) ended the Russo-Japanese War, which much to Europe's surprise and chagrin marked the defeat of a world power by a new Asian aggressor. The humiliated Russian czar, his ambitions checked in Asia, and his rule at home seriously destabilized, turned an imperialist eye toward the Balkans. There—where a century's worth of entangling alliances sought to prop up the ailing Austro-Hungarian Empire and hold the line on the crumbling domain of the Ottoman Turks—Russia's face-saving meddling would help to light the fuse for World War I.

By the treaty, Russia recognized Japan's conquest of Korea, and Russia transferred to Japan its lease of Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula, in addition to ceding the southern half of Sakhalin. Two of the articles laid the foundation for regulating the two nations' commerce in Manchuria, specifically restricting

the use of rail lines built by Japan and Russia to commerce rather than warfare. Not only had Japan gained control of Korea, the Liaodong Peninsula, and Port Arthur (and the South Manchurian Railroad that led to Port Arthur), but a chastened Russia meekly agreed to evacuate southern Manchuria.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document

II The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests, engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea.

It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated exactly in the same manner as the subjects or citizens of other foreign Powers—that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects or citizens of the most-favored nation.

It is also agreed that, in order to avoid all causes of misunderstanding, the two High Contracting Parties will abstain, on the Russo-Korean frontier, from taking any military measures which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory.

And Russia transferred to Japan its lease of Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula, in addition to ceding the southern half of Sakhalin:

V The Imperial Russian Government transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, Ta-lien, and adjacent territory and territorial waters and all rights, privileges, and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease, and they also transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan all public works and properties in the territory affected by the above-mentioned lease.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government mentioned in the foregoing stipulation. The Imperial Government of Japan on their part undertake that the proprietary rights of Russian subjects in the territory above referred to shall be perfectly respected.

VI The Imperial Russian Government engage to transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government, the railway between Changchun (Kwang-cheng-tsze) and Port Arthur and all its branches, together with all rights, privileges, and properties appertaining thereto in that region, as well as all coal-mines in the said region, belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Government of China mentioned in the foregoing stipulation . . .

VII Japan and Russia engage to exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, and in nowise for strategic purposes.

It is understood that this restriction does not apply to the railway in the territory affected by the lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula.

VIII The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia, with a view to promote and facilitate intercourse and traffic will, as soon as possible, conclude a separate convention for the regulation of their connecting railway services in Manchuria.

IX The Imperial Russian Government cede to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin and all islands adjacent thereto and public works and properties thereon.

The fiftieth degree of north latitude is adopted as the northern boundary of the ceded territory. The exact alignment of such territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of additional Art. II annexed to this treaty.

Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct in their respective possessions on the Island of Sakhalin or the adjacent islands any fortifications or other similar military works. They also respectively engage not to take any military measures which may impede the free navigation of the straits of La Perouse and Tartary.

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Address to the Indian National Congress

Date: 1907

A group of English-speaking intellectuals in India created the Indian National Congress in 1885. Although originally quite moderate in tone, the group evolved into one demanding self-rule in a more strident tone. A leader of those asking for swaraj, or self-rule, was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. In the following extract from an address by Tilak to the Indian National Congress, he calls for a boycott of British imports. One can see, in Tilak's approach, early evidence of the nonviolent protest and political methods employed later to great effect by Mohandas Gandhi.

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics, and they are Moderates and Extremists. These words have a specific relation to time, and they, therefore, will change with time. The Extremists of today will be Moderates tomorrow, Just as the Moderates of today were Extremists yesterday. When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates, were given to the public, he was styled an Extremist, so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists today and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1,000 years hence—perhaps during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a program to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, namely, that this government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman—the government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent government. There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the old and new schools. One fact is that this alien government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chingis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. . . . We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon, in boycott. We have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. This whole government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of cooperation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it. Self-government is our goal; we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and remain [clerks]. At present, we are clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien government, and that government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seeley shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are a mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befool you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the new party wants you to do is to realize the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free; if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be for ever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I can not get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If you accept our advice, we feel sure we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the new party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied that our principles were recognized, and only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year, so that within a few years our principles will be recognized, and recognized to such an extent that the generations who come

after us may consider us Moderates. This is the way in which a nation progresses, and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress, a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labor at this moment.

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Theodore Roosevelt: "New Nationalism" Speech

Date: August 31, 1910

This speech, delivered by former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt at Osawatomie, Kansas, on August 31, 1910, outlined his progressive New Nationalism program. Breaking with conservatives in his own Republican Party, Roosevelt called for a strong national government, federal regulation of the corporate system, and the protection of human rights over property rights. He argued for the Square Deal (a term he had coined in 1904 to stand for his ideas on government's responsibilities as an even-handed mediator between special interest groups), for equal opportunity for all citizens, for fair wages and working conditions, for a government free of control by special interests, and for prohibitions on corporate funding of political activity. "The object of government," he said, "is the welfare of the people."

We come here to-day to commemorate one of the epoch-making events of the long struggle for the rights of man—the long struggle for the uplift of humanity. Our country—this great republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.

There have been two great crises in our country's history: first, when it was formed, and then, again, when it was perpetuated; and, in the second of these great crises—in the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, on the outcome of which depended the justification of what had been done earlier, you men of the Grand Army, you men who fought through the Civil War, not only did you justify your generation, not only did you render life worth living for our generation, but you justified the wisdom of Washington and Washington's colleagues. If this republic had been founded by them only to be split asunder into fragments when the strain came, then the judgment of the world would have been that Washington's work was not worth doing. It was you who crowned Washington's work, as you carried to achievement the high purpose of Abraham Lincoln.

Now, with this second period of our history the name of John Brown will be forever associated; and Kansas was the theater upon which the first act of the second of our great national life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom; that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. In name we had the Declaration of Independence in 1776; but we gave the lie by our acts to the words of the Declaration of Independence until 1865; and words count for nothing except in so far as they represent acts. This is true everywhere; but, O my friends, it should be truest of all in political life. A broken promise is bad enough in private life. It is worse in the field of politics. No man is worth his salt in public life who makes on the stump a pledge which he does not keep after election; and, if he makes such a pledge and does not keep it, hunt him out of public life. I care for the great deeds of the past chiefly as spurs to drive us onward in the present. I speak of the men of the past partly that they may be honored by our praise of them, but more that they may serve as examples for the future.

It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much also of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same man did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States as a whole, can now afford to forget the evil, or, at least, to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride only on the good that was accomplished. Even in ordinary times there are very few of us who do not see the problems of life as through a glass, darkly; and when the glass is clouded by the murk of furious popular passion, the vision of the best and the bravest is dimmed. Looking back, we are all of us now able to do justice to the valor and the disinterestedness and the love of the right, as to each it was given to

see the right, shown both by the men of the North and the men of the South in that contest which was finally decided by the attitude of the West. We can admire the heroic valor, the sincerity, the self-devotion shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and our sadness that such men should have had to fight one another is tempered by the glad knowledge that ever hereafter their descendants shall be found fighting side by side, struggling in peace as well as in war for the uplift of their common country, all alike resolute to raise to the highest pitch of honor and usefulness the nation to which they all belong. As for the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, they deserve honor and recognition such as is paid to no other citizens of the republic; for to them the republic owes its all; for to them it owes its very existence. It is because of what you and your comrades did in the dark years that we of to-day walk, each of us, head erect, and proud that we belong, not to one of a dozen little squabbling contemptible commonwealths, but to the mightiest nation upon which the sun shines.

I do not speak of this struggle of the past merely from the historic standpoint. Our interest is primarily in the application to-day of the lessons taught by the contest of half a century ago. It is of little use for us to pay lip loyalty to the mighty men of the past unless we sincerely endeavor to apply to the problems of the present precisely the qualities which in other crises enabled the men of that day to meet those crises. It is half melancholy and half amusing to see the way in which well-meaning people gather to do honor to the men who, in company with John Brown, and under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, faced and solved the great problems of the nineteenth century, while, at the same time, these same good people nervously shrink from, or frantically denounce, those who are trying to meet the problems of the twentieth century in the spirit which was accountable for the successful solution of the problems of Lincoln's time.

Of that generation of men to whom we owe so much, the man to whom we owe most is, of course, Lincoln. Part of our debt to him is because he forecast our present struggle and saw the way out. He said:—

I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

If that remark was original with me, I should be even more strongly denounced as a communist agitator than I shall be anyhow. It is Lincoln's. I am only quoting it; and that is one side; that is the side the capitalist should hear. Now, let the workingman hear his side.

Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights . . . Nor should this lead to a war upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor . . . property is desirable; is a positive good in the world.

Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

It seems to me that, in these words, Lincoln took substantially the attitude that we ought to take; he showed the proper sense of proportion in his relative estimates of capital and labor, of human rights and property rights. Above all, in this speech, as in many others, he taught a lesson in wise kindness and charity; an indispensable lesson to us of to-day. But this wise kindness and charity never weakened his arm or numbed his heart. We cannot afford weakly to blind ourselves to the actual conflict which faces us to-day. The issue is joined, and we must fight or fail.

In every wise struggle for human betterment one of the main objects, and often the only object, has been to achieve in large measure equality of opportunity. In the struggle for this great end, nations rise from barbarism to civilization, and through it people press forward from one stage of enlightenment to the next. One of the chief factors in progress is the destruction of special privilege. The essence of any struggle for healthy liberty has always been, and must always be, to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. That is what you fought for in the Civil War, and that is what we strive for now,

At many stages in the advance of humanity, this conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the central condition of progress. In our day it appears as the struggle of free men to gain and hold the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will. At every stage, and under all circumstances, the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and to the commonwealth. That is nothing new. All I ask in civil life is what you fought for in the Civil War. I ask that civil life be carried on according to the spirit in which the army was carried on. You never get perfect justice, but the effort in handling the army was to bring to the front the men who could do the job. Nobody grudged promotion to Grant, or Sherman, or Thomas, or Sheridan, because they earned it. The only complaint was when a man got promotion which he did not earn.

Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can

carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable. No man who carries the burden of the special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled.

I stand for the square deal. But when I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. One word of warning, which, I think, is hardly necessary in Kansas. When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not got the energy to work for himself. If a man who has had a chance will not make good, then he has got to quit. And you men of the Grand Army, you want justice for the brave man who fought, and punishment for the coward who shirked his work. Is not that so?

Now, this means that our government, national and state, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests. Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the special interests out of politics. That is one of our tasks to-day. Every special interest is entitled to justice—full, fair, and complete,—and, now, mind you, if there were any attempt by mob violence to plunder and work harm to the special interest, whatever it may be, that I most dislike, and the wealthy man, whomsoever he may be, for whom I have the greatest contempt, I would fight for him, and you would if you were worth your salt. He should have justice. For every special interest is entitled to justice, but not one is entitled to a vote in Congress, to a voice on the bench, or to representation in any public office. The Constitution guarantees protection to property, and we must make that promise good. But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation.

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done.

We must have complete and effective publicity of corporate affairs, so that the people may know beyond peradventure whether the corporations obey the law and whether their management entitles them to the confidence of the public. It is necessary the laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds directly or indirectly for political purposes; it is still more necessary that such laws should be thoroughly enforced. Corporate expenditures for political purposes, and especially such expenditures by public service corporations, have supplied one of the principal sources of corruption in our political affairs.

It has become entirely clear that we must have government supervision of the capitalization, not only of public service corporations, including, particularly, railways, but of all corporations doing an interstate business. I do not wish to see the nation forced into the ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided, and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on a full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of property. This physical valuation is not needed, or, at least, is very rarely needed, for fixing rates; but it is needed as the basis of honest capitalization.

We have come to recognize that franchises should never be granted except for a limited time, and never without proper provision for compensation to the public. It is my personal belief that the same kind and degree of control and supervision which should be exercised over public service corporations should be extended also to combinations which control necessities of life, such as meat, oil, and coal, or which deal in them on an important scale. I have no doubt that the ordinary man who has control of them is much like ourselves. I have no doubt he would like to do well, but I want to have enough supervision to help him realize that desire to do well.

I believe that the officers, and, especially, the directors, of corporations should be held personally responsible when any corporation breaks the law.

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. For that purpose the Federal Bureau of Corporations is an agency of first importance. Its powers, and, therefore, its efficiency, as well as that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be largely increased. We have a right to expect from the Bureau of Corporations and from the Interstate Commerce Commission a very high grade of public service. We should be as sure of the proper conduct of the interstate railways and the proper management of interstate business as we are now sure of the conduct and management of the national banks, and we should have as effective supervision in one case as in the other. The Hepburn Act, and the amendment to the Act in the shape in which it finally passed Congress at the last session, represent a long step in advance, and we must go yet further.

There is a widespread belief among our people that, under the methods of making tariffs which have hitherto obtained, the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big special interests and the little special interests. These methods have put a premium on selfishness, and, naturally, the selfish big interests have gotten more than their smaller, though equally selfish, brothers. The duty of Congress is to provide a method by which the interest of the whole people shall be all that receives consideration. To this end there must be an expert tariff commission, wholly removed from the possibility of political pressure or of improper business influence. Such a commission can find the real difference between cost of production, which is mainly the difference of labor cost here and abroad. As fast as its recommendations are made, I believe in revising one schedule at a time. A general revision of the tariff almost inevitably leads to log-rolling and the subordination of the general public interest to local and special interests.

The absence of effective state, and, especially, national, restraint upon unfair money getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditions which enable these men to accumulate power which it is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise. We grudge no man a fortune which represents his own power and sagacity, when exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. Again, comrades over there, take the lesson from your own experience. Not only did you not grudge, but you gloried in the promotion of the great generals who gained their promotion by leading the army to victory. So it is with us. We grudge no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not even enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the community. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefit to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary.

No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered—not gambling in stocks, but service rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. Therefore, I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax which is far more easily collected and far more effective—a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate.

The people of the United States suffer from periodical financial panics to a degree substantially unknown among the other nations which approach us in financial strength. There is no reason why we should suffer what they escape. It is of profound importance that our financial system should be promptly investigated, and so thoroughly and effectively revised as to make it certain that hereafter our currency will no longer fail at critical times to meet our needs.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I believe in an efficient army and a navy large enough to secure for us abroad that respect which is the surest guarantee of peace. A word of special warning to my fellow citizens who are as progressive as I hope I am. I want them to keep up their interest in our internal affairs; and I want them also continually to remember Uncle Sam's interests abroad. Justice and fair dealing among nations rest upon principles identical with those which cannot justice and fair dealing among the individuals of which nations are composed, with the vital exception that each nation must do its own part in international police work. If you get into trouble here, you can call for the police; but if Uncle Sam gets into trouble, he has got to be his own policeman, and I want to see him strong enough to encourage the peaceful aspirations of other peoples in connection with us. I believe in national friendships and heartiest good will to all nations; but national friendships, like those between men, must be founded on respect as well as on liking, on forbearance as well as upon trust. I should be heartily ashamed of any American who did not try to make the American government act as justly toward the other nations in international relations as he himself would act toward any individual in private relations. I should be heartily ashamed to see us wrong a weaker power, and I should hang my head forever if we tamely suffered wrong from a stronger power.

Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognized the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and

live on it. Now, with the water power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all well able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various states, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves, as they have far too often limited themselves, in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops. And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer's wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself.

Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. We need comprehensive workmen's compensation acts, both state and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in book learning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers and to extend the use of safety appliances for our workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the states. Also, friends, in the interest of the workingman himself we need to set our faces like flint against mob violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench, or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption in business on a gigantic scale. Also remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only

with natural resources and with men, but it is equally concerned with institutions. The state must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the state; and the nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary in forbidding the state to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for overcentralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interest are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The national government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the national government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the national government.

The American people are right in demanding that New Nationalism, without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The New Nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from overdivision of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than any one class or section of the people.

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property as well as human welfare. Normally, and in the long run, the ends are the same; but whenever the alternative must be faced, I am for men and not for property, as you were in the Civil War. I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends; but I rank dividends below human character. Again, I do not have any sympathy with the reformer who says he does not care for dividends. Of course, economic welfare is necessary, for a man must pull his own weight and be able to support his family. I know well that the reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster, whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife. Those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few and the triumph in both politics and business of a sordid and selfish materialism.

If our political institutions were perfect, they would absolutely prevent the political domination of money in any part of our affairs. We need to make our political representatives more quickly and sensitively responsive to the people whose servants they are. More direct action by the people in their own affairs under proper safeguards is vitally necessary. The direct primary is a step in this direction, if it is associated with a corrupt practices act effective to prevent the advantage of the man willing recklessly and unscrupulously to spend money over his more honest competitor. It is particularly important that all moneys received or expended for campaign purposes should be publicly accounted for, not only after election, but before election as well. Political action must be made simpler, easier, and freer from confusion for every citizen. I believe that the prompt removal of unfaithful or incompetent public servants should be made easy and sure in whatever way experience shall show to be most expedient in any give class of cases.

One of the fundamental necessities in a representative government such as ours is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people by whom they are elected, and not the special interests. I believe that every national officer, elected or appointed, should be forbidden to perform and service or receive any compensation, directly or indirectly, from interstate corporations; and a similar provision could not fail to be useful within the states.

The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens. Just in proportion as the average man and woman are honest, capable of sound judgment and high ideals, active in public affairs,—but, first of all, sound in their home life, and the father and mother of healthy children whom they bring up well,—just so far, and no farther, we may count our civilization a success. We must have—I believe we have already—a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent. Let me again illustrate by a reference to the Grand Army You could not have won simply as a disorderly and disorganized mob. You needed generals; you needed careful administration of the most advanced type; and a good commissary—the cracker line. You well remember that success was necessary in many different lines in order to bring about general success. You had to have the administration at Washington good, just

as you had to have the administration in the field; and you had to have the work of the generals good. You could not have triumphed without that administration and leadership; but it would all have been worthless if the average soldier had not had the right stuff in him. He had to have the right stuff in him, or you could not get it out of him. In the last analysis, therefore, vitally necessary though it was to have the right kind of organization and the right kind of generalship, it was even more vitally necessary that the average soldier should have the fighting edge, the right character. So it is in our civil life. No matter how honest and decent we are in our private lives, if we do not have the right kind of law and the right kind of administration of the law, we cannot go forward as a nation. That is imperative; but it must be an addition to, and not a substitution for, the qualities that make us good citizens. In the last analysis, the most important elements in any man's career must be the sum of those qualities which, in the aggregate, we speak of as character. If he has not got it, then no law that the wit of man can devise, no administration of the law by the boldest and strongest executive, will avail to help him. We must have the right kind of character—character that makes a man, first of all, a good man in the home, a good father, a good husband—that makes a man a good neighbor. You must have that, and, then, in addition, you must have the kind of law and the kind of administration of the law which will give to those qualities in the private citizen the best possible chance for development. The prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of good citizenship, and, to get it, we must have progress, and our public men must be genuinely progressive.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Balfour Declaration

Date: November 2, 1917

British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour sought to gain Jewish support for the Allies in World War I. In a letter to Lord Rothschild, Balfour pledged British support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the basis for the later creation of the state of Israel. Balfour made it clear that the creation of such a homeland would not prejudice the rights of the non-Jewish residents of Palestine, nor would it suggest that the rights of Jews in any other country would be altered. The letter was published in the Times (London).

Foreign Office
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,
Arthur James Balfour

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Balfour Declaration." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com

Primary Source Citation: Balfour, Arthur. "Balfour Declaration." In Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

Woodrow Wilson: "Fourteen Points" Address

Date: January 8, 1918

This address by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, delivered to Congress on January 8, 1918, set forth his program for a just and enduring world peace. These points became the basis for negotiating an end to World War I (1914–18). Wilson called for "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at"; absolute freedom of the seas, in peace and war; equality of trade conditions among nations; reductions of national armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims; self-determination for Russia and the peoples of the former Austria-Hungary; restoration or adjustments of Belgian, French, Italian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin borders; autonomy for nationalities formerly under Turkish rule, but sovereignty for Turkey; opening of the Dardanelles to all nations; establishment of an independent Poland; and the formation of an association of nations to guarantee "political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

Gentlemen of the Congress: Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added.

That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

- I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
- VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest and cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.
- VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.
- VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.
- IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

- X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
- XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.
- XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
- XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.
- XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safely with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The normal climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

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Covenant of the League of Nations

Date: April 28, 1919

Part I of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles enunciated the goals and the organizational framework of the proposed new international body, the League of Nations. Finalized by an Allied committee on April 28, 1919, the covenant became effective in January 1920, with the creation of the league. Its signatories agreed to protect each other against aggression and to accept mediation in settling their disputes. The league was to consist of a general assembly (one representative from each member state), a council (representatives from the five main Allied powers, plus four others chosen by rotation), and a permanent Geneva-based secretariat, headed by a secretary-general. A permanent court of international justice was to be established. Disarmament, labor, health reforms, and international cooperation were other key concerns. In 1946, after World War II, its activities were taken over by the United Nations.

The High Contracting Parties,
 In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security
 by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
 by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,
 by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among
 Governments, and
 by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organ-
 ised peoples with one another,
 Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2

The action of the league under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of that Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in the capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

ARTICLE 9

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provision of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League

represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understanding like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representative compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

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Mohandas K. Gandhi: *Freedom's Battle*

Date: 1922

Mohandas K. Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India. A student of Hindu philosophy, Gandhi was committed to truth and nonviolence. He was educated at University College London as a lawyer. In India he became a community organizer in impoverished villages. He rallied others to take pride in themselves, to clean up their villages, and to build schools and hospitals. As a leader, Gandhi was addressed by the people as Bapu (Father) and Mahatma (Great Soul). This is why he is known as Mahatma Gandhi.

He, like many, was opposed to the British rule of India and supported Indian independence from Britain. In December 1921 Gandhi became associated with the Indian National Congress, a group in the forefront of the independence movement.

Noncooperation and peaceful resistance were Gandhi's weapons in the fight against injustice. Gandhi expanded his nonviolence platform to include the swadeshi policy (an economic strategy) in the boycotting of all foreign-made goods, especially British goods. Gandhi also urged the people to boycott British educational institutions and law courts, to resign from government employment, and to forsake British titles and honors. He led a national campaign of nonviolent mass civil disobedience, organized protests, and strikes.

Freedom's Battle is one of the many writings of Gandhi and it represents his philosophy.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

I. INTRODUCTION

After the great war it is difficult, to point out a single nation that is happy; but this has come out of the war, that there is not a single nation outside India, that is not either free or striving to be free.

It is said that we, too, are on the road to freedom, that it is better to be on the certain though slow course of gradual unfoldment of freedom than to take the troubled and dangerous path of revolution whether peaceful or violent, and that the new Reforms are a half-way house to freedom.

The new constitution granted to India keeps all the military forces, both in the direction and in the financial control, entirely outside the scope of responsibility to the people of India. What does this mean? It means that the revenues of India are spent away on what the nation does not want. But after the mid-Eastern complications and the fresh Asiatic additions to British Imperial spheres of action. This Indian military servitude is a clear danger to national interests.

The new constitution gives no scope for retrenchment and therefore no scope for measures of social reform except by fresh taxation, the heavy burden of which on the poor will outweigh all the advantages of any reforms. It maintains all the existing foreign services, and the cost of the administrative machinery high as it already is, is further increased.

The reformed constitution keeps all the fundamental liberties of person, property, press, and association completely under bureaucratic control. All those laws which give to the irresponsible officers of the Executive Government of India absolute powers to override the popular will, are still unrepealed. In spite of the tragic price paid in the Punjab for demonstrating the danger of unrestrained power in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy and the inhumanity of spirit by which tyranny in a panic will seek

to save itself, we stand just where we were before, at the mercy of the Executive in respect of all our fundamental liberties.

Not only is Despotism intact in the Law, but unparalleled crimes and cruelties against the people have been encouraged and even after boastful admissions and clearest proofs, left unpunished. The spirit of unpunished cruelty has thus been allowed to permeate the whole administration.

THE MUSSALMAN AGONY

To understand our present condition it is not enough to realise the general political servitude. We should add to it the reality and the extent of the injury inflicted by Britain on Islam, and thereby on the Mussalmans of India. The articles of Islamic faith which it is necessary to understand in order to realise why Mussalman India, which was once so loyal is now so strongly moved to the contrary are easily set out and understood. Every religion should be interpreted by the professors of that religion. The sentiments and religious ideas of Muslims founded on the traditions of long generations cannot be altered now by logic or cosmopolitanism, as others understand it. Such an attempt is the more unreasonable when it is made not even as a bonafide and independent effort of proselytising logic or reason, but only to justify a treaty entered into for political and worldly purposes.

The Khalifa is the authority that is entrusted with the duty of defending Islam. He is the successor to Muhammad and the agent of God on earth. According to Islamic tradition he must possess sufficient temporal power effectively to protect Islam against non-Islamic powers and he should be one elected or accepted by the Mussalman world.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab is the area bounded by the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is the sacred Home of Islam and the centre towards which Islam throughout the world turns in prayer. According to the religious injunctions of the Mussalmans, this entire area should always be under Muslim control, its scientific border being believed to be a protection for the integrity of Islamic life and faith. Every Mussalman throughout the world is enjoined to sacrifice his all, if necessary, for preserving the Jazirat-ul-Arab under complete Muslim control.

The sacred places of Islam should be in the possession of the Khalifa. They should not merely be free for the entry of the Mussalmans of the world by the grace or the license of non-Muslim powers, but should be the possession and property of Islam in the fullest degree.

It is a religious obligation, on every Mussalman to go forth and help the Khalifa in every possible way where his unaided efforts in the defence of the Khilifat have failed.

The grievance of the Indian Mussalmans is that a government that pretends to protect and spread peace and happiness among them has no right to ignore or set aside these articles of their cherished faith.

According to the Peace Treaty imposed on the nominal Government at Constantinople, the Khalifa far from having the temporal authority or power needed to protect Islam, is a prisoner in his own city. He is to have no real fighting force, army or navy, and the financial control over his own territories is vested in other Governments. His capital is cut off from the rest of his possessions by an intervening permanent military occupation. It is needless to say that under these conditions he is absolutely incapable of protecting Islam as the Mussulmans of the world understand it.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab is split up; a great part of it given to powerful non-Muslim Powers, the remnant left with petty chiefs dominated all round by non-Muslim Governments.

The Holy places of Islam are all taken out of the Khalifa's kingdom, some left in the possession of minor Muslim chiefs of Arabia entirely dependent on European control, and some relegated to newly-formed non-Muslim states.

In a word, the Mussalman's free choice of a Khalifa such as Islamic tradition defines is made an unreality.

THE HINDU DHARMA

The age of misunderstanding and mutual warfare among religions is gone. If India has a mission of its own to the world, it is to establish the unity and the truth of all religions. This unity is established by mutual help and understanding between the various religions. It has come as a rare privilege to the Hindus in the fulfilment of this mission of India to stand up in defence of Islam against the onslaught of the earth-greed of the military powers of the west.

The Dharma of Hinduism in this respect is placed beyond all doubt by the Bhagavat Gita.

Those who are the votaries of other Gods and worship them with faith—even they, O Kaunteya, worship me alone, though not as the Shastra requires—IX, 23.

Whoever being devoted wishes in perfect faith to worship a particular form, of such a one I maintain the same faith unshaken,—VII 21.

Hinduism will realise its fullest beauty when in the fulfilment of this cardinal tenet, its followers offer themselves as sacrifice for the protection of the faith of their brothers, the Mussalmans.

If Hindus and Mussalmans attain the height of courage and sacrifice that is needed for this battle on behalf of Islam against the greed of the West, a victory will be won not alone for Islam, but for Christianity itself. Militarism has robbed the crucified God of his name and his very cross and the World has been

mistaking it to be Christianity. After the battle of Islam is won, Islam and Hinduism together can emancipate Christianity itself from the lust for power and wealth which have strangled it now and the true Christianity of the Gospels will be established. This battle of non-cooperation with its suffering and peaceful withdrawal of service will once for all establish its superiority over the power of brute force and unlimited slaughter.

What a glorious privilege it is to play our part in this history of the world, when Hinduism and Christianity will unite on behalf of Islam, and in that strife of mutual love and support each religion will attain its own truest shape and beauty.

AN ENDURING TREATY

Swaraj for India has two great problems, one internal and the other external. How can Hindus and Mussalmans so different from each other form a strong and united nation governing themselves peacefully? This was the question for years, and no one could believe that the two communities could suffer for each other till the miracle was actually worked. The Khilafat has solved the problem. By the magic of suffering, each has truly touched and captured the other's heart, and the Nation now is strong and united. Not internal strength and unity alone has the Khilafat brought to India. The great block in the way of Indian aspiration for full freedom was the problem of external defence. How is India, left to herself defend her frontiers against her Mussalman neighbours? None but emasculated nations would accept such difficulties and responsibilities as an answer to the demand for freedom. It is only a people whose mentality has been perverted that can soothe itself with the domination by one race from a distant country, as a preventative against the aggression of another, a permanent and natural neighbour. Instead of developing strength to protect ourselves against those near whom we are permanently placed, a feeling of incurable impotence has been generated. Two strong and brave nations can live side by side, strengthening each other through enforcing constant vigilance, and maintain in full vigour each its own national strength, unity, patriotism and resources. If a nation wishes to be respected by its neighbours it has to develop and enter into honourable treaties. These are the only natural conditions of national liberty; but not a surrender to distant military powers to save oneself from one's neighbours.

The Khilafat has solved the problem of distrust of Asiatic neighbours out of our future. The Indian struggle for the freedom of Islam has brought about a more lasting "entente" and a more binding treaty between the people of India and the people of the Mussalman states around it than all the ententes and treaties among the Governments of Europe. No wars of aggression are possible where the common people on the two sides have become grateful friends. The faith of the Mussulman is a better sanction than the seal of the European Diplomats and plenipotentiaries. Not only has this great friendship between India and the Mussulman States around it removed for all time the fear of Mussulman aggression from outside, but it has erected round India, a solid wall of defence against all aggression from beyond against all greed from Europe, Russia or elsewhere. No secret diplomacy could establish a better "entente" or a stronger federation than what this open and non-governmental treaty between Islam and India has established. The Indian support of the Khilafat has, as if by a magic wand, converted what was once the Pan-Islamic terror for Europe into a solid wall of friendship and defence for India.

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

Every nation like every individual is born free. Absolute freedom is the birthright of every people. The only limitations are those which a people may place over themselves. The British connection is invaluable as long as it is a defence against any worse connection sought to be imposed by violence. But it is only a means to an end, not a mandate of Providence of Nature. The alliance of neighbours, born of suffering for each other's sake, for ends that purify those that suffer, is necessarily a more natural and more enduring bond than one that has resulted from pure greed on the one side and weakness on the other. Where such a natural and enduring alliance has been accomplished among Asiatic peoples and not only between the respective governments, it may truly be felt to be more valuable than the British connection itself, after that connection has denied freedom or equality, and even justice.

THE ALTERNATIVE

Is violence or total surrender the only choice open to any people to whom Freedom or Justice is denied? Violence at a time when the whole world has learnt from bitter experience the futility of violence is unworthy of a country whose ancient people's privilege, it was, to see this truth long ago.

Violence may rid a nation of its foreign masters but will only enslave it from inside. No nation can really be free which is at the mercy of its army and its military heroes. If a people rely for freedom on its soldiers, the soldiers will rule the country, not the people. Till the recent awakening of the workers of Europe, this was the only freedom which the powers of Europe really enjoyed. True freedom can exist only when those who produce, not those who destroy or know only to live on other's labour, are the masters.

Even were violence the true road to freedom, is violence possible to a nation which has been emasculated and deprived of all weapons, and the whole world is hopelessly in advance of all our possibilities in the manufacture and the wielding of weapons of destruction.

Submission or withdrawal of co-operation is the real and only alternative before India. Submission to injustice puts on the tempting garb of peace and, gradual progress, but there is no surer way to death than submission to wrong.

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Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*

Also known as: *My Struggle*; Alois Schickelgruber.

Date: 1925

Mein Kampf is a two-volume work, written by German Nazi politician Adolf Hitler.

In 1924 Hitler tried to overthrow the Weimar Republic in the Beer Hall Putsch. He was sentenced to five years in Landsberg am Lech prison and was released after serving a sentence of only eight months. The first part of *Mein Kampf* was written while he was in prison in 1924, with the aid of Rudolf Hoess. The second part was written after his release from prison, in the period between 1925 to 1927.

The volumes contained Hitler's vision of the creation of a nationalistic Aryan state, which would be both self-sufficient and racially pure. He stated his concept of a future Germany, returned to greatness after its defeat in World War I. He stated that Austria should become united with Germany, as should other German-speaking lands.

Hitler declared that the Aryan race was in fact the "chosen people," and that they were responsible for advances in science, technology, and culture.

He felt that the Jews were involved in a conspiracy to undermine the Aryans' superiority and that they should be excluded from the nationalist state. He condemned France and Bolshevism, both of which, he wrote, were dominated by Jews.

Mein Kampf became the bible of Nazism (National Socialism) and was extremely popular, selling more than 5.2 million copies by 1939.

An excerpt from *Mein Kampf*, Volume 1.: A Reckoning. Chapter 11: Nation and Race.

If we pass all the causes of the German collapse in review, the ultimate and most decisive remains the failure to recognize the racial problem and especially the Jewish menace.

The defeats on the battlefield in August, 1918, would have been child's play to bear. They stood in no proportion to the victories of our people. It was not they that caused our downfall; no, it was brought about by that power which prepared these defeats by systematically over many decades robbing our people of the political and moral instincts and forces which alone make nations capable and hence worthy of existence.

In heedlessly ignoring the question of the preservation of the racial foundations of our nation, the old Reich disregarded the sole right which gives life in this world. Peoples which bastardize themselves, or let themselves be bastardized, sin against the will of eternal Providence, and when their ruin is encompassed by a stronger enemy it is not an injustice done to them, but only the restoration of justice. If a people no longer wants to respect the Nature-given qualities of its being which root in its blood, it has no further right to complain over the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything on this earth is capable of improvement. Every defeat can become the father of a subsequent victory, every lost war the cause of a later resurgence, every hardship the fertilization of human energy, and from every oppression the forces for a new spiritual rebirth can come - as long as the blood is preserved pure.

The lost purity of the blood alone destroys inner happiness forever, plunges man into the abyss for all time, and the consequences can never more be eliminated from body and spirit.

Only by examining and comparing all other problems of life in the light of this one question shall we see how absurdly petty they are by this standard. They are all limited in time - but the question of preserving or not preserving the purity of the blood will endure as long as there are men.

All really significant symptoms of decay of the pre-War period can in the last analysis be reduced to racial causes.

Whether we consider questions of general justice or cankers of economic life, symptoms of cultural decline or processes of political degeneration, questions of faulty schooling or the bad influence exerted on grown-ups by the press, etc., everywhere and always it is fundamentally the disregard of the racial needs of our own people or failure to see a foreign racial menace.

And that is why all attempts at reform, all works for social relief and political exertions, all economic expansion and every apparent increase of intellectual knowledge were futile as far as their results were concerned. The nation, and the organism which enables and preserves its life on this earth, the state, did not grow inwardly healthier, but obviously languished more and more. All the illusory prosperity of the old Reich could not hide its inner weakness, and every attempt really to strengthen the Reich failed again and again, due to disregarding the most important question.

It would be a mistake to believe that the adherents of the various political tendencies which were tinkering around on the German national body - yes, even a certain section of the leaders - were bad or malevolent men in themselves. Their activity was condemned to sterility only because the best of them saw at most the forms of our general disease and tried to combat them, but blindly ignored the virus. Anyone who systematically follows the old Reich's line of political development is bound to arrive, upon calm examination, at the realization that even at the time of the unification, hence the rise of the German nation, the inner decay was already in full swing, and that despite all apparent political successes and despite increasing economic wealth, the general situation was deteriorating from year to year. If nothing else, the elections for the Reichstag announced, with their outward swelling of the Marxist vote, the steadily approaching inward and hence also outward collapse. All the successes of the so-called bourgeois parties were worthless, not only because even with so-called bourgeois electoral victories they were unable to halt the numerical growth of the Marxist flood, but because they themselves above all now bore the ferments of decay in their own bodies. Without suspecting it, the bourgeois world itself was inwardly infected with the deadly poison of Marxist ideas and its resistance often sprang more from the competitor's envy of ambitious leaders than from a fundamental rejection of adversaries determined to fight to the utmost. In these long years there was only one who kept up an imperturbable, unflagging fight, and this was the *Jew*. His Star of David rose higher and higher in proportion as our people's will for self-preservation vanished.

Therefore, in August, 1914, it was not a people resolved to attack which rushed to the battlefield; no, it was only the last flicker of the national instinct of self-preservation in face of the progressing pacifist-Marxist paralysis of our national body. Since even in these days of destiny, our people did not recognize the inner enemy, all outward resistance was in vain and Providence did not bestow her reward on the victorious sword, but followed the law of eternal retribution.

On the basis of this inner realization, there took form in our new movement the leading principles as well as the tendency, which in our conviction were alone capable, not only of halting the decline of the German people, but of creating the granite foundation upon which some day a state will rest which represents, not an alien mechanism of economic concerns and interests, but a national organism.

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Primary Source Citation: www.mondopolitico.com/library/meinkampf/v1c11.htm

Munich Pact

Date: September 29, 1938

The Sudetenland had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and ethnic Germans were the majority of the population. After World War I, they had proclaimed themselves the German-Austrian province of Sudetenland in October 1918, voting to join the newly declared Republic of German Austria in November 1918. The Sudeten Germans did not wish to become a part of Czechoslovakia.

This was forbidden by the Allied powers after the war by the Treaty of Saint-Germain and by the Czechoslovakian government. Most Sudeten Germans rejected the affiliation with Czechoslovakia because they had been refused the right to self-determination, as promised by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points of January 8, 1918.

The specter of a new European war loomed in August through September of 1938, as Hitler's Germany contested the Czechoslovakian right to the Sudetenland. Although Czechoslovakia had alliances with both France and the Soviet Union, neither of these was prepared for a war, and the powers in western Europe did not want a war. Adolf Hitler's demands to annex the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia led to the worst crisis on the European continent since World War I. British prime minister Neville Chamberlain attempted to use appeasement to avoid war in Europe.

On September 22, 1938, Chamberlain met Hitler in the German city of Godesberg. Chamberlain found the demands of the German leader unreasonable and postponed all action on a treaty in order to confer with the Allies. He then met Hitler a week later in Munich, where Chamberlain agreed to allow German armies to take the Sudetenland in exchange for a promise that no further territorial possessions would be demanded. Hitler agreed, and the two men signed an understanding, known as the Munich Pact.

Britain, France, Germany, and Italy participated in the agreement—the Soviet Union did not. Czechoslovakia was excluded from the conference and later stated that it would resist the Germans, but France and Britain insisted on Czechoslovakia's submission in order to maintain peace in Europe.

Chamberlain returned home to jubilant crowds, who thought he had helped to avert a second calamitous war in Europe. But time would tell that Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler had only emboldened the German dictator. This would lead to the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 and the outbreak of war in September.

Munich Pact. Munich, September 29, 1938.

Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, taking into consideration the agreement which has been already reached in principle for the cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory, have agreed on the following terms and conditions governing the said cession and the measures consequent thereon, and by this Agreement they each hold themselves responsible for the steps necessary to secure its fulfillment:

1. The evacuation will begin on 1st October.
2. The United Kingdom, France and Italy agree that the evacuation of the territory shall be completed by 10th October without any existing installations having been destroyed, and that the Czechoslovak Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installations.
3. The conditions governing the evacuation will be laid down in detail by an international commission composed of representatives of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia.
4. The occupation by stages of the predominantly German territory by German troops will begin on 1st October. The four territories marked on the attached map will be occupied by German troops in the following order: the territory marked No. I on the 1st and 2nd October; the territory marked No. II on the 2nd and 3rd October; the territory marked No. III on the 3rd, 4th and 5th October; the territory marked No. IV on the 6th and 7th October. The remaining territory of preponderatingly German character will be ascertained by the aforesaid international commission forthwith and be occupied by German troops by the 10th October.
5. The international commission referred to in paragraph 3 will determine the territories in which a plebiscite is to be held. These territories will be occupied by international bodies until the plebiscite has been completed. The same commission will fix the conditions in which the plebiscite is to be held, taking as a basis the conditions of the Saar plebiscite. The commission will also fix a date, not later than the end of November, on which the plebiscite will be held.
6. The final determination of the frontier will be carried out by the international commission. This commission will also be entitled to recommend to the four Powers—Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy—in certain exceptional cases minor modifications in the strictly ethnographical determination of the zones which are to be transferred without plebiscite.
7. There will be a right of option into and out of the transferred territories, the option to be exercised within six months from the date of this Agreement. A German-Czechoslovak commission shall determine the details of the option, consider ways of facilitating the transfer of population and settle questions of principle arising out of the said transfer.
8. The Czech Government will, within a period of four weeks from the date of this Agreement, release from their military and police forces any Sudeten Germans who may wish to be released, and the Czech Government will, within the same period, release Sudeten German prisoners who are serving terms of imprisonment for political offenses.

Annex

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the French Government have entered into the above agreement on the basis that they stand by the offer, contained in paragraph 6 of the Anglo-French

proposals of 19th September, relating to an international guarantee of the new boundaries of the Czech State against unprovoked aggression.

When the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia has been settled, Germany and Italy, for their part, will give a guarantee to Czechoslovakia.

Declaration

The heads of the Governments of the four Powers declare that the problems of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia, if not settled within three months by agreement between the respective Governments, shall form the subject of another meeting of the heads of the Governments of the four Powers here present.

Supplementary Declaration

All questions which may arise out of the transfer of the territory shall be considered as coming within the terms of reference of the international commission.

The four heads of Governments here present agree that the international commission provided for in the Agreement signed by them today shall consist of the Secretary of State in the German Foreign Office, the British, French and Italian Ambassadors accredited in Berlin, and a representative to be nominated by the Government of Czechoslovakia.

The day after the pact was concluded, Hitler and the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, issued a joint declaration:

Anglo-German Declaration. Munich, 30 September 1938.

We, the German Fuhrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe.

[Signed] A. HITLER

[Signed] NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Grossman, Mark. "Munich Crisis–Munich Pact." In *Encyclopedia of the Interwar Years: From 1919 to 1939*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2000. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com; Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Munich Pact." *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*.

Primary Source Citation: Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and France. "Munich Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. Edited by Alan. Axelrod, and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

Winston Churchill: "Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat"

Date: May 13, 1940

Winston Churchill, appointed prime minister of a coalition government in Britain, gave this speech before the House of Commons and accepted the position. With the continuing uncertainties of the war (World War II [1939–45]) and now a new government, Britain was at a crucial juncture and needed a clear definition

of goals and a renewed fighting spirit. Churchill, with his eloquence, provided just that in this speech. Churchill's powerful style of oratory, characterized by clear, short sentences, the use of Anglo-Saxon rather than Latinate forms where possible, and his clear commitment to his ideas, proved a great asset to Britain by holding up morale during World War II.

On Friday evening last I received from His Majesty the mission to form a new administration. It was the evident will of Parliament and the nation that this should be conceived on the broadest possible basis and that it should include all parties.

I have already completed the most important part of this task.

A war cabinet has been formed of five members, representing, with the Labour, Opposition, and Liberals, the unity of the nation. It was necessary that this should be done in one single day on account of the extreme urgency and rigor of events. Other key positions were filled yesterday. I am submitting a further list to the king tonight. I hope to complete the appointment of principal ministers during tomorrow.

The appointment of other ministers usually takes a little longer. I trust when Parliament meets again this part of my task will be completed and that the administration will be complete in all respects. I considered it in the public interest to suggest to the Speaker that the House should be summoned today. At the end of today's proceedings, the adjournment of the House will be proposed until May 21 with provision for earlier meeting if need be. Business for that will be notified to MPs at the earliest opportunity.

I now invite the House by a resolution to record its approval of the steps taken and declare its confidence in the new government.

The resolution:

"That this House welcomes the formation of a government representing the united and inflexible resolve of the nation to prosecute the war with Germany to a victorious conclusion."

To form an administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself. But we are in the preliminary phase of one of the greatest battles in history. We are in action at many other points—in Norway and in Holland—and we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean. The air battle is continuing, and many preparations have to be made here at home.

In this crisis I think I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length today, and I hope that any of my friends and colleagues or former colleagues who are affected by the political reconstruction will make all allowances for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act.

I say to the House as I said to ministers who have joined this government, I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many months of struggle and suffering.

You ask, what is our policy? I say it is to wage war by land, sea, and air. War with all our might and with all the strength God has given us, and to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy.

You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory. Victory at all costs—Victory in spite of all terrors—Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.

Let that be realized. No survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge, the impulse of the ages, that mankind shall move forward toward his goal.

I take up my task in buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. I feel entitled at this juncture, at this time, to claim the aid of all and to say, "Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. "Churchill's 'Blood, Toil, Tears, and Sweat' speech." In *Dictionary of Historic Documents*. Revised Edition. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Axis Pact

Also known as: Tripartite Pact; Pact of the Axis Powers

Date: September 27, 1940

The Axis Pact, or the Tripartite Pact, as it is sometimes called, served as the primary treaty in the alliance of the three major fascist powers in World War II—Germany, Italy, and Japan. Throughout the war, the world called these three countries—bent on conquest and expansion—the Axis powers, whose unconditional surrender became the goal of the Allied nations.

The following entry contains the original document without signatories:

The governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, considering it as a condition precedent of any lasting peace that all nations of the world be given each its own proper place, have decided to stand by and co-operate with one another in regard to their efforts in greater East Asia and regions of Europe respectively wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned. Furthermore, it is the desire of the three governments to extend co-operation to such nations in other spheres of the world as may be inclined to put forth endeavours along lines similar to their own, in order that their ultimate aspirations for world peace may thus be realized.

Accordingly, the governments of Germany, Italy and Japan have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in establishment of a new order in Europe.

ARTICLE 2

Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia.

ARTICLE 3

Germany, Italy and Japan agree to co-operate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting powers is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.

ARTICLE 4

With the view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, members which are to be appointed by the respective governments of Germany, Italy and Japan will meet without delay.

ARTICLE 5

Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present as between each of the three contracting powers and Soviet Russia.

ARTICLE 6

The present pact shall come into effect immediately upon signature and shall remain in force 10 years from the date of its coming into force. At the proper time before expiration of said term, the high contracting parties shall at the request of any of them enter into negotiations for its renewal.

In faith whereof, the undersigned duly authorized by their respective governments have signed this pact and have affixed hereto their signatures.

Done in triplicate at Berlin, the 27th day of September, 1940, in the 19th year of the fascist era, corresponding to the 27th day of the ninth month of the 15th year of Showa [the reign of Emperor Hirohito].

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Axis Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From the 1930s to the Present*. Vol. 2. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. Facts On File, Inc. *Modern World History Online*. www.factsonfile.com.

Primary Source Citation: Germany, Italy, and Japan. "Axis Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From the 1930s to the Present*. Vol. 2. Edited by Alan Axelrod and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

Franklin Roosevelt: "Four Freedoms" Speech

Also known as: "Four Freedoms" Address; State of the Union Address, 1941

Date: January 6, 1941

This address was delivered by U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on January 6, 1941, in his annual message to Congress. Roosevelt called for a world founded on "four essential human freedoms": freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Urging citizens to relinquish the false security of isolationism, he described a national policy committed to all-inclusive national defense, full

support of other nations trying to preserve democracy, and refusal to buy peace at the cost of other people's freedom. He urged the United States to serve as an arsenal—providing ships, planes, tanks, and guns—for those countries already struggling against international aggression during World War II (1939–45).

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants— everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order to tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

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Winston Churchill: "Iron Curtain" Speech

Date: March 5, 1946

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill addressed an assembly at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, accepting an honorary degree. Churchill introduced the phrase "Iron Curtain" to describe the line of division between Western democracies and the satellite states dominated by the Soviet Union. Combined with the announced Truman Doctrine in 1947, these documents represent the beginning of the cold war. A portion of the speech is presented here.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime.

It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall rule and guide the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships.

It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung.

Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to fight the wars. But now we all can find any nation, wherever it may dwell, between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with our Charter.

In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected by the best judges to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war.

I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable—still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so.

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines.

But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement.

What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.

For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength.

Last time I saw it all coming and I cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented, in my belief, without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

We must not let it happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections.

If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security.

If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come.

Winston Churchill—March 5, 1946

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Iron Curtain' Speech." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Churchill, Winston. "Iron Curtain" Speech. Harry S. Truman Library.

Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz: Testimony at Nuremburg

Also known as: Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Höß, Höss, or Hoeß.

Date: April 5, 1946

Rudolf Hoess joined the Nazi SS in 1934. Hoess became the commander of the extermination center of Auschwitz in 1940. Auschwitz was the German name of the city of Oswiecim, Poland. During World War II, Auschwitz was the largest of the concentration and death camps. It was a vast slave labor and death camp, where an estimated 1.1–1.6 million people were killed. Auschwitz was liberated on January 27, 1945. Many postwar trials of major war criminals were held at Nuremburg, and the following is Hoess's confession of April 5, 1946.

I, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND HOESS, being first duly sworn, depose and say as follows:

1. I am 46 years old, and have been a member of the NSDAP since 1922; a member of the SS since 1934; a member of the Waffen-SS since 1939. I was a member from 1 December 1934 of the SS Guard Unit, the so-called Death's Head Formation (Totenkopf Verband).

2. I have been constantly associated with the administration of concentration camps since 1934, serving at Dachau until 1938; then as Adjutant in Sachsenhausen from 1938 to 1 May, 1940, when I was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz. I commanded Auschwitz until 1 December, 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000. This figure represents about 70% or 80% of all persons sent to Auschwitz as prisoners, the remainder having been selected and used for slave labor in the concentration camp industries. Included among the executed and burnt were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war (previously screened out of Prisoner of War cages by the Gestapo) who were delivered at Auschwitz in Wehrmacht transports operated by regular Wehrmacht officers and men. The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens (mostly Jewish) from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944.

4. Mass executions by gassing commenced during the summer 1941 and continued until fall 1944. I personally supervised executions at Auschwitz until the first of December 1943 and know by reason of my continued duties in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps WVHA that these mass executions

continued as stated above. All mass executions by gassing took place under the direct order, supervision and responsibility of RSHA. I received all orders for carrying out these mass executions directly from RSHA.

6. The “final solution” of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all Jews in Europe. I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941. At that time there were already in the general government three other extermination camps; BELZEK, TREBLINKA and WOLZEK. These camps were under the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and SD. I visited Treblinka to find out how they carried out their exterminations. The Camp Commandant at Treblinka told me that he had liquidated 80,000 in the course of onehalf year. He was principally concerned with liquidating all the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto. He used monoxide gas and I did not think that his methods were very efficient. So when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallized Prussic Acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about onehalf hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses.

7. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at one time, whereas at Treblinka their 10 gas chambers only accommodated 200 people each. The way we selected our victims was as follows: we had two SS doctors on duty at Auschwitz to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched by one of the doctors who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the Camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Still another improvement we made over Treblinka was that at Treblinka the victims almost always knew that they were to be exterminated and at Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process. Of course, frequently they realized our true intentions and we sometimes had riots and difficulties due to that fact. Very frequently women would hide their children under the clothes but of course when we found them we would send the children in to be exterminated. We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz .

8. We received from time to time special prisoners from the local Gestapo office. The SS doctors killed such prisoners by injections of benzine. Doctors had orders to write ordinary death certificates and could put down any reason at all for the cause of death.

9. From time to time we conducted medical experiments on women inmates, including sterilization and experiments relating to cancer. Most of the people who died under these experiments had been already condemned to death by the Gestapo.

10. Rudolf Mildner was the chief of the Gestapo at Kattowicz and as such was head of the political department at Auschwitz which conducted third degree methods of interrogation from approximately March 1941 until September 1943. As such, he frequently sent prisoners to Auschwitz for incarceration or execution. He visited Auschwitz on several occasions. The Gestapo Court, the SS Standgericht, which tried persons accused of various crimes, such as escaping Prisoners of War, etc., frequently met within Auschwitz, and Mildner often attended the trial of such persons, who usually were executed in Auschwitz following their sentence. I showed Mildner throughout the extermination plant at Auschwitz and he was directly interested in it since he had to send the Jews from his territory for execution at Auschwitz.

I understand English as it is written above. The above statements are true; this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement, I have signed and executed the same at Nurnberg, Germany on the fifth day of April 1946.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Karesh, Sara E. and Mitchell M. Hurvitz. “Auschwitz.” In *Encyclopedia of Judaism*. Encyclopedia of World Religions. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Hoess, Rudolf Franz Ferdinand. “Affidavit, 5 April 1946.” In *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Tribunal, Nuremberg*, 14 November 1945–October 1946. Nuremberg: Secretariat of the International Military Tribunal, 1949, Doc. 3868PS, vol. 33, 275–279.

Truman on Truman Doctrine

Date: March 12, 1947

In this speech, U.S. President Harry S. Truman asks Congress for support of an aid program to both Greece and Turkey. The document represents a turning point in several ways. It marks the shift away from British hegemony in the region to American influence. Even more striking, it represents the open admission of a state of conflict between the United States and the Soviet-supported communist insurgents in the region. Thus the Truman Doctrine announced in this speech represents one of the first indications of the cold war that existed between the two superpowers for approximately 40 years, from the 1940s to the late 1980s.

President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Truman Doctrine." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Truman, Harry S. *Truman Doctrine*. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Date: December 10, 1948

The first section of an International Bill of Human Rights was adopted (by a vote of 48 to 0) and announced by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948. Nine members (the Soviet Bloc countries, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa) abstained. Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, was instrumental in the drafting of the Declaration of Human Rights, one of the most authoritative documents in world history to have addressed the spectrum of human rights. The significance of its impact on the nations of the world may be compared to what the Bill of Rights and the Constitution represent to the United States. The declaration proclaimed fundamental freedoms and rights as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," and the United Nations secretary-general was

requested to have it disseminated all over the world in various languages. Its 30 articles took the Commission on Human Rights nearly three years to draft. In 1948 the commission began preparing the other two sections of the International Bill of Human Rights—a Convention of Human Rights and its implementation policies. In 1948 the General Assembly also adopted a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung): The Chinese People Have Stood Up

Also known as: MaoTse-tung

Date: September 21, 1949

Mao Zedong attended college in Beijing and was exposed to Marxism. Mao quickly embraced the philosophy, and in 1921 he helped to found the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). At that time China was being united by Nationalist forces under President Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. The Communists joined them in an unlikely coalition to fight various warlords, until 1927, when Nationalist forces under Chiang suddenly turned and attacked their allies. Mao and his cohorts fled into the interior, where they established the Kiangsi Soviet. Here Mao honed his revolutionary beliefs, which were very different from the industrial proletariat ideals espoused by Vladimir Lenin. Mao originated the idea of a revolutionary peasantry, based in the countryside and not in the city, which would spearhead and perpetuate a communist revolution. In 1934 Nationalist forces drove Mao's guerrillas from their mountain stronghold in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province into what became the epic 6,000-mile "Long March" to distant Shaanxi Province. They were spared

annihilation when the Japanese attacked China in 1937. Over the next eight years Mao consolidated his stronghold and established friendly contacts with the peasantry, who provided the bulk of his support. And by deliberately fighting the invaders instead of simply defending the interior like the Nationalists, the Communists gained both military expertise and broad popular appeal. World War II ended in 1945, but the following year Mao precipitated the Chinese civil war against Chiang's Nationalists, which ended four years later in a Communist victory. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of China, with himself as chairman and Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) as premier. Against great odds the theory of revolutionary peasantry had triumphed.

The Chinese People Have Stood Up!

Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Fellow Delegates,

The Political Consultative Conference so eagerly awaited by the whole nation is herewith inaugurated.

Our conference is composed of more than six hundred delegates, representing all the democratic parties and people's organizations of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country and the overseas Chinese. This shows that ours is a conference embodying the great unity of the people of the whole country.

It is because we have defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government backed by U.S. imperialism that this great unity of the whole people has been achieved. In a little more than three years the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army, an army such as the world has seldom seen, crushed all the offensives launched by the several million troops of the U.S.-supported reactionary Kuomintang government and turned to the counter-offensive and the offensive. At present the field armies of the People's Liberation Army, several million strong, have pushed the war to areas near Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sinkiang, and the great majority of the Chinese people have won liberation. In a little more than three years the people of the whole country have closed their ranks, rallied to support the People's Liberation Army, fought the enemy and won basic victory. And it is on this foundation that the present People's Political Consultative Conference is convened.

Our conference is called the Political Consultative Conference because some three years ago we held a Political Consultative Conference with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The results of that conference were sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices; nevertheless the conference left an indelible impression on the people. It showed that nothing in the interest of the people could be accomplished together with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplices. Even when resolutions were reluctantly adopted, it was of no avail, for as soon as the time was ripe, they tore them up and started a ruthless war against the people. The only gain from that conference was the profound lesson it taught the people that there is absolutely no room for compromise with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplice—overthrow these enemies or be oppressed and slaughtered by them, either one or the other, there is no other choice. In a little more than three years the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have quickly awakened and organized themselves into a nation-wide united front against imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and their general representative, the reactionary Kuomintang government, supported the People's War of Liberation, basically defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government, overthrown the rule of imperialism in China and restored the Political Consultative Conference.

The present Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on an entirely new foundation; it is representative of the people of the whole country and enjoys their trust and support. Therefore, the conference proclaims that it will exercise the functions and powers of a National People's Congress. In accordance with its agenda, the conference will enact the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; it will elect the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China; it will adopt the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China; and it will decide on the seat of the capital of the People's Republic of China and adopt the chronological system in use in most countries of the world.

Fellow Delegates, we are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious nation; it is only in modern times that they have fallen behind. And that was due entirely to oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary governments. For over a century our forefathers never stopped waging unyielding struggles against domestic and foreign oppressors, including the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, our great forerunner in the Chinese revolution. Our forefathers enjoined us to carry out their unfulfilled will. And we have

acted accordingly. We have closed our ranks and defeated both domestic and foreign oppressors through the People's War of Liberation and the great people's revolution, and now we are proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China. From now on our nation will belong to the community of the peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilization and well-being and at the same time to promote world peace and freedom. Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and acclaim of the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Our revolutionary work is not completed, the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolutionary movement are still forging ahead and we must keep up our efforts. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will fight to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they are sure to engage in sabotage and create disturbances by one means or another and every day and every minute they will try to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration, and this weapon we must firmly grasp. Internationally, we must unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, and first of all with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, so that we shall not stand alone in our struggle to safeguard these fruits of victory and to thwart the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration. As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious.

The people's democratic dictatorship and solidarity with our foreign friends will enable us to accomplish our work of construction rapidly. We are already confronted with the task of nation-wide economic construction. We have very favourable conditions: a population of 475 million people and a territory of 9,600,000 square kilometres. There are indeed difficulties ahead, and a great many too. But we firmly believe that by heroic struggle the people of the country will surmount them all. The Chinese people have rich experience in overcoming difficulties. If our forefathers, and we also, could weather long years of extreme difficulty and defeat powerful domestic and foreign reactionaries, why can't we now, after victory, build a prosperous and flourishing country? As long as we keep to our style of plain living and hard struggle, as long as we stand united and as long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall be able to win speedy victory on the economic front.

An upsurge in economic construction is bound to be followed by an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere. The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture.

Our national defense will be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

Let the domestic and foreign reactionaries tremble before us! Let them say we are no good at this and no good at that. By our own indomitable efforts we the Chinese people will unswervingly reach our goal.

The heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution shall live forever in our memory!

Hail the victory of the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution!

Hail the founding of the People's Republic of China!

Hail the triumph of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Fredriksen, John C. "Mao Zedong." *Biographical Dictionary of Modern World Leaders: 1992 to the Present*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Simone de Beauvoir: *The Second Sex*

Also known as: *Le Deuxième Sexe*

Date: October 28, 1949

Simone de Beauvoir's existentialist and feminist ideas led her to author many books. In The Second Sex (1949) she undermines the notion that women's lives are tied irrevocably to their maternal function by declaring that it is society that has made women think this. The book's title is a reference to the idea that women throughout history have been defined as the "other" sex.

Beauvoir wrote The Second Sex in part to discover the extent to which the course of her own life was determined by the fact that she was born female instead of male. Using her life as a springboard, she goes on to analyze women's roles in society through mythology, political theory, history, and psychology. Her conclusion, stated in the introduction to the section on childhood, is that "A person is not born a woman, a person becomes one." In other words, while an individual may be born female, it is the society in which one lives—through parents, schools, churches, and other social institutions—that turns the female person into a woman. She advises women to pursue interests beyond the home and family, because, in her view, marriage and motherhood render women into "relative beings," that is, individuals whose lives are dependent upon their relationship to others, not upon themselves.

This is an excerpt from part 2 of *The Second Sex*.

On the Master-Slave Relation

Certain passages in the argument employed by Hegel in defining the relation of master to slave apply much better to the relation of man to woman. The advantage of the master, he says, comes from his affirmation of Spirit as against Life through the fact that he risks his own life; but in fact the conquered slave has known this same risk. Whereas woman is basically an existent who gives Life and does not risk her life, between her and the male there has been no combat. Hegel's definition would seem to apply especially well to her. He says: 'The other consciousness is the dependent consciousness for whom the essential reality is the animal type of life; that is to say, a mode of living bestowed by another entity.' But this relation is to be distinguished from the relation of subjugation because woman also aspires to and recognizes the values that are concretely attained by the male. He it is who opens up the future to which she also reaches out. In truth women have never set up female values in opposition to male values; it is man who, desirous of maintaining masculine prerogatives, has invented that divergence. Men have presumed to create a feminine domain – the kingdom of life, of immanence—only in order to lock up women therein. But it is regardless of sex that the existent seeks self-justification through transcendence – the very submission of women is proof of that statement. What they demand today is to be recognized as existents by the same right as men and not to subordinate existence to life, the human being to its animality.

An existentialist perspective has enabled us, then, to understand how the biological and economic condition of the primitive horde must have led to male supremacy. The female, to a greater extent than the male, is the prey of the species; and the human race has always sought to escape its specific destiny. The support of life became for man an activity and a project through the invention of the tool; but in maternity woman remained closely bound to her body, like an animal. It is because humanity calls itself in question in the matter of living—that is to say, values the reasons for living above mere life—that, confronting woman, man assumes mastery. Man's design is not to repeat himself in time: it is to take control of the instant and mould the future. It is male activity that in creating values has made of existence itself a value; this activity has prevailed over the confused forces of life; it has subdued Nature and Woman. We must now see how this situation has been perpetuated and how it has evolved through the ages. What place has humanity made for this portion of itself which, while included within it, is defined as the Other? What rights have been conceded to it? How have men defined it?

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kuhlman, Erica Ann. "Beauvoir, Simone de." *A to Z of Women in World History*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2002. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

The Freedom Charter

Date: June 26, 1955

This document, adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, South Africa, on June 26, 1955, established a vision for an alternative to the apartheid-based society that predominated in South Africa.

Originally suggested at the Congress of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1953, the idea of creating a statement of fundamental principles for a new South Africa was quickly accepted by the ANC's key allies, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the South African Congress of Democrats. Over the next several years key principles and statements were worked out.

On June 25 and 26, 1955, the Congress of the People met in Kliptown, near Johannesburg. The points of the charter were read aloud and approved by acclamation. As a sign of the difficulties ahead, at the end of the meeting, heavily armed police officers arrived on the scene, and alleging that treason was probably being undertaken, they took the names of the almost 3,000 delegates and ordered them to leave. In this way, at the same time that the announcement of the charter ushered in a vision of a new future for South Africa, the police response indicated the obstacles and tactics that would have to be overcome in order to achieve that future.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The People Shall Govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall be Work and Security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!
 South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
 South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;
 Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
 The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
 The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.
 Let all people who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These Freedoms We Will Fight For, Side By Side, Throughout Our Lives, Until We Have Won Our Liberty.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Davis, R. Hunt, ed. "Freedom Charter." In *Encyclopedia of African History and Culture*. Vol. 4, *The Colonial Era (1850 to 1960)*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Let Flowers of Many Kinds Blossom

Also Known as: Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom

Date: May 26, 1956

In this speech delivered by Lu Ting-yi, director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on the party's Policy on Art, Literature, and Science, May 26, 1956, the regime of Mao Zedong urged the Chinese people to give free expression to a wide variety of ideas. However, soon after the period of freedom, the Cultural Revolution suppressed dissent throughout China. In this speech, Lu Ting-yi makes clear that freedom of expression is not to extend to counterrevolutionary elements, such as the bourgeoisie.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, has asked me to speak on the policy of the Chinese Communist Party on the work of artists, writers and scientists.

To artists and writers, we say, "Let flowers of many kinds blossom." To scientists we say, "Let diverse schools of thought contend." This is the policy of the Chinese Communist Party. It was announced by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the Supreme State Conference. . . .

If we want our country to be prosperous and strong, we must, besides consolidating the people's state power, developing our economy and education and strengthening our national defense, have a flourishing art, literature and science. That is essential.

If we want art, literature and science to flourish, we must apply a policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, letting diverse schools of thought contend. . . .

"Letting flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend" means that we stand for freedom of independent thinking, of debate, of creative work; freedom to criticize and freedom to express, maintain and reserve one's opinions on questions of art, literature or scientific research.

The freedom we uphold is not the same as that based on the type of democracy advocated by the bourgeoisie. The freedom advocated by the bourgeoisie really means freedom for only a minority, with little or no freedom for the working people. The bourgeoisie exercises a dictatorship over the working people. Jingos in the United States bellow about the "free world"—a free world in which jingos and reactionaries have all the freedom and every freedom, while the Rosenbergs are put to death because they stand for peace. We, on the contrary, hold that there must be democratic liberties among the people, but that no freedom should be extended to counter-revolutionaries: for them we have only dictatorship. This is a question of drawing a political demarcation line. A clear political line must be drawn between friend and foe.

"Let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend": that means freedom among the people. And we urge that, as the people's political power becomes progressively consolidated, such freedom should be given ever fuller scope.

Among the people there are points of agreement and points of difference. Our country has a constitution and it is a public duty to abide by it—this is an agreement among the people. That is to say, the people agree among

themselves that they should love their country and support socialism. But there are other matters on which they do not agree with one another. In ideology there is the difference between materialism and idealism. . . .

Members of the Communist Party are dialectical materialists. We Communists of course stand for materialism and against idealism—nothing can change that. But, precisely because we are dialectical materialists and understand the laws governing the development of society, we hold that a strict distinction must be made between the battle of ideas among the people and the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. Among the people themselves there is freedom not only to spread materialism but also to propagate idealism. Provided he is not a counter-revolutionary, everyone is free to expound materialism or idealism. There is also freedom of debate between the two. This is a struggle between conflicting ideas among the people, but that is quite different from the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. We must suppress and put an end to the activities of counter-revolutionaries. We also have to wage a struggle against backward, idealist ways of thinking among the people. The latter struggle can be quite sharp, too; but we embark on it with the intention of strengthening unity, ending backwardness and creating an ever closer unity among the people. When it comes to questions of ideas, administrative measures will get us nowhere. Only, through open debate can materialism gradually conquer idealism.

There will be diverse opinions, too, on matters of a purely, artistic, academic or technological nature. This is, of course, quite all right. In matters of this sort, there is freedom to voice different opinions, to criticize, counter-criticize and debate.

In short, we hold that while it is necessary to draw a clear political line between friend and foe, we must have freedom among the people. . . .

Let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend: that is a policy to mobilize all the positive elements. It is also, therefore, a policy that will in the end strengthen unity.

On what basis are we to unite? On the basis of patriotism and socialism.

What do we unite for? To build a new, socialist China and combat our enemies both at home and abroad.

There are two kinds of unity: one is built on mechanical obedience and the other on our own conscious, free will. What we want is the latter.

Are those engaged in art, literature and science united? Yes, they are. Compare the situation in the days when the Chinese People's Republic was just founded with what we have now and you find we now have a far closer unity among artists, writers and scientists. This has come about as a result of our work for social reforms and changes in our ways of thought. It would be wrong to deny or ignore this. But even so, we cannot say that our unity is all it should be: there is still room for improvement.

In what respect? Well, first and foremost, some Communist Party members have forgotten Comrade Mao Tse-tung's warning about the evils of sectarianism. Success turns some people's heads and they get swelled-headed and sectarian. . . .

As everyone knows, in the past few years we have fought a series of battles in the Party against sectarianism in artistic, literary and scientific circles. We have waged this struggle in organizations dealing with public health and research in the natural sciences, in literature and art, and in the social sciences. We shall go on waging this struggle and we call on all Party members working in these fields to make an end of this sectarianism. . . .

Finish with sectarianism and unite with all who are ready to co-operate, all who possibly can co-operate with us. Put aside the desire to monopolize things. Get rid of unreasonable rules and commandments, and apply the policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, letting diverse schools of thought contend. Do not think only of the interests of your own department; try to give more help to others and to other departments. Don't be self-conceited and cocksure. Be modest and discreet and respect others. That is how to rid themselves of the shortcomings which have marred our work in building up unity; that is how to strengthen our unity to the utmost. . . .

In regard to criticism, our policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend means freedom to criticize and freedom to counter-criticize. . . .

There are two kinds of criticism. One is criticism directed against the enemy—what people call criticism that “kills at a blow,” criticism with no holds barred. The other is criticism directed against the honestly mistaken—well-meant, comradely criticism, made in the cause of unity, intended to achieve unity through struggle. In making this kind of criticism, one must always bear the whole situation in mind. The critic should rely on reasoning, and his aim should be to help others. . . .

It is quite common for people to make mistakes in all innocence. There is no such person as a man who never makes mistakes. We must make a sharp distinction between mistakes like this and statements consciously directed against the revolution. Criticism of such mistakes must only be made for the good of others; it must be cool-headed criticism, well reasoned. In making it, we must bear the whole situation in mind and act in a spirit of unity, with the intention of achieving unity. We must do all we can to help those who have made mistakes correct them, and those criticized should have no apprehensions about being criticized.

It is easy to make mistakes. But mistakes should be rectified immediately, the sooner the better. It is sticking to one's mistakes that does the harm. As far as being criticized is concerned, one should stick to what is right, and dissent if others are wrong in their criticism. But if the other party is right you must rectify your mistakes and humbly accept others' criticism. To admit a mistake frankly, to root out the causes of it, to analyse the situation in which it was made and thoroughly discuss how to correct it is, as far as a political

party is concerned, the hallmark of a mature party. As far as the individual is concerned, it is the hallmark of a realist. To accept criticism when one has made a mistake is to accept the help of others. Besides helping the person concerned, that also helps the progress of science, art and literature in our country; and there is certainly nothing wrong with that!

As regards study in general, we must continue to see to it that the study of Marxism-Leninism is organized on a voluntary basis. At the same time, we must acquire a broad range of general knowledge; we must critically study things both past and present, things at home and from abroad, and critically learn from both friends and foes.

Marxism-Leninism is being enthusiastically studied by most of our intellectuals. That is a good thing. The scientific theories of Marx and Lenin are the cream of human knowledge, truth that is everywhere applicable. Once there were people who thought that Marxism-Leninism was not applicable in China; but such ideas have been proved sheer nonsense. Without scientific Marxist-Leninist theory to guide us, it is unthinkable that the revolution could have been victorious in China. It is also unthinkable that we could have achieved the tremendous successes and made the rapid progress that we have in construction and in scientific and cultural work. . . .

As they conic from the people things are often not systematically developed or are crude or lack theoretical explanation. Some of them have more than a bit of the “quack” about them, or a taint of the superstitious. There is nothing surprising about that. It is the duty of our scientists, artists and writers not to despise these things but to make a careful study of them, to select, cherish and foster the good in them, and, where necessary, put them on a scientific basis.

We must have our national pride, but we must not become national nihilists. We oppose that misguided attitude known as “wholesale Westernization.” But that does not mean that we can afford to be arrogant and refuse to learn good things from abroad. Our country is still a very backward one; we can make it prosperous and strong only by- doing our best to learn all we can from foreign countries. Under no circumstances is national arrogance justified.

We must learn from the Soviet Union, from the People’s Democracies, and from the peoples of all lands.

To learn from the Soviet Union—that is a correct watchword. We have already learnt a little, but much remains to be learnt. The Soviet Union is the world’s first socialist state, the leader of the world camp of peace and democracy. It has the highest rate of industrial development. It has a rich experience in socialist construction. In not a few important branches of science it has caught up with and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries. It stands to reason that it is worth our while to learn from such a country and such a people. It is utterly wrong not to learn from the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, in learning from the Soviet Union we must not mechanically copy everything in the Soviet Union in a doctrinaire way. We must make what we have learnt fit our actual conditions. That is a point we must pay attention to. Otherwise, we shall run into trouble. . . .

Apart from learning from our friends, we must see what we can learn from our enemies—not to learn what is reactionary in their systems but to study what is good in their methods of management or in their scientific techniques. Our aim in this is to speed the progress of our socialist construction, so as to build up our strength to ward off aggression and safeguard peace in Asia and throughout the world. . . .

Now that this policy—let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend”—has been put forward, many problems will crop up one after the other and demand solutions. I hope all of you will do some hard thinking on such questions. Today I have only touched upon some matters of principle, and anything I say is open to correction.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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TASS on Eisenhower Doctrine

Date: January 14, 1957

In this official statement released by TASS, the Soviet news service, the Soviet Union condemns the announcement of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which in effect extended the Truman Doctrine from Greece and Turkey to the Arab countries of the Middle East. The Soviets interpreted Eisenhower’s extension of support for regimes in the area against Communist insurrection or invasion as a new form of colonialism, substituting American influence for that of Britain and France over the region.

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on January 5 addressed a special message to Congress on the policy of the United States in the Middle East countries. In his message, which

abounds in anti-Soviet remarks, the President, describing the present situation in the Middle East as “critical,” demanded the authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the Middle East at any moment he might consider it necessary, without asking for the consent of Congress as is envisaged in the country’s Constitution. The President of the United States also demanded that he be empowered to render military and economic “aid” to the countries of the Middle East. It is envisaged, specifically, that 200 million dollars will be spent for “economic support” to countries of that area.

President Eisenhower’s message runs counter to the principles and the purposes of the United Nations and is fraught with grave danger to peace and security in the Middle East area. . . .

In his message to Congress the President of the United States speaks of the sympathy which, he claims, the United States entertains for the Arab countries. Life, however, shows that in actual fact the American ruling circles are setting themselves obviously selfish aims in that area. It is a fact that when Egypt, as a result of the military aggression of Britain, France and Israel, was threatened with the loss of her national independence, the United States refused to pool its efforts with the Soviet Union in the United Nations in order to take resolute measures to cut short the aggression. The primary concern of the United States was not the defense of peace and the national independence of the Arab countries, but the desire to take advantage of the weakening of Britain and France in the Middle East to capture their positions.

At present, when a favourable situation has developed in the Middle East and real possibilities for consolidating peace and settling outstanding issues in that area have been created, the government of the United States has come forward with a programme which envisages flagrant interference by the United States in the affairs of the Arab countries, up to and including military intervention. The aggressive trend of this programme and its colonialist nature with regard to the Arab countries are so obvious that this cannot be disguised by any nebulous phrases about the love for peace and the concern claimed to be shown by the United States for the Middle East countries.

It is permissible to ask: Of what love for peace do the authors of the “Eisenhower doctrine” speak when the threat to the security of the Middle East countries emanates precisely from member-states of N.A.T.O., in which the United States plays first fiddle? What concern for the aforementioned countries can be in question when it is the United States and its N.A.T.O. partners that regard those countries merely as sources of strategic raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital, with the object of extracting maximum profits? Is it not clear that the uninvited “protectors” of the Middle East countries are trying to impose on that area nothing else but the regime of a kind of military protectorate, and to set back the development of these countries for many years? . . .

The United States ruling circles consider that the weakening of the positions of the Anglo-French colonialists in the Middle East and the successes of the Arab countries in consolidating their independence have produced a “vacuum,” which they would like to fill by their military and economic intervention in the internal affairs of those countries. But what “vacuum” can be in question here? Since when do countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and have taken the road of independent national development constitute a “vacuum”? It is clear that the strengthening of the national independence of the Arab countries, the intensification of their struggle against colonial oppression by no means create some kind of “vacuum,” but are a restoration of the national rights of the Middle East peoples and constitute a progressive factor in social development. The United States tries to present its policy as an anti-colonialist one. But it is not difficult to see the falseness of these assertions, clearly designed to blunt the vigilance of the peoples in the Middle East. The programme of the United States insistently stresses that the Middle East must recognize its interdependence with the western countries, that is, with the colonialists—specifically with regard to oil, the Suez Canal, etc. In other words, the United States is stubbornly seeking to impose a “trusteeship” of the colonialists on the peoples of the Middle East countries. . . .

The authors of the colonialist programme try to sweeten it by a promise of economic “aid” to the Middle East countries. Every intelligent person, however, understands that in reality the United States is offering as charity to the peoples of the Arab countries only a small fraction of what the American monopolies have received and are receiving by plundering, by exploiting the natural wealth belonging to those countries. The United States promises the countries of the Middle East 200 million dollars in the financial years of 1958 and 1959, whereas in 1955 alone the American and British oil monopolies extracted 150 million tons of oil in the Middle East at a total cost of 240 million dollars, and made a net profit of 1,900 million dollars on this oil. Such is the real picture of American “philanthropy.” . . .

Seeking to cover up gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Middle East countries and their aggressive policy with regard to these countries, the United States ruling circles resort to inventions about a threat to the Arab countries emanating from the Soviet Union. These slanderous assertions will deceive no one. The peoples of the Middle East have not forgotten that the Soviet Union has always defended the self-determination of peoples, the gaining and consolidating of their national independence. They have learned from experience that in relations with all countries the Soviet Union steadfastly pursues the policy of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. They also know very well that the Soviet Union is actively supporting the right of each people to dispose of its natural wealth and use it at its own discretion.

It was not the Soviet Union, but Britain and France—the United States’ chief partners in the North Atlantic bloc—which committed aggression against Egypt, inflicting great losses and suffering on the Egyptian people. This

is borne out by the fresh ruins of Port Said and other Egyptian cities, as well as by the new plans for United States economic, political and military expansion in the Middle East proclaimed by the American President. These aggressive plans of the American imperialists express their striving for world domination, of which they speak now quite shamelessly, presenting this aspiration as the need for “energetic leadership” of the world by the United States.

In the days of hard trials for the Arab peoples it was the Soviet Union, and no one else, who came out as their sincere friend and, together with the peace loving forces of the whole world, took steps to end the aggression against Egypt. All this is well known. . . .

It is well known that the Soviet Union, as distinct from the United States, does not have and does not seek to have any military bases or concessions in the Middle East with the object of extracting profits, does not strive to gain any privileges in that area, since all this is incompatible with the principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East area, situated as it is in direct proximity to its frontiers. It is sincerely interested in consolidating the national independence of those countries and in their economic prosperity and regards this as a reliable guarantee of peace and security in that area.

In our age the national liberation movement of the peoples is a historical force that cannot be repressed.

The Soviet Union, loyal to the great Leninist principles of recognizing and respecting the rights of peoples, large and small, to independent development, regards as one of its prime tasks the rendering of every assistance and support to the countries fighting to consolidate their national independence and their sovereignty. That is why it welcomes the growing unity of the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle for peace, security, national freedom and independence.

The Soviet Union opposes any manifestations of colonialism, any “doctrines” which protect and cover up colonialism. It is opposed to unequal treaties and agreements, the setting up of military bases on foreign territories, dictated by strategic considerations, and plans for establishing the world domination of imperialism. It proceeds from the premise that the natural wealth of the underdeveloped countries is the inalienable national possession of the peoples of those countries, who have the full right to dispose of it independently and to use it for their economic prosperity and progress. The need to strengthen peace and security demands the wide development of political, economic and cultural ties between all countries. The development of these ties is an important prerequisite for using the achievements of contemporary science and technology for the good of mankind. The policy of establishing closed aggressive military blocs, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact, and the raising of artificial economic barriers hampering normal relations between states seriously impairs the cause of peace. The Soviet Union, striving to render assistance to peoples fighting for the consolidation of their national independence and the earliest elimination of the aftermath of colonial oppression, is willing to develop all-round co-operation with them on the principles of full equality and mutual benefit. . . .

Authoritative Soviet circles hold that the steps with regard to the Middle East area outlined by the United States government, which envisage the possibility of employing United States armed forces in that area, might lead to dangerous consequences, the responsibility for which will rest entirely with the United States government.

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John F. Kennedy: Inaugural Address

Also known as: “Ask Not What Your Country Can Do for You” Speech

Date: January 20, 1961

This address was delivered by John F. Kennedy on January 20, 1961, at his inauguration as the 35th president of the United States. Speaking to and for a new generation of Americans, Kennedy announced to the world that the United States would “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship . . . to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” He pledged loyalty to old allies, support for new ones, and an “alliance for progress” with Latin America. He offered to America’s adversaries a new request for peace and cooperation, and for arms control and inspection. He challenged all Americans to join in a struggle against tyranny, poverty, disease, and war: “Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.”

Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our words that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far greater iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand to mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of laboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are; but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in, and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that

any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not What America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

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Secretary-General U Thant: The Congo Problem

Date: August 20, 1962

The mine-rich province of Katanga sought to secede from the Congo. Although the Congo regime was in chaos as the elected prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, was overthrown by military forces under Joseph Mobutu, the secession of a province, sponsored by outside financial interests, would set a precedent that could lead to the further breakup of African nations into ever-smaller entities. The United Nations worked towards a solution to the problem through the establishment of a federal system for the Congo and through the threat of economic sanctions on Katanga if it did not consent to such an arrangement. Lumumba was murdered under mysterious circumstances in Katanga. Although Katanga was reincorporated in the Congo, the government of Mobutu evolved into one of the most corrupt in the 20th century, and the term kleptocracy was coined to describe a regime based on personal theft of the resources of a nation.

Comments by Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, August 20, 1962

Since in press and corridor recently there has been much comment and speculation about certain "proposals" which I am said to have in mind, some clarifying words from me on this subject would seem appropriate. . . .

I am instructing my representative in Leopoldville, Mr. Robert Gardiner, to present a programme of measures to Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister, and, with his agreement, to Mr. Tshombé, the Provincial President of Katanga. These measures have my full support. The main elements of the programme are set forth in the following paragraphs.

A constitution for a federal system of government in the Congo is now in preparation and all provincial governments and interested political groups have been invited to submit their views. The United Nations, on request of the Government of the Congo, is assisting this process by making available international experts in federal constitutional law. It is my hope that work on a draft constitution will be completed in thirty days.

A new law is needed to establish definitive arrangements for the division of revenues between the Central Government and the provincial governments, as well as regulations and procedures for the utilization of foreign exchange. The Central Government should submit such new law to Parliament only after consultations with provincial governments. Until that process is completed, the Central Government and the Provincial authorities of Katanga should agree: (a) to share on a fifty-fifty basis revenues from all taxes or duties on exports and imports and all royalties from mining concessions; (b) to pay to the Monetary Council or institution designated by it, which is acceptable to the parties concerned, all foreign exchange earned by any part of the Congo. The Monetary Council should control the utilization of all foreign exchange and make available for the essential needs of Katanga at least 50 per cent of the foreign exchange generated in that province.

The Central Government should request assistance from the International Monetary Fund in working out a national plan of currency unification, and put such a plan into effect in the shortest possible time.

Rapid integration and unification of the entire Congolese army is essential. A three-member commission of representatives from the Central Government, Katanga Province and the United Nations, should prepare within thirty days a plan to bring this about. Two months thereafter should be adequate to put the plan into effect.

Only the Central Government should maintain government offices or representation abroad.

As an essential aspect of national reconciliation, the Central Government should be reconstituted to provide representation for all political and provincial groups. It is noted that Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister, has already made certain specific offers in this regard.

Reconciliation should be served by a general amnesty for political prisoners. In addition, all Congolese authorities, national, state, and local, should co-operate fully with the United Nations in its task of carrying out United Nations resolutions.

The proposed steps toward national reconciliation are fully in accord with the statement made on 29 July by Mr. Adoula. They likewise should be acceptable to Katanga and all other provinces of the Congo, judging from recent statements of Congolese leaders. Mr. Tshombé, therefore, should be able to indicate his acceptance promptly. The United Nations, of course, stands ready to give all possible assistance in their implementation. I urge Member Governments to support these approaches by urging Congolese of all sectors and views to accept them forthwith.

While consultations on these approaches are going on I would hope that no actions will be taken to distract from this new effort to achieve agreement. At the same time certain actions are required by the Central Government, by the Provincial authorities of Katanga and by neighbouring States, both to begin putting the proposals into effect, and to prevent any distracting incidents from any quarter. All Member States of the United Nations should take the necessary measures to assure that there are no unauthorized movements to the Congo of mercenaries, arms, war material or any kind of equipment capable of military use.

I believe that the Katanga authorities must consider these proposals and respond to them affirmatively within a quite brief period so that concrete steps can begin, according to a time-table which Mr. Gardiner is authorized to propose. If, however, after this period Katangese agreement is not forthcoming, I will emphatically renew an appeal to all governments of Member States of the United Nations to take immediate measures to ensure that their relations with the Congo will be in conformity with laws and regulations of the Government of the Congo. Further, failing such agreement, as I indicated in my statement of 31 July: "I have in mind economic pressure upon the Katangese authorities of a kind that will bring home to them the realities of their situation and the fact that Katanga is not a sovereign State and is not recognized by any Government in the world as such...this could justifiably go to the extent of barring all trade and financial relations." In pursuance of this, a firm request would be made by me to all Member Governments to apply such a ban especially to Katangese copper and cobalt.

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

Date: April, 1963

This letter was written by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during his nine-day imprisonment in Birmingham, Alabama, April 12–20, 1963, for organizing a series of antisegregation demonstrations. The letter was a reply to an appeal that had been issued in January 1963, by eight white Birmingham clergymen. Titled "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," the clergymen's letter had urged civil rights leaders to seek redress for racial injustice through the courts rather than through mass demonstrations. King responded in biblical terms, likening his activities to those of Old Testament prophets and early Christian apostles. Tracing the failed negotiations that had preceded the demonstrations, King concluded that nonviolent protest was the only possible response to the injustice of legalized racial segregation.

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affli-

ates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct-action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here.

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gain saying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Then, last September, came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations, certain promises were made by the merchants—for example, to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs. On the basis of these promises, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. A few signs, briefly removed, returned; the others remained.

As in so many past experiences, our hopes had been blasted, and the shadow of deep disappointment settled upon us. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self-purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliation?" "are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct-action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change.

Then it occurred to us that Birmingham's mayoralty election was coming up in March, and we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that the Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bill" Connor, had piled up enough votes to be in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action until the day after the run-off so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. Like many others, we waited to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct-action program could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent-resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hoped that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and- buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking, "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored" when your first name becomes "Nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of Harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus is it that I can

urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.

Let us consider a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is difference made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. A law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was evidenced sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that a higher moral law was at stake. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians, who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks rather than submit to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. In our own nation, the Boston Tea Party represented a massive act of civil disobedience.

We should never forget that everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. 'Even so, I am sure that, had I lived in Germany at the time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers. If today I lived in a Communist country where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I would openly advocate disobeying that country's anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and that when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, in which the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substantive and positive peace, in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light injustice must be exposed with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion, before it can be cured.

In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical inquiries precipitated the act by the misguided populace in which they made him drink hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relations to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost two thousand years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in the generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the forces of stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergyman would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously closed on advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best-known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black-nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides—and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were cruci-

fied for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this need. Perhaps I was too optimistic; perhaps I expected too much. I suppose I should have realized that few members of the oppressor race can understand the deep groans and passionate yearnings of the oppressed race, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers in the South have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too few in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some—such as Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, James McBride Dabbs, Ann Braden, and Sarah Patton Boyle—have written about our struggle in eloquent and prophetic terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of policemen who view them as “dirty nigger-lovers.” Unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, they have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful “action” antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me take note of my other major disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Reverend Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a nonsegregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Spring Hill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say this as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, would serve as the channel through which our just grievances could reach the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers declare: “Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother.” In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: “Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern.” And I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular.

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at the South’s beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlines of her massive religious-education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: “What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips for Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?”

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. Yes, I love the church. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and through fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the church was very powerful—in the time when the early Christians rejoiced at being deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Whenever the early Christians entered a town, the people in power became disturbed and immediately sought to convict the Christians for being “disturbers of the peace” and “outside agitators.” But the Christians pressed on, in the conviction that they were “a colony of heaven,” called to obey God rather than man. Small in number, they were big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be “astronomically intimidated.” By their effort and example they brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contests.

Things are different now. So often the contemporary church is a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. So often it is an arch-defender of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent—and often even vocal—sanction of things as they are. But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. Every day I meet young people whose disappointment with the church has turned into outright disgust.

Perhaps I have once again been too optimistic. Is organized religion to inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Perhaps I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true *ekklesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone down the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been dismissed from their churches, have lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have acted in the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abuse and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we not face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department.

It is true that the police have exercised a degree of discipline in handling the demonstrations. In this sense they have conducted themselves rather "nonviolently" in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as was Chief Pritchett in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end or racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot has said, "The last temptation is the greatest treason: To do the right deed for the wrong reason."

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and when her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written so long a letter. I'm afraid it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else can one do when he is alone in a narrow jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil-rights leader but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood, Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Sayyid Qutb: *Milestones (Ma'alim fi al-Tariq)*

Date: 1964

Milestones, or Ma'alim fi al-Tariq, is a book that presents the beliefs of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood theorist and Islamist author Sayyid Qutb. The author's theory is that before the onset of Islam, the world lived in ignorance. Sayyid Qutb refers to this as Jahiliyyah. He states that the modern world has lapsed back into this state of ignorance. In Milestones, he lays out a plan to re-create the Muslim world in strict accord with the Qur'an. This ideology is referred to as Qutbism.

The following are excerpts from chapter 7: "Islam Is the Real Civilization." Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Islam knows only two kinds of societies, the Islamic and the jahili. The Islamic society is that which follows Islam in belief and ways of worship, in law and organization, in morals and manners. The jahili society is that which does not follow Islam and in which neither the Islamic belief and concepts, nor Islamic values or standards, Islamic laws and regulations, or Islamic morals and manners are cared for. . . .

If the family is the basis of the society, and the basis of the family is the division of labor between husband and wife, and the upbringing of children is the most important function of the family, then such a society is indeed civilized. In the Islamic system of life, this kind of a family provides the environment under which human values and morals develop and grow in the new generation; these values and morals cannot exist apart from the family unit. If, on the other hand, free sexual relationships and illegitimate children become the basis of a society, and if the relationship between man and woman is based on lust, passion and impulse, and the division of work is not based on family responsibility and natural gifts; if woman's role is merely to be attractive, sexy and flirtatious, and if woman is freed from her basic responsibility of bringing up children; and if, on her own or under social demand, she prefers to become a hostess or a stewardess in a hotel or ship or air company, thus spending her ability for material productivity rather than in the training of human beings, because material production is considered to be more important, more valuable and more honorable than the development of human character, then such a civilization is 'backward' from the human point of view, or 'jahili' in the Islamic terminology.

The family system and the relationship between the sexes determine the whole character of a society and whether it is backward or civilized, jahili or Islamic. Those societies which give ascendancy to physical desires and animalistic morals cannot be considered civilized, no matter how much progress they may make in industry or science. This is the only measure which does not err in gauging true human progress.

In all modern jahili societies, the meaning of 'morality' is limited to such an extent that all those aspects which distinguish man from animal are considered beyond its sphere. In these societies, illegitimate sexual relationships, even homosexuality, are not considered immoral. The meaning of ethics is limited to economic affairs or sometimes to political affairs which fall into the category of 'government interests'. For example, the scandal of Christine Keeler and the British minister Profumo was not considered serious to British society because of its sexual aspect; it was condemnable because Christine Keeler was also involved with a naval attaché of the Russian Embassy, and thus her association with a cabinet minister lied before the British Parliament! Similar scandals come to light in the American Senate. Englishmen and Americans who get involved in

such spying scandals usually take refuge in Russia. These affairs are not considered immoral because of sexual deviations, but because of the danger to state secrets!

Among jahili societies, writers, journalists and editors advise both married and unmarried people that free sexual relationships are not immoral. However, it is immoral if a boy uses his partner, or a girl uses her partner, for sex, while feeling no love in his or her heart. It is bad if a wife continues to guard her chastity while her love for her husband has vanished; it is admirable if she finds another lover. Dozens of stories are written about this theme; many newspaper editorials, articles, cartoons, serious and light columns all invite to this way of life.

From the point of view of 'human' progress, all such societies are not civilized but are backward.

The line of human progress goes upward from animal desires toward higher values. To control the animal desires, a progressive society lays down the foundation of a family system in which human desires find satisfaction, as well as providing for the future generation to be brought up in such a manner that it will continue the human civilization, in which human characteristics flower to their full bloom. Obviously a society which intends to control the animal characteristics, while providing full opportunities for the development and perfection of human characteristics, requires strong safeguards for the peace and stability of the family, so that it may perform its basic task free from the influences of impulsive passions. On the other hand, if in a society immoral teachings and poisonous suggestions are rampant, and sexual activity is considered outside the sphere of morality, then in that society the humanity of man can hardly find a place to develop.

Thus, only Islamic values and morals, Islamic teachings and safeguards, are worthy of mankind, and from this unchanging and true measure of human progress, Islam is the real civilization and Islamic society is truly civilized.

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U.S. State Department on Vietnam

Date: March 22, 1965

In 1964 Congress approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president the power to conduct military operations without needing an act of Congress declaring war.

There were an estimated 5,000 guerrillas in South Vietnam in 1959. By 1964 this number grew to an estimated 100,000. After an attack on a U.S. Marine barracks in Pleiku on March 2, 1965, the National Security Council recommended an escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam. There were several attacks on U.S. Air Force bases, and on March 8, 1965, 3,500 U.S. Marines were dispatched to South Vietnam. The Marines' assignment was a defensive one. By December the U.S. deployment would be increased to nearly 200,000 men.

In this statement from the U.S. State Department, the reasons for the United States's opposition to the establishment of a communist regime in South Vietnam are clearly expressed.

"Aggression from the North, February 27, 1965" from *Department of State Bulletin*, March 22, 1965

South Vietnam is fighting for its life against a brutal campaign of terror and armed attack inspired, directed, supplied, and controlled by the Communist regime in Hanoi. This flagrant aggression has been going on for years, but recently the pace has quickened and the threat has now become acute.

The war in Vietnam is a new kind of war, a fact as yet poorly understood in most parts of the world. Much of the confusion that prevails in the thinking of many people, and even governments, stems from this basic misunderstanding. For in Vietnam a totally new brand of aggression has been loosed against an independent people who want to make their way in peace and freedom.

Vietnam is not another Greece, where indigenous guerrilla forces used friendly neighboring territory as a sanctuary.

Vietnam is not another Malaya, where Communist guerrillas were, for the most part, physically distinguishable from the peaceful majority they sought to control.

Vietnam is not another Philippines, where Communist guerrillas were physically separated from the source of their moral and physical support.

Above all, the war in Vietnam is not a spontaneous and local rebellion against the established government.

There are elements in the Communist program of conquest directed against South Vietnam common to each of the previous areas of aggression and subversion. But there is one fundamental difference. In Vietnam a Communist government has set out deliberately to conquer a sovereign people in a neighboring state. And to

achieve its end, it has used every resource of its own government to carry out its carefully planned program of concealed aggression. North Vietnam's commitment to seize control of the South is no less total than was the commitment of the regime in North Korea in 1950. But knowing the consequences of the latter's undisguised attack, the planners in Hanoi have tried desperately to conceal their hand. They have failed and their aggression is as real as that of an invading army.

This report is a summary of the massive evidence of North Vietnamese aggression obtained by the Government of South Vietnam. This evidence has been jointly analyzed by South Vietnamese and American experts.

The evidence shows that the hard core of the Communist forces attacking South Vietnam were trained in the North and ordered into the South by Hanoi. It shows that the key leadership of the Vietcong (VC), the officers and much of the cadre, many of the technicians, political organizers, and propagandists have come from the North and operate under Hanoi's direction. It shows that the training of essential military personnel and their infiltration into the South is directed by the Military High Command in Hanoi. In recent months new types of weapons have been introduced in the VC army, for which all ammunition must come from outside sources. Communist China and other Communist states have been the prime suppliers of these weapons and ammunition, and they have been channeled primarily through North Vietnam.

The directing force behind the effort to conquer South Vietnam is the Communist Party in the North, the Lao Dong (Workers) Party. As in every Communist state, the party is an integral part of the regime itself. North Vietnamese officials have expressed their firm determination to absorb South Vietnam into the Communist world.

Through its Central Committee, which controls the Government of the North, the Lao Dong Party directs the total political and military effort of the Vietcong. The Military High Command in the North trains the military men and sends them into South Vietnam. The Central Research Agency, North Vietnam's central intelligence organization, directs the elaborate espionage and subversion effort . . .

Under Hanoi's overall direction the Communists have established an extensive machine for carrying on the war within South Vietnam. The focal point is the Central Office for South Vietnam with its political and military subsections and other specialized agencies. A subordinate part of this Central Office is the liberation Front for South Vietnam. The front was formed at Hanoi's order in 1960. Its principle function is to influence opinion abroad and to create the false impression that the aggression in South Vietnam is an indigenous rebellion against the established Government.

For more than 10 years the people and the Government of South Vietnam, exercising the inherent right of self-defense, have fought back against these efforts to extend Communist power south across the 17th parallel. The United States has responded to the appeals of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam for help in this defense of the freedom and independence of its land and its people.

In 1961 the Department of State issued a report called *A Threat to the Peace*. It described North Vietnam's program to seize South Vietnam. The evidence in that report had been presented by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to the International Control Commission (ICC). A special report by the ICC in June 1962 upheld the validity of that evidence. The Commission held that there was "sufficient evidence to show beyond reasonable doubt" that North Vietnam had sent arms and men into South Vietnam to carry out subversion with the aim of overthrowing the legal Government there. The ICC found the authorities in Hanoi in specific violation of four provisions of the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Since then, new and even more impressive evidence of Hanoi's aggression has accumulated. The Government of the United States believes that evidence should be presented to its own citizens and to the world. It is important for free men to know what has been happening in Vietnam, and how, and why. That is the purpose of this report . . .

The record is conclusive. It establishes beyond question that North Vietnam is carrying out a carefully conceived plan of aggression against the South. It shows that North Vietnam has intensified its efforts in the years since it was condemned by the International Control Commission. It proves that Hanoi continues to press its systematic program of armed aggression into South Vietnam. This aggression violates the United Nations Charter. It is directly contrary to the Geneva Accords of 1954 and of 1962 to which North Vietnam is a party. It is a fundamental threat to the freedom and security of South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam have chosen to resist this threat. At their request, the United States has taken its place beside them in their defensive struggle.

The United States seeks no territory, no military bases, no favored position. But we have learned the meaning of aggression elsewhere in the post-war world, and we have met it.

If peace can be restored in South Vietnam, the United States will be ready at once to reduce its military involvement. But it will not abandon friends who want to remain free. It will do what must be done to help them. The choice now between peace and continued and increasingly destructive conflict is one for the authorities in Hanoi to make.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: "Aggression from the North, February 27, 1965." *Department of State Bulletin*, March 22, 1965.

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

Date: 1966

This document states the platform of the Black Panther Party, a militant black political rights organization founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in October 1966, in Oakland, California. The 10-point platform made a number of demands for African Americans: full employment, an end to police brutality, decent housing and education, repatriation for slavery, exemption from military service, and the release of all black prisoners from jail. The platform claimed that these prisoners had not received fair treatment from the white-run judicial system and called for new trials with juries made up of members of the black community. Marxist and socialist influences can be felt with regard to the party's position on full employment for blacks. The platform states that if "white American businessmen" deny African Americans meaningful employment, then the "means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people." Although the Panthers advocated revolutionary social and political changes, they were inspired to institute these changes for many of the same reasons that the American colonists broke free from English rule. The party closes its platform by quoting the opening paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. . . that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government."

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY Platform & Program October 1966

WHAT WE WANT WHAT WE BELIEVE

WE WANT freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

WE WANT full employment for our people.

WE BELIEVE that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

WE WANT an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

WE WANT decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

WE BELIEVE that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

WE WANT education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

WE BELIEVE in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

WE WANT all black men to be exempt from military service.

WE BELIEVE that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

WE WANT an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

WE BELIEVE we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

WE WANT freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

WE BELIEVE that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

WE WANT all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

WE BELIEVE that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

WE WANT land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

WE HOLD these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Black Panther Party Platform and Program." Facts On File, Inc. *African-American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: The Black Panther Party. "Black Panther Party Platform and Program." *The Maoist International Movement*.

President Nasser: Statement to Members of the Egyptian National Assembly

Date: May 29, 1967

Egyptian President Gamal Abdul (Abdel) Nasser was the most popular Arab leader of his day. Nasser was seen as the leader of the Arab world, inspiring Arab unity. He pushed for action by Arab states to confront the "imperialist" West. Nasser had allied the Arab states of Syria, Jordan, and Iraq with Egypt in order to enter into a battle for the annihilation of Israel. Nasser called for the withdrawal of United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) troops from the Sinai Peninsula. UN Secretary-General U Thant complied with that demand. Nasser remilitarized the Sinai with Egyptian Forces, and on May 23 he closed the Straits of Tiran to all Israeli ships and set up a blockade of the Israeli port of Eilat.

The Egyptians had planned a surprise attack on Israel on May 27 with the intention of destroying it. Israeli intelligence found out about the surprise plan and told the United States, which alerted the Soviets, who in turn told the Egyptian government. Nasser called off the attack.

In this speech on May 29, just one week before the Six-Day War, Nasser stated " . . . I have already said in the past that we will decide the time and place and not allow them to decide. . . ."

However, on June 5, 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the world by responding preemptively and launching a massive air attack on some two dozen Arab airfields, destroying more than 400 Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian aircraft on the ground. Israeli ground forces invaded the Sinai Peninsula, Jerusalem's Old City, Jordan's West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, seizing and occupying these areas.

Brothers, when Brother Anwar as-Sadat informed me of your decision to meet me I told him that I myself was prepared to call on you at the National Assembly, but he said you were determined to come. I therefore responded to this and I thank you heartily for your consideration.

I was naturally not surprised by the law which Brother Anwar as-Sadat read because I was notified of it before I came here. However, I wish to thank you very much for your feelings and for the powers given me. I did not ask for such powers because I felt that you and I were as one, that we could cooperate and work for the sublime interest of this country, giving a great example of unselfishness and of work for the welfare of all. Thanks be to God, for four years now the National Assembly has been working and has given great examples. We have given great examples in cooperation and unselfishness and in placing before us the sublime and highest objective—the interest of this nation.

I am proud of this resolution and law. I promise you that I will use it only when necessary. I will, however, send all the laws to you. Thank you once again. The great gesture of moral support represented by this law is very valuable to my spirit and heart. I heartily thank you for this feeling and this initiative.

The circumstances through which we are now passing are in fact difficult ones because we are not only confronting Israel but also those who created Israel and who are behind Israel. We are confronting Israel and the West, as well the West which created Israel and which despised us Arabs and which ignored us before and since 1948. They had no regard whatsoever for our feelings, our hopes in life, or our rights. The West completely ignored us, and the Arab nation was unable to check the West's course.

Then came the events of 1956, the Suez battle. We all know what happened in 1956. When we rose to demand our rights, Britain, France and Israel opposed us, and we were faced with the tripartite aggression. We resisted, however, and proclaimed that we would fight to the last drop of our blood. God gave us success and God's victory was great.

Subsequently we were able to rise and to build. Now, eleven years after 1956, we are restoring things to what they were in 1956. This is from the material aspect. In my opinion this material aspect is only a small part, whereas the spiritual aspect is the great side of the issue. The spiritual aspect involves the renaissance of the Arab nation, the revival of the Palestine question, and the restoration of confidence to every Arab and to every Palestinian. This is on the basis that if we were able to restore conditions to what they were before 1956, God will surely help and urge us to restore the situation to what it was in 1948.

Brothers, the revolt, upheaval and commotion which we now see taking place in every Arab country are not only because we have returned to the Gulf of Aqaba or rid ourselves of the UNEF, but because we have restored Arab honour and renewed Arab hopes.

Israel used to boast a great deal, and the Western Powers, headed by the United States and Britain, used to ignore and even despise us and consider us of no value. But now that the time has come—and I have already said in the past that we will decide the time and place and not allow them to decide—we must be ready for triumph and not for a recurrence of the 1948 comedies. We shall triumph, God willing.

Preparations have already been made. We are now ready to confront Israel. They have claimed many things about the 1956 Suez war, but no one believed them after the secrets of the 1956 collusion were uncovered – that mean collusion in which Israel took part. Now we are ready for the confrontation. We are now ready to deal with the entire Palestine question.

The issue now at hand is not the Gulf of Aqaba, the Straits of Tiran, or the withdrawal of the UNEF, but the rights of the Palestine people. It is the aggression which took place in Palestine in 1948 with the collaboration of Britain and the United States. It is the expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine, the usurpation of their rights, and the plunder of their property. It is the disavowal of all the UN resolutions in favour of the Palestinian people.

The issue today is far more serious than they say. They want to confine the issue to the Straits of Tiran, the UNEF and the right of passage. We demand the full rights of the Palestinian people. We say this out of our belief that Arab rights cannot be squandered because the Arabs throughout the Arab world are demanding these Arab rights.

We are not afraid of the United States and its threats, of Britain and its threats, or of the entire Western world and its partiality to Israel. The United States and Britain are partial to Israel and give no consideration to the Arabs, to the entire Arab nation. Why? Because we have made them believe that we cannot distinguish between friend and foe. We must make them know that we know who our foes are and who our friends are and treat them accordingly.

If the United States and Britain are partial to Israel, we must say that our enemy is not only Israel but also the United States and Britain and treat them as such. If the Western Powers disavow our rights and ridicule and despise us, we Arabs must teach them to respect us and take us seriously. Otherwise all our talk about Palestine, the Palestine people and Palestinian rights will be null and void and of no consequence. We must treat enemies as enemies and friends as friends.

I said yesterday that the States that champion freedom and peace have supported us. I spoke of the support given us by India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, the Chinese People's Republic and the Asian and African States.

After my statements yesterday I met the War Minister Shams Badran and learned from him what took place in Moscow. I wish to tell you today that the Soviet Union is a friendly Power and stands by us as a friend. In all our dealings with the Soviet Union—and I have been dealing with the USSR since 1955—it has not made a single request of us. The USSR has never interfered with our policy or internal affairs. This is the USSR as we have always known it. In fact, it is we who have made urgent requests of the USSR. Last year we asked for wheat and they sent it to us. When I also asked for all kinds of arms they gave them to us. When I met Shams Badran yesterday he handed me a message from the Soviet Premier Kosygin saying that the USSR supported us in this battle and would not allow any Power to intervene until matters were restored to what they were in 1956.

Brothers, we must distinguish between friend and foe, friend and hypocrite. We must be able to tell who is making requests, who has ulterior motives and who is applying economic pressure. We must also know those who offer their friendship to us for no other reason than a desire for freedom and peace.

In the name of the UAR people, I thank the people of the USSR for their great attitude which is the attitude of a real friend. This is the kind of attitude that we expect. I said yesterday that we had not requested the USSR or any other State to intervene because we really want to avoid any confrontation which might lead to a world war and also because we really work for peace and advocate world peace. When we voiced the policy of non-alignment, our chief aim was world peace.

Brothers, we will work for world peace with all the power at our disposal, but we will also hold tenaciously to our rights with all the power at our disposal. This is our course. On this occasion, I address myself to our brothers in Aden and say: Although occupied with this battle, we have not forgotten you. We are with you. We have not forgotten the struggle of Aden and the occupied South for liberation. Aden and the occupied South must be liberated and colonialism must end. We are with them. Present matters have not taken our minds from Aden.

I thank you for taking the trouble to pay this visit. Moreover, your presence is an honour to the Qubbah Palace, and I am pleased to have met you. Peace be with you.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Phillips, Charles, and Alan Axelrod. "Six-Day War." *Encyclopedia of Wars*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Nasser, Gamal. *Address of Gamal Nasser to the Egyptian National Assembly*, May, 29 1967. MidEast Web Historical Documents. www.mideastweb.org/nasser29may67.htm

Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Communist Party Secretary, on Prague Spring

Date: 1968

The Soviet Union adopted a policy of suppressing the democracy movement in Czechoslovakia that developed there under Alexander Dubček. The 1968 liberalization was known as the Prague Spring, and the Soviet response was known as the Brezhnev Doctrine. In November 1968, speaking before an assemblage of Polish workers, Brezhnev gave the following justification for the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops.

The Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia the question of the correlation and interdependence of the national interests of the socialist countries and their international duties acquire particular topical and acute importance.

The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people are of great significance for strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class.

We cannot ignore the assertions, held in some places, that the actions of the five socialist countries run counter to the Marxist-Leninist principle of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The groundlessness of such reasoning consists primarily in that it is based on an abstract, nonclass approach to the question of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The peoples of the socialist countries and Communist parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries.

However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries, and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism.

This means that each Communist party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forget this, in stressing only the independence of the Communist party, becomes onesided. He deviates from his international duty.

Marxist dialectics are opposed to onesidedness. They demand that each phenomenon be examined concretely, in general connection with other phenomena, with other processes.

Just as, in Lenin's words, a man living in a society cannot be free from the society, one or another socialist state, staying in a system of other states composing the socialist community, cannot be free from the common interests of that community.

The sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin demanded that all Communists fight against smallnation narrowmindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest.

The socialist states respect the democratic norms of international law. They have proved this more than once in practice, by coming out resolutely against the attempts of imperialism to violate the sovereignty and independence of nations.

It is from these same positions that they reject the leftist, adventurist conception of "exporting revolution," of "bringing happiness" to other peoples.

However, from a Marxist point of view, the norms of law, including the norms of mutual relations of the socialist countries, cannot be interpreted narrowly, formally, and in isolation from the general context of class struggle in the modern world. The socialist countries resolutely come out against the exporting and importing of counterrevolution

Each Communist party is free to apply the basic principles of Marxism Leninism and of socialism in its country, but it cannot depart from these principles (assuming, naturally, that it remains a Communist party).

Concretely, this means, first of all, that, in its activity, each Communist party cannot but take into account such a decisive fact of our time as the struggle between two opposing social systems-capitalism and socialism.

This is an objective struggle, a fact not depending on the will of the people, and stipulated by the world's being split into two opposite social systems. Lenin said: "Each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in fiasco."

It has got to be emphasized that when a socialist country seems to adopt a "nonaffiliated" stand, it retains its national independence, in effect, precisely because of the might of the socialist community, and above all the Soviet Union as a central force, which also includes the might of its armed forces. The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

The antisocialist elements in Czechoslovakia actually covered up the demand for so-called neutrality and Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the socialist community with talking about the right of nations to self-determination.

However, the implementation of such "self-determination," in other words, Czechoslovakia's detachment from the socialist community, would have come into conflict with its own vital interests and would have been detrimental to the other socialist states.

Such "self-determination," as a result of which NATO troops would have been able to come up to the Soviet border, while the community of European socialist countries would have been split, in effect encroaches upon the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and conflicts, as the very root of it, with the right of these people to socialist self-determination.

Discharging their internationalist duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist gains, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states had to act decisively and they did act against the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia.

CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: *Pravda*, September 25, 1968. Translated by Novosti, Soviet press agency. Reprinted in L. S. Stavrianos, *The Epic of Man*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971.

Ronald Reagan: "Tear Down This Wall" Speech

Date: June 12, 1987

This speech was delivered to the people of West Berlin, yet it was also audible on the east side of the Berlin Wall. The president spoke at 2:20 p.m. at the Brandenburg Gate. In his opening remarks, he referred to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Prior to his remarks President Reagan met with West German President Richard von Weizsacker and the governing mayor of West Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen, at Schloss Bellevue, President Weizsacker's official residence in West Berlin. Following the meeting, President Reagan went to the Reichstag, where he viewed the Berlin Wall from the East Balcony. President Reagan's speech was made at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, Germany, on June 12, 1987.

Thank you very much.

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American presidents. You see, like so many presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin. [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same—still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as the gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State—as you've been told—George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium—virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty—that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany—busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance—food, clothing, automobiles—the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on—Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

In the 1950s, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only

strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent—and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days—days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city—and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then—I invite those who protest today—to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative—research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place—a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safe, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea—South Korea—has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer

in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West? In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats—the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life—not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love—love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere—that sphere that towers over all Berlin—the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner: "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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Nelson Mandela: Speech on Release from Prison

Date: February 11, 1990

Nelson (Rolihlala Dalibhunga) Mandela cofounded the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944. In 1952 Mandela and Oliver Tambo established the first all-black legal service in South Africa while the African National Congress commenced a campaign of passive civil disobedience. In 1962 Nelson Mandela was convicted of inciting workers to strike and received a sentence of five years in prison. His sentence was changed to life imprisonment after documents later surfaced surrounding his guerrilla activities. Mandela spent the next 27 years behind bars, confined to a seven-by-seven-foot cell.

Mandela became the symbol of injustice and of the fight against racial oppression for the anti-apartheid movement. In 1982 a worldwide campaign against apartheid in South Africa began pressuring the South African regime to release Mandela, and other governments backed their words with economic sanctions against South Africa.

The tempo of events accelerated with the rise of a new white leader, Frederik W. de Klerk. De Klerk realized that the policies of apartheid were doomed. De Klerk began releasing political prisoners unconditionally in 1989, and on February 2, 1990, Mandela was finally freed. His emergence was greeted by throngs of cheering supporters as the end of apartheid was at hand. Nelson Mandela gave a speech to the world's press. This speech, together with his decades of service to the cause of his people, catapulted him onto the international stage as a world figure.

On April 27, 1994, the 75-year-old Mandela was elected as the president of South Africa, after winning 62 percent of the votes cast. In 1993 Mandela shared the Nobel Peace Prize with de Klerk for finally slaying the scourge of apartheid.

Comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless

and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release. I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

I salute the African National Congress. It has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom.

I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances.

I salute the rank-and-file members of the ANC: You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

I salute combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) who paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy: You have survived 40 years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great Communists like Bram Fisher and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come.

I salute General Secretary Joe Slovo, one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was.

I salute the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, and COSATU, and the many other formations of the mass democratic movement.

I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have endured as the conscience of white South Africans, even during the darkest days of the history of our struggle. You held the flag of liberty high. The large-scale mass mobilization of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organized strength is the pride of our movement: You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organizations of our people were silenced.

I greet the traditional leaders of our country: Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes.

I pay tribute for the endless heroism of youth: You, the young lions, have energized our entire struggle.

I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation: You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

On this occasion, we thank the world, we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support, our struggle could not have reached this advanced stage.

The sacrifice of the front-line states will be remembered by South Africans forever.

My celebrations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength that has been given to me during my long and gloomy years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more complete statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security.

The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organizations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid's destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC (Umkhonto We Sizwe) was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon, so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take all this enormous task on his own. It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organization and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward.

On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national congress. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exception.

Today, I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalizing the political situation in the country. We have not yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I myself have at no time entered negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

Mr. de Klerk has gone further than any other nationalist president in taking real steps to normalize the situation. However, there are further steps, as outlined in the Harare declaration, that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter-alia, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all—and not only some—political prisoners.

Only such a normalized situation, which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations.

Negotiations cannot take their place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis.

Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed, and our society thoroughly democratized.

It must be added that Mr. de Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honoring his undertaking.

But as an organization, we base our policy and our strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with, and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the nationalist government.

Our struggle has reached a decisive moment: We call on our people to seize this moment, so that the process toward democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you, too.

We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid.

Our march toward freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.

Universal suffrage on a common voters roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion, I wish to go to my own words during my trial in 1964—they are as true today as they were then:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

CITATION INFORMATION:

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United Nations Millennium Declaration

Date: September 8, 2000

United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan called for a summit of the 2000 Millennium Assembly of the United Nations, with the General Assembly Resolution 202 of December 17, 1998. The Millennium Summit sought to create global goals for the early 21st century. On March 15, 2000, with Resolution 254, the United Nations General Assembly decided that the summit would be composed of plenary sessions and four interactive roundtable sessions. In September 2000 some 8,000 delegates and 4,500 Secretariat employees attended the summit, and 5,500 journalists covered the gathering. The result of this summit would be the United Nations Millennium Declaration, on September 8, 2000.

The United Nations Millennium Declaration had eight major objectives: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child

mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

By the conclusion of the summit, the assembled nations, often with very divergent views about issues such as development and human rights, overwhelmingly approved a declaration of the world's hopes for the 21st century. They agreed on six "fundamental values" essential to international relations: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature, and a sense of shared responsibility. The declaration also set specific goals, including to halve by 2015 the number of people living on less than \$1 a day or living in hunger, or those having no access to clean water; to assure that by 2015 all children completed primary school and that there would be no gender inequality in education; to reduce maternal mortality by three-fourths and the deaths of children under five by two-thirds; to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other infectious diseases; to achieve significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers; to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women; to encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available; and to provide the benefits of new technologies to all the world's peoples.

The General Assembly passed a resolution to guide the implementation of the Millennium Declaration on December 14, 2000. At the World Summit of 2005 the implementation of the declaration would be reviewed.

United Nations Millennium Declaration

General Assembly resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000

The General Assembly

Adopts the following Declaration:

United Nations Millennium Declaration

I. Values and principles

1. We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world.

2. We recognize that, in addition to our separate responsibilities to our individual societies, we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level. As leaders we have a duty therefore to all the world's people, especially the most vulnerable and, in particular, the children of the world, to whom the future belongs.

3. We reaffirm our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which have proved timeless and universal. Indeed, their relevance and capacity to inspire have increased, as nations and peoples have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent.

4. We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

5. We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.

6. We consider certain fundamental values to be essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include:

- Freedom. Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice. Democratic and participatory governance based on the will of the people best assures these rights.

- Equality. No individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development. The equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.

- Solidarity. Global challenges must be managed in a way that distributes the costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or who benefit least deserve help from those who benefit most.

- Tolerance. Human beings must respect one other, in all their diversity of belief, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted.

- Respect for nature. Prudence must be shown in the management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendants. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants.

- Shared responsibility. Responsibility for managing worldwide economic and social development, as well as threats to international peace and security, must be shared among the nations of the world and should be exercised multilaterally. As the most universal and most representative organization in the world, the United Nations must play the central role.

7. In order to translate these shared values into actions, we have identified key objectives to which we assign special significance.

II. Peace, security and disarmament

8. We will spare no effort to free our peoples from the scourge of war, whether within or between States, which has claimed more than 5 million lives in the past decade. We will also seek to eliminate the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction.

9. We resolve therefore:

- To strengthen respect for the rule of law in international as in national affairs and, in particular, to ensure compliance by Member States with the decisions of the International Court of Justice, in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, in cases to which they are parties.

- To make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction. In this context, we take note of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and request the General Assembly to consider its recommendations expeditiously.

- To strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter.

- To ensure the implementation, by States Parties, of treaties in areas such as arms control and disarmament and of international humanitarian law and human rights law, and call upon all States to consider signing and ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

- To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions.

- To redouble our efforts to implement our commitment to counter the world drug problem.

- To intensify our efforts to fight transnational crime in all its dimensions, including trafficking as well as smuggling in human beings and money laundering.

- To minimize the adverse effects of United Nations economic sanctions on innocent populations, to subject such sanctions regimes to regular reviews and to eliminate the adverse effects of sanctions on third parties.

- To strive for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and to keep all options open for achieving this aim, including the possibility of convening an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers.

- To take concerted action to end illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons, especially by making arms transfers more transparent and supporting regional disarmament measures, taking account of all the recommendations of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

- To call on all States to consider acceding to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, as well as the amended mines protocol to the Convention on conventional weapons.

10. We urge Member States to observe the Olympic Truce, individually and collectively, now and in the future, and to support the International Olympic Committee in its efforts to promote peace and human understanding through sport and the Olympic Ideal.

III. Development and poverty eradication

11. We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want.

12. We resolve therefore to create an environment - at the national and global levels alike - which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty.

13. Success in meeting these objectives depends, inter alia, on good governance within each country. It also depends on good governance at the international level and on transparency in the financial, monetary and trading systems. We are committed to an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system.

14. We are concerned about the obstacles developing countries face in mobilizing the resources needed to finance their sustained development. We will therefore make every effort to ensure the success of the High-level International and Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development, to be held in 2001.

15. We also undertake to address the special needs of the least developed countries. In this context, we welcome the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in May 2001 and will endeavour to ensure its success. We call on the industrialized countries:

- To adopt, preferably by the time of that Conference, a policy of duty- and quota-free access for essentially all exports from the least developed countries;
- To implement the enhanced programme of debt relief for the heavily indebted poor countries without further delay and to agree to cancel all official bilateral debts of those countries in return for their making demonstrable commitments to poverty reduction; and
- To grant more generous development assistance, especially to countries that are genuinely making an effort to apply their resources to poverty reduction.

16. We are also determined to deal comprehensively and effectively with the debt problems of low- and middle-income developing countries, through various national and international measures designed to make their debt sustainable in the long term.

17. We also resolve to address the special needs of small island developing States, by implementing the Barbados Programme of Action and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly rapidly and in full. We urge the international community to ensure that, in the development of a vulnerability index, the special needs of small island developing States are taken into account.

18. We recognize the special needs and problems of the landlocked developing countries, and urge both bilateral and multilateral donors to increase financial and technical assistance to this group of countries to meet their special development needs and to help them overcome the impediments of geography by improving their transit transport systems.

19. We resolve further:

- To halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger and, by the same date, to halve the proportion of people who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water.
- To ensure that, by the same date, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that girls and boys will have equal access to all levels of education.
- By the same date, to have reduced maternal mortality by three quarters, and under-five child mortality by two thirds, of their current rates.
- To have, by then, halted, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the scourge of malaria and other major diseases that afflict humanity.
- To provide special assistance to children orphaned by HIV/AIDS.
- By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the "Cities Without Slums" initiative.

20. We also resolve:

- To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable.
- To develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work.
- To encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available and affordable by all who need them in developing countries.
- To develop strong partnerships with the private sector and with civil society organizations in pursuit of development and poverty eradication.
- To ensure that the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies, in conformity with recommendations contained in the ECOSOC 2000 Ministerial Declaration, are available to all.

IV. Protecting our common environment

21. We must spare no effort to free all of humanity, and above all our children and grandchildren, from the threat of living on a planet irredeemably spoilt by human activities, and whose resources would no longer be sufficient for their needs.

22. We reaffirm our support for the principles of sustainable development, including those set out in Agenda 21, agreed upon at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

23. We resolve therefore to adopt in all our environmental actions a new ethic of conservation and stewardship and, as first steps, we resolve:

- To make every effort to ensure the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol, preferably by the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 2002, and to embark on the required reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases.
- To intensify our collective efforts for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests.
- To press for the full implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa.
- To stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at the regional, national and local levels, which promote both equitable access and adequate supplies.
- To intensify cooperation to reduce the number and effects of natural and man-made disasters.
- To ensure free access to information on the human genome sequence.

V. Human rights, democracy and good governance

24. We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development.

25. We resolve therefore:

- To respect fully and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- To strive for the full protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all.
- To strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights.
- To combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
- To take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies.
- To work collectively for more inclusive political processes, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries.
- To ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information.

VI. Protecting the vulnerable

26. We will spare no effort to ensure that children and all civilian populations that suffer disproportionately the consequences of natural disasters, genocide, armed conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies are given every assistance and protection so that they can resume normal life as soon as possible.

We resolve therefore:

- To expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in complex emergencies, in conformity with international humanitarian law.
- To strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies.
- To encourage the ratification and full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its optional protocols on the involvement of children in armed conflict and on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

VII. Meeting the special needs of Africa

27. We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

28. We resolve therefore:

- To give full support to the political and institutional structures of emerging democracies in Africa.
- To encourage and sustain regional and subregional mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability, and to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.
- To take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology.

- To help Africa build up its capacity to tackle the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases.

VIII. Strengthening the United Nations

29. We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common home.

30. We resolve therefore:

- To reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations, and to enable it to play that role effectively.
- To intensify our efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.
- To strengthen further the Economic and Social Council, building on its recent achievements, to help it fulfil the role ascribed to it in the Charter.
- To strengthen the International Court of Justice, in order to ensure justice and the rule of law in international affairs.
- To encourage regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations in pursuit of their functions.
- To ensure that the Organization is provided on a timely and predictable basis with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates.
- To urge the Secretariat to make the best use of those resources, in accordance with clear rules and procedures agreed by the General Assembly, in the interests of all Member States, by adopting the best management practices and technologies available and by concentrating on those tasks that reflect the agreed priorities of Member States.
- To promote adherence to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.
- To ensure greater policy coherence and better cooperation between the United Nations, its agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, as well as other multilateral bodies, with a view to achieving a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development.
- To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues.
- To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization's goals and programmes.

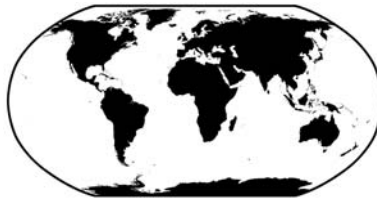
31. We request the General Assembly to review on a regular basis the progress made in implementing the provisions of this Declaration, and ask the Secretary-General to issue periodic reports for consideration by the General Assembly and as a basis for further action.

32. We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development. We therefore pledge our unstinting support for these common objectives and our determination to achieve them.

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